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Graffiti, Writing and Street Art in the Arab World



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I. GRAFFITI, WRITING AND STREET ART IN THE ARAB WORLD

THE EMERGENCE OF NEW FORMS OF LIBYAN PUBLIC EXPRESSION: STREET ART IN TRIPOLI

**Ashour Abdulaziz
Portland State University**

Abstract: This paper analyzes the changes in the linguistic landscape of Libya during the period between the February 2011 uprising and the death of Gaddafi in October 2011 by examining street art in Tripoli. Here, I treat the street art as painted images and words in public contexts are part of the visual linguistic landscape. There are also multilingual ones, for instance, those combining Arabic with Berber or those including English in them, so those are indeed linguistic landscapes. During the Gaddafi regime, such public expressions referred to and often praised Gaddafi; however, during the uprising, both artists and everyday Libyans took to the streets to express their pro- or anti-Gaddafi sentiments, giving rise to a new form of public debate. In this presentation, I will be analyzing the informative and symbolic functions of some images and writings that were painted in the streets as well as public and private buildings in Tripoli, the capital of Libya.

Keywords: Libya; linguistic landscape; Arabic; Berber; Gaddafi; Tripoli.

Historical Background

New forms of public expression and debate, that is, street art, came to surface for the first time in the Libyan history during the Libyan uprising against the Gaddafi regime, especially after the fall of Tripoli in the hands of “Freedom Fighters” and the flight of Gaddafi and some of his regime members to Sirt, his hometown. The main purpose of the street art was to debate ideas and concepts for or against the uprising in both domestic and international contexts.

Methodology

I examine 190 images I collected from <http://khadijateri.blogspot.com>, after obtaining permission from the owner to use her pictures. I also collected images taken by friends and family members in order to understand street art as a new mode of public expression, the use of the written Berber language in any of the three scripts in this street art, and novel uses of language that marked the artist as pro-or anti-Gaddafi. Here, I discuss some examples of street art explaining their informative and symbolic functions.

Additionally, I seek to pinpoint the role the art played in marking the artist as pro- or anti-Gaddafi and its significance as a new form of public expression in Tripoli and as part of the linguistic landscape in the Libyan streets.

Discussion

In their influential study on landscape analysis, Landary and Bourhis (1997) defined the linguistic landscape (LL) as “The language of public roads signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration” (Landary and Bourhis, 1997: 25). Landary and Bourhis distinguished between two functions of the landscape, namely, the informative function and the symbolic function (Gorter and Cenoz, 2008: 346, Ben-Rafael, *etal.* 2006: 8). I follow Landary and Bourhis in the sense of categorizing the functions of Libyan street art in terms of informative and symbolic functions. But unlike Landary and Bourhis who approached the topic from “a social psychological perspective focusing on relationships between the in-group and out-group,” (Gorter and Cenoz, 2008: 346, Shohamy and Gorter, 2009: 2), I approach the topic from a sociolinguistic perspective focusing on its informative and symbolic functions. Both Landary and Bourhis (1997) and Spolsky and Cooper (1991) mentioned that LL “functions as an informational marker on the one hand, and as a symbolic marker communicating the relative power and status of linguistic communities in a given territory”. (Gorter, 2006: 8)

According to Gorter and Cenoz, this informative function indicates “the borders of the territory inhabited by a linguistic group and availability of a language to communicate within that territory. On the other hand, symbolic function refers to the “perception that members of a language group have of the value and status of their languages as compared to other languages” (2008: 346). I assume here that street art – painted images and words in public contexts is part of the visual linguistic landscape in present day Libya. Street art is taken here to represent basically “interacting with the audience on the street and the people, the masses” (Lewisohn, 2008: 15), which in a sense makes it different from the graffiti in that graffiti is, according to Lewisohn (2008) “not so much about interacting with the masses.”.

In analyzing the Libyan street art, which is itself new to the culture, I divided the figures into several categories that are most represented in the data and gave examples for some of those topics explaining their informative and symbolic functions. The data I present here can be divided into several major categories under which the images and writings on the streets could be classified. These are: a) war and fighting; b) national unity; c) Islamic identity; d) Gaddafi as evil; e) Libyan oil and money; f) cartoons; g) thank you notes for the countries and peoples who supported the Libyan uprising. Here, I give examples of some of those categories in terms of their informative and symbolic functions.

Street art is “reflective to the place where it is installed” (Lewisohn, 2008: 63) and Libyan street art is no different. It represents the symbols, values, and thoughts that are unique to the Libyan society at a certain point in its history. These values and ideologies were for the most part a reflection of the critical situation the country was going through, which is war.

The paintings, the words, and the colors in the streets were representations of a wider set of cultural, traditional, religious, social, political, and economic realities with which the ordinary citizen struggles in his/ her daily life.

1) War and Fighting

Figure 1 below containing a freedom fighter and a hawk against a background of the flag of independence colors, uses English to communicate with an international audience. The statement “We won’t surrender; We Win or We Die,” not only expresses the sentiment of those opposing Gaddafi, but also alludes to momentous events in Libyan history when Omar Mukhtar uttered these words to the Italians and paid with his life in 1931.

The colors in the image represent the three main colors of the Libyan flag, with the absence of the white color. This Libyan flag is known as the “independence flag” and was first adopted by King Idris I in 1951, as opposed to the flag of Gaddafi’s era known as “the green flag.” The opposition to the Gaddafi regime adapted the Independence flag as a symbol for what many Libyans would consider to be “true independence” as again, opposed to the one colonel Gaddafi claimed for a long time to be the Independence Day when the American and the British forces left Libya after Gaddafi ceased power in September 1, 1969.

The word “freedom” in the middle of the image is painted across the three colors of the flag in a golden color, which suggests from a Libyan point of view that freedom is very expensive and it is clear that this word is linked with the words above the painting. Additionally, these words are sending a clear message to the international community as Libyans insist on continuing the fight against the Gaddafi forces with or without the support of the international community represented by the United Nations. Finally, the hawk, a symbol of freedom in Arab culture, is another representation of the concept of liberty the “freedom fighters” were fighting for.

Figure 1



2) National Unity and Identity

Figure 2 shows a combination of the flag of independence (left) and the Berber symbol (right) with the words “I am a free Libyan” in Berber script, which was outlawed during the 42 years of Gaddafi’s rule of Libya. The Amazigh symbol on the right is composed of four colors: with the blue representing the sea, the green in the middle representing the valleys, the yellow representing the desert and the letter (ⵣ) pronounced “yez” Z in English, in red as a symbol for the Berber blood that was shed while fighting for and defending Libya since ancient times. The words above the symbols suggest that the Amazigh define themselves as Libyans first and Amazigh second. The image represents the national unity between Arabs and the Amazigh (Berber), while it visualizes the emergence of a distinct Libyan Amazigh identity.

Figure 2



3) Islamic Identity

Figure 3 shows an image of the word “Libya” written in Arabic script in the colors of the flag of independence as well as the crescent and the star, which are symbols of both Islam and the Senussi movement during the monarchy. Given Gaddafi’s failed efforts to appropriate Islam, this image symbolically equates Gaddafi with the earlier failed monarchy and stands as an argument for a more “authentically” Islamic Libya. The colors in the image represent the colors of the Libyan flag in the order they appear on the flag itself; red, black, white in the middle with a crescent and a star, and green at the bottom. The word Libya here is visualized as a mosque in a clear message that this is a Muslim country. Therefore, the Sharia and the law are derived from Islam and they should be implemented in everyday life and in the judicial system.

Figure 3



4) Gaddafi as Devil

Figure 4 shows a big rat with Gaddafi’s face trying to escape but being stopped with a large shoe stepping on its tail. The shoe was tagged as *tuwwār ḡāmi‘i Qubtān* “Qubtan Mosque revolutionaries”, indicating that they are the ones who will catch and arrest Gaddafi. The use of the image of Gaddafi as a rat makes irony because Gaddafi and his supporters labeled anyone who opposed him a rat. The artist in this figure, who is clearly anti-Gaddafi, uses the same words, concepts, and images that Gaddafi used to describe the opposition, to present Gaddafi not only as a rat, but also – as the caption in Arabic suggests – as the king of rats or the biggest rat among all the rats in Africa. This caption plays on the fact that Gaddafi and his supporters call him “the king of kings of Africa”. The green hat on the “rat’s” head is an allusion to the “green” ideology and thinking that Gaddafi often used when packaging his ideology and ideas.

In particular, the shoe here is a symbol of insult and humiliation in the Arab culture. No doubt many of you will recall when an Iraqi journalist threw his shoe at George W. Bush, in 2008. The incident, on the one hand, was widely received in the Arab world as a victory since it insulted and humiliated the president of the most powerful country in the world, and on the other hand, it was widely interpreted in Western media as a display of dissatisfaction with what Bush was doing at the time in Iraq.

Figure 4



5) Irony

Figure 5 shows Gaddafi being chased and pulled by shoes, bottles and other things, and he is shouting to the rest of the world in Arabic “Look at me, oh Europe, look at me, oh America, look at me, oh Arabs, these are the Libyan people expressing their love for me.” Those words were uttered by Gaddafi when he appeared one night to address his supporters in the main square in Tripoli, but of course Gaddafi uttered these words when his supporters were praising him and chanting his lies. Several images like the one in Figure 5 were about the things Gaddafi said that artists took his praise and turned it around to use against him, and this is another visual sarcasm in these images. The artist here wanted to show how most Libyans saw Gaddafi and what was happening in the country from the opposition perspective.

Figure 5



The five figures illustrate the changes that have taken place in the last few months in Libya and demonstrate the complex links between street art, choice of language and script, and the expression of political opinions. Much of the language was used by both pro- and anti-Gaddafi groups. For example, the words in Figure one “We Won’t Surrender; We Win or We Die” uttered by Omar Mukhtar, are used by Gaddafi supporters to mean they will not surrender to the NATO forces and will not surrender and give up their country easily. However, the opposition used those words to mean they will not surrender to Gaddafi and his forces.

Conclusion

All the images I have examined served two main functions, the informative and the symbolic in a variety of categories represented in the Libyan street art. The informative, that is, the information that can be understood from the surface analysis of the image and the literal reading for what is written or painted in the street as the words in Figure1. The symbolic in the sense that images carried a deeper value to the artist or people that communicated the words or the images in the street, like the example in Figure 4.

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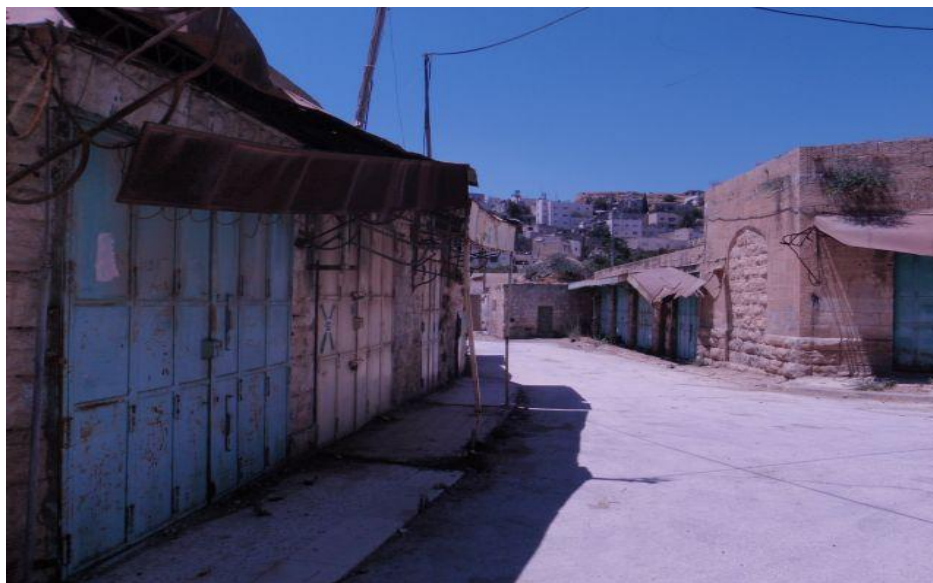
RENAMING SHUHADA STREET – PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE AND GRAFFITI¹

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Abstract: In Hebron, both the Israeli settlers and the Palestinians have prevailing narratives, which besides negating the other side's narrative, justify their own presence in Shuhada Street – a street so conflicted, that it is usually deserted. Continuously, efforts are made towards re-opening Shuhada Street to Palestinians. A significant example of these efforts is the annual demonstration, where Palestinians using graffiti, write 'Apartheid Street' – symbolically altering the street's original name. Shortly after, the graffiti is altered by the Jewish settlers who apply their own graffiti. Focusing on the use of visuals in Shuhada Street, this article shows how the study of graffiti can highlight tactics of resistance and conflicting understandings of space, while overall providing insights into the start-up of a Middle Eastern graffiti movement, developing especially after the 2011 uprisings.

Keywords: graffiti; Palestine; conflict; space; strategies; religion; uprisings.



Shuhada Street. Photo: Author's own

Graffiti, which literally means 'little scratching', is neither a new nor a solely Western phenomenon. It can be found – in a variety of forms – throughout most of the world, both present and historically. In the Middle East, present day graffiti can be seen as a continuation

¹ The article is based on the author's master dissertation at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. See: Arnoldi, *Renaming Shuhada Street: Palestinian Activism and Spatial Narratives in Hebron*. M.A., SOAS, London, 2012.

of everything from political and commercial murals in everyday public space to folk art Hajj paintings in Luxor, Egypt. Hence, even if we might be inclined to see present Middle Eastern graffiti as a continuation of western graffiti traditions, it should rather be seen as a process equally drawing on a multisided Middle Eastern culture, tradition and history past and present. The inspiration for graffiti is open, while at the same time, as I seek to show in the following, highly localized and strategic. As a result, the purpose of this article is to draw attention to both the contextualized usage and the broader sources of inspiration within present day Middle Eastern graffiti. Focus will mainly be on conflict graffiti, while not limited to it.

Empirically, the focus will predominantly be on Hebron, located in the Westbank, Palestine. In Hebron, Israeli settlers and Palestinians fight for influence and ownership over the limited space surrounding the Tomb of the Patriarchs. Due to this ongoing struggle, Hebron represents a distinctive intensification of social and political processes, resulting in dramatic, constantly changing graffiti.

However, keeping in mind the dual nature of graffiti, the article conclusively places present Middle Eastern graffiti, especially generated and developed since the Arab Uprisings, in the wider regional context. Here street artists and graffiti painters are currently brought together and collectively mark a new beginning for a Middle Eastern graffiti movement, while analogously marking a new beginning for visual academic research in the Middle East.

Theoretically, I do not argue for an essentiality of the city as a favored place of conducting fieldwork, but choose to view the 'urban' as a process rather than a type or category (Low 1996:384). Moreover, I argue in accordance with Low (1996), not for the city as the only place to study the linkages of social narratives of conflict and spatial contestation, but think that: "*the intensification of these processes - as well as their human outcomes - occurs and can be understood best in cities*" (Low 1996:384). This is especially true for graffiti, which often coincide with spatial possibilities of audiences and influence. As I will seek to show in the following, Hebron represents a unique opportunity as a microcosm of resistance in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and further as a favored field site for graffiti research, giving a special insight into the spatial, localized and visual aspects of graffiti in contested areas.

While graffiti's strength according to its producers often lie in its ability to both be personal and free of everyday social restraints, its strength according to academia should be its representation of local and regional stories, different sub-cultural groups' creative co-operation and its overall ever-changing nature.

Hebron: Historically and Present

Historically, Jews, Muslims and Christians lived side by side in the city of Hebron, where the Tomb of the Patriarchs lies, a place of great holy significance and meaning for all three religions. Yet, following the massacre of Jews in Hebron 1929, the Six Day War in June 1967, and the 1994 massacre of Palestinian Muslims by Israeli-American settler Baruch Goldstein, Hebron and the Tomb of the Patriarchs have been firmly divided between Muslims and Jews.

Following the first massacre, the Jewish population of Hebron was in 1929 dislodged from the city by the British colonial rule. However, during the Six Day War, a group of orthodox Jews in June 1967 used the Israeli occupation of Hebron to re-enter the city and occupy a hotel, until then allocated by the Israeli Government to



Check point to Shuhada Street. Photo: Author's own.

an abandoned military building next to the tomb on Shuhada Street. Here the settlers built the first settlement within the city of Hebron, and made clear their goal of reviving the Jewish quarter of Hebron – including wide claims on property abandoned in 1929-1936. The number of settlements grew, and today within the limits of the old city of Hebron, there are officially four settlements with an estimated number of 400 Israeli settlers in total. The rest of Hebron's estimated 155.000 citizens are Palestinians. The four settlements, and the Beit Romano, a Jewish Yeshiva school are linked by the entirety of Shuhada Street, which is wired and heavily patrolled by the Israeli Defense Forces and therefore usually left deserted.

For Palestinians in Hebron the closure of Shuhada Street, due to its central location to the tomb and previous importance as a wholesale market and local meeting place, has been highly contested, and the conflict – as I will seek to show in the following – is always threatening under the surface. Because, contrary to the terms of the Oslo negotiations, the street continues to be off-limits to most Palestinians, and life has yet to be normalized as agreed upon. Instead, the two groups grow increasingly hostile and oppositional, while using varied strategies, in order to gain and hold on to the space surrounding the tomb.

Gaining space through tactics of space

Narratives serve a cultural function and are crucial to considerations of how actors construct, contest, and ground experience and history in praxis. Spaces are subject to multiple interpretations and overlapping narratives, and therefore when contested - e.g. when a space is being renamed as part of protest or change of power - physical space becomes more political and socially important than usually imagined, as it becomes part of the larger conflict. In contrast, redevelopment projects are often seen as erasing cultural and architectural spatial remains, and leaving an urban landscape without memories (Low 1996:391). However, in the case of Hebron the development in renovation and building projects on either side is enforcing spatial memories and identity placement, and through these projects we can read the importance of Hebron, as a politicized space of struggle.

To show how spatial memories and identity are reinforced in Hebron I will draw on the article *'People Tied to Place: Strengthening Cultural Identity in Hebron's Old City'* by Anita Vitullo (2003). In her article Vitullo points out how the almost complete abandonment of the old city since 1967, has led not only to a dramatically changed demography, but also damaging disrepair (ibid:67). According to Vitullo, when Shuhada Street, the city's main axis, was closed, Hebron's architectural heritage, spiritual and commercial life were put behind bars (ibid:74). The closure of this part of Hebron thus had several consequences for Palestinians, which was testified when Arafat, the former Palestinian leader, in 1996 ordered the establishment of the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee (ibid:69). The commission started a large scale rehabilitation project to secure that housing was improved and even subsidized anyone moving there for the first five years (ibid:77). However, the old town remained loosely inhabited, and mainly so with poor inhabitants, as the settlers made life in the old town difficult for Palestinians through harassment and the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) through military orders, road closures and check points (ibid:78-81). As Vitullo points out: *"the settlers actions have inadvertently strengthened the long cultural identity of Palestinians to*



Closed shop on Shuhada Street with settler graffiti. Photo: Author's own.

the Old City of Hebron, and tied their physical past to their turbulent present and plans for the future” (ibid:82).

Similarly, the settlers renovated the houses they now inhabit, and the school they run within Shuhada Street. Further, they have created a cultural and tourist center near the tomb, and renamed the surrounding streets, with Shuhada Street now being known as King David Street – a name which through its strong scriptural connotations for the settlers, manifests their mandate for being in the street.

When a specific street is a site of conflict, it adds a spatial dimension to a conflict, which manifests in physical initiatives, such as roadblocks, checkpoints, and renaming of public places and streets. Initiatives, which physically enhances the contrasts between the conflicting groups.

The transformation of space into place require a conscious moment, and the production of a neighborhood is inherently an exercise of power over some sort of hostile environment, which may take the form of another neighborhood (Appadurai 1995:209). Thus, terrains of resistance become sites of geographic and representational contestation, involving forces of domination and resistance, which manifests different values, beliefs and goals (Routledge 1994:560-61, in Juris 2008:128). The city is no longer the setting for the struggle, but is transformed into an agent and ally of social action (Bonilla 2011:326). It is through these physical understandings that the aforementioned narratives become meaningful and diversified types of social protest are formed and enacted.

As I will show in the following, the Palestinian contestation of their present situation is visualized and expressed through demonstrations and spatial techniques of renaming Shuhada Street. The inscription of alternative political meanings on the urban space, using the bodily techniques of mass action and visual signs² within physical territories (Santino 2001 in: Juris 2008:150), directly opposes narratives from both sides presently justifying closure and division of Hebron.

The demonstration and the renaming of Shuhada Street

The first time I walked down the street surrounding the tomb in Hebron, I noticed the lack of street signs. Usually street signs serve to inscribe an official version of the national or local story into spheres of human activity, and no choice of name is therefore random. Yet, in Hebron, the lack of signs instead silently testifies to the ongoing conflict in the area. Because in Hebron naming the street surrounding the tomb has become central to both groups, and is subsequently in endless flux, naming the street is at the moment an act reflecting each group’s narrative of both the tomb and the street, in consequence justifying each group’s

² Mainly consisting of boards, murals and graffiti.

presence within the street, while simultaneously negating the other side's narrative of any legitimate ownership of the tomb.

A significant example of this is the annual demonstration, where Palestinian activists as a central act use graffiti tactics to write 'Apartheid Street' on the walls and checkpoint leading to the street itself, thus symbolically altering the streets original name. The demonstration is arranged by the non-violent organization 'Youth against Settlements', who through the demonstration seek to create and maintain international and regional awareness of the closure of Shuhada Street, and the broader struggle of Palestinians during occupation.

The demonstrators write Apartheid Street accompanied by slogans of "Open Al-Shuhada Street" and posters with information related to the street and the paragraphs of the Oslo Accord II³, according to which the IDF were to withdraw and life on Shuhada Street to be normalized again. Equally important, the demonstration for the opening of Shuhada Street to Palestinians, every year, since 2008, has taken place on February 25, which marks the anniversary of the 1994 massacre by Baruch Goldstein, a Jewish orthodox settler from



Open Shuhada Street demonstration, Hebron, Palestine. Photo by Youth Against Settlements

Hebron, on Muslims praying in Ibrahimi Mosque and the consequent closure of Shuhada Street for Palestinians, due to security considerations.

³Signed September 24, 1995.

The demonstration assembles within the H2 area controlled by the Palestinian Authorities, and then walks in one big mass from there towards the Israeli controlled check point of Shuhada Street. Instead of forcefully opening the street, the protesters symbolically rename the street at the checkpoint. The checkpoint and the chosen name of Apartheid Street thus interplay and force attention to the problematic interrelations and regulations of the street.

While the place of the demonstration marks the actual reality, symbolized by the checkpoint confronting the protesters, the connotations of renaming a street that they cannot enter create an opportunity of space.

Space is then the opportunity, even if place, that in this instance is not reachable, is the understood reality (Brauch, Lipphardt & Nocke 2008:4). The symbol of renaming, as the creation of all symbols, reduces our dependence on immediate sensory experience - transcending our confinement in space (Spradley 1972:15).

The act of walking, Michel de Certeau argues, is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered (1988[1984]:97), because space ensembles possibilities, and the walker makes them exist and emerge. In the case of Hebron, because the protesters are not able to enter the place, the renaming becomes an intermediate symbolic relation to a place that they seek to change and wish to reach through the demonstration.

Graffiti in this context is a useful visualizing tool, with quick appliance and wide global recognition. Here the graffiti serves as a way for the marginalized Palestinians – through the renaming of the street – to subdue and change space temporarily to their own (momentary) advantage. The graffiti becomes part of the setting, and together with the demonstration, it creates a visual performance of activism. Still, shortly after the Jewish settlers' own graffiti battalions⁴ alter the Palestinian graffiti, herein manifesting their own presence in the street.

⁴ Ex “Jews4Israel” and “SHALOM!”.



Graffiti in Shuhada Street. Photo: Author's own.

Shuhada Street in Arabic means Street of the Martyrs. During the Palestinian protest, it is via graffiti renamed to Apartheid Street. Apartheid Street then becomes a name of protest, and the contrast of “Apartheid” to “Martyrs” stands stark. By renaming the street to ‘Apartheid Street’, the demonstrators are planting their narrative of a Palestinian struggle. ‘Apartheid Street’ here highlights the separation and the physical presence of the settlers and draws on the international recognition and associations of the term ‘Apartheid’⁵.

Correspondingly, the settlers have renamed the buildings that they now inhabit and the streets surrounding them, where for example Shuhada Street is now known as ‘King David Street’. Renaming the street ‘King David Street’ necessarily has strong scriptural connotations, to what the Jewish settlers regard as their mythical mandate for the land and city of Hebron.

⁵ Reference to the UN definition and understanding of Apartheid.



Mural from Shuhada Street. Photo: Author's own

Ascribing space with meaning and creating meaning through space concern the fundamental relation between humans and the environments they occupy (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga [2003] 2007:13). Inscribing space with meaning involves cultural elaboration and recognition, through narratives and praxis (ibid:14), that inscribes experience and memories implicating people and events, into space. Through this process, space is transformed into a place of significance. As will be showed the praxis of renaming streets, therefore is more powerful and political, then normally perceived, and fundamental to the relation between humans and their physical surroundings.

Analyzing spatial conflicts and strategies: The power of space, renaming and repainting

Spatial structures and resistance

As Henri Lefebvre writes: “*Space is never empty, but always embodies a meaning*” (1991:154 in Low 2009:392). In the following, I will expand on this, and show how spatial practices through procedures that exercise discipline in space in fact: “*secretly structure the determining conditions of social life*” (de Certeau 1988[1984]:96). This will lead to the analysis of Shuhada Street’s importance in the struggle between Israeli settlers and

Palestinians, and serve as the foundation for understanding the context of the renaming and the use of graffiti.

In *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison* (1975[1995]) Michel Foucault examines the relationship between space, power and knowledge by positioning architecture, as a mean for power and control, through which everyday life is canalized. Through his book Foucault gives different examples of structural organization of space enclosing and controlling individuals, serving the disciplinary goal of creating “*docile bodies*” (1975[1995]:138). Power then, he argues, is based on the command of space and the entities that move within any politically marked territory. He addresses the important issue of how architecture and planning, through the control of movement, can be used by dominant groups to maintain their power over other groups. As the present analysis explains, a similar control is enacted through the division of Hebron and the conversion of Shuhada Street into a military security zone. A process contested by the Palestinian demonstration and renaming of Shuhada Street.

While recognizing the structural spatial submission of groups and individuals, Michel de Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984[1988]) aims to address the individuals everyday resistance within space. For de Certeau, power is about territory and boundaries, in which the weapons of the strong are, in accordance with Foucault, classification, delineation and division, while the weapon of the weak is to tactically submerge space through short cuts, routes and movement. The individual tactically submerging space creates paths that are beyond control, exactly because the goal is to create independence within a place otherwise structured and controlled. He brings to light the uses of space by groups or individuals already caught in the net of discipline (de Certeau 1984 [1988]:xiii), focusing on the creativity that flourishes at the very point where practices cease to have a language (ibid:xvii). This practice, that seize to have a language, as it will be argued, can be resistance, which by definition is contrasting or outside defined structures.

De Certeau differentiates between ‘strategies’ and ‘tactics’ of space. Strategies involve actively creating places that exclude opponents through ‘proper places’ calculated force-relationships spatially or institutionally (ibid:xix). In contrast tactics are: “*actions undertaken in the territory of one’s opponents, within the opponents field of vision*” (Routledge 1997:71), and trace out rules of other interests and desires that are neither determined nor captured by the system in which they develop (de Certeau 1984 [1988]:xviii). The tactics through which the weak make use of the strong thus lend a political dimension to everyday practices (ibid:xvii). Nonetheless use of tactics depends largely on time, as it is dependent on constantly seizing the moment of opportunity (ibid:xix). As this article argues, such a moment of opportunity is not only seized, but can equally be created - for example through the movement of a protest.

When an empty space fills, the actors challenge the social construction, control and intended meaning of that space. As anthropologist Yarimar Bonilla argues, the act of walking has long constituted an important element of political protest and collective action, from Gandhi's Salt March to the '*freedom walks*' of the American Civil Rights Movement (2011:315). Walking in groups, through the flow of masses or the filling of an empty square can represent an act of spatial transformation as well as a highly symbolic and performative act (ibid.). The city or landscape then becomes a site of group production (ibid:325), as the past, present and future becomes intertwined and any history of repression and resistance becomes collective (ibid:330). Space is produced and regulated with the aim of excluding opponents and controlling entities within, but through the use of space, the meaning intended for can become different. Hence walking provides a place to protest a wider problem as a whole. Through operations of walking, renaming and narrating the city, the strategic discipline of space is undone, and instead is created a metaphorical or mobile city (de Certeau 1988[1984]:110). Terrains of resistance then become sites of geographic and representational contestation, involving forces of domination and resistance, manifesting different values, beliefs and goals (Routledge 1994:560-61 in: Juris 2008:128).

As this analysis argues, following the argument of both Michel Foucault and Michel de Certeau, walking as protest becomes even more significant and effective in conflict areas, where it can serve as a way for the marginalized to subdue space. For the Palestinian protesters the management of space might only be temporary, but has large power internally and externally. Similar, control cannot be understood in isolation from conceptualizations of space, which legitimize and naturalize sociospatial relations, which are manipulated in conflict situations (Lefebvre 1991 in: Low et al [2003]2007:20). Absolute command over physical space is the focus of the struggle between the two groups in Hebron. The goal being for the settlers and the IDF to, in accordance with Michel Foucault (1975[1995]), to ensure 'invisible' control over the social reproduction of power relations.

The power of renaming – The power of repainting

Street names serve to inscribe the national story and no choice of name is random. The power to officially name streets, put them on the map, is in most cases exclusively reserved to official administrative institutions, as renaming of public space provides an accessible way to consolidate their policy and nationalize territory (Demetriou 2006:21; Azaryahu 1997:2). The



Separation wall in Shuhada Street. Photo: Author's own.

person reading a street sign will therefore similarly always know what association the ones who named the street wanted to evoke (Demetriou 2006:8), making them similar to monuments and therefore more than simple orientation, as they often can be associated with and supportive of the hegemonic sociopolitical order, becoming, embedded into the structures of power and authority (Azaryahu 1997:2).

Street names consequently provides not only an individual instrument for orientation but also an official and authorized mapping of history through the city space (ibid.). The power of renaming streets lies in the incorporation of an official version of history into spheres of human activity. Thus, that which usually seems to be entirely devoid of direct political manipulation is then manipulated and influenced (ibid.). Transforming a national understanding of history into the natural order of things and everyday life. Renaming streets therefore also often happens after a change in regime of power, as an effective demonstration of the reshaping of political power structures (Azaryahu 1997:1). Renaming streets, squares and other public spaces is likewise a common mode of producing, reproducing, articulating and removing specific identities in space, and so renaming specific spaces is ways of making

space attend to particular national, ethnic and religious identities. The power of sites thus lies in their capacity as symbols to communicate through condensed, even conflicting meanings, particularly when activated during the drama of political events (Kuper 1992:421 in: Low et al [2003]2007:19).

For the same reason, social groups imprint themselves physically on the urban structure through the formation of communities, competition for territory, and physical segregation (Low 1996:397). The ultimate example is walls and the use of force for segregation. Space here again takes on the ability to confirm identity (Low 1996:397), and makes the groups compete for the limited space available. As the anthropologist Hilda Kuper (1992:421 in: Low et al [2003] 2007:19), points out some sites have more power than others, and especially sites central to political conflicts functions as condensed symbols operating within complex social and ideational structures. In the local context, this becomes clear when renovating the old city of Hebron becomes a national prioritized project, or when the orthodox Jews seek to



Demonstration graffiti. Photo: Youth Against Settlements.

physically rebuild the old Jewish community of Hebron, while linking the project to their idea of greater Israel.

Attentive to the spatiality of resistance inquiries into why resistance emerges where it does; how different relationships to space constrain or enables articulations of resistance; and how the meaning of a place might change as it becomes a site of resistance (Routledge 1997:83). In accordance with Michel de Certeau, the tactics of resistance, through which the weak make use of the strong, largely dependent on constantly seizing the moment of opportunity (de Certeau 1988[1984]:xix). However, when this moment is seized in a space of narrative importance, as Shuhada Street, it mutually enforces the groupings resistance.

In the demonstration to reopen Shuhada Street, the striking, central part is the renaming of the street to Apartheid Street. The renaming, as a tactic of the weak, becomes a spatial tactic that is reinforcing the message of the demonstration. It is created in the opportunity provided by the demonstration, and enforced by the graffiti. The spatial conflict is symbolically enacted through the process of first erasing one street name and then replacing that name with one's own accepted word and meaning. By relating the power of renaming streets to the 'Open Shuhada Street' demonstration, the understanding of why this sort of protest can be powerful becomes evident.

Graffiti's role in spatial conflicts

Through the demonstrations and the spatial techniques for renaming Shuhada Street, the Palestinian contestation is spatially visualized and their primary goal of reopening the street is expressed. Additionally, they oppose the Jewish settlers renaming and narratives justifying closure and division of Hebron, by inscribing alternative political meanings on the urban space, through the use of the bodily techniques of mass action and signs within physical territories (Santino 2001 in: Juris 2008:150).



Graffiti from Shuhada Street. Photo: Author's own.



Artists for Israel, one of the settler graffiti battalions. Photo: Author's own.

Graffiti-methods in itself allows a simple marking – if for example only a ‘tag’ – to be left within a second, allowing anyone anonymously to leave their mark on the public space. Of course, pieces that are more elaborate demand more time and space, but the variations in the genre makes it accessible for groups with both little time, materials and spatial influence.

The difference in both graffiti style, location and symbols is clear when looking at the strategies of the two groups in Hebron, who apply different strategies for visually altering the street. Different strategies, which I wish to argue reflect their respective positions of power and motivation.

As such, the Palestinians paint the checkpoint, which marks both their limit of movement, the Israeli military strength and the physical entrance to the street. Renaming the street at the checkpoint to ‘Apartheid’ therefore both marks the context of the spatial limitations, while the graffiti’s words in itself draws on the UN definition of Apartheid. Here the call is for international attention, and non-religious symbols are chosen. The spatial checkpoint and the international understanding of apartheid interplay, strengthening not only the Palestinian activist performance, but also the visual symbolism of the graffiti. On the

other hand, the Palestinians lack of power in the street is also reflected in their choice of graffiti style. They have less time and less space, and therefore need to use signs brought with them, and only leave stencils – which are simplistic pieces of graffiti, one can make within a minute or less using a template. The Palestinian oppositional graffiti is further primarily English language, and use internationally recognizable symbols.

In contrast, the Israeli settlers have all the space of the street, guarded by the IDF. They have time and space, and do not have to hurry. The graffiti from the settlers groups is



From Shuhada Street. Photo: Author's own.

elaborate, and primarily has religious meaning and scriptural symbolism. They are signifying their religious grounds for being in the street, and therein their legitimacy and power, drawing on the setting of the tomb and its importance to them. Guarded by the IDF they do not need to hurry.

The tomb in Hebron is itself very religious and politically loaded for both sides for varied reasons, and the graffiti, signs etc. are therefore mostly confrontational and often written in English. Further, as pointed out previously both group have in varied ways invested in tourism, historical renovation projects, and subsidized people for moving into the area. All initiatives signifying the importance of the area surrounding the tomb of the Patriarchs for both groups. Nonetheless, religious symbols

are almost exclusively used in the settlers' visual declarations.

For the Palestinian protesters, the tomb and the street surrounding serves only as a sort of theatrical background for the demonstrations, rather than an applied visual symbol. The staging of Islam and the importance for the tomb is therefore not central to their graffiti – if only through its absence. The choice of not using Islam can also be seen as a strategic choice.

Due to strong international focus on radical Islam, and the continuing negotiations between Israel and Palestine, it may serve the local youth organization better to use international symbols than religious ones. As a result, not using religious symbols might help the Palestinians to take a positive stand in negotiation and internationally place them in a positive contrast to the settlers, who infuse the street with religious symbols, protected by the Israeli Defense Forces.

Irrefutably, different strategies form each groups' visual activism in the street, and serve as a basis for further analysis. All over there is – in both Hebron and elsewhere – a large amount of storytelling to graffiti.

A Middle Eastern graffiti movement

Prior to the demonstrations throughout the Middle East in 2011, no separate, firm sub-culture of graffiti or street art existed in the Middle Eastern region. Nevertheless, as the demonstrations developed, so did the community, and today the community – across the



From online communities. Egypt.

region – manifests itself as one of the most interesting and unique visual movements. While graffiti and street art in the West are two firmly separated sub-cultural groups, the genres – combined with sticker and poster art – seem to intermingle and develop together in the Middle East, as one joint community.

The joint graffiti-street art community makes the Middle Eastern visual street expression unique. However, the movement is also unique, because it draws on other elements than preceding western graffiti; instead incorporating cartoons, martyrs, and iconic cultural figures. As I will briefly reflect on in the following, these elements steamed from the Middle Eastern context itself, but also reflected the spatial and situational usage of the graffiti during the uprisings.

For example carrying on from the cartoon traditions of many – especially Egyptian newspapers – graffiti artists communicated non-verbal messages through the integration of cartoon characters. A tendency not quite seen to the same extent in the West. Drawing on the previous usage of cartoons in newspapers, graffiti seeks to reflect public concerns through the usage of humor and cartoon inspired images, while making the graffiti's message non-verbal accessible.

Another unique element of the graffiti movement in the Middle East is the usage of martyrs and iconic cultural personalities, integrated as symbols into the imagery of the varied styles of graffiti. Some painters even cooperated with poets and musicians, and incorporated the two elements onto the walls of Middle Eastern city centers and suburbs. Further, while on one hand using well-known western graffiti styles, Middle Eastern graffiti have on the other hand found a unique expression through the widespread usage of Arabic calligraphy. The usage of Arabic calligraphy, in contrast to more dominant and common usage of roman letters, have altered the central expression and possibilities. Overall, graffiti in the Middle East has turned a new stylistic corner, and created a completely new artistic movement with direct influence locally and worldwide.

While the elements of Middle Eastern graffiti is unique, it also builds on the circumstances and possibilities of the demonstrations started in 2011. Here graffiti was especially useful as a strategic, spatial marking tool, and later as a way of storytelling/remembering. Thus, similar to the tactics used during the renaming of Shuhada Street and for demarking group territory in Lebanon during and after the civil war, the graffiti during the demonstrations since 2011 was widely used to mark space. Battles were enacted visually between different groupings, and graffiti battalions were formed, as the walls of Middle Eastern cities changed accordingly and continually.

Later, when the graffiti movement started to integrate imagery of the martyrs of the demonstrations, it started a tendency of 'remembering sites' used socially for everything from re-telling stories of demonstrations in the everyday social encounter on the street to the backdrop for wedding photos. These sites would for example in Cairo, Egypt first include only

graffiti, but would often be extended with plants, stone plaques and sometimes even fenced off as monuments⁶.

Similar to many places in Israel-Palestine, Mohamed Mahmoud Street – the flagship of the graffiti movement during the uprisings in Cairo – were wired, blocked by concrete blocks, and otherwise blinded by the military to stop movement and thus usage. As a response, the painters made the blocks ‘transparent’ by either painting the street behind on its surface, or painting happy pictures next to an otherwise sad setting. A tactic also used in Shuhada Street and on other settlements in the Westbank, where one visually seeks to remove the Palestinian population on the other side of the barrier. One thus removes both the barrier and the actual reality behind it, and instead paints the imagined open space.

Graffiti can be powerful, and nothing shows its strength as the governmental initiatives and legislative changes targeting graffiti painters across the region. As such, many countries have since sought to impose prison sentences for painting, and equated graffiti painting to terrorism and propaganda. In Tunisia, the group ‘Zwewla’ was in December 2012 trialed for “spreading disinformation harmful to public order” for spraying: “The poor are Tunisia’s living dead”⁷. A tendency, which of course in most cases does not apply to the political parties’ own political stencils and markings.

The beauty of graffiti is above all the ever-changing nature of its appearance. While an image might be created for one reason, it can similarly be altered and removed for another. The painted and re-painted wall, colorful or whitewashed is thus equally important and provides researchers with ever-changing and new material. However, as the analysis of graffiti in a Middle Eastern context is new, the academic analysis is initial and ongoing.

Conclusion: Brining graffiti in as a new important visual aspect of conflict studies

Graffiti worldwide has many shared features, and a wide commonality of the genre is how graffiti allows the art to interplay with its context. Similarly, the contextual image of the Palestinian protesters, painting the wired, guarded checkpoint in Hebron interchanges with the word ‘Apartheid’, and invests the graffiti with the context, and the other way around.

This analysis has argued that the manifestations of the ‘Open Shuhada Street’ demonstration are based on spatial techniques, such as walking and renaming. Through the demonstration, the Palestinians create performative terrain where their resistance becomes externally visible, while empowering internal narratives and understandings. The act of walking, as a mass direct action and the renaming of Shuhada Street to Apartheid Street has been proven to challenge the IDFs closure of the street and the Israeli orthodox settlers

⁶Sources: <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/4625/an-emerging-memorial-space-in-praise-of-mohammed-m> and <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/18471/three-travelling-plaques-become-four-in-mohamed-ma>

⁷Source: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/sana-ajmi/tunisian-graffiti-artists-targeted-by-law>

renaming of the street. Understanding this visual-spatial aspect of Palestinian resistance contributes to our analysis of Palestinian resistance. Analytically, this article has emphasized the importance of space and graffiti, in understanding conflict areas, especially in regards to the strategic construction of group identities articulated through territory and visual demarcations. Understanding the spatial aspect of conflicts not only expands our knowledge of Palestinian resistance, but also emphasizes the physical constraints keeping the two sides from meeting and therein peace to be negotiated.

As the conflict in Hebron demonstrates, the monopolization of public spaces requires the production and reproduction of hegemonic representations within space, while marginalizing counter-histories. Yet, walls are repainted, and streets are therefore ever changing. The time span on illegal, public art always makes them fresh and contemporary, a present reflection without filter. Studying the deserted Shuhada Street's graffiti provides a unique vantage point for examining the socio-spatial aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, while providing a viewpoint for investigating how alternative artistic measures, such as graffiti, can form ongoing, non-violent resistance. Focusing on spatial and aesthetic activism is important both in the light of present-day changes across the Middle East, but is also significant as an aspect of Palestine's ever-changing struggle.

Of course, looking at the use of visuals, specifically graffiti, represents only a tiny fragment of both Palestinian and wider Middle Eastern activism. The situation and the groupings are of course much more complicated and differentiated; however, the study of current visual staging – such as graffiti – contributes to analyzing the complex and intriguing interrelationship of group identifications, conflict and artistic inventiveness.

It is equally undeniably that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a lot more complicated and ambiguous than this analysis suggests. Just as the situation on-ground, this is a work in development. The benefit of graffiti, as the object of analysis, is both its present image, but also its ever-evolving imagery and change – providing both their own work and academic analysis with new canvas', imagery and material.

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“ṬAWRA ṬAWRA YĀ ĞANŪB”
SLOGANS AS MEANS OF EXPRESSION OF THE SOUTH ARABIAN INDEPENDENCE
STRUGGLE

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Abstract: The southern Yemeni port city of Aden has witnessed protests of the Southern Movement “*al-ḥirāk al-ḡanūbī*” since 2007. During the Arab Spring in 2011, slogans painted on walls became means for the Movement to express its struggle for an independent state. The borders of this desired state correspond to the former People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen that united with the Arab Republic of Yemen in 1990.

Different categories of slogans can be found in the public spheres and streets of Aden in written and chanted forms. The slogans reflect the political stance of the pro-independence wing inside the Southern Movement. These slogans are reactions to daily political struggles, as well as claims for a South Arabian state. From a social science perspective, this paper will question how these slogans and graffiti in public spheres reflect the political stance of the Southern Movement and its rhetoric.

Key Words: Aden; slogans; southern movement (*al-ḥirāk al-ḡanūbī*); independence struggle; southern Yemen.

Introduction

Slogans are part of political communication: they can serve as persuasive means to influence the public opinion, as well as mirror the social reality in which people who create these slogans live. Therefore, studies of slogans demonstrate how political language influences culture and ideology of a society. When the so-called “*Arab Spring*” started at the end of 2010, slogans became part of the political communication and a means of expressing dissatisfaction for various protest movements. In southern Yemen, the Southern Movement “*al-ḥirāk al-ḡanūbī*” began to use slogans to show its resentment against the northern Yemeni regime and to express the differences of southerners to northern Yemenis.

The slogans presented here are divided in thematic categories: (1) slogans with an historical background, (2) political slogans that react on up-to-date Yemeni politics, (3) slogans that highlight the “*southern cause*” and the wish for an independent South Arabian state, (4) slogans that deal with specific southern Yemeni social topics, and (5) slogans that are influenced by the so-called “*Arab Spring*” protests. The slogans represent the political discourse in Aden, as well as the rhetoric of the Southern Movement. Additionally, the paper gives an insight into the reclaiming of the streets of Aden by the Movement via using the flag of the former People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). The southern flag is

omnipresent in many quarters of Aden and during “*fa^cliyya*”¹ events. The southern flag has become a public symbol of southerners’ fighting for their rights, which regularly leads to contentions with Yemeni state security forces.

Via the perspective of social science, I will analyze political slogans from Aden. The crucial question addressed is how these slogans express the stance of the pro-independence wing inside the Southern Movement and their political objectives.

1. The South Arabian Revolution (*aṭ-ṭawra al-ḡanūbiyya*)²

The Southern Movement contains activists from across the entire southern Yemeni society spectrum. Former southern Yemeni soldiers, state employees, unemployed youth and students began to protest in 2007. They demanded from the government an end to the marginalization of southern Yemenis in the unified Yemen. The “*southern cause*” (*al-qadiyya al-ḡanūbiyya*) refers to the resistance to the marginalization of southern Yemenis after the PDRY’s unification with North Yemen in 1990. Both the marginalization and the subsequent resistance intensified after the war between north and south in 1994. Southern factories were looted, land was stolen and southerners were forcibly retired from the civil service and the army. Women rights and Southern Movement activist Hudā al-ʿAṭṭās explains the following:

“The problem is that unification was a mistake. Unification did not emerge on an honest basis. From the first day on, the south was ruled by the north. Southerners understood from the beginning that unification was a mistake. There were many bad signs, such as the assassination of Socialist cadres, regressive amendments to laws, and enforcement of the northern mentality and culture. The war in 1994 cemented all these developments.” (Augustin 2014)

In 2008, as protests were even more violently repressed by Yemeni state security services and the Yemeni army, the social movement changed to a movement with concrete political objectives, e.g. state independence of the former People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen from the north. The Yemeni Center for Civil Rights asserted in a 2010 poll that approximately 70 per cent of southern Yemenis favor independence from the north (Dahlgren 2010: 30). Activists now estimate that 90 percent of southerners prefer independence today (Augustin 2014).

¹ *Fa^cliyya* is a party celebrated on Southern Movement squares during mass demonstrations or demonstrations for commemorating an historical event. People of different ages are on stage and perform their own poems or speak to the audience. Songs are played.

² The appellation “*ḡanūb*” is translated “*South Arabia*” in this text, because it refers to an independent “*South Arabia*” (*ḡanūb ʿarabī*), instead of to the counterpart of North Yemen, i.e. South Yemen. In day-to-day conversations and in the habitual language use, “*ʿarabī*” is omitted.

The Southern Movement term “*South Arabian revolution*” (*aṭ-ṭawra al-ḡanūbiyya*) refers to the peaceful fight for state independence of the South. The revolution would be fulfilled, when the southern state is established. Hudā al-°Aṭṭās states:

“The hirak is the people’s revolution in the squares and streets. At all the protests, demonstrations and milyuniyyas [A-Million-Person Rally / mass demonstrations] the demand is liberation, independence and the reestablishment of the southern state with sovereignty in its territory. The Revolutionary Council and all the individual groups of the hirak have that objective. There is not a single milyuniyya that has called for federation!” (Augustin 2014)



Pic 1: Milliyūniya on 21 May 2014, Commemoration of °AlīSālim al-Bīḍ’s announcement of the south’s disengagement from the north in 1994 (all pictures are taken by the author)

Today, however, the Movement is separated into various subgroups, both inside and outside the country, pursuing different visions and ideals. They are often at odds with each other regarding means by which state independence can be achieved. The strongest group in the Movement is the pro-independence wing, which is also the most visible on the streets of Aden.

Parts of the pro-independence wing are supported ideationally by °Alī Sālim al-Bīḍ, who lives in exile abroad, as do most of the former socialist leaders. °Alī Sālim al-Bīḍ backs the southern Yemeni TV channel Aden Live, which broadcasts from Beirut and regularly informs on the Movement's demonstrations and workshops. Some other groups call for an initial federation of two regions divided into northern and southern part of the country, with the possibility of a later referendum. A predominant supporter of this approach is °Alī Nāṣir Muḥammad, a former president of the People's Democratic Republic who currently lives in exile in Cairo. However, many other groups in the Movement intentionally reject the influence of former socialist leaders. These factions, which consist mainly of young people who did not consciously experienced life in the PDRY, believe the former elites are responsible for the unification with the former Arab Republic of Yemen (north).

2. Slogans as Means of Expression for Movements

Slogans are part of political language and can give information about the norms, values and conceptual explanations for the demands of a group (Stewart/Smith/Denton 1995: 403). As per Denton (1980), slogans express the ideology and objectives of a group by creating identification and by raising hopes for the future. In this perspective, slogans take a certain form of public discourse, which is aimed at harmonizing the public opinion, as well as effecting measures and reactions (Lu 1999: 493). The ideology of a group becomes manifest and feasible through political language (McGee 1980) and in symbolic words such as "*liberation*" and "*independence*". These words become a highly politicized subcategory of slogans (Lu 2004: 52) and represent common and abstract terms. These terms are steeped in moral and basic values, and are used in political discourses to demand collective engagement for a normative objective (Condit/Lucaites 1993; MacIntyre 1981; McGee 1980). Political slogans are considered as ideological bricks or effective means of persuasion to express political objectives and to strengthen political consciousness to effect a certain stance (Denton 1980; McGee 1980). Essentially, slogans aim at the impact on the addressee to evoke anxieties, dis-/satisfaction or hopes and to strengthen the addressee's emotions (Toman-Banke 1996: 77).

Slogans of movements are addressed to politicians, parties and the public. They can survive for a long period, depending on the flow of politics or the resolution of a political problem (Husmann-Driessen 2006: 72). They have the function to establish communication and to represent a movement's objectives. Slogans can become instruments of power (Gruner 1991; Grünert 1974: 2) and describe and evaluate social reality from a certain partisan perspective. Hence, they are intermediaries of a particular political ideology of a group (Husmann-Driessen 2006: 73). Denton (1980) analyzed eight basic functions of movement's slogans: simplification; concentration on a central aspect; attraction of attention; persuasion;

identification and solidarity; polarization; reference to the opponent and provocation; and defamation of the political system (Denton 1980: 13ff.).

The *simplification* of slogans helps to streamline complex issues and to reduce them to simple terms. The core of the political statement takes the center stage and communicates the stance and opinion of the group. The *concentration on a central aspect* is part of the simplification. Symbolic words are used to simplify or condense certain complex issues. A particular topic or a certain aspect is focused, which the addressees understand in the right way. The addressees feel concerned by the therein-contained appeal. When slogans feature certain structural, tonal, stylistic characteristics or connotative specifics related to word choice, they *attract attention* of the addressees (Toman-Banke 1996: 84). To achieve this, slogans have to be *persuasive*. The acceptance of certain slogans is reflected in their preference. The statement has to be right and credible for the addressee. This could be reached, when slogans tend to the unconscious fears, hopes, wishes and security needs of the addressees. The addressees' *identification and solidarity* with the slogan's statement can be achieved by group-specific ideological vocabulary. The addressees identify with the objectives of the movement. Particular emotions, hopes or concrete future perceptions that are part of the slogan help to activate and mobilize the addressees and to show their solidarity for the group's aims. The function of *polarization* ties in with the simplified thinking in friend-enemy-schemes (Wolf 1980: 160). This function serves the distinction of political positions. Consequentially, the slogans *refer to the political opponent and provoke him*. Hence, the *political system* is often *defamed* in slogans of movements. The opponent is explicitly mentioned in the slogan. Slogans are addressed to the state or against the hegemonic economic, political or social power structures and could lead to violence (Denton 1980).

With this functional background, the different slogans collected in Aden are analyzed in five thematic categories. Starting from those related to southern Yemeni history, followed by political slogans that refer to current Yemeni politics, the slogans concerning an independent and free “*South Arabia*” are a pervasive category that has become very conspicuous in Aden's public sphere. Slogans related to social topics are to a minor degree less apparent than other thematic categories. The last presented category relates to slogans inspired by the so-called “*Arab Spring*”. The slogans were collected and photographed during two field research trips to Aden: the majority in August 2012, and to a lesser extent from March until May 2014. In 2012, slogans were written on walls; but by 2014 many slogans were painted over by official state institutions and forbidden by Waḥīd ʿAlī Rašīd, the governor of Aden. Therefore, a last category of street art, called “*The Southern Flag – Reclaiming the Street*”, will give insights into the struggle of using political street art in public spheres in Aden. Furthermore, pictures from various mass demonstrations were used to find slogans written on placards.

3.1. Slogans of History –Remembering Southern Past

Some slogans found on Aden's walls refer to the South Arabian history. In 1962, the hinterland of Aden was united by British colonial rule into the Federation of South Arabia. In 1963, the Crown Colony Aden was integrated into this federation. In the 1960s, many Arab workers in the harbor of Aden began to resist British colonial rule. These workers were active in labor unions and inspired by Arab nationalism, which, among other ideologies, encouraged independence from European colonialism. Resistance also grew in the hinterland of Aden. In 1963, fighting first broke out in the mountains of Radfan, north of Aden. The conflict eventually encroached on Aden, where an urban guerrilla war took place between 1964 and 1967. The National Liberation Front (NLF) and the pan-Arab Front of the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSYP) fought the British and contended with the feudal structures and the sultans in the hinterland. The NLF took over power in 1967 and South Arabia became independent from British colonial rule. The federation of South Arabia and the protectorate of South Arabia became the People's Republic of South Yemen in the same year.

Slogans such as "*FLOSYP forever*" were written on house walls during the independence struggle in the 1960s and can still be found in Aden's districts Crater and Muallah today. The "*14 October*"³, painted in red, commemorates the day of the revolution against British colonial rule, as the struggle first began in Radfan, in 1963. Many Southern Movement activists equate the independence struggle of the 1960s with the quest for independence from northern Yemen today. In this rhetoric, Northern Yemenis assume the role of the "*occupiers*" (Rogler 2011: 25-26). By using these slogans related to the southern past, the Movement refers to its political opponents that are northern Yemenis on the one hand, and provokes a polarization on the other hand. These slogans are aimed to tie in with the reader's historical consciousness.

³14 *uktūbar*; Graffito in Crater district.



Pic 2: Graffito in Crater district: 14 October

3.2 Slogans of Anti-North-Rhetoric – Reacting on Yemeni Politics

This category is the one in which slogans most quickly evolve. By means of these slogans, the activists express their opinions on up-to-date political events in the country. In this category it becomes clear how slogans related to politics diversify; on the other hand, these slogans always consider the political opponent.

During the so-called “*Arab Spring*” in February and March 2011, the Movement renounced the flag of the PDRY and the anti-unity slogans in order to fully support the anti-regime protests in the entire country. However, when the Iṣlāḥ party absorbed the youth protests of the so-called “*Yemeni Spring*” in the capital Sanaa in 2011, the Southern Movement distanced itself from the protests in the north (International Crisis Group 2011: 10). In April 2011, the Movement reintroduced the southern flag. Since then, a majority of activists in the Movement favor independence from the north, because many southerners believed that the “*southern cause*” had not been resolvable with the fall of the regime of former long-term president °Alī °Abdallah Ṣāliḥ.



Pic 3: Graffiti in Mansoura: Death for Ḥamīd al-Aḥmar

For many activists of the Southern Movement the al-Aḥmar family and general ʿAlī Muḥsin⁴ became emblematic for the northern Yemeni elites and the Iṣlāḥ party. Accordingly, the hate against them welled up in slogans such as “Death for Ḥamīd al-Aḥmar”⁵, “Death for the dog Ḥamīd and ʿAlī Muḥsin”⁶ and “Get out Daḥbaṣī”⁷. These slogans are of the political opponent via provocation category. In contrast, various leaders⁸ of the Movement, especially those who favor immediate independence from the north, are glorified: “Leader Baʿūm, at your service”⁹, “Good Day, leader Baʿūm”¹⁰ and “The legal president is ʿAlī Sālim”¹¹.

⁴ ʿAlī Muḥsin is a high Yemeni military person who was a close friend of former president ʿAlī ʿAbdallah Ṣaliḥ. During the protests in 2011, he took sides with the youth movement.

⁵ *al-mawt li-Ḥamīd al-Aḥmar*; Graffiti in the district of Mansoura. Ḥamīd al-Aḥmar is a multimillionaire, businessman and politician of the Iṣlāḥ party. He originates from the influential northern Yemeni Ḥāṣid tribal confederation.

⁶ *al-mawt li-l-kalb Ḥamīd wa ʿAlī Muḥsin*; Graffiti in the district of Mansoura

⁷ *barʿ yā daḥbāṣī*; Graffiti in Mansoura district. Daḥbāṣī is an insult to northern Yemenis and refers to a backward person.

⁸ Leaders of the Southern Movement are those who are defined by activists as leaders or who define themselves as leaders or spokespersons of a group inside the Southern Movement.

⁹ *qāʿid Baʿūm labbayk*; Graffiti in Mansoura. Ḥasan Baʿūm was a former socialist cadre and is one of the most important leaders inside the country, especially in the governorate Hadramaut, where he originates from.

Protest placards with ‘Alī Sālim al-Bīḍ’s picture are sometimes subtitled “*Leader of the Liberation and Independence*”¹². Segments of the Movement consider Al-Bīḍ, who was expelled from the country in 1994 after the south lost the war, as the legal president of southern Yemen.



Pic 4: A girl with ‘Alī Sālim al-Bīḍ’s picture subtitled “Leader of the Liberation and Independence” during a protest on 20 March 2014 in Crater district

Since April 2011, the majority of the Movement consistently calls for independence from the north. Estimations by the Movement itself say that the presidential elections in February 2012 were boycotted by approximately 80 percent of southerners, even though ‘Abdu Rabbuh Maṣṣūr Ḥādī, who originates from the southern Yemeni governorate of Abyan, was the only candidate on the ballot. Already before the presidential elections in February 2012, activists painted Aden’s street walls and facades with the former flag of the PDRY and slogans such as “*No to the elections*”¹³.

¹⁰ *marḡabān bi-l-qā’id Ba‘ūm*; Graffito in Mansoura district.

¹¹ *ar-ra’īs aš-šar‘ī ‘Alī Sālim [al-Bīḍ]*; Graffito in Mansoura.

¹² *qā’id at-taḡrīr wa-l-istiqlāl*; placards at various demonstrations.

¹³ *lā li-l-intiḡābāt*; Graffito in Mansoura.

On 30 November 2012, some hundred thousands of southerners demonstrated for a free “*South Arabia*” with the flag of the PDRY and slogans and placards such as “*No to the dialog, yes to independence*”¹⁴. This date to demonstrate was consciously chosen, as it was the commemoration day of the independence in 1967 against British colonial rule. However, the simplification of “*no to*” or “*yes to*” slogans did not give any alternatives or approaches for solution.

Once again, on 13 January 2013, thousands of people swarmed into Aden’s streets to commemorate the outbreak of the ten-day civil war in the PDRY in 1986. Disagreements regarding the foreign policy, the economy and predominantly the leadership inside the single political party in the PDRY led to rivalries in the Politburo. ‘Alī Nāṣir Muḥammad¹⁵, the former head of the state in the 1980s, ordered the assault of the Politburo in Aden on 13 January 1986. Some high party cadres died and thus war started, with some thousands of people killed (Dresch 2000: 169; Brehony 2011: 122). This incident is the main reason why former socialist leaders of the PDRY are at odds with each other. Demonstrators went on to the streets of Aden in 2013 to demand reconciliation in the southern Yemeni society and to demonstrate togetherness to the outside world. “*We reconciled*” was written in English on placards.

One result of the Gulf Cooperation Council’s Initiative, after ‘Alī ‘Abdallah Ṣāliḥ’s resignation, was the conference of the National Dialogue that began on 18 March 2013 in the capital Sanaa. The conference was supposed to bring together all various political groups and segments of society to discuss the future of Yemen’s political system and to find solutions for the numerous problems in the country. Many leaders of the Movement announced already at the end of 2012 that they would not take part in the talks of the conference, as they had not received the guarantee for the right of self-determination and independence (Augustin 2012). Therefore, the majority of the Movement, including grassroots actors in southern Yemen, rejected the conference and its outcomes. In Aden, hundreds of thousands of people answered to the National Dialog with the call “*We are the decision makers*”¹⁶, “*No dialogue under occupation*”¹⁷ or “*The decision is ours*”¹⁸. Segments of the Movement demanded a dialogue between two countries, the former PDRY and the former Arab Republic of Yemen, to find solutions for the “*southern cause*”. Since the end of the National Dialogue conference in January 2014, the activists in streets chant slogans such as:

¹⁴ *lā li-l-ḥiwār, na‘m li-l-istiqlāl*; placard at the demonstration on 30 November 2012.

¹⁵ In the beginning 1980s, ‘Alī Nāṣir Muḥammad held all three key positions of the PDRY – general secretary of the socialist party, president and prime minister. His home governorate of Abyan was his power base. He lost the war in 1986 and had to leave the country.

¹⁶ *naḥn ‘aṣḥāb al-qarār*; placards at the demonstration on 18 March 2013.

¹⁷ *lā ḥiwār taḥt al-iḥtilāl*; placards at the demonstration on 18 March 2013.

¹⁸ *qarār qarārūnā*; placards at the demonstration on 18 March 2013.

*“Our revolution is the South Arabian revolution;
Get lost, get lost, oh colonial power;
Our revolution is the South Arabian revolution;
Against the power of the powerful people;
No unity, no federalism;
Get lost, get lost, oh colonial power.”*¹⁹

The slogans in Aden adapt to the political events in the country, according to contexts and political moods. The slogans related to politics have polarizing effects, provoke the political opponent, and denounce the political system. Friend-enemy schemes simplify political conditions.

3.3 Slogans of Independence – Reestablishing the State

The majority of slogans in Aden highlight an independent and free “*South Arabia*” with Aden as capital as a central theme: “*Aden, oh Aden, oh South Arabia*”²⁰, “*Aden my love*” in English, “*I love you, oh South Arabia*”²¹, “*South Arabia is not the home in which we live, but the home which exists in us*”²² or “*To your service, oh South Arabia*”²³. The appellation “*South Arabia*” refers directly to the history of the federation and the protectorate of South Arabia. The activists draw a direct line to Yemen and the political system in the country. These slogans reduce complex circumstances to simple concepts and terms such as “*free South Arabia*”. The core of the political statement is the reestablishment of the former southern state and the independence from northern Yemen. The complex case is condensed with symbolic words such as “*liberation*” and “*independence*”: “*Free South Arabia*”²⁴, “*For independence and liberation for South Arabia*”²⁵ and “*The only solution is liberation*”²⁶. Symbolic words tend to cement the solidarity of the activists. The acceptance of such independence slogans is visible in their presence on the streets of Aden, especially in connection with the PDRY flag.

¹⁹ *tawratnā tawra ḡanūbiyya; bar^c bar^c yā isti^cmār; tawratnā tawra ḡanūbiyya; didd al-ḥukm al-ḡabbār; lā waḥda lā fidirāliyya; bar^c bar^c yā isti^cmār.*

²⁰ *adan yā adan yā ḡanūb*; Graffito in Mansoura district.

²¹ *uḡibbak yā ḡanūb*; Graffito on Mansoura’s Martyrs’ Square.

²² *al-ḡanūb laysa waṭan na^ciš fi-hi bal huwa waṭan ya^ciš bi-dāḡilna*; Graffito on Mansoura’s Martyrs’ Square.

²³ *labbayk yā ḡanūb*; Graffito in Crater district.

²⁴ *al-ḡanūb al-ḡurr*; Graffito in Mansoura district.

²⁵ *li-istiqlāl wa tahrīr al-ḡanūb*; Martyrs’ Square in Mansoura.

²⁶ *al-ḡall al-waḡīd huwa at-tahrīr*; Graffito in Mansoura district.

3.4 Slogans of Social Questions – Requesting Dignity and Justice

Slogans that deal with social questions mostly concern land disputes and issues of justice. When southerners demonstrated against the increase of food products and the loss of subsidies in the early 1990s, they chanted anti-unity slogans such as “*Go home Zaidis! ‘Alī Nāṣir, come back*”²⁷. Many activists of the Movement believe that the numerous social problems in the country, such as high unemployment rates, land disputes and the desperate situation of the economy, could be resolved via secession from the north. Thus, slogans related to social issues are rare, although the perception of economic marginalization in the unified country was a major formation factor of the Movement.

After Yemeni unity in 1990, the economy of the country was liberalized. New law amendments reformatted land divisions, and the investment law of 1991 created a new climate for investment. The “*September-Directive*” of 1991 enabled the distribution of former southern Yemen state land, which was dispossessed and nationalized through nationalization acts in the early days of the Marxist PDRY. In the 1990s, an enormous rush on state land took place. The clientele of the bureaucracy, like high functionaries and officers of the army and the administration either benefited from these estates or took immense bribes from the sales (Pritzkat 2001: 66-67). This complexity of issues is a central theme in slogans such as “*Leave the South Arabian territory*”²⁸. Even today, southern Yemeni feelings run high over the question of land disputes. Four specific terms point to the main objective of the Southern Movement: “*ša‘b*”(people), “*huwiyya*” (identity), “*arḍ*” (territory) and “*tārīḥ*” (history). Accordingly, southern Yemenis feel as one people on the territory of the former PDRY and the former “*South Arabia*”. They have experienced a different history than the north and consequently have formed an identity that is distinct from the northern Yemeni identity, (which is associated with backwardness in the north). The “*South Arabian people*” should therefore resist the “*occupation*” on its territory in order to regain it. Southern Movement activists believe that the north occupies southern Yemen. This becomes visible in slogans such as “*No to occupation*”²⁹ or in English “*Free the occupied south*”, as well as “*We demand a state*”³⁰. The political catchword “*occupation*” polarizes the problem of marginalization that many southern Yemenis perceive. They feel disadvantaged when awarding university places for students or jobs in the civil service. Activists believe that 7 July 1994, the date when the war was lost by the south, is the day of “*annexation*” and “*occupation*” of the south (Rogler 2010: 25-26). Hence, the political opponent is the “*occupier*”. The activists challenge the political system in Yemen, as a “*Yemeni occupation*” is in opposition to a republican form of government where elections are free. The southern

²⁷ Dresch 2000, 191 / 252: The slogan refers to ‘Alī Nāṣir Muḥammad.

²⁸ *irḥal min ‘arḍ al-ḡanūb*.

²⁹ *lā li-l-iḥtilāl*; Graffito in Crater.

³⁰ *naṭlub dawla*.

Yemeni knows the implicit meaning of these graffiti and slogans, because these slogans mirror the experience of life in which many southerners live.



Pic 5: “No to occupation”

That many activists of the Movement lost their lives in protests or attacks by the Yemeni state security services is highlighted in such slogans as *“Mansoura is the territory of the martyrs”*³¹. Many activists of the pro-independence wing live in the Aden district of Mansoura. However, the southern Yemeni concept of martyrdom does not legitimate a resistance characterized by suicide bombings. *“Martyrs”* are those who were killed by violence for the *“southern cause”*. Funerals of *“martyrs”* are often followed by demonstrations of the Movement. During protests the activists refer to southern prisoners and demand their release. During many demonstrations, the protesters sing:

*“We vowed all martyrs;
The wounded and prisoners;
That we will not give up and stop;
Until we have driven the occupiers away.”*³²

³¹ *Manṣūra ‘arḍ aš-šuhadā’*; Graffiti in Mansoura.

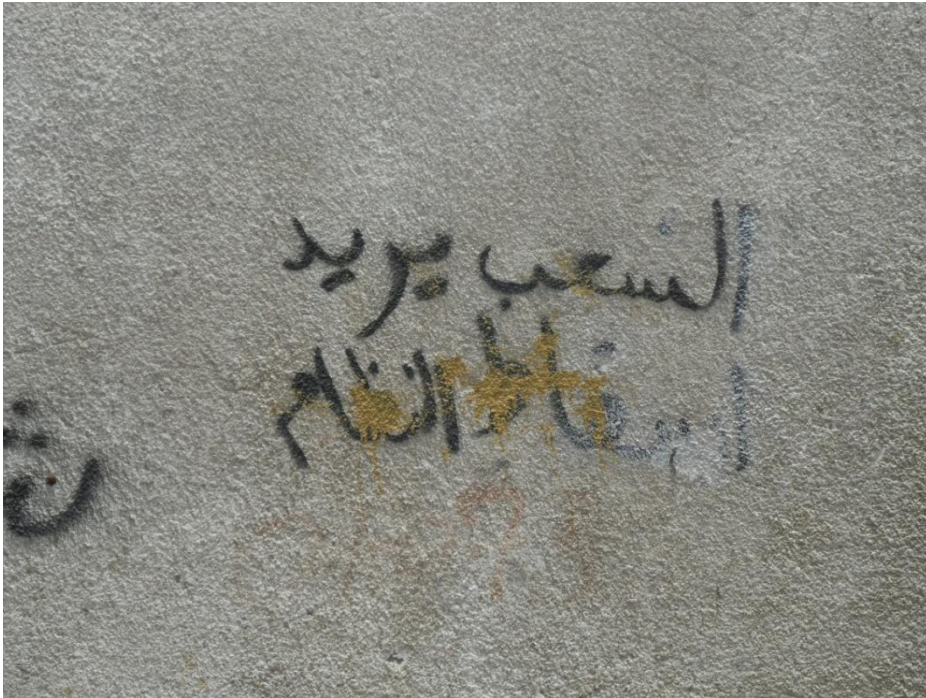
³² *‘āhadnā kull aš-šuhadā’; wa-l-ḡarḡā wa-l- mu‘taqalīn; lan natarāḡa‘ lan nahdā’; ḡattā ṭard al-muḡtallīn*



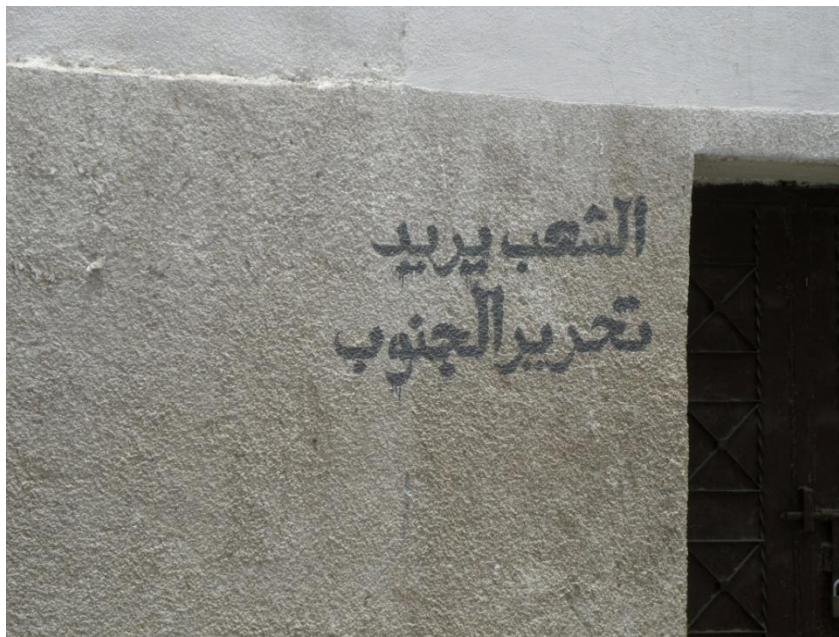
Pic 6: Mubārak Ḥālīd Mubārak al-ʿAwlaqī, killed by state security services on 14 March 2014

3.5 Slogans of the “Arab Spring” – Going Global

Slogans that have a relation to the so-called “Arab Spring” clearly show the exchange mechanisms via media in the MENA region. Slogans chanted on Cairo’s Taḥrīr Square or sprayed on Cairo’s walls arrived in Aden via satellite TV channels such as Al-Jazeera. However, slogans from Cairo were not adopted without question, but were rephrased and aligned to southern Yemeni circumstances. The probably most significant slogan of the “Arab Spring” “*aš-šaʿb yurīd isqāṭ an-niẓām*” (the people want the fall of the regime) was rephrased into “*aš-šaʿb yurīd taḥrīr al-ḡanūb*” (the people want the liberation of South Arabia). The “Arab Spring” slogan “*aš-šaʿb yurīd isqāṭ an-niẓām*” was initially chanted on the Avenue Habib Bourguiba in Tunis and then continued its media march from Taḥrīr Square in Cairo into the Arab World. The southern Yemeni reformulation does not describe the fall of the regime, but the independence of the south. The pro-independence wing inside the Southern Movement does not only challenge the sovereignty of the autocratic state system with the accusation of deficient political participation, clientelism and corruption, but challenges the national border itself.



Pic 7: “The people want the fall of the regime”, “fall of the regime” is painted over



Pic 8: “The people want the liberation of South Arabia”

The well-known Egyptian slogan “*Raise your head, you are Egyptian*”³³ was rephrased into the Adeni context to “*Raise your head; you are a free South Arabian*”³⁴. “*Revolution, Revolution, oh South Arabia*”³⁵ refers to the atmosphere of revolution in the Arab World. However, “*South Arabia*” demands its own revolution independent from (northern) Yemen. The slogans inspired by the “*Arab Spring*” consistently concentrate on the same aspect, which is a “*free South Arabia*”. Terms such as “*people*”, “*liberty*” and “*revolution*” have become political icons during the “*Arab Spring*” and have been used in public political discussions. These terms constitute the political stance of many activists concerning sociopolitical topics. They fit to prejudiced opinions, and are harmonized with them (Bergsdorf 1983: 82). This effects the identification and solidarity with the “*Arab Spring*” and the thought of revolution. This category of slogans demonstrates that the Southern Movement is not acting in a vacuum. The activists notice what happens elsewhere, which in turn, affects southern Yemen.

3.6 The Southern Flag – Reclaiming the Street

Between 2011 and 2013, the flag of the former PDRY was omnipresent in Aden streets and on its walls. One had the feeling that the Yemeni state did not exist anymore in this part of the country. When the conference of the National Dialogue finished in the beginning of 2014, restrictions against activists became stronger. Activists, such as some young people in Mansoura district, were arrested in March 2014. Others such as activist Zahrā’ Sāliḥ were assaulted on the streets. After the assault by security services, part of Sāliḥ’s leg needed to be amputated.

³³*irfa° rāsak fawq; anta miṣrī*

³⁴*irfa° rāsak fawq; anta ḡanūbī ḥurr*; chanted and written slogan from Mansoura district.

³⁵*tawra tawra yā ḡanūb*; Graffito in Crater district.



Pic 9: The omnipresent southern flag in Muallah district

Aden’s governor Waḥīd °Alī Rašīd set himself the target to abolish all southern flags in Aden once the National Dialogue finished. As well, he announced that people found painting the southern flag on walls would be arrested. The fight for the public sphere had begun. Army tanks and soldiers were positioned in the city. Ḥirāk meetings squares were attacked and destroyed. The Yemeni military destroyed the Martyrs’ Square in Mansoura district and deployed military vehicles in the area in order to avoid the reconstruction of the square by the activists. Other squares such as in Crater or Muallah district still exist, but are regularly assaulted by the military. The activists re-erect the placards and posters of the martyrs and the southern flags on the squares. In return, the military guards the Yemeni flag placed in certain squares in order to stop its removal by Ḥirāk activists. Southern slogans and flags were painted over. In some cases the horizontal red-white-black stripes (Yemeni flag) remained and the blue triangle with the red star was painted over. The next night, however, activists repainted the blue triangle and the red star.

When the so-called “*fa’liyya*” parties take place during mass demonstrations called “*milliyūniya*”, people come from all southern Yemen to commemorate a special historical event. People chant slogans, dance, and demonstrate with loud music and southern Yemeni rhythms. The southern flag is omnipresent during these demonstrations and street parties. As the army regularly takes the flags from the protesters on their way to the mass rally, protesters

hide their flags on their way to the demonstration. Especially during mass demonstrations, the army demolishes Ḥirāk squares.

Both the regime represented by the Yemeni military and the activists of the Southern Movement continually reclaim the streets of Aden. The activists believe in their right to the city, which in their rhetoric, is occupied by the north. The army's behavior often facilitates this perception. The paintings of flags in Aden are forms of street art with the message of reclaiming not only the streets, but also the territory of the former PDRY and their lost civil rights.

4. Conclusion

The slogans of the Southern Movement from Aden, especially between 2011 and 2013, served as means of expression of the “*South Arabian*” independence struggle and as a persuasive and polarizing means for the southern public to show its discontent against the northern Yemeni elites and their politics. As the analysis in this paper demonstrates, the slogans in Aden are related to the pro-independence wing of the Southern Movement. These slogans polarize southerners' wish for a free “*South Arabia*”. The pro-independence wing dominates the public space in Aden. It reflects the reality of everyday life in Aden in which many are frustrated due to unemployment and forced retirement.

The aspiration to independence pervades all slogans as a central theme. In contrast to electoral slogans, the Southern Movement's activists created these slogans. Therefore, they can be understood as a summary of views on up-to-date events and perceptions in southern Yemen because they reflect political discourses. Furthermore, the slogans express the living environment of many Aden is in which issues of “*occupation*” and “*liberation*” are constant and ongoing themes.

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CALIFES, PRINCES ET COMPAGNONS DANS LES GRAFFITI DU DEBUT DE L'ISLAM

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Abstract: The Arabic graffiti of the early decades of Islam, in Arabia and in the Middle East, represent an inexhaustible source of information on the origins of Muslim society. Recent discoveries have revealed that among thousands of graffiti written by anonymous people some few inscriptions are mentioning the names of famous and well-known persons. Among them we find some caliphs who were the direct successors of the prophet Muḥammad like 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb and 'Uṭmān b. 'Affān. Among the inscribers, we also have mentions of some Umayyad rulers and princes who left their names on the stones, as well as famous companions from the first generations of scholars who reported some traditions from the prophet. These texts are showing that Islamic graffiti are not only religious texts but they also have an historical and political weight particularly when we consider that some of them were engraved just before or during the first civil war (*fitna*).

Key-words: Islamic epigraphy; early Islam; graffiti; Umayyads; caliphs; compagnons; princes.

Inscriptions des villes et graffiti des steppes

Les grands corpus épigraphiques arabes du XX^e siècle entrepris à la suite de l'impulsion donnée par l'orientaliste suisse Max van Berchem (1863-1921) ont été majoritairement des corpus urbains. Les matériaux qu'il a rassemblés et en partie publiés dans le cadre du *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* ont constitué, selon l'opinion de l'historien arabisant E. Lévi-Provençal, « l'inventaire monumental le plus minutieux et le plus complet de métropoles musulmanes artistiques comme Jérusalem et le Caire »¹. Il est vrai qu'au travers de ces travaux se reflétait indirectement l'intérêt des orientalistes du XIX^e siècle pour un Orient majestueux symbolisé par les monuments religieux, civils ou militaires les plus prestigieux. Les inscriptions arabes qui les ornaient étaient esthétiquement très abouties, de véritables œuvres d'art que les lapicides professionnels réalisaient à la demande de grands mécènes du pouvoir : califes, princes, gouverneurs, notables et administrateurs locaux. « Un monument bien étudié – disait M. van Berchem – vaut mieux que le meilleur texte ! » et il résumait ainsi l'apport historique des inscriptions² :

« Elles sont une source officielle pour l'étude des titres portés par les souverains et les fonctionnaires de tout ordre ; or cette étude n'est pas une ingrate compilation, mais un commentaire vivant des institutions musulmanes. On y trouve une série de décrets

¹ Lévi-Provençal (1931 : IX).

² Ory (1991 : 13, 15).

administratifs, de textes relatifs à des fondations légales (*waqf*), des documents géographiques etc. »

À la fin du XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle, les prospections épigraphiques étaient souvent soumises à des contraintes de sécurité. Mieux valait estamper, dessiner et étudier les textes qui se trouvaient à portée de main dans les villes que se hasarder dans les steppes inhospitalières afin de collecter les graffiti. Pour tout dire, dès que l'on quittait les derniers quartiers périphériques des grandes cités, la sécurité n'était plus vraiment assurée. De plus, les missions de prospections hors des villes exigeaient une préparation méthodique, une excellente connaissance du terrain ainsi qu'un esprit bien aventureux. Beaucoup devaient garder en mémoire la mort tragique du naturaliste et archéologue Charles Huber qui mourut assassiné par son escorte bédouine en 1884 au nord de Jeddah. En 1897, le tchèque Alois Musil décida de se rendre sur le site des bains de Quṣayr 'Amra en Transjordanie, à seulement 80 kilomètres d'Amman. L'expédition fut attaquée par les Bédouins et Musil fut contraint de battre en retraite³.

Pourtant, les contraintes de sécurité n'expliquent qu'en partie la relative désaffection de la recherche à l'égard des graffiti arabes. Sauf exceptions, ceux-ci n'ont pas semblé susciter un grand intérêt avant les années 1950 du fait justement qu'ils datent de l'époque islamique et qu'ils ne sont pas vraiment "anciens" ; les textes antiques et antéislamiques avaient clairement la préférence des savants et ceux de l'époque islamique n'étaient que marginalement relevés. Ainsi, en février 1909, les Révérends Pères de l'Ecole Biblique de Jérusalem A. Jaussen (m. 1962) et R. Savignac (m. 1951) se rendirent à Madā'in Šāliḥ en Arabie afin d'explorer la région d'al-'Ulā et de Taymā'. Ils y relevèrent des centaines de graffiti appartenant « à six langues et dialectes différents : le nabatéen, le minéen, le liḥyanite, l'hébreu, le grec et 3 graffiti arabes ». Quand on sait aujourd'hui que les textes en arabe se comptent par centaines sur chaque site, le désintérêt pour le coufique n'en devient que plus criant. Jaussen et Savignac relèvent donc occasionnellement « plusieurs inscriptions coufiques bien dessinées mais dont la teneur est sans importance ». Quant à l'analyse du formulaire, il s'avère des plus laconiques : il s'agit, selon eux, de formules « à peu près inévitables » et d'inscriptions qui ne « nous fournissent d'ordinaire aucun autre renseignement »⁴. En 1915, Max van Berchem fut lui-même interrogé sur la question des graffiti lorsque Ch. Clermont-Ganneau (m. 1923) lui en soumit, pour expertise, un lot en provenance de Wādī al-Jūz près de Jérusalem. Voici un extrait de son rapport, une condamnation sans appel⁵:

³ L'expédition est relatée de façon épique par van Berchem (1909 : 589 [303]).

⁴ Jaussen et Savignac (1922 : 2, VIII et 36).

⁵ Van Berchem (1915 : 58-90, 196-198). « Ces petits textes n'offrent qu'un intérêt limité. Ils ne contiennent que des noms propres d'obscurs personnages n'ayant laissé aucune trace de leur existence. On ne peut en extraire aucune date précise ni aucune allusion à des faits historiques. Sur un autre plan, la paléographie n'aide en rien à

« These little texts afford but limited interest. They contain only proper names, and those are of obscure persons who have left no other traces of their existence. One can extract from them no precise dates, nor any allusion to historic facts. On the other hand palaeography gives no indication of their age, since their cursive and rude characters possess no style[...]. Our graffiti are not inscriptions in a definite style of writing. »

Les récentes recherches menées dans le domaine de la graffitologie appliquée au domaine arabo-musulman ont permis de montrer que, loin d'être des textes de moindre intérêt, les graffiti arabes des deux premiers siècles de l'Hégire sont une source d'information primordiale qui vient éclairer par des textes originaux et jamais soumis à la recopie l'histoire des origines de l'islam.

Avant d'entrer dans le vif de notre étude qui vise à montrer que des grandes figures du début de l'islam ont effectivement laissé des graffiti sur des rochers, nous devons nous interroger brièvement sur les motivations qui poussèrent ces personnages à immortaliser leur passage dans la pierre. Incidemment se posera la question de l'anonymat.

Écrire à l'aube de l'islam

Poser la question de savoir si nous possédons des traces écrites des plus lointaines origines de l'islam revient à s'interroger sur le statut de l'écriture à cette époque. Nous avons une certaine tendance à penser que peu de personnes pratiquaient l'écriture au début du VII^e siècle dans la région du Hedjaz, en Arabie. C'est d'une certaine manière la position tenue par l'historiographe al-Balādurī (m. 278/892) dans son *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān* – une histoire des conquêtes musulmanes – qui affirme qu'à l'avènement de l'islam, à la Mecque, seuls 17 hommes de la tribu de Qurayš savaient écrire⁶. Au delà de la précision douteuse (l'auteur des *Futūḥ* écrit presque 250 ans après les événements), il nous donne un ordre d'idée : peu de gens savaient écrire vers 600 à la Mecque. Mais savaient-ils tous lire l'arabe dans sa forme écrite défectueuse qui ne marquait qu'occasionnellement les *alif*, jamais les points et les voyelles brèves ? Les deux actes ne sont pas forcément liés. Paradoxalement, la réalité épigraphique semble en partie contredire cette affirmation puisque nous relevons sur les rochers une quantité de graffiti qui montre que l'usage de l'écriture était partiellement répandu dès les années 20 de l'Hégire. Par ailleurs, ces témoignages écrits se placent dans la continuité d'une tradition graffitologique très dynamique antérieure à l'islam. Les steppes du Proche-Orient et l'Arabie regorgent de textes thamoudéens, safaïtiques et nabatéens ; à ce titre, les pratiques d'écriture en arabe coufique perpétuent les usages anciens. La seule différence que nous relevons à l'époque islamique concerne la fréquence croissante

les dater du fait de leurs caractères cursifs et grossiers n'appartenant à aucun style [...]. Nos graffiti ne sont pas des inscriptions gravées dans un style d'écriture bien défini ».

⁶Al-Balādurī (*Futūḥ* : 1/452-456). L'auteur donne également la liste des femmes qui savaient écrire.

d'utilisation de l'écriture sur une échelle de deux siècles environ. Si l'on prend pour indice les graffiti coufiques datés du premier siècle de l'Hégire, le développement quantitatif apparaît évident : 5 textes sont datés avant l'année 50 h. alors que 30 le sont entre 50 et 100 h. Toutefois, ces estimations ne prennent pas en compte les graffiti non datés qui sont majoritaires et doivent être présents dans de semblables proportions. En conséquence, nous avons plus de chance de pouvoir trouver le graffiti d'un personnage "connu" à partir des années 670, date vers laquelle la fréquence d'utilisation du coufique s'accroît sensiblement. Enfin, pourquoi les grands hommes de l'islam auraient-ils gravé des messages sur la pierre ? Si cela est le cas, le firent-ils personnellement où chargèrent-ils leur entourage de le faire à leur place ? La littérature a partiellement répondu à la question : l'auteur arabe Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (m. 356/966) dans son ouvrage *Kitāb adab al-ġurabā'* (Le livre des étrangers) traite des poèmes laissés sur des rochers par des voyageurs exilés. Il rapporte quelques anecdotes concernant des califes saisis par la nostalgie et apposant des graffiti sur des murs de monuments anciens. Bien que la question soit étudiée dans une perspective plutôt littéraire, ces *ḥabar* sont les seuls que nous connaissions mettant en scène des califes inscrivant des textes sauvages çà et là. C'est notamment le cas du calife abbasside al-Ma'mūn (813-833) qui, lors d'une campagne militaire, le fit dans une église⁷. Pourtant, dans la réalité épigraphique, les califes ne semblent pas s'être beaucoup prêtés au jeu... La grande majorité des textes restent anonymes et ne citent généralement que des personnes dont l'histoire n'a retenu ni le nom ni les fonctions. Néanmoins, dans le cadre de nos recherches épigraphiques, ces hommes (et quelques femmes) demeurent nos informateurs privilégiés sur les débuts de l'islam. Ils dévoilent pour nous, d'une seule et même voix, l'intimité de leur foi et de leurs croyances.

Au milieu de ces anonymes se cachent heureusement quelques personnages célèbres : ces derniers valorisent les recherches en graffitologie et permettent justement de montrer que quelques uns des grands noms de l'histoire arabo-musulmane ont écrit sur les rochers ou ont fait indirectement parler d'eux. Ce sont des jalons historiques qui nous permettent de faire le lien avec les ouvrages de la tradition classique qui citent abondamment les quelques personnages que nous avons retrouvés dans les graffiti. À côté de la masse des anonymes, nous nous devons de leur donner la parole au titre de personnes privées. Comme tant d'autres, ils ont décidé de faire passer un message au travers d'un acte d'écriture totalement personnel et intime. Califes, princes, compagnons et traditionnistes, ils sont avant tout des hommes qui n'ont pu résister au désir d'éterniser leur nom dans la pierre.

⁷ Al-Iṣbahānī (*Ġurabā'* : 23) ; Crone (1999 : 21).

Muḥammad et ses successeurs

Nous ne possédons pas, à ce jour, de graffiti mentionnant un personnage qui porterait le nom de Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh et qui pourrait être identifié comme étant le prophète de l’Islam de son vivant. Mais ce n’est pas le cas des quatre califes que la tradition qualifie d’orthodoxes (*rāšidūn*) et qui succédèrent à Muḥammad après sa mort en 11/632. Ils gouvernèrent le premier état islamique jusqu’à l’avènement du califat omeyyade en 41/661. Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uṭmān et ‘Alīn’ont pas laissé de traces épigraphiques dans des inscriptions officielles mais bien dans des graffiti dont certains ont été récemment découverts.

Commençons par Abū Bakr qui fut le premier successeur entre 11/632 et 13/634. Dans les années 1930, M. Hamidullah visita le Jabal Sal’ à Médine et « découvrit » quelques graffiti. L’un d’eux paraissait mentionner les noms associés de ‘Umar et de Abū Bakr, ce qui reste encore à prouver. Le cliché photographique ancien ne permet pas de vérifier convenablement la lecture : *amsā wa aṣbaḥa ‘Umar wa Abū Bakr yatū [bāni] ilā Llāh min kull mā yakrah* (‘Umar et Abū Bakr ont passé la soirée et la matinée demandant le repentir à Dieu de tout ce qui exècre). Le couple de noms pourrait aussi bien être lu ‘Amr b. Bakr ; la photographie le suggère. Selon M. Hamidullah, il semblerait qu’une controverse se soit développée autour du découvreur de l’inscription et que plusieurs personnes se soient rendues sur le site afin de redessiner les contours de l’inscription : « Je crains – dit-il – que la visite de très nombreuses personnes enthousiastes ait poussé quelqu’un à regraver sur l’écriture afin de la rendre plus claire dans le but d’être photographiée. La gravure semble plus récente ici qu’ailleurs sur la montagne »⁸. Le texte, réel ou mal interprété, soulève le problème de la difficulté de lire les graphies coufiques ne portant aucuns signes diacritiques. L’identification des deux compagnons et califes, ensemble dans un même texte tout empreint de piété, relève d’un hasard extraordinaire. On peut aussi considérer qu’à partir d’un ductus épigraphique douteux on aurait sur-interprété dans un esprit de ferveur religieuse en cherchant à reconnaître, à Médine, la trace des saints compagnons.

Néanmoins, le cas de cette inscription ne doit pas cacher des mentions des premiers califes qui, elles, sont bien réelles et reconnaissables sur la pierre. En effet, plusieurs graffiti mentionnent ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb, second calife qui régna immédiatement après Abū Bakr, de 13/634 à 24/644. La première inscription citant ‘Umar fut trouvée par le chercheur saoudien A.Ghabban à Qā’ al-Mu’tadil à l’est d’al-‘Ulā en Arabie. Il s’agit d’un texte à portée purement historique daté de 24/644 : *anā Zuhayr katabt zaman tuwuffiya ‘Umar sanat arba’ wa ‘iṣrīn* (C’est moi, Zuhayr ! J’ai écrit à l’époque de la mort de ‘Umar, en l’année 24). Autrement dit, ce graffiti est postérieur de seulement 12 ans à la mort du prophète

⁸ Hamidullah (1939 : 434, pl. 8). Le texte n’a fait l’objet d’aucune photographie récente. Il aurait aussi été remarqué et consigné par Ibrāhīm Rif’at Bāšā, *amīr al-ḥajj* en 1903 dans son récit de pèlerinage *Mir’āt al-Ḥaramayn*. Cf. Rif’at Bāchā (1925 : 389-390).

Muḥammad⁹. Ce texte rare met en correspondance les données épigraphiques avec celle de la tradition historiographique puisque la gravure de Zuhayr est doublement datée par la mention de « l'époque de 'Umar » et par la datation en années (**fig. 1**). Plus récemment, en 2012, deux autres graffiti mentionnant le même personnage ont été découverts par nos soins sur le site d'al-Murakkab près de Najrān au sud de l'Arabie Saoudite¹⁰. Le premier, près du sol sur un rocher isolé, est gravé assez superficiellement : 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb bi-Llāh yaṭīq ('Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb place sa confiance en Dieu) (**fig. 2**). Plus haut sur le même site, sous un abri rocheux isolé, c'est une signature, sans doute autographe, que nous avons relevée : 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb. Cependant, ces découvertes importantes soulèvent deux épineux problèmes : le premier touche à la biographie de ce compagnon qui semble ne s'être jamais rendu officiellement à Najrān durant la période islamique, si l'on s'en tient aux récits rapportés par la tradition musulmane. D'une manière générale, celle-ci s'étend peu sur les voyages de 'Umar avant l'islam, mais elle évoque quelquefois son métier de commerçant et ses déplacements dans la péninsule Arabique et vers le Yémen notamment¹¹; rien n'empêcherait donc qu'il se soit rendu aux environs de Najrān avant sa conversion à l'islam qui aurait eu lieu à l'âge de 26 ans¹². Nous mettons de côté l'hypothèse de l'homonymie ancienne bien qu'elle ne puisse être rejetée radicalement. Les sources arabes classiques ne font pas mention, à une exception près, de personnages de haute époque qui se seraient appelés 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb comme le calife¹³. Si nous comparons le texte historique de 24/644 avec les deux graffiti d'al-Murakkab, nous constatons que dans le premier, le personnage (calife et compagnon) n'est appelé que par la forme restreinte de son nom (*ism*) 'Umar. À al-Murakkab, il est gravé dans une forme plus traditionnelle (*ism + nasab*), celle que l'on trouve communément dans les graffiti. Toutefois, dans tous les textes citant 'Umar, le nom n'est jamais accompagné du titre d'*amīr al-mu'minīn* (commandeur des croyants) alors qu'il fut le premier à le porter¹⁴. De surcroît aucune eulogie de type *raḍīya Llāh'an-hu* (que Dieu soit satisfait de lui) n'accompagne la mention de son nom, eulogie généralement réservée aux compagnons du prophète qui trouve son origine dans le Coran¹⁵. Ceci conforte l'idée d'une mise en place assez tardive de ce type de formules.

⁹ Ghabbān (2003 : 337) ; Imbert (2011 b : 63).

¹⁰ Imbert (2013 : 757).

¹¹ P. Crone a montré que le commerce vers le Yémen signifiait simplement des échanges entre la Mecque et Najrān à l'exclusion du territoire yéménite à proprement parler. Cf. Crone (1987 : 124).

¹² 'Umar serait né entre 579 et 591 selon les sources. Si l'on veut qu'il se soit converti après le début de la prédication de Muḥammad (vers 610-611), il faut alors que 'Umar soit né vers 584. Cf. Suyūfī (*Ḥulafā'* : 123).

¹³ À notre connaissance, l'homonymie ne peut s'appliquer qu'à un seul personnage nommé également 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb : il s'agit du frère de 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb dit *Wajh al-fals*, un homme de Kūfa qui aurait vécu vers 250 h., sous le califat d'al-Musta'in. Cf. Ṭabarī (*Tārīḥ* : 9/269).

¹⁴ Bāšā (1989 : 194).

¹⁵ Coran, *Mā'ida* 5, 119 et *Tawba* 9, 99 entre autres.

Meurtres et graffiti

Quant à 'Utmān b. 'Affān, troisième calife successeur du prophète, il mourut assassiné à Médine en 35/656. Qurayšite de la famille des Omeyyades, il fut, selon la tradition, l'un des premiers convertis parmi les compagnons. Il dirigea la communauté des croyants durant douze ans (24/644 – 36/656) et entra dans la postérité pour avoir notamment ordonné et exécuté la première recension du Coran. Néanmoins, sous son califat apparurent les premières dissensions entre musulmans : accusé d'avoir favorisé des membres de sa famille, il essuya des critiques de la part d'opposants qui se trouvaient dans les *amṣār* nouvellement fondées de Kūfa, al-Baṣra en Irak et de Fuṣṭāṭ en Egypte¹⁶. Un contingent d'insurgés se dirigea vers Médine, assiégea la maison du calife âgé de 82 ans et l'assassina en *dū l-ḥijja* 35 / juin 656. Cet acte de révolte eut des répercussions importantes dans l'histoire de l'islam et fut à l'origine de la première guerre civile entre musulmans (*fitna*) qui dura cinq ans et s'acheva par la prise de pouvoir de la famille des Omeyyades et l'institution d'un califat héréditaire. Un graffiti unique, récemment trouvé près de Taymā' en Arabie Saoudite, cite cet événement¹⁷ : *Anā Qays al-kātib Abū Kuṭayr, la'ana Allāh man qatala 'Utmān b. 'Affān wa aḥatta qatla-hu taqtīlan* (je suis Qays, le scribe, Abū Kuṭayr. Que Dieu maudisse celui qui a assassiné 'Utmān b. 'Affān et [ceux qui] ont incité à ce meurtre sans pitié !) (**fig. 3**). Plusieurs commentaires s'imposent, linguistiques et historiques. La formulation tout d'abord rappelle les graffiti les plus anciens qui débutent par *anā* (moi) et dans lesquels les lapicides pérennisent leur nom avant l'événement qu'ils ont décidé d'évoquer¹⁸. À la lecture de quelques inscriptions anciennes, il semble que les meurtres des premiers dirigeants de l'islam aient particulièrement marqué les esprits : déjà, en 24 h. Zuhayr écrivait (selon une formulation qui évitait la mention de l'assassinat) « à l'époque de la mort de 'Umar ». Mais à Taymā' un autre personnage mentionne sans détour le meurtre du calife 'Utmān (*man qatala 'Utmān*) et condamne les insurgés qui prirent part à la campagne contre lui ou ceux qui, parmi les partisans de 'Utmān, ne s'opposèrent pas vraiment à son élimination. Par ailleurs, l'expression *wa [man] aḥatta qatla-hu taqtīlan* renvoie indirectement au Coran où il est question « des hypocrites [...] de Médine ». L'auteur du graffiti procède à une sorte de contextualisation des données du Coran à la veille d'une guerre civile : le Coran promettait aux hypocrites « maudits » de Médine d'être tués sans pitié (*mal'ūnīna [...] wa quttilū taqtīlan*)¹⁹. À l'aube de la première *fitna*, ce sont à la fois les partisans de 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib

¹⁶ Donner (2010 : 152-156).

¹⁷ Texte TS-13-al-Ṣulaylāt-III-Ar.1, campagne épigraphique à Taymā' (Arabie Saoudite), mars 2013. Présenté avec l'aimable autorisation de M. Macdonald dans le cadre du Saudi-British-German project : « Epigraphy and the ancient Landscape in the Hinterland of Tayma », dir. M. al-Najem et M. Macdonald.

¹⁸ Imbert (2011 b : 62).

¹⁹ Coran, *Aḥzāb*, 33, 61 : *mal'ūnīna aynamā tuqifū uḥidū wa quttilū taqtīlan* (maudits, en quelque lieu où ils se trouveront, ils seront capturés et tués sans pitié). Il s'agit sans doute du clan juif des Qurayza de Médine. Cf. Donner (2010 : 78).

premiers bénéficiaires à titre politique de cet assassinat mais aussi certains médinois parmi les *ansār* que la politique du calife, trop favorable aux Qurašites de La Mecque, avait marginalisés. À n'en pas douter, l'auteur du texte est un partisan de la famille omeyyade choqué par le meurtre de 'Uṭmān et qui réagit à chaud en maudissant les assassins. Utilisant une formulation qui parodie le Coran par le lexique, il désire marquer sa réprobation en reprenant notamment le terme rare et intensif de *taqtīl* (massacre, carnage)²⁰. Notons une fois de plus que le titre d'*amīr al-mu'minīn* n'est pas cité et qu'aucune eulogie ne suit la mention du nom du calife.

Il s'agit bien évidemment du premier graffiti à dimension politique de l'islam. Jusqu'à cette découverte, aucun texte épigraphique n'évoquait directement les antagonismes politiques qui apparurent sous le califat de 'Uṭmān et qui prirent une ampleur considérable à la suite de son assassinat. Le calife ayant été tué à la toute fin de l'année 35 h., le texte doit probablement dater de l'année 36/656, l'année de la bataille du Chameau.

Les califes omeyyades

Nous évoquions plus haut le fait que les califes avaient plutôt pour habitude de charger des personnes de graver pour eux²¹. C'est le cas de Mu'āwiya, fondateur de la dynastie omeyyade, qui fit graver en 58/677-78 sur un barrage proche de Ṭā'if un graffiti qui ressemble à un acte de propriété : *hādā l-sadd li-'abd Allāh Mu'āwiya [...] amīr al-mu'minīn* (ce barrage appartient au serviteur de Dieu Mu'āwiya [...] commandeur des croyants)²². Cette inscription rappelle que ce calife avait acquis de larges domaines fonciers entre Médine et Ṭā'if et jusqu'en Yamāma, lesquels étaient entretenus par de nombreux esclaves²³. Notons que 16 ans après le début de son règne, il porte bien la titulature officielle des califes omeyyades : *'abd Allāh* (serviteur de Dieu) suivi du nom puis du titre d'*amīr al-mu'minīn*. Si l'on se fonde sur les données épigraphiques, il est officiellement le premier calife de l'islam à porter ce titre. Ceci est confirmé par une seconde inscription (non datée) reprenant le même formulaire et trouvée au nord-ouest de Médine sur le barrage de Wādī al-Ḥanaq²⁴.

²⁰ Dans l'ensemble de la sourate al-Aḥzāb, le Coran se fonde sur un effet de *saj'* en rime *an* (*alif* et *tanwīn*) ; le nom *taqtīl[an]* s'inscrit dans cette liste. Mais si dans le Coran l'effet prend la forme d'un complément absolu (*maf'ūl muṭlaq*), sur le rocher de Taymā' on a gardé l'effet bien que le jeu de correspondance entre le verbe et son *maṣdar* ait été rompu : on lit [*aḥatta*] *qatla-hu taqtīlan* avec deux noms d'actions consécutifs *qatl* et *taqtīl*. Ainsi le mode intensif de la forme augmentée II (*taf'īl*) a été conservé afin de souligner le caractère ignominieux du meurtre : 'Uṭmān a été tué lâchement, sauvagement, sans pitié.

²¹ Cf. la sentence lancée par le calife 'Abd al-Malik à 'Āmir al-Ša'bī (traditioniste *tābi'ī*) : « *al-ḥulafā' tastaktib wa lā tustaktab* » (les califes demandent que l'on écrive pour eux, mais jamais on ne leur demande d'écrire !). Al-Zajjājī (*Majālis* : 99).

²² Miles (1948 : 237) ; Grohmann (1962 : 56, Z 58).

²³ Donner (2010 : 175).

²⁴ Visible sur le site <http://saudiency.net/Loader.aspx?pageid=18&BookID=37&PID=22>, [sept. 2014].

Le calife 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, qui régna de 65/685 à 86/705, est le seul à ce jour à avoir gravé personnellement un texte à son nom. Dans un court graffito trouvé sur les parois du Jabal Ḥiṣmā, à l'extrême nord-ouest de l'Arabie, il a écrit : *Anā 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān* (c'est moi 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān)²⁵. Il semble s'être réservé sur les rochers un espace particulier à l'écart des autres textes (*fig. 4*). Son graffito est curieusement laconique ; il ne fait pas allusion à ses fonctions de calife voire même à son statut de prince ou d'héritier présomptif. Notons également qu'aucun élément religieux, ne serait-ce qu'une *basmala*, n'est présent dans le texte, ce qui est excessivement rare. Il est probable qu'il l'ait gravé avant son accession au califat, soit avant 65/685. Ici encore l'homonymie est peu probable : la paléographie indique bien une écriture de style coufique archaïque d'époque omeyyade en *scriptio defectiva* : le nom Marwān ne marque pas la voyelle longue *alif*.

Le calife Hišām, le dixième de la lignée, fut l'un des fils de 'Abd al-Malik et régna de 105/724 à 125/743. Il n'a pas personnellement écrit de graffito, mais il est plusieurs fois fait référence à sa personne. Dans le Néguev israélien, un personnage anonyme a gravé un long graffito composé d'invocations adressées à Dieu. S'inscrivant dans la série des « doubles datations », il appose l'année en toutes lettres (*sanat taniya 'ašara [sic]*) puis rajoute *'alā ḥilāfat Hišām* (du califat de Hišām). Cette façon de dater doublement fut déjà utilisée en 24/644 dans la célèbre inscription de Zuhayr mentionnant la mort de 'Umar. Dans les zones reculées, elle permettait un repérage temporel par rapport aux califats successifs pour ceux qui n'auraient qu'une vague connaissance de l'écoulement du temps hégirien²⁶. Dans un autre graffito du nord de l'Arabie, à Muwaysin près de Dūmat al-Jandal, nous entrons d'une certaine manière, dans l'intimité du calife Hišām²⁷. Parvenu dans les dernières années de son règne, il dut faire face à de nombreuses révoltes en Afrique du Nord comme au Khorasān et en Iraq. Au sein même de sa famille, la question de sa succession se posa après la rupture avec son neveu al-Walīd b. Yazīd (futur calife al-Walīd II) et le départ de ce dernier²⁸. Dans ce contexte, un proche de Hišām semble s'émouvoir de son sort et invoque Dieu en sa faveur : *Allāhumma, iġfir li-'abd Allāh Hišām amīr al-mu'minīn wa aqirr 'ayna-hu bi-ḥasūdāt man fī*

²⁵ Visible sur le site <http://alsahra.org/?p=11163>, n° 25 [sept. 2014].

²⁶ Ragheb (2013 : 681). Certains, au milieu de la steppe ne dataient que par le nom du jour de la semaine, seul repère qu'ils devaient avoir par rapport à des fêtes religieuses ou à des activités pieuses le vendredi. Un certain Muḥammad b. Malīḥ, près de Taymā' en Arabie, date son graffito de *yawm al-iṭṭayn wa huwa yawm mubārak* (le lundi qui est un jour béni).

²⁷ Graffito MWS 2 (nov. 2012), mission *Oasis d'Arabie* (chantier de Dūmat al-Jandal, CNRS, UMR 8167). Sept paumes de mains gauches sont gravées au-dessus du texte ; certaines portent de courtes invocations. Un autre graffito proche est daté de 121 h. et donne une idée de la datation de l'ensemble : environ 4 ans avant la mort de Hišām.

²⁸ On estime qu'al-Walīd b. Yazīd quitta la cour de Ruṣāfa vers 120/737 ou 122/739 pour se rendre en Balqā' où il ordonna de faire décorer les bains de Quṣayr' Amra. Hišām mourut en février 125/743. Cf. Ṭabarī (*Tārīḥ* : 7/211).

ra'yyati-hi. Kallā sawfa ya'lamūna ! (ô Dieu, pardonne au serviteur de Dieu Hišām, commandeur des croyants, et apaise-le contre les envieux qui se trouvent parmi ses sujets. Non, ils sauront bientôt ! ²⁹).

Il peut arriver que les califes soient cités d'une manière indirecte dans la généalogie ou la titulature d'un personnage. C'est le cas des *mawālī* (pl. de *mawlā*) qui, après leur nom propre, mentionnent le lien de clientèle qui les rattache à tel ou tel personnage³⁰. En 91/710 Muḥallad b. Abū Muḥallad, se rendant en pèlerinage à la Mecque, se présente comme *mawlā 'Alī* (le client de 'Alī)³¹. Encore une fois, le calife est présenté sans aucun titre, généalogie ou eulogie comme s'il suffisait déjà en 91 de l'Hégire de dire 'Alī pour savoir qu'il s'agissait de 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Il est difficilement imaginable que son *mawlā* lui ait survécu une cinquantaine d'années puisque 'Alī mourut assassiné en 40/661. Muḥallad est donc le fils d'Abū Muḥallād qui fut le client de 'Alī. Il est intéressant de constater que l'auteur du texte, en pleine période omeyyade (sous le califat d'al-Walīd I) affiche une généalogie dans laquelle il inclut une parenté symbolique qui le rattache à 'Alī pour lequel il a sans doute quelque sympathie. Il rappelle aussi son origine de converti et d'affranchi. Dans la même logique, un certain Sa'īd se présente comme le fils de Ḍakwān *mawlā Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān*, client de Mu'āwiya qui n'est autre que le premier calife omeyyade. Toutefois, l'absence de mention des titres laisse à penser que Ḍakwān, le père, aurait été le client de Mu'āwiya avant son accession au califat en 41/661 (**fig. 5**).

Les princes omeyyades dans la steppe

Les princes de la famille omeyyade, qu'ils soient ou non en attente de pouvoir, ont laissé çà et là au Proche-Orient et en Arabie, des traces de leur passage. En effet, diverses études ont montré que les princes étaient occasionnellement envoyés dans la steppe au contact des tribus qui soutenaient le pouvoir, en Jordanie et en Syrie notamment. Bien que les sources arabes demeurent très discrètes sur ces déplacements, l'épigraphie a montré que les steppes étaient souvent les lieux d'activités princières³² ; les inscriptions et graffiti trouvés aux abords des résidences de la steppe, communément appelées les « châteaux du désert », en sont autant de preuves. Dans le dernier quart du I^{er} siècle (début du VIII^e), il était d'usage d'envoyer les princes représenter le califat afin de matérialiser les ententes politiques. En 81/700, 'Abd al-Malik envoya son fils le prince al-Walīd (futur al-Walīd I) à Qaṣr Burqu' en Jordanie, âgé de

²⁹ La dernière phrase est une variante non attestée ou une inspiration du Coran, *al-Naba'*, 78, 4.

³⁰ Sublet (1991 : 108) ; Pipes (2004 : 284).

³¹ Ġabbān (2011 : 500-501), site d'al-Wujayriyya près de Tabūk en Arabie.

³² La théorie des palais comme éléments de contact entre le pouvoir et les tribus a été développée entre autres par G.R.D. King dans les années 1990 en réaction notamment aux idées de H. Lammens sur la *ḥīra* et la *bādiya* sous les omeyyades (publié en 1909). King (1992 : 369-375).

31ans³³. Une inscription datée commémore des aménagements dans le palais³⁴. Les activités de ce prince se sont étendues jusqu'au sud du Wādī Sirhān (al-Jawf) où deux graffiti ont été découverts en 2012 dans le massif du Jibāl Ḥamāmiyyāt, non loin de Dūmat al-Jandal. Un personnage a composé une invocation en faveur du prince qu'il devait probablement accompagner (**fig. 6**) : *ḡafara rabb al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik danba-hu kulla-hu, qadīma-hu wa ḥadīta-hu, sirra-hu wa 'alāniyata-hu* (que le seigneur d'al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik lui pardonne tous ses péchés, anciens et récents, secrets et connus)³⁵. Un peu plus loin, dans un autre graffiti, on demande à ce que le prince soit apaisé et justement récompensé : *Allāhum ma iṣrah li-l-amīr ṣadra-hu wa ḥallil [sic] 'an-hu wizra-hu wa urzuq-hu wa aḥsin rizqa-hu* (ô Dieu, apaise le prince et fais disparaître son fardeau ; donne-lui généreusement de quoi subsister)³⁶. Si al-Walīd n'est ici évoqué que par son titre d'*al-amīr*, c'est vrai semblablement qu'il se trouvait sur les lieux au moment de la gravure du texte (**fig. 7**). Selon les annales de Ṭabarī, al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik aurait accompli son pèlerinage en 78/698. Cette année-là, il avait lieu à la fin du mois de février 698 (8 de *dū l-ḥijja*)³⁷. Durant l'hiver 78le prince et sa délégation traversèrent probablement la région après avoir emprunté la route du Wādī Sirhān qui relie la Syrie à l'Arabie centrale.

Au palais d'al-Ḥarrāna (50 km à l'est d'Amman en Jordanie) nous avons relevé, vers 1989, quelques mentions de princes et de notables omeyyades: au-dessus de la porte d'entrée du palais, un texte invoque Dieu en faveur du fils du calife dont le nom demeure hélas illisible : *Allāhum ma aṣliḥ al-... ibn amīr al-mu'minīn* (ô Dieu, rends vertueux al-[...] fils du commandeur des croyants). À l'étage, sur des colonnettes en stuc le nom du prince 'Umar b. al-Walīd se répète : il s'agit de l'un des fils d'al-Walīd I. Le calife l'aurait nommé gouverneur du *jund al-Urdunn*. Surnommé *fahl banī Marwān*, l'étalon des Marwānides, il se déplaçait dans la steppe avec soixante de ses enfants³⁸. Bien entendu, il est impossible ici de ne pas évoquer les inscriptions laissées par le prince al-Walīd b. Yazīd sur les peintures des bains de Quṣayr 'Amra, 20 kilomètres après al-Ḥarrāna. Bien qu'il ne s'agisse pas de graffiti, les textes qu'il a fait peindre complètent la série que nous venons d'évoquer. Lui-même est cité dans une inscription peinte récemment découverte en 2012. Une autre inscription, dans les mêmes bains, demande la bénédiction du prince (*bārik al-amīr*). Enfin, dans l'espace du trône de la

³³ Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik naquit en 50/670. Munajjid (s.d. : 189). Qaṣr Burqu' se trouve en Jordanie, dans le désert de lave du nord-est, près de la frontière iraquienne.

³⁴ C'est un texte de construction débutant par *ḥādā mā banā al-amīr al-Walīd b. amīr al-mu'minīn [...]* (Voici ce qu'a bâti le prince al-Walīd, fils du commandeur des croyants [...]) ; (RCEA : 1, n° 12) ; Imbert (1996 : 319).

³⁵ Jibāl Ḥamāmiyyāt (HMM 8) relevé en novembre 2012 dans le cadre de la mission *Oasis d'Arabie*.

³⁶ Jibāl Ḥamāmiyyāt (HMM 11) relevé en novembre 2012.

³⁷ Ṭabarī (*Tārīḥ* : 6/321).

³⁸ Sur les inscriptions d'al-Ḥarrāna, cf. Imbert (1995 : 409 ; 413).

travée centrale nous avons déchiffré une autre invocation en faveur du *walī ‘ahd al-muslimīn wa l-muslimāt* (l’héritier présomptif des musulmans et des musulmanes)³⁹.

Compagnons et traditionnistes sur les routes

Les récentes prospections épigraphiques ont permis d’identifier, non pas directement des compagnons contemporains du prophète Muḥammad, mais certains de leurs descendants de la génération dite des *tābi ‘ūn* (les suivants). Le site de Jibāl Ḥismā en particulier semble rassembler les noms de quelques traditionnistes qui auraient emprunté la route passant le long des montagnes où se trouve le site⁴⁰. Dans une très belle écriture, ‘Īsā b. Talḥa nous a laissé une simple profession de foi : *ya ‘taṣim wa yu ‘min bi-Llāh ‘Īsā b. Ṭalḥa* (‘I. [...]cherche la protection et croit en Dieu)⁴¹. Bien que sa généalogie soit tronquée et limitée à deux éléments, il pourrait vrai semblablement s’agir de ‘Īsā b. Talḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allāh (al-Tamīmī al-Quraṣī al-Madanī). Originaire de Médine, il serait le fils du compagnon Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allāh mort en 36/656 à la bataille du Chameau. Son fils ‘Īsā est compté comme une autorité (*tiqa*) parmi les rapporteurs de *ḥadīth*. Il mourut sous le califat de ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, soit entre 99/717 et 101/720 et selon les sources, probablement vers 100/718-19⁴².

Dans le même secteur, un graffiti mentionne ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmala al-Aslamī (al-Madanī) qui n’est autre que le traditionniste de la génération des suivants (*tābi ‘ī*) (**fig. 8**). Selon Ibn Sa‘d, il serait mort l’année de la révolte de Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan, soit en 145/762 sous la dynastie des Abbassides⁴³. Sur la même route, nous trouvons plus loin une profession de foi d’un autre traditionniste, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar également de la génération des suivants qui mourut en 90/709 (**fig. 9**). Médinois d’origine, il aurait rapporté un unique *ḥadīth*⁴⁴. Son père fut un traditionniste plus prolifique que lui : al-Miswar b. Maḥrama b. Nawfal al-Zuhrī (connu sous sa *kunya* Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān) fut un compagnon de la première génération, né en 2/623 de l’Hégire. Il périt en 73/692 ou 74/693 lors du siège de la Mecque aux côtés de ‘Abd Allāh b. Zubayr⁴⁵. Quant à ‘Abd Allāh b. Sab‘ également cité dans un texte proche, il s’agit d’un *tābi ‘ī* de troisième génération connu pour avoir rapporté

³⁹ Sur les textes de Quṣayr ‘Amra, cf. Vibert-Guigue (2007 : pl. 84 b et c, 130 a, 139 c) ; Imbert (2007 : 45-46).

⁴⁰ En Arabie Saoudite, 125 kilomètres au nord-ouest de Tabūk, au sud de la frontière jordanienne. Le site s’étend le long d’un axe secondaire permettant de rejoindre la route égyptienne du pèlerinage depuis la route syrienne. Ce raccourci est bien connu et le toponyme apparaît dans quelques poèmes d’époque omeyyade. Cf. Yāqūt (*Mu‘jam* : 2/258).

⁴¹ Visible sur le site <http://alsahra.org/?p=11163> [sept. 2014].

⁴² Idlibī (1986 : 147) ; Ibn Sa‘d (*Ṭabaqāt* : 5/122, 164).

⁴³ Goldziher (1890 : 244).

⁴⁴ ‘Asqalānī (*Tahqīb* : 6/536).

⁴⁵ Ibn al-Aṭīr (*Kāmil* : 2/635).

des paroles de 'Alī. Il serait mort en 66/685 lors de la révolte d'al-Muḥtārb. Abī 'Ubaydā Kūfa⁴⁶.

Les exemples de ce type abondent sur les parois rocheuses des montagnes de Ḥismā et d'ailleurs ; ils invitent à engager une étude prosopographique d'envergure. L'analyse des filiations, même si elle s'avère parfois complexe, permet de lever quelques doutes, de rectifier des approximations onomastiques que l'on relève parfois dans les ouvrages classiques. Dans la mesure où ce sont les personnages eux-mêmes qui ont apposé ces signatures, c'est à eux que nous donnons raison évidemment quant à la connaissance de leurs ascendants et à l'orthographe de leur nom. Les personnages que nous avons choisi d'évoquer sont tous des traditionnistes plutôt tardifs qui ne semblent pas avoir joué de rôle majeur dans l'élaboration de la *sunna*. C'est plutôt la génération de leurs parents qui nous rapprochent des événements marquants du début de l'islam : certains ont été contemporains de Muḥammad et ont directement rapporté quelques unes de ses paroles ; beaucoup étaient médinois et issus de familles d'*ansār*. Mais le fait de loin le plus troublant, c'est leur relation aux *fitna*, ces guerres civiles qui ébranlèrent l'Arabie, la Syrie et l'Irak à peine 25 ans après la mort du prophète. Durant ces périodes d'affrontements armés et de luttes pour savoir qui allait diriger la communauté des croyants, chacun devait prendre parti et se positionner : al-Miswar meurt en défendant le califat d'Ibn Zubayr à la Mecque, 'Abd Allāh b. Sab' laisse sa vie en se battant aux côtés d'al-Muḥtār durant une révolte anti-omeyyade, à dimension largement eschatologique et très favorable aux alides. C'est là un enseignement important qui se dégage des graffiti islamiques de haute époque : on pensait qu'ils n'étaient que l'expression d'une ferveur religieuse communautaire alors qu'ils renferment une dimension politique, certes discrète, mais qu'il convient maintenant de dévoiler.

Les hommes de l'islam

Nous avons désiré montrer combien la dimension historique était présente dans ces textes graffitologiques. Dans de nos études récentes, nous avons démontré que les graffiti analysés massivement indiquaient de grandes tendances qui pouvaient nous aider à mieux comprendre comment s'exprimait la foi dans la première société arabo-musulmane. En revanche, ici, nous avons procédé selon une démarche inverse, à savoir que nous sommes partis de graffiti personnels composés par des musulmans passés à la postérité, principalement des princes, des califes et des traditionnistes ; nous avons tenté de comprendre comment pouvait s'exprimer l'individualité dans un cadre historique assez large. Les textes historiographiques tout comme ceux de la tradition religieuse musulmane qui se sont

⁴⁶ Il est aussi appelé 'AbdAllāh b. Subay' / Sabī' [al-Hamdānī]. Cf. Idlibī (1986 : 108) ; Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt* : 6/234, 164). Sur sa participation à la révolte d'al-Muḥtār, cf. Ṭabarī (*Tārīḥ* : 6/46).

développés à partir du IX^e siècle, ont donné une image très particulière des grands personnages qui ont marqué l'histoire de l'islam à ses débuts. Quelques uns, à l'instar de 'Umar et de 'Utmān ou 'Alī ont occupé et occupent toujours une place éminente dans l'imaginaire collectif arabo-musulman ; ils bénéficient d'un sentiment d'estime sans pareil du fait de leur proximité avec le prophète, de leur caractère vertueux et des œuvres accomplies au profit de l'Islam. Il en va de même de certains califes érigés en modèles de bonne et pieuse gouvernance au travers de leur action publique, politique ou militaire. Cependant, on est amené à s'interroger sur la valeur de l'image que ces ouvrages reflètent : la vie des saints compagnons, la grandeur ou la décadence des califes et des princes, la collection des pieuses paroles, etc. sont consignées dans une masse d'ouvrages copiés et recopiés, commentés et résumés par des générations de savants. L'image de ces personnages illustres ne reflète plus qu'elle-même.

Dans les graffiti, des textes simples et laconiques, la distance historique semble s'abolir. Le masque hagiographique tombe : les califes n'ont plus de titres, les compagnons ne font plus l'objet de pieuses invocations, les traditionnistes ne rapportent que leur généalogie personnelle. Les voici enfin eux-mêmes écrivant humblement leur nom sur la pierre et se présentant comme des hommes et non pas comme les maîtres et les savants de l'islam. 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb n'est plus l'illustre compagnon et calife : sur la pierre il veut simplement être un croyant qui marque sa confiance en un dieu nommé Allāh. 'Abd al-Malik n'est pas prince ou calife ; il est lui-même : « c'est moi, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān ! » nous confie-t-il. Tant ces personnages paraissent proches, nous serions presque tentés de faire remarquer que 'Umar, le grand 'Umar, tasse trop ses caractères au point qu'il a failli oublier de graver l'article de son nom ; ses *alif* sont bien trop courts... 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, quant à lui, possède une belle écriture, bien proportionnée. C'est normal, pourrait-on dire, puisqu'il fera apposer en 72 de l'Hégire, la majestueuse inscription du Dôme du Rocher de Jérusalem qui élèvera pour toujours l'écriture arabe au rang des grandes écritures d'empire. Finalement, par la magie de l'écriture, dans des graffiti que d'aucuns traitaient dédaigneusement, ces illustres personnages revivent et s'inscrivent dans la grande histoire par de petits actes écrits.

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Planches et figures



Fig. 1 : Graffito de 24/644 citant 'Umar à Qā' al-Mu'tadil (photo L. Nehmé)



Fig. 2 : Fac-similé du graffiti de 'Umar à al-Murakkab (dessin F. Imbert)



Fig. 3 : Graffiti mentionnant le meurtre de 'Utmān près de Taymā' (photo M. Macdonald)



Fig. 4 : Texte autographe du calife omeyyade 'Abd al-Malik à Ḥismā (photo Saad / Farīq al-Ṣaḥrā')



Fig. 5 : Texte d'un fils de *mawlā* de Mu'āwiyā b. Abī Sufyān à Ḥismā (dessin F. Imbert)



Fig. 6 : Graffito de Jibāl Ḥamāmiyyāt citant le prince al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (photo F. Imbert)

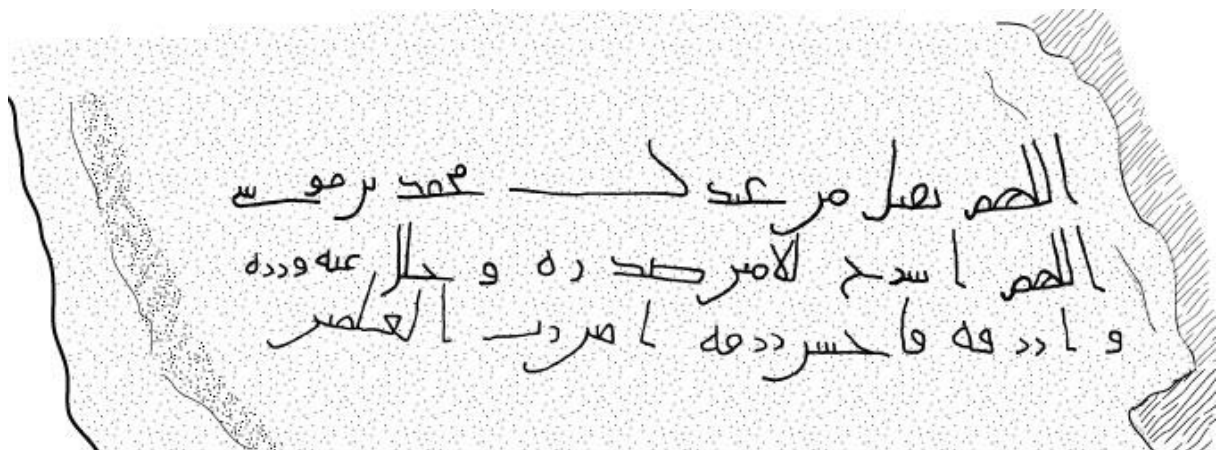


Fig. 7 : Fac-similé d'un graffito demandant l'apaisement du prince al-Walīd (dessin F. Imbert)

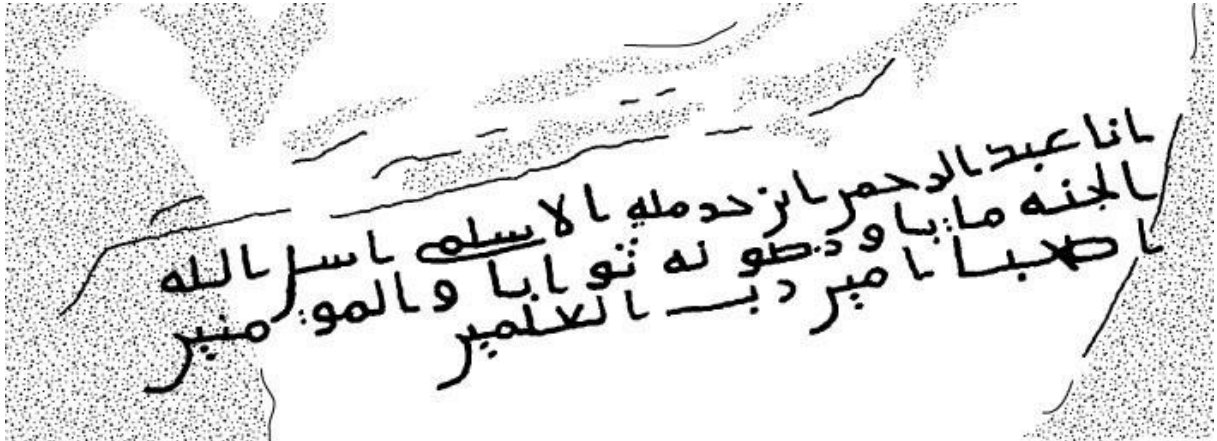


Fig. 8 : Fac-similé du graffiti du *tābi t̄* Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥarmala (dessin F. Imbert)

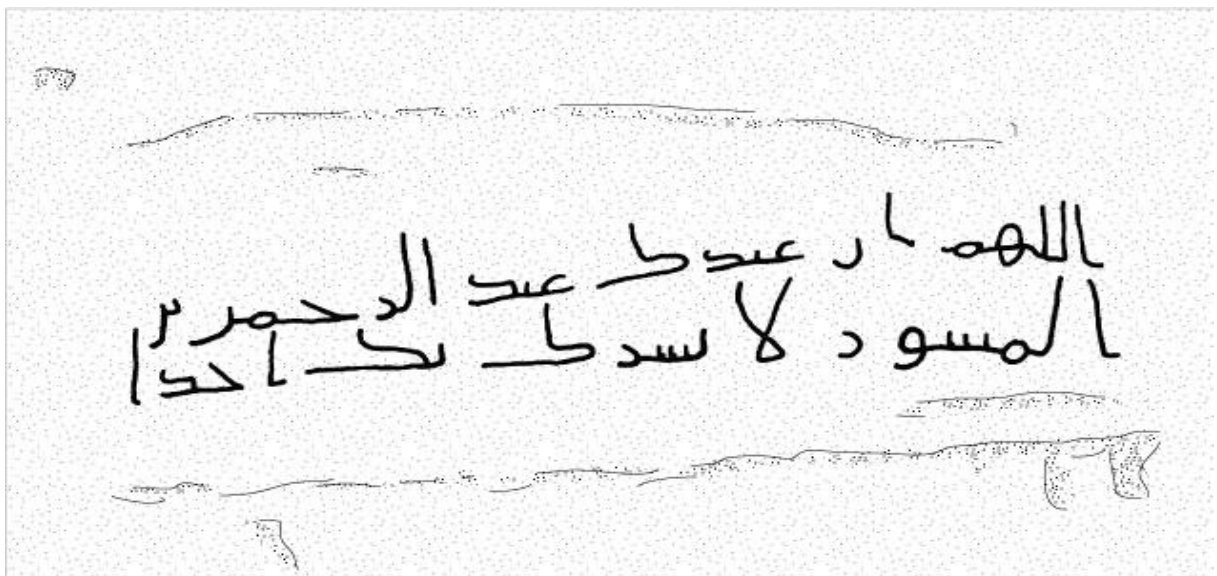


Fig. 9 : Fac-similé du graffiti du *tābi t̄* Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Miswar (dessin F. Imbert)

ÉPIGRAPHIE ET LINGUISTIQUE : L'EXEMPLE DU GRAFFITO ARABE PRÉISLAMIQUE DU ĞABAL 'USAYS *

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Résumé. L'épigraphie est une auxiliaire de l'archéologie, elle-même auxiliaire de l'histoire. Mais les inscriptions et graffiti sont en même temps des documents originaux permettant au linguiste de faire l'histoire de la langue dans lesquels ils sont rédigés. Nous prendrons comme exemple d'une épigraphie linguistique le graffiti arabe du Ğabal 'Usays (Sēs, Syrie), qui est la plus vieille inscription qui soit à la fois en arabe, en écriture arabe et parfaitement datée (528-529 ap. JC). Nous rappellerons les différentes étapes de son déchiffrement et les principales hypothèses qu'un linguiste peut faire sur les plans phono-graphique, lexical et, surtout, syntaxique.

Mots-clés : Arabe ; épigraphie préislamique ; Ğabal 'Usays ; Syntaxe ; Phrase segmentée thème/propos ; flexion désinentielle ; rapports phonie/graphie ; pause et liaison ; *tā' al-maftūha* et *tā' al-marbūta* ; *hā' al-sakt* ; *matres lectionis* ; variantes dialectales ; lexique ; dérivés du nom *silāh*.

Introduction

Traditionnellement, l'épigraphie est vue comme une discipline auxiliaire de l'archéologie et l'archéologie elle-même comme une discipline auxiliaire de l'histoire. Ceci explique cela : la plupart des épigraphistes sont historiens et ils font des documents épigraphiques qu'ils déchiffrent une exploitation essentiellement historique.

Mais les documents épigraphiques sont en même temps des documents originaux. Certes, le temps ou une main malicieuse, intervenant à date ultérieure, ont pu les altérer, ce qui rend leur déchiffrement aléatoire dans le premier cas, fausse les données dans le second. Mais, à ces accidents près, ils n'en restent pas moins susceptibles d'une exploitation qui, pour être également historique, concerne non plus le contenu, mais la forme, c'est-à-dire la langue même où ils sont rédigés.

Linguiste arabisant, nous prendrons comme exemple d'une « épigraphie linguistique » le graffiti arabe du Ğabal 'Usays.

*Cet article est au premier chef une version remaniée et actualisée d'une communication faite au colloque international d'épigraphie islamique, hommage à Solange Ory, qui s'est tenu à la Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme, à Aix-en-Provence, les 28 et 29 Novembre 2008, mais dont les actes n'ont pas été publiés. Remaniée : elle reprend des éléments déjà présentés dans Larcher 2005[2010], tout en présentant des éléments repris dans Larcher 2010 [2009]. Actualisée : elle tient compte de remarques, écrites ou orales, faites par des collègues que nous remercions ici. Je remercie Michael Macdonald de m'avoir autorisé à reproduire sa photo du graffiti du Ğabal 'Usays et Frédéric Imbert de m'avoir permis de faire état de sa récente découverte de Bīr Ĥimā. Dans les citations, nous conservons la transcription des auteurs.

1. De l'épigraphie...

1.1. Les aléas d'un déchiffrement

1.1.1. Etape 1 : al-'Ušš

Dans les années 60 du siècle dernier a été découverte au Ġabal 'Usays (Sēs), dans le Sud-est de la Syrie, une inscription d'abord publiée (dessin sans photo) par Muḥammad 'Abū al-Faraġ al-'Ušš dans la revue *al-'Abḥāt*, sous le n° 85/107 (al-'Ušš, 2004 : 302-303). Il la lit ainsi (par convention ' note le 'alif) :

1. Ibrhym bn Mġyrh 'l-'wsy
2. 'rslny 'l-ḥrt 'l-mlk 'ly
3. Slmyn mslḥh (?) snt
4.? w-m't ?

et l'interprète ainsi :

1. Ibrāhīm ibn Muġīra al-'Awsī
2. 'arsalanī al-Ḥārīt al-malik 'alā [le roi al-Ḥārīt m'a envoyé à]
3. Sulaymān musallīḥahu sanat [Sulaymān pour lui apporter des armes an]
4.wa-mi'a [... et cent]

Bien qu'al-'Ušš ne lise pas la date, il infère de la présence du titre de *malik*, non donné à l'époque islamique, que l'inscription pourrait être préislamique et, par suite, que le Ḥārīt de la ligne 2 pourrait être le roi ghassanide al-Ḥārīt b. Ġabala (m. 570) victorieux du lakhmide al-Munḍir b. Mā' al-samā' (= al-Munḍir III, m. 554).

1.1.2. Etape 2 : Grohmann

Elle a été republiée (photo et dessin) en 1971 par Alfred Grohmann (1971 : 15-17). Grohmann lit la quatrième ligne comme donnant la date en chiffres nabatéens (4 x 100 + 20 + 3) soit 423, c'est-à-dire si l'on prend pour repère la création de la province romaine d'Arabie (105 ap. JC) 528-529 ap. JC. Il identifie alors le roi al-Ḥārīt avec le Ghassanide al-Ḥārīt b. Ġabala vainqueur en 528 ap. JC du roi lakhmide al-Munḍir III, confirmant la conjecture d'al-'Ušš. A la ligne 3, il voit dans le second mot quatre dents, et non trois, et par suite lit *mstlḥh* et interprète « ...m'a envoyé contre Sulaymān comme garde-[frontière] ((*Grenz*)-*wache*) ».

Shahid (1995 : 117-124) lit *msylḥt/h* et passe en revue différentes interprétations possibles : 1) (contre) Sulaymān Musayliḥat ; 2) (contre) le Sulaymān de Musayliḥat (éventuellement Mustalaḥat) ; 3) à Sulaymān (nom de lieu) son poste frontière (*musayliḥi-hi*,

éventuellement *mustalaḥihi* ou *musaylaḥihi*). C'est l'interprétation (3) qui a, dans le contexte, sa faveur.

L'année suivante, Henry Innes MacAdam (1996 : 49-57) propose non seulement de voir dans *slmn* un toponyme, mais encore de l'identifier avec le *oros alsadamos* (ou *alsalamos* ou *a(l)salmanos* ou *oualsadamos*) de la *Géographie* de Claude Ptolémée, mont (*oros*) jusqu'ici non localisé avec précision mais que cette inscription désigne comme étant le Ġabal 'Usays.

1.1.3. Etape 3 : Robin et Goréa

Puis, en 2002, Christian Robin et Marie Gorea proposent, sur la base d'une nouvelle photo de Hoyland (2001), une relecture de l'inscription (en italiques, mots dont la lecture semble assurée ; à droite lecture du ductus consonantique, à gauche lecture de ce ductus avec vocalisation) :

1. 'nh(.) <i>Qtm</i> bnM'(y)r(h) 'l- 'wsy	'anh(.) <i>Quṭam</i> (i)bn <i>Muġīra</i> ^h al-awsī
2. 'rsl-ny 'l-Ḥrīṭ 'l-mlk 'ly	<i>arsala-nī al-Ḥ(ā)riṭ al-malik 'alā</i>
3. 'sys <i>mshh snt</i>	<i>Usays maslaḥa^{tan} sanat</i>
4. 4 x 100 + 20 + 1 + 1 + 1	4 x 100 + 20 + 1 + 1 + 1

soit :

1. Moi, *Quṭam* fils de *Muġīra* l'awsite
2. m'a envoyé *al-Ḥārīṭ* le roi sur
3. Usays en garnison, l'an
4. 423

La relecture de Robin et Gorea est décisive sur deux points : aux lignes 1-2, sur le plan syntaxique, avec la reconnaissance de la structure thème-propos ; à la ligne 3, sur le plan onomastique, avec la reconnaissance d'un 'alif, resté jusque là inaperçu, qui permet de lire 's-y-s, soit 'Usays, le nom arabe même du lieu, ce qui règle les incertitudes antérieures (anthroponyme ou toponyme ?).

Robin (2006 : 330-332) redonne cette transcription et cette traduction, en insistant sur le fait qu'à la première ligne il faut lire *b-n* et non *b-r*, autrement dit comme un mot arabe et non un emprunt de l'arabe à l'araméen *bar*.

1.1.4. Etape 4 : Macdonald

Enfin, en 2009 et 2010, M.C.A. Macdonald, sur la base d'une photo prise par lui sur le site en 2006 (cf. Annexe 1), propose une nouvelle lecture de la ligne 1 portant sur deux points

: la prise en considération d'une lettre entre *'-n-h* et le mot suivant que la comparaison avec la ligne 2 permet d'identifier à un *r*; celui-ci est à rattacher, malgré l'espace (phénomène fréquent dans l'écriture archaïque), au mot suivant, qui, par suite, doit être lu comme *r-q-y-m* (Raḳīm ou Ruḳaym) ; le maintien de la lecture *b-r* plutôt que *b-n*, autrement dit un araméisme (*bar* « fils de ») ; la lecture du mot suivant comme *m-'/ḡ-r/z:f*, qu'il propose de lire comme le nom Mu'arrif. La lecture de la ligne 1 s'établit comme suit :

'nh rḳym br m'rf 'l- 'wsy

« I, Ruḳaym son of Mu'arrif the Awsite ».

Notons que Robin (2008 : 178), sur la base de la photo de Macdonald, avait lui-même modifié sa lecture de la ligne 1, sur le plan onomastique et, indépendamment, sur le plan syntaxique, y voyant, non plus le thème d'une phrase, dont le reste de l'inscription constitue le propos, mais une phrase, soit (en caractères romains les mots dont la lecture reste hypothétique) :

*Je suis Ruḳaym, fils de Mu'riḏ, l'Awsite. | M'a envoyé
al-Ḥārith le roi sur | Usays en garnison, l'an | 423.*

Macdonald (2009 et 2010) conteste, avec des arguments purement épigraphiques, la possibilité de lire la quatrième lettre du quatrième mot de la ligne 1 comme un *ḏ* et par suite rejette l'interprétation *Mu'riḏ*.

2. ...à la linguistique

2.1. Syntaxe

2.1.1. La ligne 1 : phrase ou thème ?

La première question qui se pose est d'ordre syntaxique. Faut-il lire la ligne 1 comme une phrase (*sentence*) de sens « Je suis Ruḳaym, fils de Mu'arrif, l'Awsite » ou comme le thème (*topic*) d'une phrase de sens « Moi, Ruḳaym, fils de Mu'arrif, l'Awsite », dont le reste de l'inscription constitue le propos (*comment*) ? Si la question se pose, c'est parce qu'elle est posée explicitement par Versteegh (2011), dans le compte rendu qu'il fait de Macdonald (2010), à propos de ma propre contribution (Larcher, 2010) :

Incidentally, I am not quite sure that Larcher's grammatical interpretation of the first two lines of this inscription is correct. It seems that it starts with an introduction "I am so-and-so," and then continues with the report "King so-and-so has sent me." If this is correct, the second line cannot be

analyzed as a comment on the first line as topic; rather, it is a new sentence ¹.

Disons tout de suite que les deux lectures sont théoriquement possibles et que c'est en fait le contexte qui permet de choisir une lecture plutôt qu'une autre. Ainsi, dans l'inscription, également ghassanide, dite de Ta'labah(h), publiée par Avner, Nehmé et Robin (2013), non datée, mais datable du V^e siècle ap. JC, et qui est en arabe, mais en écriture transitionnelle nabatéo-arabe, on a :

'nh'dyw b{r}
t'lbh 'l-mlk
'I am'Adiyū son of
Tha'labah the king'.

Ce qui oblige à lire les deux lignes de cette inscription comme une phrase et, donc, ce qui suit 'nh comme un attribut et non comme une apposition, c'est qu'elles ne sont suivies par rien. Inversement, ce qui permet de lire la ligne 1 du graffiti du Ġabal 'Usays comme le thème d'une phrase plutôt que comme une phrase, c'est la présence à la ligne 2 de la phrase 'arsala-nī al-Ḥārīt al-malik. Cette phrase est une phrase verbale V[erbe] O[jbet] S[sujet] ; l'objet est un pronom personnel affixe *coréférent* du pronom personnel libre 'anah de la ligne 1 ; elle est simplement *juxtaposée* à la structure de la ligne 1. Cette double caractéristique fait aussitôt penser à une phrase que le linguiste suisse Charles Bally (1865-1947) appelle « segmentée » (Bally, 1965) et qu'on appelle en anglais *cleft sentence* (parfois rendu en français par « phrase clivée ») et par suite permet d'interpréter le reste de la ligne 1 non plus comme l'attribut de 'anah, mais une apposition à 'anah. Si la ligne 1 était elle-même une phrase, on s'attendrait à ce que la phrase de la ligne 2 lui soit, non pas juxtaposée, mais *coordonnée* au moyen de wa- (« Je suis Ruqaym, fils de Mu'arrif, l'Awsite et le roi al-Ḥārīt m'a envoyé... »).

Le revirement de Robin, qui, en 2002, interprète la ligne 1 comme le thème d'une phrase segmentée, mais en 2008 comme une phrase ne laisse pas d'étonner. En effet, un francophone natif est porté assez spontanément à une interprétation comme thème, pour la raison simple mais suffisante que le français, sinon écrit, du moins oral, a en partage avec l'arabe (toutes variétés et tous états confondus) la phrase segmentée. A l'inverse, l'anglais ne possédant pas une telle structure, on s'attendrait à ce qu'un anglophone natif l'interprète plus volontiers comme une phrase. D'une certaine manière, il est rassurant de constater que, si la langue maternelle de l'épigraphiste et/ou du linguiste peut jouer un rôle dans ses

¹Accessoirement, Versteegh interprète la relecture de la ligne 1 par Macdonald comme une phrase, alors que Macdonald lui-même l'interprète comme un thème.

interprétations, celui-ci n'est cependant pas décisif, Robin se ralliant à l'interprétation comme phrase et Macdonald à l'interprétation comme thème.

L'interprétation comme phrase pourrait être favorisée par le fait que la ligne 1 du graffito coïncide ici avec une structure syntaxique. Mais c'est justement une coïncidence dont on ne sera pas dupe. Le reste de l'inscription montre qu'il n'y a pas coïncidence entre les fins de lignes et les limites de syntagme. La ligne 2 se termine par la préposition *'alā*, le syntagme nominal qui en dépend se trouvant au début de la ligne 3 ; la ligne 3 se termine par le syntagme *snt*, premier terme d'une annexion, dont le second se trouve au début de la ligne 4. Ajoutons par anticipation sur 2 que *snt* a un *tā' maftūḥa*, là où dans l'orthographe classique on aurait un *tā' marbūṭa*, ce qui prouve que le scribe écrit comme il prononce, c'est-à-dire fait une liaison entre les deux termes de l'annexion, ce qui ne l'empêche pas de passer à la ligne après le premier terme. Il est donc clair que ce n'est pas la syntaxe, mais la forme de la pierre qui détermine les passages à la ligne. On ne manquera pas de comparer avec l'inscription de Ḥarrān, datée de 463 de l'ère de la province romaine d'Arabie = 568 de l'ère chrétienne (sur cette inscription, cf. en dernier lieu Robin, 2006, p. 332-336). On a ici, en effet, la même structure que dans le graffito du Ḡabal 'Usays, mais sur la même ligne : *'n' s/šrḥyl br/n t/ḏlmw bnyt d/d' 'lmrṭwl*, soit *'anā S/Šaraḥīl bar/bin Zālim banayt dā al-marṭūl* « moi, Šaraḥīl, fils de Zālim, j'ai construit ce martyrium... »². Le dernier mot de la ligne 1 déborde même sur la partie grecque, à gauche de la croix, comme si le scribe n'avait pas voulu couper sa phrase, ne passant à la ligne que pour les compléments circonstanciels de temps.

2.2. Phono-graphie

2.2.1. Graphie...

En indiquant qu'ils « lis[ent] les trois premières lettres *alif, nūn (...)* et *hā'*, ce qui pourrait être une graphie de *ana/anā*, attestée en araméen et même en arabe », Robin et Goréa (2002 : 508) :

1) rappellent implicitement que le *hā'*, en araméen, est ici une *mater lectionis*. Il ne note pas le son consonantique [h] : il assure seulement la lecture de la voyelle *a* pour la consonne *n* qui précède. Autrement dit, tout en s'écrivant *'nh*, le pronom personnel disjoint de 1^{re} personne se dit *'ana* ;

2) suggèrent qu'il peut en aller ainsi de l'arabe ;

3) et posent enfin le problème de la quantité de la voyelle *a* : brève ou longue ?

Ils ajoutent en note que « la graphie *'nh*, largement attestée dans les documents épigraphiques araméens du V^e av. è. chr., est connue dans une inscription palmyrénienne et

²Même en considérant que le texte arabe est la version de référence, il est un peu étonnant de lire Šaraḥīl et, plus encore Zālim, dont le sens étymologique est peu compatible avec un usage comme prénom masculin, alors que dans le texte grec on a *Saraēlos Talēmou*, avec génitif de filiation (le Saraël de Talém), mais possible reflet également du *-w* de *Ṭlmw*.

dans des amulettes et coupes magiques inscrites en judéo-palmyrénien (III^e-VI^e s.) ». Ils renvoient, pour le palmyrénien, à Cantineau (1935 : 61), où on peut lire en effet que « le pronom de 1^{re} pers. Sg. est attesté dans une inscription inédite d'Ingholt sous la forme אנה (= ^anā), Cantineau ajoutant : « on notera la graphie archaïque du -ā final en face du jud. pal. אנה, syr. 'enā ». Cantineau, on le voit, prend parti ici pour un hé final, *mater lectionis*, notant une voyelle longue ā. Robin et Goréa (2002) ne soufflent mot du nabatéen, mais on trouve une indication chez Cantineau (1930 : 51) : « Les inscriptions ne fournissent aucun exemple sûr des pronoms personnels indépendants de 1^{re} et de 2^e personne (אנה: « moi », 340 [du *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*] est très douteux) ».

On a déjà rencontré 'nh dans l'inscription de Ta'labah. Cette inscription étant en langue arabe, mais en écriture transitionnelle nabatéo-arabe, on peut donc faire l'hypothèse d'un araméisme graphique, comme Macdonald (2009 : 223 ; 2010 : 142), qui lit *br* et non *bn*, à la ligne 1 du graffiti du Ġabal 'Usays, fait celle d'un araméisme lexical, se justifiant par le style formulaire de ce type d'inscriptions.

Mais faire l'hypothèse de 'nh comme variante graphique, influencée par l'environnement araméen, de 'ana/'anā n'en revient pas moins à faire celle, pour l'arabe même, du -h final comme *mater lectionis*. Dans ce contexte, un arabisant pensera aussitôt au fameux tā' marbūṭa. Ce graphème est un hybride de *h* et de *t*, reflétant la double prononciation de ce suffixe dans l'orthoépique de l'arabe dit classique : -at- en liaison, mais -ah à la pause. Chacun sait pourtant qu'en arabe moderne et dans les dialectes, si la prononciation en liaison demeure, la prononciation pausale est simplement -a, parfois avec 'imāla dans les dialectes (a > e). On pourrait donc se demander si la prononciation pausale -ah ne serait pas simplement une réinterprétation d'une ancienne *mater lectionis*³...

On peut aller encore plus loin et se demander si la même chose ne peut pas être dite du 'alif que l'on trouve dans l'orthographe classique du pronom personnel libre de 1^{re} personne du singulier, qui est aussi celle de l'inscription de Ḥarrān (cf. *supra*). Sībawayhi (m. 179/795 ?) indique en effet dans son *Kitāb* (IV, p. 164) que « quand on fait la liaison, on dit 'ana 'aqūlu *dāka* » (fa- 'idā waṣala qāla 'ana 'aqūlu *dāka*). Autrement dit, tout en écrivant un 'alif, on n'en dit pas moins 'ana et non 'anā. Ceux qui s'intéressent au Coran comme texte et à son histoire savent que le Coran du Caire neutralise ce 'alif au moyen d'un « zéro allongé », ainsi décrit (*Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn*, p. 524) : « Mettre un zéro allongé au dessus d'un 'alif suivi d'une consonne vocalisée signifie qu'il est explétif, en liaison, non à la pause » (waḍ' al-ṣifr al-mustaṭīl al-qā'im fawq 'alif ba'dahā mutaḥarrik yadullu 'alā ziyādatihā waṣlan lā waqfan), le

³ Mascitelli (2006 : 190) voit dans le *h* de *mslḥh* la notation d'une voyelle brève a, mais sans le considérer pour autant comme une véritable *mater lectionis*. Pour le moyen arabe, cf. Lentin (2012 : 217-219). Enfin Manfred Kropp (c.p.) me fait observer que si on fait de -h une *mater lectionis*, on peut non seulement lire 'nh = 'n' = 'anā à la ligne 1, mais encore *mslḥh* = *mslḥ'* = *musallahā* (« comme homme armé ») à la ligne 3.

Coran du Caire donnant comme premier exemple Cor. 7, 12 'anā (> 'ana) ḥayrun minhu. Le Coran du Caire ajoute que :

s'agissant du 'alif suivi d'une consonne non vocalisée, comme dans 'anā n-naḍīru on se dispense de mettre le zéro allongé au dessus de lui, même s'il a le même statut que celui suivi d'une consonne vocalisée, tombant en liaison et se maintenant à la pause, du fait qu'on n'imagine pas qu'il se maintienne en liaison » (wa- 'uhmilat al- 'alif allatī ba 'dahā sākin naḥw 'anā n-naḍīru min waḍ' al- šifr al-mustaṭīl fawqahā wa- 'in kāna ḥukmuhā miṭl allatī ba 'dahā mutaḥarrīk fī 'annahā tasquṭu waṣlan wa-tuḡbatu waqfan li- 'adam tawahhum tuḡūtihā waṣlan).

Le Coran du Caire veut dire que dans Cor. 15, 89 'anā-n-naḍīr, donné en exemple, la liaison fait que le -ā, se retrouvant en syllabe fermée, est automatiquement abrégé (ā-n->a-n), rendant inutile de noter cet abrégement.

Le fait que l'on écrive quelque chose qu'on ne dit pas, et qu'on l'écrive partout, est un argument en faveur d'un 'alifmater lectionis, c'est-à-dire destiné à « exposer »⁴ la qualité de la voyelle (a), plutôt que sa quantité, même si les grammairiens arabes ont posé que ce même 'alif notait un allongement de la voyelle brève à la pause.

2.2.2... ou phonie ?

Mais il est aussi permis de voir les choses autrement. La question du statut de -h se pose et de manière générale et de manière particulière. On voit en effet les mots munis d'un tā' marbūṭa rimer avec des mots non munis de ce suffixe, mais auxquels a été ajouté, de manière ad hoc, un hā' dit al-sakt (litt. « de silence »). L'exemple classique est celui de la sourate 69 du Coran où des mots auxquels est affixé le pronom personnel de 1^{re} personne -ī sont augmentés d'un -h (e.g. kitābī>kitābiyah) pour rimer avec des mots se terminant par un tā' marbūṭa. On pourrait néanmoins maintenir que celui-ci est destiné à assurer, comme le tā' marbūṭa, une lecture -a et non -ah et donc que ce -h est partout mater lectionis. Cela est cependant contraire au principe de la rime en arabe, qui est soit de supprimer la voyelle brève en finale, soit au contraire de l'allonger... C'est d'ailleurs ce principe qui permet de comprendre que ce hā' s'ajoute à un mot déjà lu en -iya comme hiya (« elle »), ainsi dans Cor. 96, 11 où on a mā 'adrāka mā hiyah « qu'est-ce qui te fera connaître ce qu'il est ? » (i.e. « cet abîme »). A la pause, hiya devient hī et seul l'adjonction de -h permet la rime avec des mots en tā' marbūṭa. Mais l'argument décisif est le suivant : on voit des mots munis d'un tā' marbūṭa rimer avec des mots munis du pronom personnel affixe de 3^e personne masculin

⁴Les grammairiens arabes n'en sont pas inconscients. La remarque de Sībawayhi prend place dans un chapitre du Kitāb (IV, p. 162-166) intitulé ḥādā bāb mā yubayyinūna ḥarakatahu wa-mā qablahu mutaḥarrīk « chapitre de ce dont on distingue la voyelle, ce qui précède étant vocalisé ».

singulier *-h(u/i)*. Or, bien évidemment, personne n'a jamais nié la valeur consonantique de ce *-h*. C'est le cas aux versets 17-18 de la sourate 96 :

17 fa-l-yad'u nādiyāh « Et qu'il appelle son clan :
18 sa-nad'u⁵ z-zabāniyah Nous appellerons les Archanges ! ».

Si le statut consonantique du *tā' marbūṭa* et, par ricochet, du *hā' al-sakt* paraît établi, cela a, par rapport au graffiti du Ġabal 'Usays, une double conséquence :

1) *mslḥh* note bien une forme pausale (*maslaḥah*), qui, contrastant avec la forme liée *snt* qui suit, prouve que le *tā' marbūṭa*, comme graphème unique notant une double prononciation, n'existe pas encore ; en revanche, on le trouve dans l'un des deux plus vieux papyri gréco-arabes conservés, daté de 22/643, le fameux PERF 558, où, dans les mêmes conditions de liaison, due à l'annexion, on a *ḥlfyh* (*ḥalīfat-*) et *snh* (*sanat-*) ;

2) on peut alors voir dans *'nh* ce que les grammairiens arabes y ont vu, une forme pausale de *'anā*, et justifier l'apparition de cette forme pausale par la syntaxe.

Certes, Sībawayhi (*Kitāb*, IV, p. 164), l'ignore écrivant « que ne se trouve à la pause, en ce qui concerne *'anā*, que le *'alif* » (*wa-lā yakūnu fī al-waqf fī 'anā 'illā al-'alif*). Mais Zamaḥṣarī, m. 538/1144 (*Mufaṣṣal*, p. 343) la donne comme une des deux formes pausales possibles : « on dit, en cas de pause sur les mots indéclinables, *'anā* avec le *'alif* et *'anah* avec le *hā'* » (*wa-taqūlu fī al-waqf 'alā ġayr al-mutamakkina 'anā bi-l-'alif wa-'anah bi-l-hā'*) : la formulation de Zamaḥṣarī montre que pour lui ce n'est qu'un cas particulier du *hā' al-sakt*. Son commentateur Ibn Ya'īš (m. 643/1245) indique dans le *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* (IX, p. 84) que :

parfois *hā'* remplace *'alif* dans cette position, du fait que leur fonctionnement est le même : on a dit *'anah* et en relève le propos de Ḥātim [al-Ṭā'ī] *hādā fazdī 'anah* [sur cette citation, cf. *infra*] » (*wa-rubbamā waqa'at al-hā' mawqī'ahā fī hādā al-mawqī' li-'anna maġrāhumā wāḥid qālū 'anah wa-minhu qawl Ḥātim hādā fazdī 'anah*).

De son côté, Ibn al-Hāḡib (m. 646/1249) indique dans la *Šāfiya* (dans *Šarḥ al-Šāfiya*, II, p. 294) que « *'anah* est rare » (*'anah qalīl*). Mais son commentateur Raḡī al-dīn al-'Astarābādī (m. 688/1289) est plus précis qui écrit (*ibidem*) que « certains Ṭayyi' font la pause sur lui au moyen de *hā'* à la place du *'alif* et disent *'anah*, mais c'est rare » (*ba'd Ṭayyi' yaqīfu 'alayhi bi-l-hā' makān al-'alif fa-yaqūlu 'anah wa-huwa qalīl*), renvoyant, comme Ibn Ya'īš, à la citation de Ḥātim [al-Ṭā'ī], mais dans une version légèrement différente : « Ḥātim

⁵Avec *wāw* manquant, par rapport à l'arabe dit classique. On peut y voir l'effet, soit d'un parallélisme avec l'apocopé du verset précédent, soit d'une orthographe « phonétique », notant l'abrégement de la voyelle longue résultant ici du fait qu'elle se trouve en syllabe fermée : *sa-nad'ū-z-zabāniyah* > *sa-nad'u-z-zabāniyah*.

a dit : c'est ainsi que je saigne [une bête], moi » (*qāla Ḥātīm hākaḏā fazdī 'anah*). L'éditeur du *Šarḥ al-Šāfiya* indique en note que *fazdī* est une variante de *fašdī*, avec, donc, sonorisation du *š* au contact du *d*. Dans ma communication de Londres, je n'avais pas manqué de rappeler que les Ṭayyi', grand groupe tribal originaire d'Arabie du Sud, mais ayant migré vers le centre et le nord de l'Arabie, faisaient, sous la forme *Ṭayyāyē / Ṭayōyē*, le nom des Arabes dans les sources syriaques et que, selon Mascitelli (2006 : 182), les sources arabes indiquent qu'il y a trois groupes appelés 'Aws et trois appelés al-'Aws, dont deux, 'Aws b. Hārīṭa et al-'Aws b. Dirmā, étaient Qaḥṭānites et fractions des Ṭayyi' ⁶.

Et l'on peut justifier l'apparition de cette forme pausale par la syntaxe. Qu'on lise la ligne 1 comme une phrase ou comme un thème, se décomposant en trois syntagmes nominaux, dont les deuxième et troisième sont en apposition au premier, il y aura nécessairement après *'nh* une pause. C'est elle en réalité qui marque la relation syntaxique de prédication comme elle marque celle d'apposition, la distinction des deux étant laissée, comme on l'a vu en 2.1., à un contexte plus large. Si on lit comme phrase, on ne sera pas dupe de la traduction française « je suis Ruqaym... ». La phrase française est typiquement ce que Bally (1965) appelait une phrase *liée* sujet-prédicat, le verbe *être*, justement appelé pour cette raison copule, liant l'un à l'autre et la phrase pouvant être prononcée d'une traite, sans pause aucune entre ses constituants. Il en va tout autrement de la structure arabe. Même minimale, c'est-à-dire réduite à deux syntagmes nominaux, elle n'en reste pas moins une phrase segmentée thème-propos (« Moi / Untel »), même si, en ce cas, thème et propos coïncident avec sujet et prédicat (= « je suis Untel »). Si on lit la ligne 1 comme un thème, avec une apposition, il y aura tout autant segmentation de la structure et donc pause entre ses constituants (fr. « Moi, Untel... »).

Dans ce contexte, on est très peu tenté de voir dans le *'alif* de *'n*, qui apparaît dans l'inscription de Ḥarrān et qui est l'orthographe classique, une *mater lectionis*. Mais on n'est pas davantage tenté de faire correspondre à une unique forme graphique deux formes phoniques, *'ana* et *'anā*, selon qu'on est en liaison ou à la pause. On est beaucoup plus tenté de faire l'hypothèse que si c'est la forme donnée comme pausale qui est partout écrite, c'est qu'en fait elle est partout prononcée comme telle. A cet égard, l'exemple donné par Sībawayhi n'est pas très adéquat. On ne voit pas quelle « liaison » il pourrait y avoir entre *'anā* et *'aqūlu ḏāka* ; *'anā* est le thème d'une phrase segmentée dont le propos est lui-même une phrase verbale, le verbe étant à la première personne de l'inaccompli, donc commençant par [*'*] : cela fait deux raisons, l'une syntaxique et l'autre phonétique, pour qu'il y ait une pause. Par « en liaison », il faut entendre en fait ce que Fleisch (1961 : 187) appelle « en

⁶L'article Ṭayyi' de *EF*², dû à Shahid, rappelle qu'il y avait des Ṭayyi' au service des Lakhmides, mais aussi des Ghassanides. Robin (2006 : 332 et note 46) n'exclut pas qu'il puisse s'agir d'un Aws de Yaṭrib (Médine). L'article AWS de *EF*², dû à Montgomery Watt, rappelle leur généalogie traditionnelle, qui les rattache également à l'Arabie du Sud.

contexte », ce qui n'exclut pas, dans le cas d'espèce, une pause « contextuelle ». Tout au plus peut-on imaginer qu'elle est plus légère que la pause finale et c'est peut-être ce que Sībawayhi a voulu dire en parlant d'une double quantité de la voyelle finale *-a* du pronom *'anā*.

Certes, *'anā* se terminant par une voyelle et non, comme *'anah*, par une consonne, une liaison reste théoriquement possible quand le pronom est suivi d'un syntagme nominal, muni de l'article, prédicat ou apposition, comme dans Cor. 15, 89 *'anā-n-naḏīr*. Mais on peut se demander si une telle liaison était originellement faite, quand on restitue *'anā-n-naḏīr* dans son contexte qui est *'innī 'anā-n-naḏīr*. Ce contexte désigne *'anā* comme une apposition du *ism 'inna -ī* et par suite *al-naḏīr* comme le *ḥabar 'inna*. On a donc une phrase doublement segmentée (ce qui se traduit par une double pause) : *'innī / 'anā / 'an-naḏīr* « oui, je suis, moi, l'avertisseur... ». Après tout, l'écriture arabe note partout le *'alif* de l'article et, même s'il est dit neutralisé en liaison (*waṣla*), il est facile de trouver des cas où il est doit être réalisé en *glottal stop* [ʔ], comme dans cette phrase extraite du *Kitāb* (I, p. 12) de Sībawayhi :

(1) *f-hḏh 'l- 'mṭilah 'lty 'ḥḏt mn lḏz 'ḥḏ't 'l- 'sm''*

Si on lie entre eux les syntagmes et que l'on dise :

(2) *fa-hāḏihi l-'amṭilatu llatī 'uḥīdat min lafzi 'aḥḏāti l-'asmā'(i)*

on ne peut pas interpréter cette structure comme une phrase mais seulement comme :

(3) « ces formes, qui sont tirées de l'expression nominale des procès ».

Pour l'interpréter comme une phrase, il faut faire une pause entre *hāḏihi* et *al-'amṭila*, soit :

(4) *fa-hāḏih / 'al-'amṭilatu llatī 'uḥīdat min lafzi 'aḥḏāti l-'asmā'(i)*

« ce sont les formes qui sont tirées de l'expression nominale des procès »

ou entre *al-'amṭila* et *allatī*, soit :

(5) *fa-hāḏihi l-'amṭilah / 'allatī 'uḥīdat min lafzi 'aḥḏāti l-'asmā'(i)*

« ces formes sont celles qui sont tirées de l'expression nominale des procès ».

Dans les deux cas, l'interprétation comme phrase dépend de la segmentation et donc d'une pause entre constituants. Observons d'ailleurs que le pronom démonstratif féminin singulier *hāḏihi* se dénonce graphiquement (*hḏh*) comme la forme pausale de fém. *hāḏī* (vs

masc. *hādā*), à laquelle a été ajoutée une voyelle de liaison, ce qui suggère bien une opposition *hādih* / *'al-'amṭilah* (« ce sont les formes... ») vs *hādihī l-'amṭilah* (« ces formes... »), relayée ensuite, pour faire la différence, par un « pronom de segmentation » (*ḍamīr al-faṣl*) : *hādihī hiya-l-'amṭilah* vs *hādihī l-'amṭilah*.

Nous maintenons donc notre hypothèse de Londres que *'anah* et *'anā* ne sont pas deux variantes graphiques, phoniquement équivalentes, du pronom personnel libre de 1^{re} personne, mais bien deux variantes phoniques de ce pronom, attestant deux des grands procédés à l'œuvre en arabe à la pause : l'allongement de la voyelle ou l'affixation d'un élément consonantique. En faveur de notre hypothèse, on peut d'ailleurs invoquer un graffito inédit de Qā' Banī Murr, en Arabie Saoudite, daté de 120/737-738, où l'on voit les deux procédés se combiner aux lignes 3-4, dans le contexte du *tā' marbūṭa* (Imbert 2011, t. I, p. 67) : on y lit, en effet, *'bw / Hryr'h* ('Abū Hurayrāh), comme si la prononciation pausale du *tā' marbūṭa*, bien marquée, avait entraîné, corrélativement, l'allongement de la voyelle –a...⁷

2.3. Lexique : *maslaḥa*, contexte extra-linguistique et contexte linguistique

Reconnu dès le départ comme appartenant à la famille de *silāḥ*, le dernier mot de la ligne 3 a cependant fait l'objet de différentes lectures (cf. *supra* 1), celle de *mslḥh* (*maslaḥa*) paraissant s'imposer. On dirait en effet que le mot est fait pour le Ḡabal 'Usays ! Si on ouvre le *Lisān al-'Arab* d'Ibn Manẓūr (m. 711/1311) à l'article SLḤ, on verra en effet que *maslaḥa* est ainsi défini : *ka-l-ṭagr wa-l-marqab* « pour ainsi dire, une frontière et un observatoire ».

Mais si la lecture *mslḥh* est adéquate dans le contexte extralinguistique, elle ne l'est pas dans le contexte linguistique, c'est-à-dire sur le plan syntaxique : en traduisant par « envoyer en garnison », Robin et Goréa (2002) projettent sur l'arabe une construction du français. En français, il s'agit d'un syntagme prépositionnel, ayant la fonction d'un complément circonstanciel de lieu. En lisant *mslḥh maslaḥa^{tan}*, ils y voient ce qu'en grammaire arabe on appelle un « circonstanciatif » (*maf'ūl fīhi*), c'est-à-dire un des cinq compléments du verbe à l'accusatif. Mais la lecture du chapitre que Ḡalāyīnī (*Ḡāmi'*, III, p. 44-68) consacre au *maf'ūl fīhi* montre qu'un verbe comme *'arsala*, impliquant mouvement (en arabe dit classique, il se construit avec la préposition *'ilā* « vers »), ne peut se construire avec un tel complément, paraphrasable par un syntagme prépositionnel en *fī* (« dans »), parce que marquant la circonstance de temps ou de lieu où se déroule l'action marquée par le verbe. Dans Larcher (2005[2010]), on relève l'emploi de *'alā*. Par le double effet de l'arabe dit classique et du caractère de montagne de 'Usays, Robin et Goréa traduisent par « sur ». Pour ma part, je suis

⁷On trouve des formes pausales en *-āh* dans le vocatif de lamentation (*nudba*) *yā Zaydāh*, dans *hunāh* (<*hunā*), *hā'ulāh* (<*hāhulā*, ce qui désigne la forme « classique » *hā'ulā'(i)*) comme n'étant rien d'autre qu'une forme pausale en ' à laquelle a été ajoutée une voyelle de liaison : un ' de pause fait par exemple la différence en arabe oriental entre *lā'* prophrase « non ! » et *lā* négation « ne...pas ». Le fait que des formes pausales deviennent les formes écrites de l'arabe dit classique donne évidemment à penser...

tenté d'y voir un emploi de 'alā dans le sens de 'ilā, attesté anciennement, et sous la forme réduite 'a, elle-même ancienne, bien connu en syro-libanais (cf. Fleisch, 1961 : 152).

Une première solution alternative m'a été suggérée, lors de ma communication de Londres, par un collègue, Stefan Sperl : elle consiste à voir dans *mślhh* une apposition à 'Usays et donc à comprendre comme « al-Ĥārīt le roi m'a envoyé à 'Usays, poste frontière », en mettant sur le compte d'une écriture spontanée cette construction, plutôt que celle attendue, qui serait *mślht* 'sys « le poste frontière de 'Usays ». Néanmoins, 'Usays étant sémantiquement défini, comme nom propre de lieu, on s'attendrait que *mślhh* le soit syntaxiquement, au moyen de l'article et que l'on ait : 'sys 'l-*mślh*. Ce n'est pas une vue de l'esprit, puisqu'on a juste avant cette construction avec 'l-*Hrt* 'l-*mlk* « al-Ĥārīt le roi ».

Une deuxième solution a été proposée dans ma communication de Londres. Elle consiste à lire *mślhh* comme *mślh-h*, autrement dit comme un nom premier terme d'une annexion dont le second est un pronom affixe, donc à comprendre syntaxiquement comme une apposition à 'Usays et sémantiquement comme (« al-Ĥārīt le roi m'a envoyé à 'Usays, son poste frontière »). S'il n'y a plus de problème syntaxique, il y a alors un problème morphologique. La base de la famille lexicale étant le nom *silāh*, *maslaḥa* ne peut être qu'un nom de lieu dénominatif, ce que les grammairiens arabes appellent un « nom d'abondance » (*ism al-kaṭra*, *nomen abundantiae*) parce qu'il se paraphrase par « endroit où il y a beaucoup de *x* (où *x* est un nom d'objet) ». Or, selon les grammairiens arabes, le nom d'abondance n'a qu'une forme possible, *maf'ala*, alors que le nom de lieu déverbatif a pour formes possibles *maf'a/il(a)*. Certes, l'existence de *sāliḥ* (« armé »), qui a la forme d'un participe actif, suggère qu'il a pu exister un verbe moyen **saliḥa* (« s'armer, être armé ») et par suite un nom de lieu déverbatif **maslaḥ* (« endroit où l'on s'arme, est armé »)⁸. Mais un parallèle montre que *sāliḥ* peut aussi bien s'expliquer par une dérivation régressive : c'est celui de *ġāhiz* (« prêt »), dérivé régressivement de *ġahhaza* (« apprêter, équiper »), lui-même dérivé du nom *ġahāz* (toute espèce d'équipement), relu ensuite *ġihāz* (principe du *potius lectio facilior*). Sur ce modèle, on aura : *silāh* > *sallaḥa-hu* (« armer quelqu'un ») > *sāliḥ*. La « règle » de *maf'ala* comme forme exclusive du nom de lieu dénominatif souffre cependant des exceptions : on peut citer, pour la langue moderne, *maqḥā* « café » ou, mieux encore, *mathaf* « musée » (« endroit où il y a des chefs d'œuvre » *tuḥfa*, pl. *tuḥaf*). Comme je l'avais noté (Larcher 2010 : 106, n. 4), il faudrait néanmoins trouver des exemples de nom de lieu dénominatif de forme *maf'al* pour la langue archaïque (préislamique ou des premiers temps de l'islam). Il semble bien qu'un tel exemple existe, avec *mazād*, à côté de *mazāda*, dans le sens de « sac à

⁸Au moyen vocalique *saliḥa* pourrait correspondre un moyen dérivationnel **istalaḥa* et, par suite, un participe passif employé comme nom de lieu **mustalaḥ*. Mais seul est attesté le moyen *tasallaḥa* (« s'armer »), alors que *maslaḥ* existe au moins comme toponyme (*Lisān al-'Arab*, art. SLH).

provisions » (*zād*) et que l'on trouve par exemple dans un vers (n° 29) de la *lāmiyya* du poète préislamique Abū Kabīr al-Hudālī (Larcher 2011 repris dans Abū Kabīr al-Hudhālī, 2014) :

Mutakawwirīna ‘alā l-ma‘ārī baynahum / ḍarbun ka-ta‘ṭāṭi l-mazādi l-’anḡali
 « Eux, recroquevillés sur les parties à nu,
 Béants de coups, comme un sac largement fendu ».

Bien qu'il existe un verbe *zāda-yazūdu* « se munir de provisions », *mazād(a)* se comprend mieux comme nom de lieu dénominatif (« endroit où on met des provisions, *zād* ») que comme nom de lieu déverbatif (« endroit où l'on s'approvisionne »). Et c'est un troisième nom, *mizwad*, donné comme synonyme de *mazād(a)*, qui milite en faveur de cette interprétation. Bien qu'il ait la forme d'un nom d'instrument (*ism al-'āla*), il s'interprète mieux comme ce que les grammairiens arabes appellent un *ism al-wi'ā'* (« nom de vase ») qui croise, pour le sens, le nom de lieu et, pour la forme, le nom d'instrument, le « contenant » étant en même temps un ustensile.

Mais la meilleure solution (définitive ?) a été trouvée par l'un des deux lecteurs anonymes de la version écrite de ma communication de Londres. Ce dernier a renvoyé au dictionnaire arabe-anglais de Lane (IV, p. 1403) qui indique que *maslaḥa* signifie *a place of arms or weapons* et, par métonymie, *A people, or party, having arms, or weapons; an armed people or party*, ajoutant : « *a single person of whom is termed maslaḥī and maslaḥa [also] is thus applied to a single person in a saying of 'Omar* », en renvoyant au *Muḡrib* d'al-Muṭarrizī (m. 610/1213). Si on ouvre ce dictionnaire de termes légaux, on y trouvera en effet le dire suivant de 'Umar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb : « 'Umar (qu'Allah soit satisfait de lui !) a dit : le meilleur des gens est un homme qui a agi ainsi et a été garde-frontière entre les musulmans et leurs ennemis » (*wa-qawlu 'Umar raḍiya llāhu 'anhu ḥayru al-nāsi raḡulun fa'ala kaḍā wa-kāna maslaḥatan bayna al-muslimīna wa-'a'dā'ihim*). Si *maslaḥa* peut s'employer dans le même sens que *maslaḥī*, il n'y a plus alors aucune difficulté syntaxique. *'arsala* est employé comme verbe doublement transitif, le second « objet » étant en fait l'attribut du premier et les lignes 2-3 se comprenant comme : « al-Ḥārīt le roi m'a envoyé à 'Usays *comme garde-frontière* ».

2.4. Retour à la syntaxe

Versteegh (2011), dans le compte rendu qu'il fait de Macdonald (2010), écrit à propos des deux documents que j'étudie dans ma contribution – outre le graffiti du Ḡabal 'Usays, le papyrus bilingue gréco-arabe de 22/643 PERF 558 :

I also agree, but with certain reservations, with what is perhaps Larcher's main hypothesis, namely, that the scribes who wrote these two documents spoke an inflectionless Arabic. With respect to the Jabal Usays inscription, the main piece of evidence is the spelling of words in their pausal form,

which can hardly count as evidence of an inflectionless spoken language.

La remarque finale de Versteegh montre que, dans son esprit, pause présuppose 'i'rāb et par suite qu'il est pour lui paradoxal de vouloir donner l'existence de formes pausales comme argument en faveur de l'hypothèse d'une langue sans flexion désinentielle. Versteegh est un trop bon connaisseur de la tradition linguistique arabe pour ne pas savoir que dans celle-ci la pause (*waqf*) ne s'oppose nullement à la flexion désinentielle, mais à la liaison (*waṣl*). S'il omet ce fait, c'est parce que les anciens grammairiens arabes ne décrivent pas d'autre arabe que fléchi et que, dans cette langue fléchie, la pause se traduit principalement (mais non exclusivement) par le phénomène de 'iskān (ou *taskīn*, litt. « quiescentisation ») c'est-à-dire d'amuïssement de la voyelle brève finale, qui peut être flexionnelle (mais aussi non flexionnelle). Que la pause soit indépendante de la flexion (même si, dans une langue fléchie, elle a des effets sur elle) est bien attesté par la contiguïté de *mshh* et de *snt*, c'est-à-dire d'une forme pausale et d'une forme liée. De la première, on peut dire qu'elle n'a pas de flexion casuelle. On ne peut pas dire, sauf à rétroprojeter, comme le font Robin et Goréa (2002), l'arabe dit classique sur la langue du graffiti, qu'elle est la forme pausale de *maslaḥatan*. De la seconde, on peut dire qu'elle exhibe l'état construit. On ne peut pas dire que le *tā' maftūha* a une voyelle casuelle *-a*, marque de l'accusatif, comme complément circonstanciel de temps.

Certes, on ne peut pas non plus l'exclure. C'est bien pourquoi l'existence d'une forme pausale visible (sinon de deux, *Muġīrah* ne pouvant plus être invoqué dès lors qu'on lit comme *Mu'arrif*) n'était pour moi qu'un des deux arguments donnés en faveur d'une langue sans flexion désinentielle. L'autre argument est la structure thème-propos, autrement dit la phrase segmentée. De manière générale, la présence d'un pronom de rappel (à la 3^e personne) ou coréférent (aux 1^{re} et 2^e personnes) marquant la place du thème dans le propos rend *redondante* une éventuelle flexion des autres arguments. Ainsi dans la phrase propos 'arsalanī al-Ḥārīt al-malik, le pronom personnel affixe *-nī*, que sa forme même, avec le *nūn al-wiqāya* (« *nūn* de prévention »), désigne comme affixé à un verbe et par suite comme objet, désigne en même temps *al-Ḥārīt al-malik* comme le sujet de ce verbe. S'il y avait une voyelle casuelle *-u*, marque du nominatif en arabe dit classique, elle ne servirait très exactement à rien.

On peut aller plus loin. Le corrélat d'une flexion désinentielle, spécialement casuelle, autrement dit d'une déclinaison, pertinente est la déplaçabilité des syntagmes nominaux dans la phrase. Il y a des traces d'un tel système en arabe ancien⁹. Sībawayhi (*Kitāb*, I, p. 80-81) cite ainsi *Zaydan ḍarabtu* à côté de *ḍarabtu Zaydan*, sans d'ailleurs les différencier

⁹Expression que j'emploie contrastivement à « ancien arabe » qui, par opposition à « néo-arabe », désigne le type fléchi de l'arabe par opposition au type non-fléchi. On a compris que, pour moi, l'arabe ancien n'était pas uniformément, sur le plan typologique, de l'« ancien arabe »...

sémantiquement, ce que feront ultérieurement les rhétoriciens arabes, en voyant dans la première structure une focalisation (« c'est Zayd que j'ai frappé »). Cet exemple de grammairien a un parallèle dans les textes originaux, par exemple Cor. 2, 87 *fa-farīqan kaddabtum wa-farīqan taqtulūn(a)* (« Une fraction, vous avez traitée de menteurs et une fraction, vous tuerez »), répété en 5, 70 sous la forme *fa-farīqan kaddabū wa-farīqan yaqtulūn(a)* (« Une fraction, ils ont traitée de menteurs et une fraction, ils tueront »). Le déplacement du complément d'objet en tête de phrase (extraposition) peut s'expliquer par la rime, ce qui n'est plus le cas dans Cor. 6, 143 et 144 : *'ā-d-dakarayni ḥarrama 'ami l-'untayni* « est-ce les deux mâles qu'il a prohibés ou les deux femelles ? ».

On note tout de suite que dans tous ces cas, exemple de grammairien comme versets coraniques, les syntagmes nominaux déplacés ont une flexion casuelle *visible*. Ce qui pose une intéressante question. Est-ce le caractère *redondant* de la flexion casuelle qui explique la *scriptio defectiva*, laquelle ne note pas les voyelles brèves, principales marques des cas ? Ou, inversement, est-ce la *scriptio defectiva* qui a, sinon déterminé, du moins accéléré l'évolution du type ancien arabe en type néo-arabe, du fait que la flexion casuelle, audible à l'oral (hors pause), devient invisible à l'écrit, la déplaçabilité étant limitée aux quelques cas où la flexion est à la fois audible et visible ?

On peut aller plus loin. Sous le nom d'*ištiḡāl*, les grammairiens arabes ont traité d'une troisième structure *Zaydan ḍarabtuḥu*, où le verbe est « distrait » de son « action » sur *Zaydan* par son action sur le pronom de rappel *-hu*. Cette structure entrecroise l'extraposition de la structure *Zaydan ḍarabtu* et la thématization de la structure *Zaydun ḍarabtuḥu*, quelque chose comme « *c'est Zayd que je l'ai frappé ». Dans une perspective diachronique, on pourrait y voir le chaînon entre les deux. Que la phrase segmentée dont le propos est lui-même une phrase verbale soit issue d'une phrase verbale avec extraposition de l'un de ses arguments est suggéré par une ambiguïté sémantique de la structure thématique en arabe ancien : ce qui est syntaxiquement thème peut en contexte s'interpréter comme focus. Ainsi dans la sourate 12 du Coran (*sūrat Yūsuf*) trouve-t-on trois versets (1-3) donnés par la tradition islamique comme un ajout médinois à une sourate donnée par cette même tradition comme mecquoise et dont le 3^e est *naḥnu naquṣṣu 'alayka 'aḥsana l-qaṣaṣi*. Dans le contexte coranique, il se comprend mieux comme une focalisation (« c'est nous qui te racontons les plus belles histoires ») que comme une simple thématization (« nous, nous te racontons les plus belles histoires ») : la focalisation vaut rejet implicite de l'accusation qu'il s'agirait d'« histoires des anciens », le verset ajoutant d'ailleurs « du fait que nous t'avons révélé ce Coran » (*bimā 'awḥaynā 'ilayka ḥādā l-qur'āna*). Les inscriptions du Ḡabal 'Usays et de Ḥarrān peuvent éventuellement s'interpréter comme « c'est moi, Ruqaym, fils de Mu'arrif, l'Awsite qu'a envoyé al-Ḥārīṭ le roi à 'Usays comme garde-frontière en l'an 433 » et « c'est moi Š/Sarāḥīl fils de Ṭlmw qui ai construit ce martyrion... ».

Conclusion : une histoire dans l'Histoire

Le graffiti du Ġabal 'Usays est historiquement et linguistiquement intéressant. Il reste, à ce jour, la plus ancienne inscription qui soit à la fois 1) en arabe ; 2) en écriture arabe et 3) parfaitement datée. L'inscription de Zabad, candidate à ce titre, est un ajout arabe à une inscription gréco-syriaque, seule datée (823 de l'ère séleucide = 512 après JC), et qui peut donc lui être postérieur, même s'il existe des arguments pour le considérer comme contemporain du reste de l'inscription (Robin 2006 : 336-338). Moncollègue Frédéric Imbert a découvert, en Janvier 2014, à Bīr Ĥimā, à 120 kms au nord de Najran, sur le territoire de l'actuelle Arabie saoudite, un lot d'inscriptions, dont l'une particulièrement intéressante : elle est en arabe et dans une écriture que son inventeur décrit comme « à 20% nabatéenne et 80% arabe » ; mais, surtout, elle est chrétienne et datée de l'ère de la province romaine d'Arabie (364 = 470 ap. JC), ce qui atteste clairement une diffusion nord-sud (et non sud-nord !).

Mais ce graffiti est aussi humainement émouvant, racontant une petite histoire : celle d'un homme, qui donne son nom, son patronyme et son ethnonyme, indiquant qu'il a été envoyé là comme soldat (*mshh*) par son souverain. Le graffiti ayant été trouvé sur les pentes du petit cratère (à l'intérieur du grand) du Ġabal 'Usays, non loin du sommet, on peut supposer qu'il a été tracé là par ce soldat à un moment où il y était posté en vigie. Mais, surtout, il savait lire et écrire...

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Annexe 1



(Photo M.C.A. Macdonald, 2006)

THE CONTENTIOUS RHETORIC OF THE CAIRENE WALLS: WHEN GRAFFITI MEETS POPULAR POETRY

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Abstract: The Egyptian Revolution of 2011 had among the common features of political popular expression in the public space the overwhelming presence of poetry to which Elliot Colla attributes a prominent role from the beginning of the uprising being not an ornament but a soundtrack contributing to the revolutionary act (Colla 2012:47). The political graffiti of Cairo, a cultural practice brought about and fueled by the revolution is not exempted, with poetry acting as the sound recorded by graffiti, transformed at the same time into a rhetorical device. This article will present an analysis of a selected corpus of graffiti featuring revolutionary imagery and fragments of poetry, focusing on the specificity of the re-appropriation of literary fragments used as elements of a revolutionary, contentious rhetoric, and the creation of an inter-textual topicality that transcends historical contexts. We will follow, at the same time, the relationship between poetry and graffiti in order to clarify the mechanisms of a lyrical dimension of Egyptian protest graffiti.

Keywords: graffiti; Egypt; poetry; popular culture; politics of visibility.

Based on a corpus of graffiti images gathered in autumn 2012 in Cairo as well as the personal internet archives of graffiti artists, our analysis will attempt to explain the mechanisms and functionalities of graffiti as a signifying practice. As our corpus has shown, the rhetoric of cairene graffiti is constructed, among others, by exploring the connection between a contemporary non-sanctioned cultural practice and lyrical texts originating from the fifties, sixties and seventies as well as contemporary texts. At a first glance, these fragments have in common a high degree of topicality as they relate to historical events, bearing the marks of the contexts in which they were created under the influence of socialism, nationalism, the emergence of pan-Arabism and the Arab Spring revolutionary events. The pieces analyzed show a material-context dependency which is corroborated with the intertextuality of the selected messages in order to formulate a contentious rhetoric, based on a specific past through which the realities of the present are interrogated. We deal in the following with the way lyrical fragments are re-appropriated by contemporary Egyptian graffiti as part of a counter-narrative in an attempt to determine the function the graffiti artists attribute to this intertextuality.

Towards a culture of voice and visibility

As our corpus reveals, Egyptian graffiti is more than an element of a read write culture in which participants interact with the environment and the material environment, encouraging the reciprocal relationship between producer and consumer, because, at the same time, through its content,

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the interaction initiates a trans-historical affiliation with other cultural traditions, be they peripheral or mainstream. As our previous work suggested, popular poetry, both modern and contemporary, is embraced by street art as part of a claim to authenticity based on a common intentionality as both graffiti and political popular poetry are used by the disempowered as a common form of expressing dissent (Nicoarea 2013). Due to graffiti's contentious and contesting nature, compared with the incidence of sanctioned literature or religious texts, it is not surprising, that the walls in downtown Cairo are abundant with fragments from lyrical works with strong political connotations. When it comes to language, there is no preference for either poetry written in colloquial Egyptian or classical Arabic, the common denominator being the political resonances of the fragments and their popularity. In terms of chronology, we can distinguish between a number of fragments belonging to the iconic poets of protest, dating back to the sixties and the seventies, and another series containing poems created during the revolution, poems which were quickly popularized through the media and social networks and almost instantaneously entering the collective memory of the protesters. Thus, in terms of identitary valences, we can integrate the two series in the two different types of cultural heritage that, according to Amin Maalouf, help shape identity, the "vertical" heritage whose source is the past and the "horizontal" one which originates from the direct interaction with the era in which we live and contemporary events (Maalouf 2000: 86).

As modern manifestations of *zağal*, the lyrical work of poets such as 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Abnūdī (b. 1938, famous for his: *lissa-n-niḍām masqaṣṣ*, "The regime has not fallen yet" or *Al-Mīdān*, "The Square"), Ṣalāḥ Ḡāhīn (1930-1986, poet of the Revolution of 1952) and the iconic 'Aḥmad Fu'ād Nağm (1928-2013), to whom we must add the countless poets of the revolution many of them anonymous, is associated with popular literature, *al-'adab al-'āmmiyy*, not only because of the preference for Spoken Egyptian Arabic, but due to the notorious popularity it enjoys as a result of its power of reverberation among the masses. This type of poetry, popular ever since the fifties until today, is characterized by a tidal dynamics related to the high and low of political and ideological mobilization of the masses. When it comes to the period predating the 2011 revolution Richard Jacquemond notes that poetry was no longer the space of a "social and political *magisterium*" (author's translation) as it was the case in the sixties (Jacquemond 2001:219). The above mentioned poets belong to a wave of politically engaged poetry, which was influenced and at the same time accompanied political events of the last century and subsequently left its mark on contemporary poetry. Mainly a contesting poetry, these verses are regarded as a genuine form of popular expression.

The immense popularity of this protest poetry formulates a popular opposition to what Moroccan anthropologist Tarik Sabry calls the "pseudo popular culture" common in Arab countries. In discussing the meaning of popular within Arab culture Sabry outlines the absence of a genuine popular culture as what is usually considered under this denomination is in fact a culture that does not speak "with its own voice but with the voice of the center, its ideas and choices" (Sabry 2010: 57). In other similar terms, 'Abd Al-Salām Bnu 'Abd Al-'ālī describes this type of culture as *taqāfatul-'uduni* "ear culture" that establishes itself as *taqāfatul-wutūqiyyati wa-l-taqlīdi*, *taqāfat^m tarḍiḥu li-l-ṣawti – al-manba'i*, *wa la tabta'idu 'anhu bimā yakfī kay tu'mala fīhi fikaruhā*. *taqāfatul-'uduni hiya 'alā-l-dawāmi taqāfatul-sulṭat^m: kullu sam^{im} tāt^m* (Bnu 'Abd Al-'ālī 2008:8), „the culture of service ability and imitation, a culture that is subject to the voice, to the source from which it does not distance itself

in such a way as to work its own ideas. Ear culture is always the culture of power: every year is a subject” (author’s translation). Consequently, it is not surprising that in claiming authenticity, graffiti covers the work of these authors, since both are types of writing used mainly by the powerless as a common form of expressing dissent and while doing this they formulate an opposing stance towards mainstream culture and politics.

When it come to the composition of the works contained in our selected corpus it is worth mentioning the framework in which it is scrutinized, that of graffiti as a hybrid genre following upon the definition of Argentinean anthropologist Nestor Garcia Canclini according to whom graffiti are, alongside comics, a syncretic, transcultural practice “that from birth ignored the concept of patrimonial collection. Places of intersection between the visual and the literary, the cultured and the popular, they bring the artisanal nearer to industrial production and mass circulation” (Garcia Canclini 1995:249). Focusing on how literary texts and graffiti function in creating meaning we must underline the importance of this hybrid encountering of genres. Homi Bhabha, central figure of post-colonial studies, established in his seminal work, *The Location of Culture*(1994) a number of concepts such as difference, ambivalence, mimicry and last but not least hybridity used to describe the resistance of the colonized before colonial rule. Bhabha defines hybridity as:

the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the 'pure' and original identity of authority). Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination. It unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but reimplicates its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power. (Bhabha 1994:120)

Hybridity thus translates the reactive disobedience and resistance of the dominated subversive through strategies affecting the dominant discourse and turning it against itself through mimetic processes. Bhabha sees, in the repeating of the dominant discourse by the dominated, a contamination of domination by the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. In comparing the authoritarian systems graffiti contests with the discriminatory politics of colonial powers we find similarities in the strategies employed within the contentious discourse and the interaction of poetry and street art furthermore underlines the combined power of both elements.

In the following part of our article we will concentrate on a close reading of a number of selected graffiti. The textual component of the pieces will be examined though a conscientious analysis at a semantic, structural and, most of all, cultural level. When relevant, the visual component will be studied by means of a geosemiotic model aiming at establishing the meaning of placing the signs in the material world through the examination of the interaction between spatial, individual, social and cultural contexts.

Contemporary voices of dissent



Figure 1. 'i'tilnī 'atlī mā hay'īd dawlatak tānī, "Kill me, killing me will not bring back your country"

'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Abnūdī (b. 1938) is a representative poet of the sixties generation whose career was marked by his meeting of Ṣalāḥ Ḡāhīn, the initiator of the colloquial poetry page in the weekly *Ṣabāḥ al-Ḥayr* and the ephemeral *Dār Ibn 'Arūs* publishers. Al-'Abnūdī is one of the celebrity poets that draw thousands of auditors for their public lecture sat the annual book fair (Jacquemond 2001: 20). The verses included in the stencil graffiti in figure 1 'i'tilnī 'atlī mā hay'īd dawlatak tānī, "Kill me, killing me will not bring back your country" (author's translation) is part of the poem *Al-mīdān*, "The Square". The poem was written in the early days of the 2011 revolution in colloquial Egyptian Arabic and is dedicated to revolutionaries in Tahrir Square and at the same time marks an obituary of Hosni Mubarak's regime which transformed it into a revolutionary anthem from 2011 onwards (Abdel-Nasser 2013). Lorenzo Casini observes that the popularity of *Al-mīdān* is due to the poem's circulation through the media and the social networks which transformed the poem into a multimodal text that determined the submitting of comments and alternatives through which the public interacts with the lines (Casini 2012). In the graffiti depiction the imperative 'i'tilnī is visualized as an armed man attacking a falling unarmed opponent with the red color of the verses underlining the idea of violence and bloodshed associated with some of the revolutionary protests.



Figure 2. Stencil graffiti representing Šayḥ 'Imām alongside the lyrics of 'Aḥmad Fu'ād Naǧm

Another popular poet among graffiti writers is 'Aḥmad Fu'ād Naǧm (1929-2013), one of the most important colloquial poets whose popularity remained, during his long activity, rather at the level of the masses. Ignored by literary criticism and official institutions, colloquial poets have no access to formal consecration forms but some choose to take advantage of other outlets such as the music market. Its connection to the popular music scene is perhaps one of the reasons of Naǧm's huge popularity. 'Aḥmad Fu'ād Naǧm is well known for his association with 'Imām Muḥammad 'Aḥmad 'Aysā known as Šayḥ 'Imām (1918-1995), composer and singer with whom Naǧm formed a duet famous for its political songs addressing the theme of the working class and the disadvantaged.

The verses depicted in the stencil graffiti in figure two alongside an iconic image of Šayḥ 'Imām are part of the poem *šayyid quṣūrak*, “Erect your forts” written to reflect the mood of the early seventies while encouraging people to take it to the streets to mark the opposition against state abuse. The two lines selected *'arifnā mīn sabab girāḥnā / wa 'arifnā ruḥnā w-ilta'īnā*, “now we know who has hurt us / we know ourselves and we gathered together” (author's translation) reflects the revolutionary feeling of cohesion of those affected by injustice and abuse. This poem which has a musical version was reportedly sung by groups of protesters in Tahrir Square during the revolution (Badr 2011), a recontextualization, based on a shared feeling of dissent, of a poem that marked a past high-tide of protest within another contentious moment.

The location of the graffiti is significant as it was executed on one of the walls of the feared Mugamma'a, the monumental building located in Tahrir Square on the site of the former military camps of the British occupation. The imposing fourteen story building hosts since 1952 the governmental administration where all paper work is done, which makes it a symbol of state bureaucracy. The building has a particular position in Egyptian popular culture, featuring for example as the setting of one of the most popular productions of Egyptian cinema, the comedy *Al-'irhāb w-al-kabāb*, "Terrorism and kebab" (1992) in which it is depicted as a metaphor for the corruption and injustices that affect the lives of the Egyptian people.

Reterritorialization of 'Amal Dunqul's poetry

A special case is reflected in the impetuous presence of the poetry of 'Amal Dunqul (1940-1983) within the graffiti production, with him being the most cited Arab author by within Cairene street art. Schielke and Winegar indicate in their article *The Writing on the Walls of Egypt* that his poetry has a unique bond with the expression of protest by nonconformist means even before the revolution. The authors recall how in the fall of 2010 a graffiti writer wrote in various places on the Alexandria seafront promenade fragments from Dunqul's *kalimāt sbārtakūs al-'aḥīra*, "The Last Words of Spartacus": *lā taḥlamū bi 'ālamⁱⁿ sa'id / fa ḥalfa kulli qayṣarⁱⁿ yamūt: qayṣarⁱⁿ ḡadīd*, "dream not of a happy world / as behind every dying caesar there is a new one" (author's translation). The poet recreates the voice of the Roman gladiator Spartacus, the leader of the third uprising of the slaves in the Roman Republic in 73 B.C. The verses express disbelief in a future different from the political reality having in perspective the 2011 elections and the expected delegation of power from the incumbent president at the time, Hosni Mubarak, towards his son Gamal.

Hereinafter, we will try to delimitate the constitutive elements of this preferential relationship. 'Amal Dunqul is an Upper Egypt born poet who started publishing in the 1960s. Aesthetically, Dunqul pertains to the self-named innovative generation of the "Seventies' Poets" characterized by Clarissa Burt as proceeding "from the most avant garde margins of literary expression inexorably toward the center of the literary spheres, bringing some of their experimental values with them" (Burt 1997:142). His work is characterized by a high degree of topicality, being closely related to contemporary political events, exposing what Starkey describes as "the disintegration of Egyptian society through the use of symbol and allegory" (Starkey 1998: 198). According to Enani, Dunqul's poetry reflects his rejection of the political lines adopted in the 1970's that culminated with the peace accord with Israel (Enani 1986:52) and the literati circles of Cairo regard Dunqul as a great poet mainly because of this position. Dunqul is the author of six volumes of poetry and of a considerable number of other poems scattered and gathered in *Al-'a'māl al-ši'riyya al-kāmila*, "Complete Poetical Works", following his premature death. Despite his popularity within Egypt, his poetic work remains largely unknown, only sporadically translated into other languages.

His popularity originates both in this political stance and in the legend he created for himself. As Enani notes, he lived his life as similar as possible to that of the *ṣa'ālīk* Arab poets of the seventh and eighth century A.D. *Ṣa'ālīk* (sg. *ṣu'lūk*) poets were the vagrant or brigand poets in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic era. They were outcasts as they ceased to be members of the tribes they were born into by their own choice or by expulsion. The poetic forms of the *ṣa'ālīk* qaṣīda tend to be less

traditional as the work of poets who remained within their tribes and the themes reflecting the lifestyle of the (self-)ordained independent poet condemned to a life of theft and loneliness. Most of the *ṣa'ālīk* lived in pre-Islamic Arabia and early Islam, this way of life being ended by the new religion which condemned theft, a practice more or less accepted between tribes in pre-Islamic times. 'Amal Dunqul created through himself a "new image of the pauper-poet – a man with a message, who cares little about the temptations of public life or glory but who would die for a cause" (Enani 1986:53). In addition to this "poetic of personal disinterestedness" (Al-Musawi 2006:139), the popular appeal of Dunqul's poetry resides also in its "refreshing directness and simplicity of tone" (Starkey 1998: 198).

These specific characteristics found in Dunqul's work concerted with certain political evolutions and an increasing resistance to hegemony gave way in general to popular identification with the voices of poets of protest like him. As Al-Musawi notices the poets of the 1960's set the tone against an "earlier poetry of regeneration, hope, and rebirth" (Al-Musawi 2006:139) in the favor of one that deals with defeat: "Their generation was the generation of victories... we were the generation of defeats" (Dunqul apud Kendall 2006:184). This sense of hopelessness, shared by the Egyptian society is visible in the passage quoted from "The Last Words of Spartacus" and the theme of that poem.

'Amal Dunqul's most popular poems are '*al-bukā' bayna yaday zarqā' al-yamāma* "Crying before Zaraqā' al-Yamāma", and *lā tuṣālih*, "Do not make peace". The former addresses the theme of the Arab defeat in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, while the latter was written in December 1976 as an appeal to President Sadat formulating a strong opposition to Egypt's policy of reconciliation with Israel. The latter poem is considered one of his most memorable poems and drew him title of '*amīru šu'arā'i-l-rafḍi*, "Prince of Refusers"².

The stencil graffiti in figure 3 contains the entire text of the poem *Dibāḡa*, "Preamble": '*āh mā 'aqṣā-l-ḡidāru / 'inda mā yanhaḍu fī waḡhi-l-šurūqi / rubbamā nunfiqū kulla-l-'umri ... kay nanquba tuḡrat^{am} / liyamurra-l-nūru li-l-'aḡyāli ... marrat^{am} / rubbamā law lam yakun haḍā-l-ḡidāru ... / mā 'arafnā qīmata-l-ḍaw'i-l-ṭalīqi*, "How cruel is the wall/ when it rises against sunrise / perhaps a whole life we will spend .. to drill a hole / for the light to shine upon generations ...just once / perhaps if it wasn't for this wall / we would not have known the worth of liberated light" (Author's translation).

²<http://digital.ahram.org.eg/articles.aspx?Serial=1146413&eid=429>



Figure 3. The poem *Dībāḡa*, “Preamble”, alongside a stenciled portrait of Khaled Said.

This poem illustrates a common line in the poetry of the 1960s, underlined by Al-Musawi who notices that the poets of that period adopted an oracular tone in their utterances although they were aware of the neglect their warnings were confronted to. This stand was fueled by a feeling of need contingent to the emergence of the nation-state and the international political context that “propelled soul searching and drove intellectuals to review the cultural terrain and its endemic problems” (Al-Musawi 2006:3). In a very simplistic yet unavoidable sense, the January 25th Revolution determined a similar stance which determined the implication of cultural elements hovering the Egyptian conceptual imagery.



Figure 4. Stencil graffiti of Ḥālīd Sa'īd alongside verses from 'Amal Dunqul's *lā tuṣāliḥ*, "Do not make peace"

The graffiti in figure 4 brings together the image of Ḥālīd Sa'īd and two verses from 'Amal Dunqul's *lā tuṣāliḥ*, "Do not make peace": *hal yaṣīru damī bayna 'aynayka mā'?* / *'a tansā ridā'ī-l-mulaṭṭaḥa bi-l-dimā'i*, do your eyes see water flowing from my woods / did you forget my clothes tainted in blood? (author's translation). The name of young Alexandrian Khaled Said is closely associated with the first call to protest in Egypt, within the context of the so-called Arab Spring. It was initiated with the help of a Facebook page entitled *kullinā ḥālīd sa'īd*, "We Are All Khaled Said", a page who claims solidarity with efforts to identify and punish the killers of the young man who was tortured to death by police officers in June 2010. The initial scope of the page was to disseminate information about the incident in an essay to counter-attack the official narrative directed by the police, according to which Khaled Said died as a result of drug abuse (Saad 2012: 64). The page expanded in time including political discussions, attracting more activists and gradually transforming into a popular movement as the discussions around the transgressions of the Mubarak regime found their echoes among Egyptians which led to a high popularity of the site (Eltantawi, Wiest 2011). Prior to the revolution the internet witnessed countless tales of governmental abuse that affected Egyptian citizens but in this case it was a feeling of community that was formed around this social networking page which fueled narratives

glorifying its involvement in the uprising³. Shortly after the news that the then president of Tunisia Ben Ali had fled the country, the first call for Egyptians to go out and protest appeared on the above mentioned page (Saad 2012:64). The disfigured face of Ḥālīd Sa‘īd became a symbol of the movement and subsequently of the Egyptian revolution. His being reduced to silence, as dead men tell no tales, in symbolized in the graffiti in figure 4 by the interrupted line at the bottom of his face, but nevertheless his revolt is lyrically formulated by Dunqul's verses evoking the violent aggression sustained prior to his death and launches a rhetorical question that blames the attempts to clear the memory of the facts.



Figure 5. Stencil graffiti of 'Aḥmad Ḥarāra alongside verses from 'Amal Dunqul's *lā tuṣālih*, "Do not make peace"

Fragments from the same poem flanking the stenciled portrait of 'Aḥmad Ḥarāra, the Egyptian dentist turned activist who lost both of his eyes while protesting in Tahrir Square. The lines read: *hal tarā ḥīna 'afqa'u 'aynayka / tumma 'uṭbitu ḡawharatayni makānahā / hal tarā..? / hiya 'ašyā'u lā tuṣtarā...*, "Could you see if I gouge out your eyes / then put two jewels in their place / Could you see..? / These are things which cannot be bought" (author's translation). 'Aḥmad Ḥarāra lost his first eye on January 28th 2011, the day known as *ḡum'atu-l-ḡaḍabi*, "Friday of Anger", the fourth day of

³http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/06/world/middleeast/06face.html?_r=0

the revolution which witnessed hundreds of thousands of people demonstrating in the streets of Cairo and other Egyptian cities after Friday prayers⁴. In November 2011, he went back to Tahrir Square and participated in the clashes between demonstrators trying to reoccupy the square and the Central Security Forces and he lost his second eye to shotgun pellets. 'Aḥmad Ḥarāra's persistence in contesting first the regime of Hosni Mubarak and then the military rule, with the price of his physical integrity, transformed him into a symbol of the revolution⁵. In Ḥarāra's iconic portrait, spread by graffiti as well as mainstream media and social networking websites, his eyes are covered by eye-patches, visual elements that have come to symbolize the targeted shooting of protesters' eyes and later on demonstrators started wearing them as well as sings of solidarity and respect for the protesters' physical sacrifice in revolution, a gesture originating in the anger towards the Central Security Forces' snipers that targeted protesters' heads causing the loss of eyes and head injuries⁶.

Ḥarāra has become well known for his eye-patches commemorating the dates of him losing his eyes and which symbolize the ongoing power struggle over visual representation. In Hyldig Dal's opinion "the attempts of erasing protesters' visual agency is expressed in its most direct sense in the calculated targeting of demonstrators' eyes" (Hyldig Dal 2013: 8). The poem remembers the aggression while launching repeated rhetoric questions marking that this mutilation cannot be compensated by any material means. The pairing of image and lyrical stanzas function as a confrontation that not only marks aggression visibly but formulates the disputatious act in the form of an iconic poem.

The association of the *lā tuṣālih*, "Do not make peace" poem with acts of extreme physical violence is interesting as they both trigger the extreme anger and opprobrium of the society. The visual images of aggression are remembered, perhaps in order to suggest, that the aggression suffered by 'Aḥmad Ḥarāra and Ḥālid Sa'īd is not only individual but concerns everyone who reverberates with Dunqul's poetry. Formulating the act of contestation within the frame of a symbolic poem, the lines of *lā tuṣālih*, "Do not make peace" acting in this way as a memory device, blending the plastic image of aggression with the lyricism of poetry and activating the poem's functionality in the Egyptian imagery and popular memory.

Conclusive remarks

By analyzing these selected pieces and the lyrical fragments they contain we can conclude that the rhetorical power of these graffiti functions by associating the image of the rebel poet and the contesting nature of the practice of graffiti which makes it a common element in riots and revolutions. At the same time, the popularity of lyrics with political connotations whose recognition is instantaneous as they are the fragments known by heart by every Egyptian is instrumented alongside images of iconic personalities of the revolution or Egyptian popular memory that through the counter-narratives they evoke become

⁴http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2101745_2102138_2102236-1,00.html

⁵ <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/86921/Egypt/Politics-/The-state-must-bow-to-the-people-Egypt-revolution.aspx>

⁶<http://www.theguardian.com/world/shortcuts/2011/dec/18/eyepatches-egypt>

recontextualizations of the poems that interact with the original texts and create an intersemiotic interpretation of it.

Regarding the literary references, mostly belonging to Arab literature, their use can be interpreted also as an attempt to create a link between the non sanctioned practice of graffiti and cultural heritage. Contrary to other manifestations of political graffiti where a counter-cultural dimension dictates the rejection of mainstream culture and ideology, in cairene graffiti, elements of high culture are not being undermined but their low incidence suggest that the of graffiti rhetoric is rather constructed starting from the space of the popular with political overtones. The lyrical texts encountered initiate a dialogue between a past laden with well-known meanings and an unstable present in its fluid state where social actors are constantly looking for landmarks. Recovering the past, in the literary and artistic field, identifies itself as a reterritorialization technique of graffiti in a wider context of the artistic effervescence that the cultural production has enjoyed in the aftermath of the revolution.

A sour selected corpus analysis shows that although cairene graffiti is largely influenced by political and social developments, it does not ignore the legacy of popular poetry and culture which it synchronizes with the demands of the practice and its historical context. The analysis of lyrical fragments comes as an extension of our previous work regarding the representation of elements of popular culture and this close reading of graffiti provides new insights into the mechanisms of internal cultural production in a society that suffered major changes in a variety of aspects.

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GRAFFITI IN IRAQ: FOCUS ON SULAYMANIYAH

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Abstract. The present study on the subject of graffiti in Iraq shows that there are limited resources available on this topic. Therefore, this research paper represents one of the early exploratory studies on graffiti in Iraq. The paper firstly elaborates on various forms of graffiti. Secondly, principal reports on graffiti from Iraq are summarized. Thirdly, a YouTube video clip from 2007 Ramadi, Iraq is analyzed in detail. Fourthly, graffiti from *Sulaymaniyah* in northeast Iraq, Kurdistan region, is discussed. There is a focus on one mural from the Aqqari district and an analysis of graffiti expressions on the walls of the secondary school in Shaqami Saholaka, Salim Street, and at Cafe 11 in Aqqari district, Bexud Street. There is also a focus on one Iraqi Kurdish graffiti artists – Bahman Salah (born 1994) aka RAGE. It is concluded that various forms of graffiti seem to be rather new in Iraq.

Keywords: graffiti; traditional graffiti; graffiti art; Ramadi; Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI); Bahman Salah; RAGE

Introduction

This article explores graffiti expressions in Iraq,¹ with focus on the city of Sulaymaniyah, one of the major cities in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (hereafter KRI), in the northeast of the country. We explored the quite rare sources available on the subject of graffiti in Iraq.² It seems that this topic is somewhat unexplored in comparison with graffiti research in contemporary Egypt or Tunisia (Georgeon, 2012; Nicoarea, 2012; Bildt, 2013; Laiq, 2013; Ness; Nicoarea, 2014). This exploratory research does not set out any hypothesis, but rather, as a descriptive study, gathers information on the status of graffiti in Iraq. At the start of this paper, we briefly distinguish the various fine nuances of the term ‘*graffiti*’, before we proceed to a general discussion of graffiti in Iraq and focus on Sulaymaniyah.

¹The present authors do not support any modification of public or private property without permission of the legal owner. Nor do the present authors aim to glorify the graffiti examined in this present article.

²The term ‘graffiti’ is mentioned only in some instances in the following publications: Marilou Grégoire-Blais, “Iraqi Women: Lost Liberties”, *Alternatives. La solidarité en action*. (2010). p. 9; “Who Are the Insurgents? Sunni Arab Rebels in Iraq”, in *SPECIAL REPORT*, (Washington: UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE, 2005). p. 2; Patrick Basham, “Can Iraq Be Democratic?”, in *Policy Analysis*, (Washington: Cato Institute, 2004). p. 16.

There is also an American book relating to graffiti in Iraq: John H. Hollis, *Art and Graffiti Iraq: Soldiers Art, Graffiti, Flags & Flashes in Iraq*, 14 vols., vol. 14 (New York: Aegeon Press, 2007).

Oxford Dictionaries defines ‘graffiti’ as: ‘*Writing or drawings scribbled, scratched, or sprayed illicitly on a wall or other surface in a public place*’.³ Graffitiists generally use anonymous monikers and other codes for signing their graffiti, if a signature is used at all. Graffiti can be subdivided into two main categories: *traditional graffiti* and *graffiti art* (Stewart, 1989; Howorth, 1989; Jacobson, 2001[or later]). Traditional graffiti, prior to the late 1960s, was historically represented by the following five forms: agnominal, obscene-erotic-scatological, amorous, intellectual, and protest graffiti (Stewart, 1989: 16). The protest graffiti category within traditional graffiti is another designation for what Susan A. Phillips called ‘*political graffiti*’ (Phillips, 1996: 270). Phillips further defined the category of ‘*gang graffiti*’; this type of graffiti is used by gang members, to mark an urban area, a ‘turf’ as the claimed territory of a gang. Geographers have already studied this form of graffiti in the Philadelphia of the 1970s (Ley and Cybriwsky, 1974).

The currently most well-known form of graffiti is ‘*graffiti art*’. Graffiti art is a new distinct form of graffiti, independent of the traditional forms of graffiti (Stewart, 1989: 493). Graffiti art developed on the outsides of subway trains in New York City in the 1970s. Graffiti art consists of four forms: tags (simple, stylized, monochrome signatures), throw-ups (roundish, stylized, line oriented letterform abstracts), pieces (highly stylized and multicolored letterforms), and characters (representations of objects and scenes in diverse styles). Graffiti art is nowadays present in nearly all countries worldwide (Chalfant and Prigoff, 1987; Ganz, 2004; Reiss, 2007; Sanada and Hassan, 2010). Graffiti art can be under certain conditions considered art and its main objective is the stylization of letterforms (Mai and Remke, 2003; Thompson, 2009; Austin, 2010; Walde, 2011; Ganter, 2013).

1. Graffiti in Iraq

To the extent that our research demonstrated it, there is currently little evidence of systematic data gathering for researching graffiti in Iraq. On the internet, there are almost no references to graffiti in Iraq. One of the oldest and most visited graffiti websites, *Art Crimes*, features graffiti from over 450 cities worldwide.⁴ However, the *Art Crimes* website makes no reference to any graffiti from Iraq.⁵ An interesting collection of ‘graffiti’ from Iraq is accessible on the Facebook page of the ‘Iraqi Graffiti Association’.⁶ It is worth mentioning

³graffiti, “Graffiti: Definition of Graffiti in Oxford Dictionary (British & World English)”, Oxford Dictionaries: Language matters, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/graffiti>.

⁴ “About Us: What We’re Doing and Why”, ArtCrimes: The Writing on the Wall, <http://graffiti.org/index/story.html>.

⁵The ‘ArtCrimes’ website featured on the 22 November 2014 graffiti only from the Middle East: Iran, Israel, and Palestine <<http://graffiti.org/index/world.html>>.

⁶Iraqi Graffiti Association, “About”, Facebook, <https://www.facebook.com/IraqiGraffitiAssociation/info>.

that various US websites reported on the *Graffiti of War Project*, which hopes to bring together all graffiti images from Iraq, in an effort to create an historical archive of such graffiti.⁷ Nevertheless, it seems as if the *Graffiti of War Project* focuses rather on murals, and excludes other forms of traditional graffiti and graffiti art.

The television documentary *Gangland – Basic Training* reported the presence of gang graffiti in Iraq.⁸ This type of graffiti, *gang graffiti*, is very closely related to the gangs in the USA or Latin America and it was reported that some *gang members* created gang related graffiti in Iraq, as they were part of the US occupation force in Iraq. A brief, but interesting report on graffiti murals decorating the blast walls erected in Iraq was written by Sean McLachlan, who traveled through Iraq. McLachlan reported that ‘*Iraqi street art has its own distinctive flavor*’ and that many of the diverse murals on the blast walls ‘*are officially sanctioned and proclaim the importance of education or rebuilding.*’⁹

An interesting video clip, posted early in 2008 on the popular website YouTube, titled *Graffiti in Iraq*, features various examples of graffiti art works and other graffiti from within Iraq.¹⁰ The video clip consists from 18 photographs – see Table 1. It seems that the still images shown in slideshow mode in the video were taken in Ramadi in 2007 (Table 1: Photo 3 and 8). The graffiti art works are mainly tags and throw-ups. It is highly intriguing that the tags and throw-ups are very elaborate. This is a direct indication that they were produced by a person very well versed in the production of graffiti artworks (tags and throw-ups). The author of the tags and throw-ups was most probably the American graffiti artist *SHEF* (see Table 1);¹¹ this graffiti artist is associated with the graffiti art crew *BK* from Texas. This example of graffiti art works from Ramadi produced by an American graffiti artist is an indication of the globalization of graffiti art. It will be further demonstrated that graffiti art spread also to Sulaymaniyah, in northeastern Iraq.

⁷Lena Groeger, “On Iraq’s Walls, the Graffiti of War”, Wired, <http://www.wired.com/2011/06/iraqs-graffiti-of-war/#slideid-193461>; Art / IO, “Us Soldiers Tag Iraq’s Walls with Graffiti of War”, Taxi: Journaling ideas since 2003, http://designtaxi.com/news/34954/US-Soldiers-Tag-Iraq-s-Walls-with-Graffiti-of-War/?interstitial_shown=1; “The Graffiti of War Project,” The Graffiti of War Project, <http://www.graffitiofwar.com/index.html>.

⁸History Channel, “Gangland: Basic Training”, (USA 17 January 2008).

⁹ Sean McLachlan, “Iraq Street Art: Beautifying the Blast Walls”, (18 November 2012), <http://gadling.com/2012/11/18/iraq-street-art-beautifying-the-blast-walls/>.

¹⁰We are running out of BIERSSCHISS!!!, “Graffiti in Iraq”, (YouTube, 01 March 2008).

¹¹ On this topic see also the Romanian graffiti website: “Iraq: Graffiti & Soldiers”, Romanian Graffiti, <http://www.romaniangraffiti.ro/iraq-graffiti-soldiers.html>.

2. Graffiti in Sulaymaniyah

Sulaymaniyah is one of the major Kurdish cities in the KRI and is located in the northeast of Iraq (Fig. 1). This modern city was founded by the end of the 18th century and today, more than 1.5 million people live there. Sulaymaniyah has a rich cultural history and is also known as the cultural capital of the KRI.

In the following sections, we present our research results about the content and the formal properties of the diverse graffiti of Sulaymaniyah. Firstly, we shall discuss a mural from the Aqqari district, before we turn our attention to a graffiti location in another part of the Aqqari district and in the Shaqami Saholaka, Salim Street of Sulaymaniyah. Secondly, we discuss the graffiti art location at the Tavga Primary School, in Sarchinar, Sulaymaniyah.

2.1 ‘*Life is very nice*’ by *Designer Group*

The mural depicted in Fig. 2 is a hybrid-form of traditional intellectual graffiti and graffiti art, and communicates a clear, legible message: ‘*Life is very nice*’.¹² The large-scale mural was produced by the *Designer Group*, which signed the mural and incorporated an email address into the mural.¹³ The mural is situated in the fairly busy Aqqari district, in Sulaymaniyah. The letterform designs in the mural are very precise and there are three playful hearts as punctuation marks above each of the three letterforms ‘*i*’ (Fig. 2). It is surprising that the mural’s message is communicated in English and not in Arabic or Kurdish, as such a message can ‘speak’ only to people who are proficient in English. The mural seems to be a sort of community artwork, with a positive message (Fig. 2), similar to the traditional graffiti in Fig. 3, asking English speaking people to join a ‘teachers group’.

The message ‘*Life is very nice*’ can be a significant reflection describing the character of life in the post-2003 KRI. The booming economy of the KRI finds itself in a secure situation where the flow of capital and foreign investment has changed the face of the urban area of Sulaymaniyah through rapid development. An overall improvement to the quality of life in the KRI is reflected through improvements in the urban environment. Inspired by the colorful nature of Zagros Mountains, the Kurds in the KRI seem to have a passion for their architectural structures to be colorfully painted and the enhancement of the urban environment with greenery, in the form of trees and small lawns. Indeed, even people’s fashions and styles appear to be nowadays different from the traditional ways of dressing – more ‘colorful’. Further, society also seems to show more tolerant attitudes towards new influences from abroad, including graffiti, which is a new form of expression in the KRI. This has much to do with the return of a generation of pro-western young people and graduates who were born or educated in the West and whose parents left Iraq and sought refuge mainly

¹²However, it is unclear if this mural was approved or produced illicitly.

¹³We have sent on the 31 July 2014 messages in English and Kurdish to the given e-mail address for further inquiries, but we did not receive any response.

in the West to escape imminent death and political persecution under Saddam Hussein. There is also unprecedented and previously unexperienced freedom for the people of the KRI. This, coupled with the call for independence, has created a sense of a promise of brighter prospects for the Kurds. However, with the developments in the region, especially with regards to the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, it needs to be seen whether the same trend will continue in the KRI. Nevertheless, the message *'Life is very nice'* (Fig. 2) seems to reflect partially the character of life in post2003 KRI.

2.2 Graffiti on the Walls of the Secondary School in Shaqami Saholaka, Salim Street, and Graffiti at Cafe 11

We decided to include in our sample on graffiti research the graffiti scribbled on to the wall of the secondary school in Shaqami Saholaka district, behind the Salm shopping mall in Sulaymaniyah (Figs. 4-5). By the end of July 2014, various types of graffiti were on display at this location. As the wall surrounds a secondary school, we assume that the graffiti was predominantly created by adolescents. The graffiti stretches over two walls, separated by a corner (Figs. 4-5). The most interesting of the graffiti at this particular location is the rather complex one depicted on the right side in Fig. 4. This somewhat ornamental graffiti, possessing nearly heraldic qualities, is a hybrid of freehanded spray painted graffiti and stencil graffiti. It consists of a black spray painted background behind a red, roundish shape, within which are four inverted stenciled silhouettes of hand imprints. The creator of the graffiti most probably used his own left hand, as each of the four-stenciled hands is slightly different in each silhouette. The four stenciled hand silhouettes form a sort of symmetrical cross symbol, reminding the viewer of 'wing-like' shapes. *Tristan Manco (2002: 7) remarked in the book Stencil Graffiti that stencils of hand silhouettes were one of the first stencils ever produced by humans, already 22,000 years ago, 'by blowing paint around a hand placed on a surface to create an inverted imprint. This simple idea proved very adaptable throughout history and across the globe.'* This example from Sulaymaniyah indicates that this idea is still used today, even though an adolescent used industrially produced aerosol spray paint instead of 'blowing paint' around his hand. Above this circular central shape enhanced with the hand imprints, we see a crown symbol, flanked on either side with a crescent and its mirror reflection. The crescents probably symbolize the Islamic identity of the author, who, with the crown symbol, has proclaimed himself 'King'. The crown symbol occurs repeatedly in the 'graffiti art' form of graffiti. Graffiti artists incorporated 'a crown [symbol] above the[ir] nickname[s]', as early as the late 1960s / early 1970s (Ley and Cybriwsky, 1974: 494). In fact, there are other two such crown symbols present in Fig. 4. One of these crowns is placed above the letterform silhouettes 'K2'. We assume that this 'K2' graffiti refers to the same graffitist as in Fig. 6. These other letterform silhouettes 'K2M' (Fig. 6) are on the wall in front

of the *Amna Suraka [Red Security]* Museum of War Crimes in Kurdistan, in Sulaymaniyah (Fig. 6).¹⁴ These ‘K2’ and ‘K2M’ letterform silhouettes represent embryonic stylization of graffiti art letterforms.

As regards other graffiti scribbled on the wall of the secondary school in Shaqami Saholaka, Salim Street, there is not much interesting to report. The graffiti represents rather common forms of traditional graffiti, as spray painted Latin monograms ‘RP’, amorous graffiti ‘I ♥ [[?]not legible]’, ‘I LOVE U.N.S.H’, agnominal or obscene graffiti ‘Vagin’, ‘SAD nou’, ‘Feerrare’, a strike through agnominal ‘AVIA’, ‘KAAN’ and ‘~~Turran~~’ graffiti, the graffiti acronyms ‘HVBS’, ‘F.H.’, and stylized agnominal graffiti letterforms silhouettes of ‘SALAR’, ‘AHMAD’ and ‘BAD BOY’.

Next, we present our results as regards the analysis of permitted graffiti writings at *Cafe 11*, in Sulaymaniyah¹⁵. Cafe 11 is one of the many cafes in central Sulaymaniyah¹⁶. Cafe 11 is located in the Aqqari district, on Bexud Street, behind the City center mall in Sulaymaniyah. The house front, forming the exterior of Cafe 11, is decorated with a mural evoking the feelings of people living in harmony with the nature (Fig. 7). In the inner courtyard of Cafe 11 are many traditional graffiti in Kurdish, English, Arabic, Turkish and in other languages (Figs. 8-11). The customers of Cafe 11 are mostly younger people, including artists, photographers, writers and painters. The traditional graffiti in Cafe 11 represent various examples of agnominal, amorous and intellectual graffiti, as the graffiti listed in Table 2 show. What might surprise an observer from a Western culture is the absence of obscene-erotic-scatological graffiti and protest graffiti. The graffiti in Cafe 11 rather reflects young people’s desire for love and peace (see Table 2).

2.3 Graffiti Art in Sulaymaniyah

Naturally, there is almost no graffiti art culture in Sulaymaniyah, as people in Iraq *are facing existential problems and graffiti art is a risky youth adventure. Many Iraqis do not have the luxury of thinking about ‘nicely’ painted walls,*¹⁷ *let alone paying for expensive spray*

¹⁴The Museum of War Crimes in Kurdistan was previously a high security jail where Kurdish political prisoners were detained by Iraqi secret police.

¹⁵The ‘graffiti’ on various surfaces of Cafe 11 is permitted (Figs. 8-11), but we can still use the term graffiti to designate these personal expressions.

¹⁶Other cafes, tea houses in Sulaymaniyah are: ‘Chay Khaney Sha‘b’ [Nation Tea House], Blue Cafe, Melody, B2B, Nali’s, Karino and a few others.

¹⁷A similar scenario was observed in Cambodia, in 2006, by the graffiti artist JIROE, who suggested that ‘...as far as I could tell, this place doesn’t have any graff[iti art]. This really comes as no surprise as it’s crazy poor and is still reeling from its recent tumultuous history. I reckon the last thing on anybody’s mind here is pretty paintings on walls.’ In: JIROE, “Asia in a Nutshell”, *Graphotism: The International Graffiti Writers Publication* 2006.

However, by around 2009-2010 a small graffiti art culture also started to develop in Cambodia.

paint cans (Fig. 13), as graffiti artists self-finance their works and 'exhibit' these in public spaces. In the New York City of the 1970s, graffiti artists used to 'rack up' – steal – spray paint (Castleman, 1982; Stewart, 2009), but this is not common practice nowadays. *In fact, graffiti art is a form of art-for-art's-sake and represents a kind of luxury commodity. However, there is at least one well-known Kurdish graffiti artist from Sulaymaniyah in Iraq – Bahman Salah (born 1994) aka RAGE. Choosing such a symbolically powerful graffiti art name – 'RAGE' would seem to be a forceful statement for a young Iraqi Kurd. RAGE has dedicated himself to graffiti art for some years now. According to RAGE's own statement, he was already producing his first graffiti art works in 2009 (see Appendix: Question 2).¹⁸RAGE has been known as one of the Iraqi graffiti artists since December 2013, when a team of documentarians and the Czech artist, a former graffiti artist, Jan Miko (born 1978) aka MILK visited Bahman Salah in Sulaymaniyah. RAGE and MILK produced graffiti art works in Sulaymaniyah. The Czech graffiti artist produced, amongst others, a piece whose subject matter is typical – his graffiti art moniker, 'MILK'. RAGE on the other had used as the subject matter of his piece the word آزادی 'AZADI [LIBERTY]' (Figs. 12-13).¹⁹The production of the works was documented on video and published in the internet under the *One Blood Project*.²⁰In the *One Blood Project* documentary (12:20 minutes long), RAGE explains that he learned about graffiti art from the media, television and the internet, as nobody was doing graffiti art in Iraq.²¹ This is a typical example of modern way in which graffiti art is disseminated. Similarly, graffiti art was introduced through the internet and other dissemination channels into Malaysia in 1999 or Vietnam in 2004 (Novak, 2011).*

Graffiti art in Sulaymaniyah is a new phenomenon. Even though it does not visually differ much from the rest of the world (Fig. 12), it is interesting to observe that the Kurdish customized version of Arabic script in Fig. 13 replaces the Latin alphabet so typical of graffiti art.

¹⁸For a graffiti art work from late 2012 see Fig. 12; the production of this piece is shown in the video clip: bahman rage, "Kurdish Graffiti (Bahman Rage)", (YouTube, 01 December 2012). The Kurdish we used to communicate with RAGE and throughout in the paper is Sorani Kurdish, one of the main dialects of Kurdish language which is both spoken and understood by many Kurds in large Kurdish areas in Iran and Iraq. Sorani is the medium of instruction in the KRI and is also used in mainstream Kurdish media. Moreover, a fair amount of written and oral Kurdish literature has been produced in Sorani. Nevertheless, through self-fashioning, Sorani dialect still continues to be in tune with the language application demands.

¹⁹One Blood Project, "One Blood Project | Iraq", (vimeo, 2014b); One Blood Project, "One Blood Project | Bahman & Miko Trailer", (vimeo, 2014a). For a photo of the joint MILK / RAGE production, see also the Czech newspaper article: Judita Matyášová, "Stejná Krevní Skupina [Same Blood Group]", *Lidové Noviny*, 22 March 2014.

²⁰Project, "One Blood Project | Iraq"; Project, "One Blood Project | Bahman & Miko Trailer".

²¹Project, "One Blood Project | Iraq"; bahman rage, "Bahman&Miko," (YouTube, 28 March 2014).

Conclusion

Our analysis of graffiti expressions from contemporary Iraq shows that various forms of graffiti are rather new in this country. The present research also indicates that this topic, which reflects the society that produces it, seems to be rather unexplored and that there is arguably need for follow up studies. It has been shown that graffiti art in Ramadi, Iraq was probably produced for the first time by an American soldier, who was most likely based in this area of Iraq in 2007. Furthermore, we conclude that the results of the analysis of graffiti expressions in Sulaymaniyah somewhat reflect the optimistic, positive outlook of the local population in the KRI about everyday life.

In addition, the analysis of graffiti expressions on the walls round the secondary school , and in 'Cafe 11', show a large amount of traditional graffiti – agnominal and amorous. Such results could be considered as shared when considering the traditional graffiti produced all over the globe. However, it is rather surprising that our analysis did not pinpoint any protest graffiti, although we had expected to encounter some examples of this form, since Sulaymaniyah is situated in a very difficult geopolitical position.

As regards graffiti art in Sulaymaniyah, it remains to be seen how and even whether a graffiti art culture starts developing. This depends on the course of history and on a certain degree of accumulated wealth within society in the KRI. These provide the 'launching pad' conditions for graffiti art as this is a luxury in terms of public expression.

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Table 1: Content of the YouTube video clip entitled *Graffiti in Iraq*.

Photo	Time (min)	Form of graffiti	Description of the slide show photo
1.	00:00-00:10	Stencil	Map of Iraq on a concrete wall forming a barrier.
2.	00:10-00:20	Throw-up	A compound wall, with an elaborate 'BK' throw-up, a quick piece, with the 'BK' letterforms. The letterforms are enclosed with symmetrically balanced tags, adding symmetry to the overall composition.
3.	00:20-00:30	Throw-up	A 'SHEF' throw-up from Ramadi, 2007; this data is above the graffiti art work itself. The throw-up bears the inscription 'By the Euphrates' identifying the location of production as Iraq. On the left side of the throw-up we read 'Congrats...Its a Boy!!'. We can understand from this dedication that this graffiti art work was dedicated to parents of a new born child, and they were befriended with the author of this graffiti art work, in this case, SHEF.
4.	00:30-00:40	Throw-up	A soldier posing in front of a 'S' throw-up. The letterform 'S' is a reference to the name of the graffiti artist SHEF.
5.	00:40-00:50	Throw-up	A 'SHEF' throw-up, bearing the inscription 'Be Known 2007.' This particular inscription 'Be Known 2007' shows that graffiti art works generally strive for attention. This short statement indicates the attention-seeking characteristic of graffiti art works.
6.	00:50-01:00	Tag	A wide Iraqi street, and on a building, on the right, is a visible 'SHEF BK' tag.
7.	01:00-01:09	Traditional	A small street, with small-scale marker graffiti inscriptions in Arabic.
8.	01:09-01:19		The photograph was taken at night. It shows a 'SH' throw-up and a 'PEAS ONER' tag. The throw-up bears the inscription 'BK Ramadi'.

			This, once again, localizes the graffiti art work within the Iraqi territory and again shows the attention seeking quality of graffiti art works. Next to the tag is a machine gun, indicating that the author of the throw-up, probably a soldier, lent his machine gun against the wall while photographing this graffiti art work.
9.	01:19-01:29	Stencil	A stencil graffiti form, sprayed on a concrete roadblock. The stencil shows pitchers and an Arabic inscription saying 'Hey Americans, take your Oil.'
10.	01:29-01:39		Detail of photo in number 9.
11.	01:39-01:49	Throw-up	A wall of a house compound with another 'BK' throw-up.
12.	01:49-01:58	Throw-up	An elevated water tank with yet another 'BK' throw-up.
13.	01:58-02:08	Throw-up	A smaller throw-up of the letterform 'S', referring to the tag name SHEF. There is a BK tag on the right of the 'S'.
14.	02:08-02:18	Tag	A fallen tree, on top of a building, which might have been possibly a prison and the structure is further altered with large scale fat cap tags reading 'The Reason We Here', 'SHEF', and 'BK'. ²² The inscription 'The Reason We Here' might refer to the proclaimed occupational liberation of Iraq.
15.	02:18-02:28	Throw-up	A destroyed jeep, lying on its side and sprayed with yet another 'BK' throw-up.
16.	02:28-02:38	Throw-up	A throw-up by 'SHEF' on the shattered remains of a building.
17.	02:38-02:48	Throw-up	A throw-up by 'SHEF' on a building structure in an urban landscape.
18.	02:48-02:58	Tag	A destroyed minibus, lying on its side, and on its roof are two elaborate tags reading 'SMOCK' and 'MODER'.

Table 2: Selection of some of the traditional graffiti forms inside Cafe 11.

Fig.	Form of graffiti	Language	Description
8.	Amorous	Kurdish	<i>'I will always love you till I drew in my last breath.'</i>
	Intellectual	Kurdish	<i>'I wish my whole life was only a season, like a butterfly's and I could know only the flowers throughout.'</i>
	Intellectual	(Latin alphabet)	<i>'E=mc²'</i>
	Intellectual	English	<i>'Enjoy every moment. Sarah.'</i>
9.	Intellectual	Kurdish	<i>'Who you are? Why do we live?'</i>
		Kurdish	<i>'I am entangled in the twisted hair of a Kurdish mistress. Strange! I am a captive of a captive.'</i>
	Amorous	Kurdish	<i>'Why did you leave me?'</i>
10.	Amorous	(Latin alphabet)	<i>'Klara ♥ Darwin'</i>
	Intellectual/ Amorous	Kurdish	<i>'My songs and poems. My Music and my Paintings. Even my dreams and wishes are oranges, shouldn't the rain of your love make them wet, they won't ever be ripen.'</i>

²²A fat cap is an exchangeable professional spray paint nozzle, which allows the graffiti artist to produce especially thick (wide) lines with a spray paint.

	Kurdish	<i>'I always say I love you. And will never say I regret it.'</i>
	Kurdish	<i>'I am not God. And since I have been, I have been alone.'</i>
	Kurdish	<i>'Sweetie.'</i>
	Kurdish	<i>'Tonight is as tall as you are.'</i>
	Kurdish	<i>'Lover is tougher than dreams, tougher than death.'</i>
	Kurdish	<i>'Beloved does not remember me.'</i>
Agnominal	(Latin alphabet)	<i>'Dalya'</i> <i>'Kani'</i> <i>'Shayma'</i> <i>'Hanna'</i> <i>'Cafe 11'</i> <i>'Salan'</i> <i>'Bako ♥'</i>
Amorous	English	<i>'♥'</i> <i>'10th Jan 2013 Bland & Dariya'</i> <i>'B ♥D BY Sarko Zaman' [A stick figure holds a ♥ symbol, while standing on top of stairs.]</i> <i>'Stay with me My Baby.'</i> <i>'I miss u baby come back'</i>
Intellectual	English	<i>'I miss you mom.'</i> <i>'Cihan university'</i>
Intellectual	Turkish	<i>'Istanbul return.'</i>
11. Intellectual	Arabic	<i>'Angel of Death, Love Death.'</i>
Intellectual	English	<i>'Break the chains.'</i> <i>'Don't worry. Be (: Heian.'</i>
Amorous	(Latin alphabet)	<i>'J ♥N'</i>
	English	<i>'Love for death.'</i> <i>'I ♥U (L)'</i> <i>'Be my King, i will be your queen. 11.5.2014 Shazada.'</i> <i>'Love u Bishwan.'</i> <i>'Now, i hate you as much as i hate seeing my→mom's death.'</i>

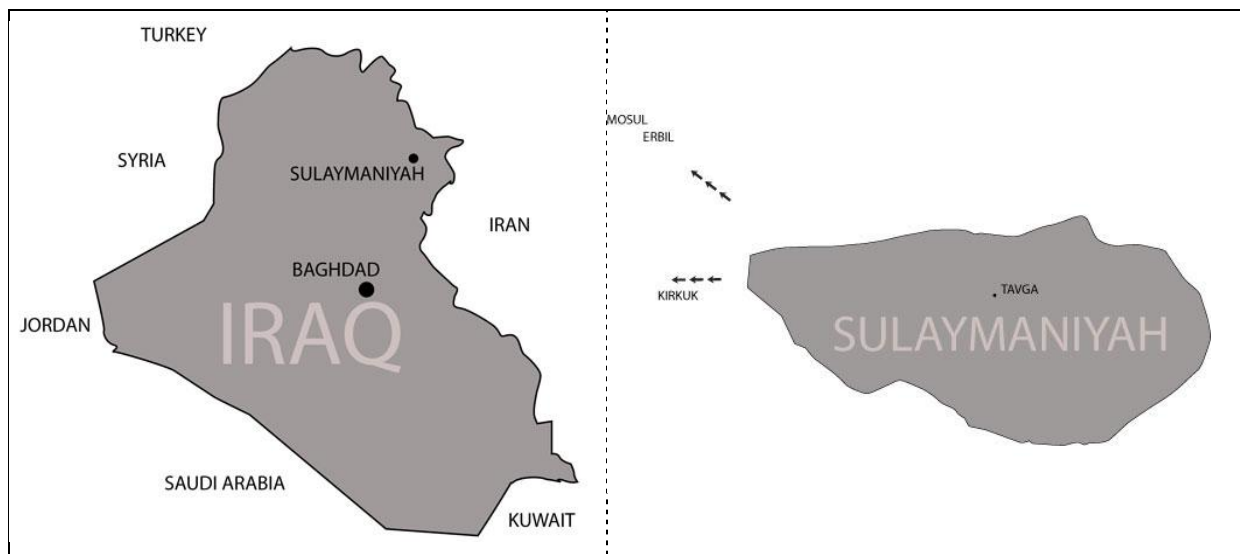


Fig. 1. The city of Sulaymaniyah in the northeast of Iraq.



Fig. 2. The mural 'Life is very nice'. Location: Aqqari district, on external wall of a house, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq. 29 July 2014. (Photo credit: Chenar Sidiq Ali)



Fig. 3. 'Hadad. Pleas join us with (teachers) group!' Location: Eskin district, on external wall of a house, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq. 24 July 2014. (Photo credit: Chenar Sidiq Ali)



Fig. 4. Various graffiti on wall of a secondary school.
Location: Shaqami Saholaka, Salim Street, behind Salm shopping mall, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq. 24 July 2014. (Photo credit: Chenar Sidiq Ali)



Fig. 5. Various graffiti on wall of a secondary school.
Location: Shaqami Saholaka, Salim Street, behind Salm shopping mall, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq. 29 July 2014. (Photo credit: Chenar Sidiq Ali)



Fig. 6. 'K2M' letterform silhouettes on a wall of the Amna Suraka, Museum of War Crimes in Kurdistan.
Location: Between Salim Street and Azadi Park, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq. 24 July 2014. (Photo credit: Chenar Sidiq Ali)



Fig. 7. Frontage forming the outside of Cafe 11 is decorated with a mural. Location: Aqqari district, Bexud Street, behind City center mall, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq. 24 July 2014. (Photo credit: Chenar Sidiq Ali)



Fig. 8. Outdoor area at Cafe 11. Location: Aqqari district, Bexud Street, behind City Center mall, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq. 29 July 2014. (Photo credit: Chenar Sidiq Ali)



Fig. 9. Outdoor area at Cafe 11 showing a diversity of graffiti. Location: Aqqari district, Bexud Street, behind City Center mall, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq. 29 July 2014. (Photo credit: Chenar Sidiq Ali)



Fig. 10. Various graffiti on a wall in the garden of Cafe 11. Location: Aqqari district, Bexud Street, behind City Center mall, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq. 24 July 2014. (Photo credit: Chenar Sidiq Ali)



Fig. 11. Various graffiti in the inner courtyard of Cafe 11. Location: Aqqari district, Bexud Street, behind City Center mall, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq. 29 July 2014. (Photo credit: Chenar Sidiq Ali)



Fig. 12. Various graffiti art works on the wall round Tavga Primary School. Location: Sarchinar, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq. Google Maps: 35.575594, 45.384432. 14 August 2014. (Photo credit: Chenar Sidiq Ali)



Fig. 13. Two spray paint cans in front of the piece آزادی 'AZADI [LIBERTY]' by RAGE at the Tavga Primary School. Location: Sarchinar, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq. 14 August 2014. (Photo credit: Chenar Sidiq Ali)

Appendix

English translation of email communication, in Kurdish, with Bahman Salah (born 1994) aka RAGE. July/August 2014.

1) What is the meaning of your tag name RAGE? Why did you choose this name?

I have changed my pen name many times, I was looking for a pen name that could fit with street art. Then I heard the word RAGE in a song. The meaning of RAGE was angry or extreme or violent anger. Then I thought that was a proper pen name. That's why I look enraged in my photos or videos, because I deem it proper to look like my pen name, so that people know I am working seriously.

2) When did you start with graffiti art exactly? (In which year?)

I started to do this art in 2006, but doing simple things. I was drawing the sketches on paper and step by step I persisted in doing the same style till the people around me started to encourage me. That was the reason for me continuing till now. However, generally speaking I started in 2009.

3) You said in the ONE BLOOD PROJECT video that you learned about graffiti art from the media (television and the internet), as nobody was doing graffiti art in Iraq. Can you say more about the time when you wanted to start with graffiti art? Can you elaborate in more detail on this topic? How did you learn initially about graffiti art?

Yes, it was through the media... At the time, there were some pictures painted on a wall in Salem Street. To me they were very beautiful. I used to gaze [at those pictures] whenever I was walking down that street. Therefore, I started to do graffiti with my own style... I used to go to the internet cafes daily and watch graffiti videos and photos, I was getting information on how they [artists] were doing graffiti, how they used their hands with the brush and colors, how their life looked like ... And I have kept doing this till now

4) What would you say about 'graffiti' in Sulaymaniyah?

Generally speaking, this is very poor, the artists [in this field] are very very few!

• واتايناو هبزارده كهتاجيه؟ بوجيه هوناوتانه ههلبزارده؟

من ضاقت جار نازناوم طوري ، به دواي نازناويكدا دقطترم كة له طة لا هوناري ستر شتقام بطونجيت ، بوية نغو كات له ميوزيكيك طويله وشتي (RAGE) بوو ! نغويش كة ماناي (تورة بوو ، ياخود توريكيكي زور) بيرم لغوة كردقوة كة نتم نازناوة زور طونجاوة ، هتر بوشة له طيديوكانم ياخود له زوريني فونوكانم به شيوئيكيكي تورة ياخود به نيكيكيكي نيكيكي كة مترقوة دهر دكقوم ، ضونكة وام نياشنة كة وك نازناوة كتم بم ، تا خلك هتست بكتت به شيوئيكيكي كارا نيش دكتم .

• كهيد هستانكر دبهونهر يگر افيتي؟ (لهچساليكدا؟)

من له سالي 2006 قوه دكستم كرد بتم هونقوة به لام به شيوئيكيكي ساده ، زياتر له ستر كاغتر سكيضاكانم دكيشا وة بقرة بقرة بتم شيوئيكيكي رؤشم تا واي ليهات كسانني دقور قترم زور تفرجييان دكترم زياتر هانيان دكدام هتر نتم هويش بوو كة تا نيسنة بتر دقوام بووم ، بوية به شيوئيكيكي طشتي له سالي 2009 دكستم نيكرد .

• له گرته فيديو ي ONE BLOOD PROJECT فه رموتان كه له ريگاي ميدياكانه وه ، راديوتوت له قزيونه وا زانباريتان له سه ره هونه ري گرافيتي وه ر گر توه ، چونكه كه س له عيراق دائيشي گرافيتي نه نه كرد . نه تواني زورتر له سه ره و كا ته كه نه تويست نيشي گرافيتي بكه ي ليدوان بده ي؟ نه كرنت ورده كاري زورتر بده ن له سه ره نه م بابه ته؟ واتا ، به كه م جار چون زانيت هونه ري گرافيتي چيه؟

– راسته له ربي ميدياكانقوة بو ... وة نغو كات ضاقت وينتبيك كيشر ابوون له ستر ديواريك له شتقامي سالم زور به لامقوة جوان بوون ، هتر كات بقو شتقامجيه نيتر بومايه زور تماشام دكرد ، بوية هتولم دا دكست بكم به طرفيتي به ستاليني خومقوة ... وة روذانه دقوصومة كافي نيبتكان تماشاي وينغو طيديوي طرفيتيم دكرد ، زياريم وقردقوت كة ضون كار دكتم ، ضون دستانايان له طة لا ستر او رنطكان به كار دين ، شيوازي دبانايان ضونة .. بتم شيوة بتر دقوام بوون تا نيسنا

• لهسه ره گرافيتي له سلما نيدا راتان چيه؟

نقطر به شيوئيكيكي طشتي بلين نقوة ، زور لاوازة ، هونتمانداني زوررر زوررر كتمن !

5) Who were your heroes, your role models? Did you have some favorite graffiti artist at the time you start doing graffiti art? And who are your favorite graffiti artists now?

I have not taken someone as a model to [follow], but I have followed examples by foreign artists, and have used them in my own works, just because I liked them... I very much like BANKSY's works and RASKO's²³ as well as a few others...I am sorry I can't recall their names.

6) In the YouTube video titled Kurdish Graffiti (Bahman Rage) you painted a piece in the year 2012. Was it one of your first multicolored pieces or had you already produced a few before that?

No... I had [painted] some other pieces in that year, too. I did not take snaps or videos of some of them at all.

7) What reactions do you get from people in Sulaymaniyah as regards your graffiti art works? Does the public in Sulaymaniyah react positively, neutrally or do people reject graffiti art works? In general. Can you give some example?

I have been confronted by the police. A few people don't like graffiti, they are mostly the elderly. That's why I have painted most of my works at night time usually after 12. People in 'Suly' describe it in a good way. As a case in point, some university teachers and officials appreciated my work and got me to do something. For various reasons I did not cooperate with them and work for them [do something for them]...People view it with appreciation.

8) Is it dangerous to paint graffiti art in Sulaymaniyah? Or is it tolerated?

It is dangerous; the police will make trouble for you. Because to them, the city view is distorted [by graffiti]. It is because of the influence of the non-intellectuals who talk badly about graffiti saying that it [graffiti] is against the [political] parties.

9) Are you still the only graffiti artist in Sulaymaniyah or are there others? Do you know their names?

As an influential [serious] person and someone who has continued so far, yes it is only me. I have known

• چاوتلهكزكر دو هو هوكومؤديل؟ اياكهسيههيو هكهجهنابتهير هوتكر د بئتهلكاتيد هستيكر دنههونهر يگر افيتيدا؟ لهئستاداحهز تلهجهونهر مهنديگر افى تيبه؟

• وهك مؤديل ، ضاوم له كهس نكردوه ، بهلام نمونم له كاري هونترمئده بيانىكان وتر طرتوه ، وه له كاركاني خوم دابه كارم هيناون ، وهك حنز ... كاركاني (Banksy) زور ئي جوانه ، هتروهه (Rasko) وه ضئد دانقيمكي ديكة .. بئس بيون ناوهكانيانم له ياد نيه .

• لهگر تهغيديو يكمهژار مكيگر افيتيكوردى (بههمهن ره بچ) ، له 2012 دابه ره ميكت نه فراندوه . نايا نه وه به كه م به ره مى مؤلتى كالى جه نابتانه يا وه كو تر چه ند به ره مى پيشوتريشتان هه به؟

• نهخيز .. كاري كهشم هقبوه كه ئيش ئو سالة بوه ... بهلام هغنديك يان نه وينم ئهطرتن نه ظيديو .

• روههروويچكار دانهو هيكنهبيتههالهلايهنخهلهكيسلئيمانيهه له به رامبه ره به گر افيتيه كانته وا؟ كومه لگاى سلئيمانى به نه رينى وا نه رينى يا خود بى لايه نانه هه لسووكه وت له كه ل هونه رى گر افيتيدا نه كه ن؟ نه توانى نمونه به كه پيش كه ش كه ي؟

• له لايهن ئوليس قوه روهتروي ئوليس بومئتوه ، هغنديكي زور كهه طرافيتاين ئي ناشرينه ، ئغوئيش زياتر كهسه به تممئتكان ، بويه تا وام لى هات زوريهتي كاركانم به شتوان دكرد ، كه هغنديك مات له دواي كاندوير 12 وه ، خلكي سلئيمانى به شيوهيهكي باش و جوان وهسفي دهكئن ، نمونيش بؤ ئوه ضئد جار له لايهن ماموستاو كاساني دهسه لئنداره قوه دهستخوشيم لى كراوه وه كاريان ئي راستاردوم ، بهلام به هوي هغنديك هوكاوه ئيم خوش نغو له ستر ئوه ريكتوم كاريان بؤ بكم وه له لايهن خلكقوه زور باش تمماشاي دهكئن .

• ناياتو هئيشتاتهنههونهر مهنديوار يگر افيتيلهسلئيمانيتياكهسانيتريشه هن؟ ناياتو يانتههز انيت؟

• ناياتو هئيشتاتهنههونهر مهنديوار يگر افيتيلهسلئيمانيتياكهسانيتريشه هن؟ ناياتو يانتههز انيت؟

• ناياتو هئيشتاتهنههونهر مهنديوار يگر افيتيلهسلئيمانيتياكهسانيتريشه هن؟ ناياتو يانتههز انيت؟

• وهك كهسيكي كارا و تا ئيستاهه بهردوام بوئيت بتلي تنهها منم ، كهسئنا لئه هقبوه كه ناسيومن له ريطةي توره كومه لايهتبهكانتوه ، بهلام ئاش

²³"Rasko: Artist," Facebook, <https://www.facebook.com/rasko187>.

some people through the social networks, but they gave up after a while.

10) Do you know any other graffiti artists in Iraq? If so, in which cities and what tag names do they write?

I only know of one or two [artists] who borrow their styles from the foreign graffiti or they [paint] them in a simple style.

11) Can you describe the experience painting with MILK, from the Czech Republic?

I had a very good time with MILK. We [painted] some good work together during the time we were together. [Jan]Miko had an influence on me, though: painting writing [words] in his works he used to make his works beautiful; his design of combining the colors. My painting style was very good, because I started [painting] on my own and no one helped me an even in my country there was no good paint specifically made for graffiti. That's why the Czech artists who visited me liked my paintings and [Jan] Miko told me that I have a bright future.

ماو قيتك وازيان هيناوة .

• ناياتو هونهر مهندانيتريگر افيتليهعزراقتنهاسي؟ نهگهر نهرن، لهكوي نوچناو هههلبزار دهگهلايكنهنوسن؟

تتهها 1,2 كئس دقناسم، شيواز و سنابيليان وقر دقطن له كارا طرافيتية طاني دقر قوفا ياخود به شيوةتيكي سادة درستي دقطن .

• نا ياه توانيت نه زموني نيگار كيشانت له گه ل MILK له كوماري چيك بومان ببزويني؟

له طه ل (ميلك) كاتيكي باشمان بده ستر تيكقوة وة ضعتد كاريكي باشمان نتنجام دا لهي ماو قة كة تيكقوة بوين، ميكو كار داو قة ههيوو بوم ، وة له كار كاني دا داناني نوسين و وينهكاني جوان دقرد دقيرانه كة ضون رةنطةكان تيكقوة لاو بكات ، وة نةزموني نيطار كيشاني من به شيوةتيكي زور باش بوو ضونكة من خوم دهستم كرد بقم كارا وة كئس بارماتي نتياوم ياخود له ولانتي من رةنطي باش نقبو تايبتت به طرافيتي ، بوية نقي ستافة ضيكيتمش كة هاتنة لام كار دكانميان بتدل بوو وة ميكو نقي وتم كة تو دوا روذيكي باشت دقبييت .

II. STUDIA VARIA

المعجم ثنائي اللغة في التراث العربي الإدراك للسان الأتراك لأبي حيان الأندلسي نموذجًا

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Abstract: This study is based on the analysis of 'Abu Hayyan al Andalusī's Kitāb al-'idrak li-lisan al-'Atrak as the first bilingual dictionary in Arabic tradition. It describes its structures (Megastructure and Microstructure) and the sources on which it depends and shows the microstructure information. Then we shall discuss the particularities of its method which can be a fruitful source for modern bilingual Arabic dictionaries.

Keywords: Arabic; phonological information; grammatical information; semantic information; communicative approach; entry; lexicography; bilingual dictionary.

تقدمة

فرضت ظروف الاحتكاك المختلفة بين اللغتين العربية والتركية وجود مجموعة من الكتابات التي تعكس اهتمامًا كبيرًا بتعلم اللغة التركية وتعليمها لأبناء العربية، ويعد كتاب "الإدراك للسان الأتراك"⁽¹⁾ أحد أهم الكتب التي اهتم فيها أبو حيان الأندلسي (654- 745 هـ/ 1256- 1345م) باللغة التركية بالإضافة إلى تأليف عدد لا بأس به من الكتب الأخرى التي اتخذت من اللغة التركية موضوعًا لها، وقد عدّ فرستخ هذا الكتاب من أوائل الكتب التي قصدت إلى تطبيق نموذج النحو العربي على لغات أخرى غير العربية⁽²⁾، كما يمثل هذا الكتاب لمرحلة مهمة من مراحل تطور اللغة التركية على ضوء احتكاكها باللغة العربية، فيشتمل على وصف لغوي دقيق للتركية المكتوبة بالأبجدية العربية، ويتكوّن هذا الكتاب من أقسام ثلاثة: الأول ويمثله المعجم، والقسم الثاني عبارة عن دراسة مورفولوجية (صرفية) لأبنية الكلمات التركية، والقسم الثالث الأخير دراسة لتراكيب التركية وقواعدها، ويبدو تطبيق النظام النحوي العربي واضحًا على تراكيب اللغة التركية في هذا القسم.

(1) لهذا الكتاب غير نسخة وله كذلك ترجمة بالإنجليزية، وسوف أعتد في هذا البحث على النسخة التي نشرها مصطفى بن حافظ حسين خسرو بن مصطفى بن عثمان بن محمد بن إبراهيم الشهير بمنلا زاده رادويشي- باستانبول 1309 هـ.

(2) see C. H. M. Versteegh 2006: *Arabic Linguistic Tradition*. p.438.

المعجم في كتاب الإدراك

وما يعيننا في هذا البحث هو المعجم أو القسم الأول من الكتاب بوصفه معجمًا ثنائي اللغة يهدف إلى تعليم التركية لأبناء العربية، وهو - من وجهة نظري - من أقدم المعاجم الثنائية في التراث العربي وأهمها، وأقصد من وراء هذا البحث إلى بيان بنية هذا المعجم ومصادره والتقنيات المستخدمة فيه قصد تقريب اللغة التركية وتعليمها وبيان مجموعة الضروب اللسانية التي اعتمد عليها في تعريف مداخله، ذلك من أجل التنبيه على مؤلف مهم من المؤلفات العربية الرائدة في هذا المجال، وبيان طريقتيه وتقنياته الموظفة بغرض تعليم التركية بصفة خاصة، وتأكيد فاعلية مثل هذا النهج في بناء المعاجم ثنائية اللغة عامة.

كذلك يسعى البحث إلى التأكيد على أن الدعوة إلى استقلال المعجمية عن اللسانيات في العصر الحديث بحجة أن الصناعة المعجمية أمر مختلف عما يشغل عليه النحاة من صياغة الفرضيات والنظريات التي تبتعد عن الحقائق اللغوية أو المعاني الملموسة⁽³⁾ - دعوة تحتاج إلى مناقشة جادة يجب تقديمها وإدارتها على ضوء ما تطرحه أعمال معجمية جل صناعاتها من النحاة واللغويين، وأزعم أن أبا حيان واحد من هؤلاء.

1- أقسام كتاب الإدراك

ورد في مقدمة كتاب الإدراك تفصيل يتعلق بكيفية ضبط اللسان واللغات على اختلافها والمعارف المختلفة الرافدة لهذا الضبط، هذا التفصيل يتبين منه على حد تعبير أبي حيان أن " ضبط كل لسان يحصل بمعرفة ثلاثة أشياء، أحدها معرفة مدلول مفردات الكلم ويسمى علم اللغة، والثاني أحكام تلك المفردات قبل التركيب، ويسمى علم التصريف، والثالث أحكام حالة التركيب، ويسمى عند المتكلمين على اللسان العربي علم النحو"⁽⁴⁾.

ويتضح من النص السابق أن تعلم/تعليم لغة ثانية إنما يتم من خلال فهم المتعلم لمعاني مفردات اللغة الهدف وأصولها واشتقاقاتها (التصريف) وطرق نظمها وانتظامها في تراكيب دالة (التركيب/النحو)، كما يشير النص السابق أيضًا إلى أن معرفة مفردات اللغة الهدف وتحصيل معانيها هي الخطوة الأولى في سبيل تعلمها وإتقان المعرفة بها واستعمالها.

والحقيقة أن هذا النص يمثل طريقة ومنهجًا يتبعه أبو حيان في جل كتاباته النحوية المهمة، ودليل هذا - بالإضافة إلى التعميم الذي يتضح من عبارة أبي حيان السابقة - أن نرى العبارة

(3) انظر لمزيد من الاختلافات بين اللساني والمعجمي:

Pawley, A. 1985: Lexicalization. In D. Tannen (ed.). *Georgetown University Roundtable on language and Linguistics*. Georgetown University Press .pp. 98-120. p.99;
Frawley, W. 1992/1993: *Introduction*. Dictionaries (14): 1-3. p.1

(4) أبو حيان الأندلسي: الإدراك، ص8.

نفسها موجودة أيضاً في مقدمة كتاب من أهم كتب أبي حيان ألا وهو "ارتشاف الضرب من لسان العرب"⁽⁵⁾، فهذه الفقرة تبين منهجاً تعليمياً مقترحاً يتدرج هرمياً من الأبسط إلى المعقد، من الكلمات إلى التركيب، ومن ثم فقرة المعجم (القسم الأول من الكتاب) لا تنفصل بحال من الأحوال عن بقية أقسام الكتاب (التصريف والتركيب) فكل منها يثري الآخر، ويعزز صيرورة تعلم اللغة الهدف المنشودة.

ويرى إيرمرز R. Ermers أن تقسيم كتاب "الإدراك للسان الأتراك" إلى أقسام ثلاثة هي: اللغة والتصريف والنحو يشبه بصورة كبيرة التقسيم الذي اتبعه أبو حيان في كتابه "ارتشاف الضرب"، ويرى أن هذا التقسيم يقوم على ذلك الترتيب الذي خص به سيوييه كتابه⁽⁶⁾.

2- حجم المعجم في كتاب الإدراك:

إن صناعة معجم ثنائي اللغة تختلف عن صناعة معجم أحادي اللغة من حيث الحجم أو الحيز، أو يجب أن تكون مختلفة، والحقيقة أن هذا الأمر يتوقف على عدة عوامل، من أهمها: العلاقة بين اللغتين "المصدر والهدف"، ودرجة ارتباط كل منهما بالأخرى، هذا بالإضافة إلى مستوى متعلم هذه اللغة، وغيرها من العوامل الأخرى.

وفي حالة معجم الإدراك قصد أبو حيان إلى ما أسماه جملة غالبية من خصائص لغة الترك، يقول أبو حيان: "والغرض في هذا الكتاب ضبط جملة غالبية من لسان الترك لغة وتصريفاً ونحواً"⁽⁷⁾، إن عبارة أبي حيان (جملة غالبية من لسان الترك) تبين لنا أن معجمه لن يتناول كل ما في التركية من ألفاظ ومفردات، إنما يتناول فقط ما يحتاج إليه المتعلم، وهذا شيء مهم في بناء المعجم الثنائي، فعلى الصانع أن يراعي في معجمه حاجات المتعلمين ومستواهم، وفي ظل علاقة احتكاك لغوي موجودة بالفعل بين اللغة الهدف (التركية) ولغة المتعلم (العربية) زمن وجود أبي حيان في مصر، يمكن لنا تبرير هذا النهج.

ويشغل المعجم - في هذا الكتاب - من الصفحة العاشرة (10) إلى الصفحة الرابعة والعشرين بعد المائة (124)، وهذا يعني أنه يشغل ما يزيد عن نصف الكتاب؛ إذ يبلغ هذا الكتاب ثلاث عشرة ومئتي صفحة.

(5) أبو حيان الأندلسي: انظر مقدمة ارتشاف الضرب من لسان العرب، تج مصطفى أحمد النحاس، مطبعة المدني، الطبعة الأولى، 1987.
(6) see Ermers, R. 2000: The description of Turkic with the Arabic linguistic model. p.326. in An International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Language from the Beginnings to the Present / Manuel international sur l'évolution de l'étude du langage des origines à nos jours / Ein internationale Handbuch zur Entwicklung der Sprachforschung von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, edited by Sylvain Auroux, E. F. K. Koerner, Hans-Josef Niederehe & Kees Versteegh, Berlin/New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2000, p. 325-329.

(7) أبو حيان الأندلسي: الإدراك، ص 8، 9.

3- الاختصارات والتنبيهات:

عني أبو حيان بوضع مجموعة من الاختصارات التي قصد بها ضبط التشكيل الصوتي/النظقي للكلمات التركيبية وحروفها، وهذه الاختصارات إشارة مهمة من إشارات المعجم تنم عن فهم أبي حيان ووعيه بمخاطر الانحراف النظقي التي قد تتعرض له الكلمات مما يؤثر سلباً على دلالتها أو يؤدي إلى التباس معناها بمعاني كلمات أخرى، فجاءت هذه الاختصارات زيادة في الضبط والإحكام، يقول أبو حيان: " ووضعت علامة للمرقق (ق)، وللمفخم (خ)، وللمشوب (ش)"⁽⁸⁾، والحقيقة أن اختيار هذه الاختصارات يتميز بالبساطة مما يسهل على المتعلم استخدام المعجم، ويساعده في ضبط التطريز التصويتي للكلمات.

وإلى جانب قائمة الاختصارات السابقة ثمة مجموعة أخرى لا تتعلق بالتصويت إنما تتعلق بمصادر المعجم، أي: باللغات والضروب اللهجية التي استقى منها أبو حيان ألفاظ معجمه ومداخله، يقول: " وللمنقول من لسان الفرس (ف)، ومن لسان التركمان (ت)"⁽⁹⁾، وما قيل عن بساطة مختصرات التصويت والنطق ينطبق على هذه القائمة أيضاً.

كذا نبّه أبو حيان إلى أن الضبط الموجود في معجمه هو الضبط الصحيح، وأنه إذا كان هناك ضبط آخر يخالف ما جاء في معجمه فإنه صادر عن الاحتكاك اللغوي بين التركيبية وغيرها من اللغات الأخرى والذي قد يتسبب في فساد الكلام واللحن فيه، يقول: "وما وجدته في كتابي هذا مضبوطاً ورأيت من يتكلم بلسان الترك يخالفه في زيادة حرف، أو نقصه، أو تغيير حركة بحركة، أو تحريك مسكن، أو تسكين محرك، أو غير ذلك — فلتعلم أن ذلك منه لحن في هذه اللغة؛ إذ قد تغير كثير منها في هذه البلاد لمخالطة المستعربة وغيرهم من الأعاجم"⁽¹⁰⁾.

4- ترتيب المعجم:

بالنسبة لترتيب مواد المعجم يقول أبو حيان: "وقد ضبطت هذا اللسان حرفاً حرفاً ورتبت الكلام في اللغة على حروف المعجم باللسان التركي، فأذكر اللفظة التركيبية وأتبعها بمرادفها من العربية"⁽¹¹⁾.

وكان أبو حيان قد ذكر في القسم الخاص بالتصريف مجموعة الحروف/الأصوات التركيبية، فقال: " وحروف المعجم في هذا اللسان ثلاثة وعشرون حرفاً وهي: الهمزة، والباء الخالصة، والباء المشوبة، والتاء، والجيم الخالصة، والجيم المشوبة، والذال، والراء، والزاي، والسين، والشين، والصاد، والطاء، والغين، والقاف، والكاف الخالصة، والكاف البدوية، واللام، والميم،

(8) أبو حيان الأندلسي: الإدراك، ص 9.

(9) أبو حيان الأندلسي: الإدراك، ص 9.

(10) أبو حيان الأندلسي: الإدراك، ص 9.

(11) أبو حيان الأندلسي: الإدراك، ص 9.

والنون الخالصة، والنون الخيشومية، والواو، والياء⁽¹²⁾، وعليه نجد أن الترتيب المتبع في هذا المعجم هو الترتيب الأببائي، حيث بدأ بحرف الهمزة وانتهى بالياء مروراً بالحروف التي بينهما.

5- مصادر المعجم

لكل معجم ثنائي اللغة مصادره التي يعتمد عليها، وهذه المصادر تختلف عن مصادر بناء المعجم الأحادي بطبيعة الحال، وينبغي أن تكون للمتصدي لهذا النوع من الصناعة معرفة كافية باللغة المصدر موضع التعلم، هذا بالإضافة إلى معرفته بضروب هذه اللغة وتنوعاتها اللهجية الفاعلة في تغيير دلالة كلماتها وطرق استخدامها، علاوة على إمكانية الإفادة من معاجم أخرى سبقته إلى هذه اللغة، أو الاعتماد على أشخاص يحيطون بهذه اللغة ويجيدون استعمالها، ومن ثم أعرض هنا للمصادر التي اعتمد عليها أبو حيان في بناء معجم الإدراك، وأبين مجموعة التنوعات والضروب اللغوية الواردة في معجمه.

بداية يشير إيرمرز إلى أن هناك من يرى أن كتاب "ديوان لغات الترك" لمحمود الكشغري (الصيني)⁽¹³⁾ قد يمثل أحد المصادر التي اعتمد عليها أبو حيان في كتابه وأن أبا حيان قد رأى هذا الكتاب واعتمده مصدرًا من مصادره، ولكن - بحسب إيرمرز - هناك مجموعة من الاختلافات بين الكتابين يُستبعد معها تأثر أبي حيان بكتاب ديوان لغات الترك، وأن هذه الاختلافات تتمثل في نوع المقاربة والبنية الخاصة بالكتابين والمصطلحات المستعملة فيهما وكذلك تنوعات اللغة التركية⁽¹⁴⁾.

(أ) بيلك وفخر الدين:

ورد في معجم الإدراك اسمان اعتمد أبو حيان على كل منهما في بيان بعض معاني الكلمات أو ضبط طريقة لفظها في لغتها، وهاتان الشخصيتان هما: بيلك وفخر الدين، وقد كنى أبو حيان الأخير بقوله: (شيخنا)، ونسب إلى الأول منهما كتابًا ظاهر أمره أنه معجم ثنائي اللغة يهتم باللغة التركية، فقال: وفي كتاب بيلك. وورد معًا في قوله عند الحديث عن (أيا) = "العش، كذا في كتاب بيلك، وقال شيخنا فخر الدين: لا أعرفه إلا (يوا)، وقد ذكرناه في حرف الياء".

والحقيقة أن كتاب الإدراك يخلو من الإشارات التي قد تساعدنا في تحديد هاتين الشخصيتين تحديدًا دقيقًا، ولكن هناك من يرى أن فخر الدين هذا هو (أبو طاهر إسماعيل بن أحمد بن إسماعيل بن برتق بن برغش بن هارون القوصي الفقيه الحنفي المصري)، وهو الملقب جلال الدين توفي

(12) أبو حيان الأندلسي: الإدراك، ص 125.
(13) لعرض جيد حول هذا الديوان ومحتوياته وأهميته انظر: فريد لي قواتغين 2007: ديوان لغات الترك، أول معجم للتركية العربية قبل ألف سنة، مجلة مجمع اللغة العربية بالقاهرة، العدد 110، ص 183-188.

(14) see Ermers, R. 2000: The description of Turkic with the Arabic linguistic model. p.326.

في السنة السادسة من سلطنة الناصر محمد الثالثة سنة (715هـ / 1315م)، وهو شيخ أبي حيان إذ تعلم على يديه القراءات القرآنية السبع⁽¹⁵⁾.

أما بيلك هذا فالراجح أنه غير معروف، ولكن هناك ثلاثة أسماء مطروحة من أجل تحديد هذه الشخصية، هذه الأسماء هي: علاء الدين بيلك القفجاق، وبيلك بن عبد الله القبجاق، وبيلك الخازندار، ويبدو أن إيرمرز R. Ermers يرجح أن يكون بيلك هذا هو بيلك الخازندار الذي اشتهر بمعرفته للغات الأجنبية كثيرة فضلاً عن درسه للتاريخ والحديث ومعرفته بهما، حيث ذكر هذا الاسم أيضاً في كتاب "البلغة" (ويقصد به "إرمرز" كتاب "بلغة المشتاق في لغة الأتراك والقبجاق" لجمال الدين التركي)⁽¹⁶⁾، ولبيلك هذا كتاب يسمى "الأنوار المضيئة" غير أن محتوى هذا الكتاب غير معروف⁽¹⁷⁾ مما يصعب معه القول: إنه الكتاب المقصود في المعجم الذي نقل عنه أبو حيان.

وعلى أية حال فالواضح أننا إزاء مصدرين: أحدهما يمثل رواية شفهية عن طريق شيخ أبي حيان، أي: فخر الدين، والآخر يعد مصدرًا مكتوبًا إذ دائماً ما يحيل إليه أبو حيان بقوله: "وفي كتاب بيلك"، وأغلب الظن أنه معجم في اللغة التركية مفقود لم يصل إلينا، وقد تتبعت مواضع ذكرهما في المعجم فوجدت لبيلك (26) ستة وعشرين موضعاً، ولفخر الدين (5) خمسة مواضع فقط.

* بين بيلك وأبي حيان:

يهما هنا أن نعرض للعلاقة التي ربطت بين بيلك وأبي حيان داخل المعجم، ومن أشكال هذه العلاقة ما يلي:

- أن يتفقا حول معنى كلمة ما ولفظها، يقول أبو حيان: ين = الريش في كتاب بيلك.
- أو أن يتفقا حول معناها ويختلفا في لفظها، يقول أبو حيان: قُلُق = الأذن، وفي كتاب بيلك (قُلُع).
- أو أن يتفقا على لفظها ويختلفا حول معناها، يقول أبو حيان: يمشى = الفاكهة، وفي كتاب بيلك الثمرة.
- وورد مثال يبين أنهما اختلفا في اللفظ والمعنى، يقول أبو حيان: أودى = فت، وفي كتاب بيلك (أودو) = طحن،
- وفي أمثلة واضحة يبدو أن كتاب بيلك يطرح مجموعة من المعاني أكثر من التي يطرحها أبو حيان، يقول: بُرُو = العجل الصغير، ويقال (بُرْعُو) بالواو والغين، وفي كتاب بيلك ولد الايل

(15) see Ermers, R. 1999: Arabic Grammars of Turkic: The Arabic Linguistic Model Applied to Foreign Languages and Translation of Abu Hayyan al Andalusi's Kitab al-Idrak li-Lisan al-Atrak. Leiden: E. J. Brill. p.26.

(16) see Ermers, R. 1999. op. cit. p.26, 39

(17) Ibid, p45

وفيه أيضاً العجل الصغير. ويقول: بصا = يقال عند الاستزادة من الحديث نحو ايه في اللسان العربي، وقال بيلك: بصا = كلمة يجئ في أثناء كلامهم فاصلة وهي لفظة بصا = فتارة يكون بمعنى ثم، وتارة بمعنى إلا، وتارة بمعنى أيضاً.

* بين فخر الدين وأبي حيان:

العلاقة بين أبي حيان وشيخه فخر الدين فيما يتعلق بمدخل المعجم لا تختلف كثيراً عن الأشكال السابقة للعلاقة بينه وبين بيلك، فهما في أحيان

• يتفقان في اللفظ ويختلفان حول المعنى، يقول أبو حيان: صلّجا = المحفة، وقال شيخنا فخر الدين: صلّجا = عود الجنازة.

• أو يتفقان حول المعنى ويختلفان في اللفظ، يقول أبو حيان: كَبْكُك = الشديد الزرقة، وقال شيخنا فخر الدين: هو بالميم بدل الباء.

ولكن ثمة إشارة وردت عند حديث أبي حيان عن (إشكك) يتبين منها صدقه في النقل وتحريه، يقول: إشكك = المجدف، ولم يعرف شيخنا فخر الدين هذه اللفظة.

* بين بيلك وفخر الدين:

ورد في المعجم الخلاف بين فخر الدين وبيلك حول بعض الكلمات على النحو التالي، يقول أبو حيان:

أيا = العش كذا في كتاب بيلك، وقال شيخنا فخر الدين: لا أعرفه إلا (يوا)، وقد ذكرناه في حرف الياء.

ومن الواضح أنهما اتفقا في هذا المثال حول معنى الكلمة واختلفا في لفظها. أما المثال التالي فقد اختلفا فيه حول اللفظ والمعنى معاً، يقول أبو حيان:

صِرْدِرْدِي = أذاب هكذا في كتاب بيلك، وقال شيخنا فخر الدين: ليس بجيد بل أذاب (أرتي) لأن ذاب (أردى) وأما (صِرْ) فأنضج، و(صِرْدِي) نضج في نفسه.

(ب) الضروب اللغوية واللهجية في المعجم

وردت في المعجم مجموعة من الضروب اللهجية للغة التركية التي أخذ عنها أبو حيان بعض الألفاظ والمعاني، وهي اللغة القبجاقية⁽¹⁸⁾، والتركمانية⁽¹⁹⁾، ولغة البلغار⁽²⁰⁾، ولغة التركستان⁽²¹⁾،

(18) ورد هذا الضرب اللغوي في الصفحات التالية من كتاب الإدراك: 15 (2)، 22 (3)، 23 (2)، 25 (2)، 31، 34 (2)، 35، 38، 43، 45 (3)، 46 (2)، 47 (2)، 48، 49، 53، 55، 56، 61، 67، 69، 72، 76 (2)، 79، 80 (2)، 86، 87، 89، 93، 94، 97، 102، 105، 110 (2)، 111، 114 (2)، 116، 121.

(19) وورد ذكرها في الصفحات: 11، 17، 18، 21، 30، 31، 35، 45، 46، 47 (2)، 48 (2)، 49، 68، 72، 75، 78، 79، 80 (4)، 87، 89 (3)، 93، 94، 96، 97، 98، 99، 102 (2)، 103، 105 (3)، 113 (2)، 114 (3)، 121، 122.

(20) ووردت في الصفحات: 13، 16.

(21) وردت في الصفحات: 34، 49.

ولغة طقصباً⁽²²⁾ كما ورد في المعجم مجموعة أخرى من المفردات المتركة عن العربية أو الفارسية⁽²³⁾.

والناظر إلى هذه المجموعة يرى أن أبا حيان اعتمد في بناء هذا المعجم على صنفين من اللغات والضروب اللهجية (وإن كان يسمي بعضها لغات شأنه شأن كثير من النحاة العرب وعلى رأسهم سيبويه؛ إذ ترد اللغة في كتابه ويراد بها اللهجة)، أول هذين الصنفين هو مجموعة الضروب اللهجية التي تنتمي إلى لغة واحدة (التركية)، وتسمى في مجال احتكاك اللغات Intrafamily Contacts، والصنف الآخر: تمثله مجموعة من الضروب التي تجمعها علاقة احتكاك بلغات أخرى (كالألفاظ المتركة عن الفارسية أو العربية)، وتسمى Interfamily Contacts⁽²⁴⁾، ولا يخفى تأثير هذا الاحتكاك بنوعيه ليس فقط على المستوى المعجمي للغة موضع الاعتبار، بل على المستوى التركيبي الخاص بها أيضاً، وهذا ما يجب على واضع المعجم أن يعيه تماماً ويضعه نصب عينيه.

6- معلومات المعجم:

أ) المعلومات الصوتية في المعجم:

من المهم أن يعرض المعجم ثنائي اللغة لمجموعة من المعلومات الصوتية التي تمكن المتعلم من النطق السليم للغة الثانية، لاسيما إذا كانت هذه اللغة قد استمدت مفرداتها من لهجات مختلفة، وقد عرض أبو حيان في مواضع متفرقة من الكتاب مجموعة من المعلومات الصوتية المتعلقة بطريقة نطق المفردات في اللغة التركية، فنجد على سبيل المثال:

• عرض في المعجم لمجموعة الأصوات والحروف وبعض سماتها في اللغة التركية، فقال عن اتصال الباء بأختها على سبيل المثال: الباء مع الباء = لا يوجد أول كلمة باء مشوبة إلا قولهم: بيج "ش"، فإن أولاهما مشوبة. وقال عن حرف اللام والكلمات التي يدخل فيها: (حرف اللام) وهو قليل في الأسماء، وأما في الأفعال فلا يكاد يوجد، وأما في الحروف فلا يحفظ منه إلا قولهم: لي بمعنى ذو.

وهذا العرض يرتبط بما جاء في القسم المستقل الخاص بالتصريف حيث ذكر الحروف التركية، فقال: "وحروف المعجم في هذا اللسان ثلاثة وعشرون حرفاً وهي: الهمزة، والباء

(22) ووردت ص 20.

(23) ورد القول بالنقل عن الفارسية صراحة في الصفحات: 12، 36، 41 (2)، 42، 44 (2)، 45، 49، 56، 73 (2)، 74، 76، 90، 92، 94، 106 (2)، 107، 112، 115. وورد لفظ التتريك سواء عن العربية أم الفارسية في الصفحات: 37، 58، 60، 74، 92، 95 (2)، 97، 101، 112 (3).

(24) لمزيد من التفاصيل حول هذين الصنفين انظر:

Lars Johanson 2010: Turkic Language Contacts . p. 652-653. in Raymond Hickey (Ed.): The Handbook of Language Contact. Wiley-Blackwell. Pp. 652-672.

الخالصة، والباء المشوبة، والتاء، والجيم الخالصة، والجيم المشوبة، والداد، والراء، والزاي، والسين، والشين، والصاد، والطاء، والغين، والقاف، والكاف الخالصة، والكاف البدوية، واللام، والميم، والنون الخالصة، والنون الخيشومية، والواو، والياء⁽²⁵⁾، ولم يكتف أبو حيان بهذا بل نبه أيضاً إلى أنه " متى وجد في بعض الكلم حرف غير هذه فيعلم أن تلك الكلمة غير تركية، بل منقول من لغة غير هذه اللغة، مثل (أخْشَم) و(فَرَمَنْ)"⁽²⁶⁾.

• وضع الرموز الخاصة بطريقة نطق بعض الأصوات وحالاتها النطقية من تفخيم أو ترقيق وغير هذا واستخدام هذه الرموز داخل المعجم، قال أبو حيان: "ووضعت علامة للمرقق (ق)، وللمفخم (خ)، وللمشوب (ش)"⁽²⁷⁾، ومن أمثلة استخدامه لهذه العلامات داخل متن المعجم قوله: أبجى = "ش" المرأة يعني عورت، أوج = "خ" الثأر، زددي = "ق" نظم الشيء.

• نبه على الضبط الصحيح للكلمات داخل معجمه وللصورة الأخرى التي قد تبتعد عن هذا الضبط، وفي هذا يقول: "وما وجدته في كتابي هذا مضبوطاً ورأيت من يتكلم بلسان الترك يخالفه في زيادة حرف، أو نقصه، أو تغيير حركة بحركة، أو تحريك مسكن، أو تسكين محرك، أو غير ذلك فلتعلم أن ذلك منه لحن في هذه اللغة إذ قد تغير كثير منها في هذه البلاد لمخالطة المستعربة وغيرهم من الأعاجم"⁽²⁸⁾. وقال أيضاً: "جين = النقش بالحريز، وجميع ما أوله جيم هي فيه مشوبة".

• عرض لصور الكلمات إذا كانت تنتمي إلى ضروب لهجية مختلفة، ونص على تسمية كل ضرب منها، وما يصاحب هذا الانتماء من طرائق النطق المختلفة باختلاف هذه الضروب، ومن أمثلة هذا: أويدي = نام وإبدال الياء ذالاً لغة تركستانية قالوا: أزيدي، وقد ذكرناه قبل.

• قام بشكل وضبط أغلب كلمات المداخل في المعجم.

• بين أصول الصيغ وما حدث لأصواتها من تغييرات، ومن أمثلة هذا قوله: اغردى = شاب وأبيض، وأصله أقردي فأبدلت القاف غينا. وقوله: أُنْدَى = تأصل، النردى = أصل، ولن إنما دخلت على تأصل ثم وجدت في أصل، واللام قبل النون زائدة أدغمت فيها لام ال.

• ربط بين تصويت الكلمات وبعض وظائفها المختلفة داخل نظام اللغة، ومن أمثلة هذا: بُغْدَى = خنق، وهو علم، وترقق باؤه إذا كان علماً.

(25) أبو حيان الأندلسي: الإدراك، ص 125.

(26) أبو حيان الأندلسي: الإدراك، ص 125.

(27) أبو حيان الأندلسي: الإدراك، ص 9.

(28) أبو حيان الأندلسي: الإدراك، ص 9.

• وضّح كيفية نطقها في الكلام المرسل الواقعي، ومن أمثلة هذا: أل = هو، وبمعنى ذلك، وبمعنى الأصل، ويقال بمعنى التحسين، يقال في المدح: أل صَغا ، ويقال ألي (خ) أي أحسنت، وألي ألي.

(ب) المعلومات الصرفية في المعجم:

أفرد أبو حيان في كتابه فصلاً كبيراً تحدث فيه بعناية عن المستوى الصرفي للغة التركية، وعرض فيه لأبنية الأفعال السماعية والقياسية، وتحدث عن التصغير، والنسب، والجمع، ثم عن اسم الفاعل، والمبالغة، والتفضيل، واسم المفعول، والمصدر، واسم المكان، والآلة، والهيئة، ثم عن الأعداد، وحرف النقل والتعدية، وحروف المطاوعة، والاتحاد، والمشاركة، والمضارعة، والمضي، ثم حروف الزيادة وأماكنها، ثم الحديث عن البدل، والحذف، والإدغام، وبين خلال هذا الفصل بعض الخصائص التي تميز التركية عن العربية، ورغم هذا لم يخل المعجم من بعض المعلومات الصرفية، ومن أمثلة هذا:

* بيان دلالة أجزاء الكلمة وأثر تفاعلها في معنى الكلمة:

يتي = السبعة، وأصلها (يدي)، وينطق أيضاً بالأصل (يتمش) = سبعون التاء بدل من الدال، لأن (يدي) سبعة، و(مش) صار بها تدل على السبعين.

كُرْشُدَى = أي صافحه، والشين فيه للمفاعلة، وهو منقول من ناصره إلى صافحه.

* عرض لبعض الصيغ الفعلية والتغيرات التي تحدث فيها:

تِرْلِدَى = عاش وحقيقته أحيي واللام لحقت لأجل بناء الفعل للمفعول.

كِرْتو = صادق، ولا يأتي منه فعل، بل إذا أرادوا معنى صدق قالوا: كِرْتوسُرْلِدَى، أي تكلم صادقاً.

بس = هي التربية، بسلدى = ربّى، بسلندى = تربّى، بسى يخشى در = أي تربية جيدة ويمندر أي رديئة.

* عرض للصيغ المشتقة وبين دلالاتها:

آز = القليل، ازيلدي = صار قليلاً بمعنى قل، ازلدى = بمعنى انقل أي صار قليلاً.

* عرض لمعاني الصيغ المصاحبة للكلام وبين دلالاتها:

دُر = لفظة يصحب الخبر وغيره للتوكيد وتبدل داله طاء في بعض المواضع.

* عرض لمعاني الحروف وحروف المعاني:

أطلق: الزناد، ولحقت (لق) للإعداد.

دردو: الأربعة المجتمعة، ودرد هو الأربعة، وهذه الواو دالة على هيئة الاجتماع.

سُرْئندى = امسح، والنون للمطاوعة ثم استعمل بمعنى زحف.

سِز = لفظ يلحق الأسماء فتدل على انتفاء ما دخلت عليه عن المحكوم عليه به فيقولون: (تلسز) أي بلا لسان أي أخرس.

صَمَصَن = أي لَجَّ، ولحقت النون زائدة فرقا بين الاسم والفعل.
طبجي = الخادم، و(جي) للنسبة.

(ج) المعلومات النحوية في المعجم:

على الرغم من أن التركيب أو القواعد شكّلت قسماً مستقلاً من أقسام كتاب الإدراك عالج فيه أبو حيان وضع المفردات داخل الجمل والأساليب مطبقاً النموذج النحوي العربي على اللغة التركيبية إلا أن معجمه لم يخل من إشارات مهمة تتعلق بالجانب التركيبي لبعض الكلمات، وأحسب أن مثل هذه المعلومات مهمة في التعريف بالكلمات ومعانيها، ومن أمثلة هذه الإشارات قوله:

تِرْلَك = الحياة، تِرْلَدِي = عاش، وحقيقته أحيي واللام لحقت لأجل بناء الفعل للمفعول.
تُرْلَدِي = استوى، ولا يقال (أشْ تِرْلَدِي)، إنما يقال (اشْ بشتي) استوى الطبخ، ويجوز (تِرْلَدِي اشلر) أي استوى أمورها.

دِن = النفس، يقال (دِنُنْ أَلِشْتِي) أي تنفس، و(الشتي) معناه عاط وأخذ مأخوذاً من (الْدِي) أي أخذوا، والشين للمشاركة، والنون في (دِنن) للمفعولية، والكسرة في النون الأولى للإضافة.

سِز = اسم مضمّر بمعنى أنتم، و(سِز) لفظ يلحق الأسماء، فتدل على انتفاء ما دخلت عليه عن المحكوم عليه به فيقولون: (تُلْسِز) أي بلا لسان بمعنى أخرس، و(كُزْسِز) أي بلا عين بمعنى أعمى، و(أَطْسِز) أي بلا فرس.

طُطْمَاج = عجيب يلقى مرقة اللحم معناه الممسك للجوع، (طُطْمَا) أي لا تمسك و(آج) جائعاً، فيسمى بالجملة.

قَجْ = كلمة يستفهم بها بمعنى كم.

كِرْتو = صادق، ولا يأتي منه فعل، بل إذا أرادوا معنى صدق قالوا: كِرْتوسُزْدِي، أي تكلم صادقاً.

والحقيقة أن بعض هذه المعلومات التركيبية أو الوظيفية - كما يتبين لنا من خلال الأمثلة السابقة - ركن أساسي في تعريف بعض المفردات، ووجودها في معجم ثنائي اللغة أمر مهم وضرورة مبررة من أجل استعمال هذه اللغة في التواصل بطريقة سليمة.

ويمكننا القول: إن أبا حيان في معجمه لم يكتفِ بذكر المعلومات الخاصة بالسلوك التركيبي للكلمات في لغتها فقط، بل حاول أن يفيد من آلية المقارنة بين سلوك بعض الكلمات في التركيبية وفي العربية تقريباً للمسألة وإحاطاً على تحقيق الفائدة. يقول على سبيل المثال:

دكما = هذه جاءت كما جاءت (كل) في اللسان العربي، يضاف إليها ما بعدها، وذلك (تيم) و(بر) و(أنجا) بمعنى (بعض) كذلك بخلاف المضاف والمضاف إليه في هذا اللسان، و(بر) معناه واحد، و(انجا) مثله، ثم استعمل مجموع ذلك بمعنى بعض.

د) المعلومات الدلالية في المعجم:

يبين أبو حيان معاني الكلمات التركيبية باستخدام بعض المفاهيم العربية المتعلقة بالدلالة، فاستخدم مفاهيم كالأصل، والمشارك، والترادف، والنقل، والضد، والكناية، أما عن طريقته في عرض دلالات الكلمات والمعلومات الدلالية الخاصة ببعض المفردات فيمكن لنا أن نلخصها في العناصر التالية:

- اعتماد الأصل في بيان معنى الكلمة ودلالة التحول عن هذا الأصل، ومثال هذا: ابْطُرًا = علم يسمى به أبو الأم [الجد]، وأصله للجدة، ويقال للأُم على طريقة التحنن.
- بيان المعاني المشتركة والتفريق بين استعمالاتها في بعض الحالات، ومثال هذا: إدى = مشترك بين أرسل وكان، فإذا كانت بمعنى أرسل كانت متصرفة، وإذا كانت بمعنى كان لم يتصرف فيها تغير المضي. وأرو = مشترك بين النحل والزنبور، وإذا أرادوا النحل بعينه قالوا: بالْ أريسي. وفُر = الوقت والسن يعني العمر، مشترك، بغدى = القمح وبالقبجاقى بيدي ويوصف به بمعنى أسمر.
- اعتماد الضد والمقابل، ومثال هذا: أركك = الذكر مقابل الأنثى. يُرقا = الرقيق المقابل للغليظ من قماش أو غيره.
- وضع الكلمات في أمثلة حية لبيان معانيها، ومثال هذا: أرقن = رفقًا، يقال: ارقن ارقن كُـلر- أي يجيء رفقًا رفقًا.
- شرح معاني المكافئات منعًا للالتباس، ومثال هذا: اطلو = الفارس أي ذو الفرس. واطلندى = ركب أي اتخذ فرسا. وأغزُلدى = استنقله بمعنى احترمه وأكرمه.

7- الطريقة التواصلية ودورها في المعجم:

من المعروف بل الشائع في اللسانيات التطبيقية التي تهتم بتعليم اللغات التركيز على ما يسمى الطريقة التواصلية في تعليم اللغات، وتشديدها على أهمية تلك الطريقة ومدى نجاحها، وهنا أعرض لبعض إشارات أبي حيان فيما يخص هذه الطريقة وأثرها في بيان المعاني وطرق استخدامها في سياقات تواصلية حقيقية، يقول:

أنق = الحاضر، يقال:

أنق لاغل، أي احضره.

ويقال إذا طلب الإنسان الهدية يقول لصاحبه:

ارمغن فني، فيجيبه صاحبه:

انق طُرُ ، أي حاضر.

ويقول أيضاً: طنلا = معناه وقت الصباح،

يقول : طنلا كقدم، أي جئت وقت الصباح،

وإذا قال: اجي في الصباح ، قال: طنلا كلكن.

وإذا كانت هذه الإشارات تمثل نسبة قليلة حيث وردت فقط مع بعض المداخل إلا أنها تؤكد لنا فطنة أبي حيان لأهمية هذه الطريقة، وتضرب لنا مثالاً جيداً يمكن أن نفيد منه في صياغة المعجم الثنائي الحديث. كذلك وردت بعض الإشارات الخاصة بالعادات التواصلية في التركية وأعدّها هنا متمّاً للطريقة التواصلية، ومثال هذا:

بصا = يقال عند الاستزادة من الحديث نحو (ايه) في اللسان العربي، وقال بيلك: بصا = كلمة يجئ في أثناء كلامهم فاصلة وهي لفظة بصا = فتارة يكون بمعنى ثم، وتارة بمعنى إلا، وتارة بمعنى أيضاً.

دُب دُرُ = "ش" يعطي معنى التفضيل وهي مبالغة في الاستقامة.

دُرُ = لفظة يصحب الخبر وغيره للتوكيد وتبدل داله طاء في بعض المواضع.

دَلِمُ = الكثير، يقال: (بودلم در) أي هذا كثير ويقال عند استكثار الشيء.

8- معرفة اللغة والمعجم الثنائي

الناظر في مجموعة مؤلفات أبي حيان يجد عدداً لا بأس به من الكتابات التي اهتم فيها أبو حيان باللغة التركية خاصة، فمن هذه المؤلفات: "الأفعال في لسان الترك"⁽²⁹⁾، و"زهو الملك في نحو الترك"، بالإضافة إلى كتابه "تحفة المسك في سيرة الترك"، وإذا كانت هذه المؤلفات تدل دلالة واضحة على معرفة أبي حيان بالتركية، إلا أن من المعروف عنه أيضاً أنه كان صاحب اهتمام كبير بلغات أخرى غير العربية كالفارسية والأثيوبية والقبطية، بالإضافة إلى اهتمامه بالقرآن والتوراة.

إن قراءة القسم الثاني المخصص للتصريف، وكذلك القسم الثالث المخصص للنحو والتركيب من هذا الكتاب كفيلة ببيان معرفة أبي حيان بهذه اللغة الأمر الذي مكّنه من تطبيق النموذج النحوي العربي كاملاً على نحو هذه اللغة، ولكن المهم بالنسبة لنا هنا أن نؤكد على أن مثل هذه المعرفة ضرورة لكل مهتم بإنشاء معجم للغة من اللغات سواء أكان أحادي اللغة أم ثنائي اللغة.

(29) ذكره أبو حيان: الإدراك ص 158.

وأود أن أشير هنا إلى بعض الإشارات التي وردت في هذا المعجم دالة على معرفة أبي حيان باللغة التركبية، وأثر هذه المعرفة في المنهج الذي اتبعه في التعامل مع مواد معجمه، وطريقته في تعريفها وبيانها، وذلك للتأكيد على أنه يجب على المتصدي لصناعة معجم ثنائي اللغة أن تكون لديه هذه المعرفة بوجودها المختلفة، فلا يغني ذكر المرادف غفلاً عن معرفة المعاني وامتلاك الكلمات أو امتلاك أسرارها، ولا يغني منفرداً شيئاً في فهمنا منطلق اللغة المصدر وطريقته في بناء معانيها وطرق استعمال تلك المعاني، ومن الوجوه التي نتبين لنا من خلالها هذه المعرفة ما يلي:

*** معرفة الكثير والقليل والشائع والمشهور، يقول :**

أَوْزَرَ = بمعنى على، وهي في لغة التركمان أكثر.

دَلَّنَقْ = الحجة، ويقال بالتاء وهو أكثر.

*** معرفة المهجور والمستعمل والغريب، يقول:**

اشنغ يل = عام، العام الأول، ويقال: اشنغيل، والمستعمل اليوم كَشْكَنْيَل.

انط طي = حزن وهي لغة غربية جداً والمستعمل الآن لغة التركماني قَبْعُرْدِي بمعنى حزن.

*** معرفة الاستخدام الحقيقي والمجازي، يقول:**

إشِكْ = عتبة الباب، ويكنى به عن الباب.

أَطَقْ = يعبر به عن الخيمة والوطن في البرية، يقولون: أُطَقَّنَقْنِي. أي: أين منزلك؟

اقجا = الأبيض، وغلب على الدرهم.

كن = الشمس واليوم، وهو مجاز في اليوم.

كُنْشْ = يطلق على الشمس مجازاً وحقيقته للشعاع.

*** معرفة العام والخاص من المعاني، يقول:**

أُكُوْ = المهد، ويسمى أيضاً (بشك)، والفرق بينهما أنه يتخذ من الخشب والحديد سريراً

للصغير و(أُكْرْمَكْ) أعم من ذلك، وهو كل ما يتحرك الصغير فيه من سرير وغيره، وينطلق أيضاً على أرجوحة الصغير (أُكْرْمَكْ).

*** معرفة ما يستقبح ذكره من الألفاظ، يقول:**

بُزْدِي = ضيق ... ومنه قيل للدبر بُزْكُ وهي مما يستقبح ذكرها.

*** معرفة مراتب الاستخدام وسياقاته، يقول:**

أُلْ = هو، وبمعنى ذاك، وبمعنى الأصل، ويقال بمعنى التحسين، يقال في المدح: أُلْ صَغَا،

ويقال أُلِي (خ) أي أحسنت، وأُلِي أُلِي.

*** معرفة التلازم اللفظي ودلالاته، يقول:**

تُزَلدَى = استوى، ولا يقال (أشْ تزلدى)، إنما يقال (اش بشتي) استوى الطبخ، ويجوز (تزلدى اشلر) أي استوى أمورها.

دُر = لفظة يصحب الخبر وغيره للتوكيد، وتبدل داله طاء في بعض المواضع.

صَرى شين = أشقر اللون بصهوبة، ولا يستعمل (اشن) إلا مع (صرى).

قر يغز = أسود اللون، وأكثر ما يستعمل (يغز) مع (قرا)، وقد ينفرد.

* معرفة أصل الوضع، يقول:

ببا : يدعو الصغير أباه، والكبير أيضاً يدعو كذا، وأصله للصغير.

* معرفة المنقول من معنى إلى آخر، يقول:

يُزَلدَى = عتب ولام وكأنه منقول من ضرب وجهه.

كُرُشدى = أي صافحه، والشين فيه للمفاعلة، وهو منقول من ناصره إلى صافحه.

* معرفة الصور النطقية المختلفة للكلمة الواحدة، يقول:

الطرقج = الكرسي، ويقال بالغين مكان القاف.

* معرفة الظواهر الصوتية المختلفة وعلاقتها بدلالة الكلمات، يقول:

بُعدى = خَنَقَ، وهو علم، وترقق باؤه إذا كان علماً.

* معرفة المكونات الدلالية للكلمة ومعاني مورفيماتها، يقول:

الْكُنْ = الدولة، وهو مركب من (ال) بلد و(كن) الشمس، فجعلوا ذلك عبارة عن الدولة.

دردو = الأربعة المجتمعة، و(درد) هو الأربعة، وهذه (الواو) دالة على هيئة الاجتماع مع

المرقق، ويخلفها مع المفخم (الغين)، وتستعمل (الكاف) أيضاً موضع (الواو)، و(الكاف) هي الأصل.

يُنْمُز = الذي ما له قدرة، (مز) معناها بلا و(يت) القدرة، فكأنه قال: بلا قدرة.

كل هذه الصورة المختلفة للمعرفة بلغة من اللغات تتيح لصاحبها بناء معجم ثنائي ذي تكوين جيد وعرض حسن، والحقيقة أن هذه المعرفة لم تكن لتتوفر في معجم إلا وصاحبه لغوي أو نحوي بارع مثل أبي حيان، فالعمل المعجمي على اختلاف صورته يقوم - بطريقة واعية أو غير واعية - على نظرية لسانية محددة تفيد من معطيات التحليل اللغوي على اختلاف مستوياته، وفي هذا أبلغ الرد على دعاوى الفصل بين عمل اللساني وعمل المعجمي، فهما متكاملان يفيد كلاهما من الآخر.

9- المعجم والمجتمع:

من الأمور التي لا جدال فيها أن اللغة ترتبط بالمجتمع وثقافته ارتباطاً وثيقاً، وأحسب أن هذا الارتباط ينسحب على جميع مستويات اللغة وبخاصة المعجم، فمن الجيد أن يشتمل المعجم —

وبخاصة المعجم ثنائي اللغة — على الألفاظ والمفردات ومجموعة الأمثال التي تعكس لنا هذا الارتباط، ونجد هنا في معجم أبي حيان مجموعة كبيرة من مثل هذه المفردات منها: الألفاظ التي تتعلق بأسماء القبائل، وأسماء الأعلام، وألفاظ القرابة، وأسماء بعض المهن والوظائف والآلات، وعدة الحرب وألفاظ الرتب، والألفاظ الدالة على الطعام والوجبات، بالإضافة إلى بعض الألفاظ الدالة على بعض العادات الاجتماعية الخاصة بهذا المجتمع في ذلك الزمان.

10- ملحوظات على المعجم:

أ- الترتيب

الملاحظة الأولى هنا تتعلق بالترتيب ولغة التعريف والتداخل بينهما ففي أمثلة غير قليلة جمعت لغة التعريف بين العربية والتركية، ومن أمثلة هذا:

إِ = أرسل "الارسال"، كندى باشنه وكندى حالنه قومق معنا سنه يقال: أرسله إذا أهمله لسانمزه إِ دنلو ركه براق يتشور معالرينى ادا ايدر.

وهذا التعريف:

يقدم لنا مرادف الكلمة باللغة العربية: أرسل "الإرسال".

ثم يسوق على هذا المعنى مثالا من التركية: كندى باشنه وكندى حالنه قومق [أي تركه وشأنه].

ثم يوضح معنى هذا المثال أو يترجم معناه باللغة العربية: معنا سنه [بمعنى] يقال: أرسله إذا أهمله.

ثم يذكر بعض الأفعال التي تؤدي هذا المعنى في التركية: لسانمزه إِ دنلو ركه براق يتشور معالرينى ادا ايدر [وفي لغتنا (أي: التركية) تقول: إِ دنلو ركه = اترك، يكفي يؤدي هذه المعاني] ويمكن تبرير صورة هذا التعريف بأن أبا حيان قد استخدم مرادفاً يختلط معناه في ذهن المخاطبين، فتعريفه (إِ = أرسل "الارسال") يشترك مع عديد من الأفعال العربية في أداء معنى غير معنى التَّرك والإهمال المصاحب للحرف (إِ) في التركية، فجاء التعريف يوضح المعنى المراد بشرح هذا المعنى بطريقة مفصلة من خلال استخدام اللغتين.

والحقيقة أن الكلمات التركية المستخدمة في التعريف السابق ليست لها مداخل في المعجم، بل إن أبواب بعض هذه الكلمات ليست موجودة، فلم أعثُر — على سبيل المثال — على باب بعنوان (الميم مع العين)، والسبب في هذا أن أبا حيان لم يعتمد العين حرفاً من حروف الهجاء التركي السابق، وهنا نأتي إلى قضية أخرى، وهي قضية حقيقة الحروف التركية وعددها، فإذا رجعنا إلى قسم التصريف وجدنا أبا حيان يؤكد على أن الحروف التركية عددها ثلاثة وعشرون حرفاً، وأنه عدّ الحروف المختلفة عن هذه الحروف غير تركية، ولكن هل لأبي حيان أن يستخدم

في معجمه حروفاً وكلمات -وفق رؤيته- غير تركية؟ وهل يمكن أن يستخدم في تعريفه بعض الكلمات ألفاظاً ليست لها مداخل خاصة في معجمه؟

في الحقيقة ثمة حاشية للناشر في القسم الخاص بالتصريف تفيد أنه نقل - عن كتاب (القوانين الكلية لضبط اللغة التركية) - أن الحروف التركية ثمانية وعشرون حرفاً في اللفظ وواحد وعشرون في الصورة منها العين المهملة الخالصة⁽³⁰⁾ التي لم يجعلها أبو حيان من بين حروف اللغة أو المعجم على السواء، وما أريد قوله بعيداً عن الخوض في مسائل لا مجال لبحثها هنا: إننا أمام تعريف إما أن يكون من وضع الناشر، وهذا ما أؤيده لأسباب أذكرها، وإما أن يكون أبو حيان قد استعمل في معجمه لغة غير التي عدها تركية خالصة، وهذا مستبعد بسبب أن أغلب من قام بتأليف عربي يتناول اللغة التركية كان ينص على التركيبة الخالصة -إن جاز هذا الوصف- دون غيرها، هذا بالإضافة إلى أن هذه النسخة من الكتاب التي انتهى أبو حيان من تأليفها في يوم الخميس الموفي عشرين من رمضان سنة 712 هـ (15 يناير 1313م) بمدرسة الملك الصالح بالقاهرة وهي التي اعتمد عليها الناشر هنا هي نسخة منقولة عن النسخة الموجودة باسطنبول التي وصفها إرمزر R. Ermers بأن أغلب كلماتها ليست مضبوطة الشكل، وأن قارئها تعوقه تعليقات كثيرة توجد على هامش الصفحات وبين سطور الكتاب⁽³¹⁾.

ناهيك عما ورد في التعريف السابق من نسبة هذا التعريف إلى الناشر إذ جاء في التعريف قوله: لسانمزده [لغتنا]، فقوله: لغتنا، يدل بوضوح على أن صاحب هذا التعريف شخص غير أبي حيان، بالإضافة إلى عدم اعتبار أبي حيان حرف العين حرفاً من حروف التركية، كما وردت في التعريف كلمة معنالييني، ومن أصواتها العين، وليس لها مدخل في المعجم. وكذلك يؤيد ما ذهب إليه هنا الترتيب المتبع في المعجم، فالترتيب كما ذكرت من قبل ترتيب ألفبائي، ولكن المتأمل في الصورة التي جاء عليها هذا الترتيب يجد أن ثمة تداخلاً في ترتيب الكلمات بين المداخل والكلمات أو الأمثلة التركية الواردة في التعريف، انظر على سبيل المثال:

تركي	عربي	وأزعم أن الأصل فيه أن يكتب هكذا
اب	الحبل	اب
يب	بالقبحاقي	الحبل، و(يب) بالقبحاقي

(30) أبو حيان الأندلسي: الإدراك، ص 125.

(31) See Ermers, R. 1999: op. cit. p.24.

أرو	مشارك بين النحل والزنبور، وإذا أرادوا النحل بعينه، قالوا	أرو	مشارك بين النحل والزنبور، وإذا أرادوا النحل بعينه، قالوا
بال آريسي			بال آريسي).

ولا أدل على التداخل بل والتدخل أيضًا من قوله: بَزَر : السوق، وهي منقولة من الفارسية أيضًا، لسانمزرده ألف ممدودة وباء مشوبة إيله بازار دينلور.

فهنا ترى أن كلمة (بَزَر) هي عينها (بازار) بمعنى السوق الواردة في المثال (إيله بازار دينلور)، ولكن أبا حيان لو أراد (بازار) لأتى بها، ولكن هذه الكلمة (بازار) الواردة في التعريف من وضع الناشر أو من الملحوظات والتعليقات الموجودة في مخطوطة الكتاب بيد غير يد أبي حيان، وأحسب أن تعريف أبي حيان يقف عند قوله: وهي منقولة من الفارسية أيضًا. أما ما جاء بعد هذا الكلام من ملحوظات وأمثلة فهو للناشر أو لغيره.

ب- التكرار

من أمثلة التكرار كلمة (بِسْ) حيث وردت في باب (الهمزة مع الياء) وتكررت في باب (الباء مع السين)، قال: بَسْ = هي التريية، بَسْلْدَى = رَبَّى، بَسْلَنْدَى = تَرَبَّى، يقال: بسى يخشى در أي تربية جيدة و(يمندر) أي رديئة.

ج- عدم ضبط بعض الكلمات التركبية

ورد في تعريفه كلمة (اشلق) = القمح يعني (بغداى). وورد في تعريفه كلمة (بُغْدَى) = القمح وبالقبجاقى بيدى ويوصف به بمعنى أسمر. وهنا لا تدري مكافئ كلمة (القمح) العربية أهي بغدى أم بغداى، وأحسب أن الأخيرة موضوعه وأن تعريف أبي حيان لكلمة اشلق ينتهي عند قوله: القمح.

د- عدم اكتمال التعريف

ومن أمثلة عدم اكتمال التعريف وغموضه في بعض الأحيان قوله: برجلق = نوع من النباتات، وقوله: بَغْر = المس، وقوله: بَقِن: الحاضرة، وقوله: بلدرن = نوع من النبات.

الخلاصة:

إن المعجم في كتاب "الإدراك" من أقدم المعاجم العربية ثنائية اللغة، ويمثل من وجهة نظرنا مصدرًا مهمًا من المصادر التي تؤكد على ريادة العمل المعجمي العربي، ويحتوي - رغم حجمه الضئيل - على عديد من المظاهر التي يجب أخذها بعين الاعتبار حال وضع معجم ثنائي، من أهمها:

- معرفة اللغة الثانية معرفة وافية تمكنا من صياغة معجم ثنائي محكم ودقيق.
- معرفة علاقة هذه اللغة بغيرها من اللغات، وأثر هذا في المعجم الخاص بها.
- أن يقترن المعجم ثنائي اللغة بموجز وافٍ عن أصوات اللغة وصرفها وقواعدها.
- أن نفيد من المصادر المتعددة التي يمكنها أن تعطينا صورة واضحة عن كلمات هذه اللغة واستخداماتها وعلاقاتها.
- أن نعتمد الطريقة التواصلية آلية مهمة قادرة على بيان معاني الكلمات ودلالاتها المختلفة.
- أن يعكس المعجم صورة عن المجتمع اللغوي صاحب هذه اللغة.

المصادر والمراجع

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AN EARLY NUBI VOCABULARY

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Abstract. The paper discusses a vocabulary of early Uganda Nubi (Owen & Keane 1915), which has never been analyzed in the literature on Arabic-lexifier pidgins and creoles. A detailed examination of the words, phrases and sample sentences in Owen & Keane (1915) is carried out. It is shown that these provide valuable insights into the development of the phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon of this variety of creolized Arabic spoken in Uganda.

Keywords: Arabic-lexifier pidgins and creoles; Uganda Nubi; Kenya Nubi; Egyptian Arabic; Sudanese Arabic.

1. Introduction

As is well known data from Arabic-lexifier varieties do not figure prominently in the literature on pidgins and creoles in spite of their potential relevance to the study of these languages (see e.g. Owens 1997, Avram 2003). Neither are they frequently made reference to in the literature on Arabic, even though several authors have insisted on the importance of Arabic-lexifier pidgins and creoles for Arabic linguistics (see e.g. Kaye 1991, Owens 2001, Miller 2002, Tosco & Manfredi 2013). It is therefore not surprising that Creole Arabic has been appropriately designated as “the orphan of all orphans” (Owens 2001).

The earlier stages of Arabic-lexifier creoles are rather poorly documented. Under the circumstances, the study of any of the very few available sources is an enterprise worth pursuing. The present paper¹ examines the Nubi section in Owen & Keane (1915), a six-language vocabulary (the other languages are English, Hindustani, Luganda, Lunyoro and Swahili) compiled for the Uganda Medical Service. The aim of the paper is to assess whether the words, phrases and sample sentences in Owen & Keane (1915) reflect with any degree of accuracy the variety of Nubi spoken at the beginning of the 20th century in British-ruled Uganda, and their relevance to our understanding of the emergence and development of the language. To do so, the data in Owen & Keane (1915) are analyzed in light of evidence from other contemporary sources on early Uganda Nubi, from the superstratal input (Egyptian Arabic and Sudanese Arabic), from modern Uganda Nubi and modern Kenya Nubi as well as from the closely related Juba Arabic.

¹Kees Versteegh (Radboud University Nijmegen) provided me with a copy of Wellens (2003). Shuichiro Nakao (Kyoto University/Japan Society for the Promotion of Science) first drew my attention to Owen & Keane (1915) and provided me with copies of Jenkins (1908) and Meldon (1913). Their assistance is here gratefully acknowledged.

In addition to Owen & Keane (1915), examples from early Uganda Nubi include forms recorded in Jenkins (1908) and Meldon (1908, 1913). The examples from modern Uganda Nubi are mainly from Wellens (2003) while those from modern Kenya Nubi are taken from Heine (1982), the texts in Luffin (2004) and from Luffin (2005). These have been supplemented with forms listed in *Kamus ta rutan Nubi ma Ingilis – Nubi/English Dictionary* (2014). The Egyptian Arabic etyma are from Hinds & Badawi (1986), while the Sudanese Arabic etyma are from Amery (1905) and Hillelson (1925).

The paper is structured as follows. The words and phrases from Owen & Keane (1915), divided according to word classes, are listed in section 2. For each such word or phrase I provide their counterpart in modern Uganda Nubi, including variants. In the absence of an equivalent identified in modern Uganda Nubi, the corresponding word or phrase in Kenya Nubi is listed². Also included are comments on particular words or phrases. Sections 3 to 5 discuss the phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon respectively of early Uganda Nubi, on the basis of the data in Owen & Keane (1915). Section 6 summarizes the findings.

All examples appear in the system of transcription used in the sources mentioned. Unless otherwise specified, the modern Nubi forms listed in section 2 are in Uganda Nubi and are taken from Wellens (2003). The following abbreviations are used: EA = Egyptian Arabic; ECA = Egyptian Colloquial Arabic; JA = Juba Arabic; Kamus = *Kamus ta rutan Nubi ma Ingilis – Nubi/English Dictionary*; KN = Kenya Nubi; N = Nubi; SA = Sudanese Arabic; SCA = Sudanese Colloquial Arabic; T = Turku; UA = Uganda Arabic; UDA = Uganda Dialectal Arabic; UN = Uganda Nubi; UPA = Uganda Pidgin Arabic.

2. The data

2.1 Nouns

Owen & Keane (1915)	Modern N	
abdomen	<i>batan</i>	
	<i>batna</i>	' <i>batna</i>
abscess	<i>dabara</i>	' <i>dabara</i>
affair (arrangement)	<i>tartib</i>	
arm	<i>ida</i>	' <i>ida</i>
armpit	<i>abat</i>	KN <i>abát</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 144)
artery	<i>asab</i>	KN <i>asab</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 144)
back	<i>dahr</i>	' <i>dar</i>
		<i>daar</i> (Kamus 2014)
	<i>sulba</i>	' <i>suluba</i>

²There exists no comprehensive dictionary of either UN or KN. This accounts for the fact that I have not been able to provide the modern UN or modern KN equivalents of a number of words listed in Owen & Keane (1915).

bed	<i>angarib</i>	<i>ninge're</i> (Owens 1977: 60) <i>nengere</i> (Kamus 2014)
body	<i>jesed</i>	
boil	<i>hibin</i>	
blood	<i>dam</i>	' <i>dom</i>
bone	<i>adm</i>	' <i>ladum</i> ;
bottle	<i>gezaz</i>	KN <i>gizáaza(a)</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 145)
chest	<i>duss</i>	KN <i>dús</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 150) <i>dusu</i> (Kamus 2014)
	<i>sudur</i>	' <i>sudur</i>
clothes	<i>kiswa</i>	
cold in head	<i>zuguma</i>	<i>zukma</i> 'flu' (Kamus 2014)
cough	<i>gohh</i>	' <i>goho</i> /' <i>koho</i>
day	<i>yom</i>	' <i>yom</i>
daytime	<i>fishems</i>	
diarrhoea	<i>harura</i>	
	<i>huru</i>	
dysentery	<i>huru dam</i>	
ear	<i>adan</i>	' <i>adan</i>
eggs	<i>beda</i>	KN <i>bééda</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 144)
eye	<i>en</i>	' <i>ena</i>
face	<i>wish</i>	' <i>waji</i>
fever	<i>wurda</i>	
fingers	<i>asaba</i>	
fire	<i>nar</i>	' <i>nar</i>
food	<i>akil</i>	' <i>akil</i> /' <i>akili</i>
foot	<i>kura</i>	<i>ku'ra</i>
	<i>rigl</i>	
giddiness	<i>dosh</i>	
gonorrhoea	<i>bejel</i>	
	<i>habub</i>	
groin	<i>rufug</i>	
half	<i>nuss</i>	' <i>nusu</i>
hand	<i>ida</i>	' <i>ida</i>
head	<i>ras</i>	' <i>ras</i>
heart	<i>galba</i>	' <i>gelba</i>

hour	<i>saa</i>	'sa
hospital	<i>gisla</i>	
house	<i>bet</i>	'be
illness	<i>aiyan</i>	a'yan
itch	<i>furr furr</i> <i>jurban</i>	<i>furu furu</i> 'itching' (Kamus 2011)
joint	<i>murfak</i>	
knee	<i>rukba</i>	'rukuba
lamp	<i>fanus</i>	
latrine	<i>mustarah</i>	KN <i>musturá</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 150) <i>musturah</i> (Kamus 2014)
leg	<i>kura</i> <i>rigl</i>	<i>ku'ra</i>
letter	<i>waraga</i>	'warag/'waraga
man	<i>ragil</i>	'ragu/'ragil
measles	<i>hisiba</i>	
meat	<i>lahm</i>	'lam <i>laam</i> (Owens 1977: 187) <i>laam/laham</i> (Kamus 2014)
medicine	<i>dawa</i>	'dawa
milk	<i>leben</i>	'leben
month	<i>shahr</i>	'sar/'shar KN <i>sha(h)ari</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 151)
mouth	<i>khasma</i>	'kasma/'kasuma
name	<i>isma</i>	'asma <i>asuma</i> (Kamus 2014);
neck	<i>ragubtu</i> <i>halgum</i>	'ragabtu
needle	<i>libra</i>	'libira KN <i>libra</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 147) <i>libira</i> (Kamus 2014)
night-time	<i>filel</i>	<i>f'lél</i>
nose	<i>nangaratu</i>	KN <i>nyangáratu</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 142) <i>nyangartu</i> (Kamus 2014)

penis	<i>zibi</i>	
permission	<i>ruksa</i>	KN <i>rúhsa</i> (Luffin 2005: 134)
place	<i>mahel</i>	' <i>mahal/ma'hal</i>
	<i>bakan</i>	<i>ba'kan</i>
poison	<i>simm</i>	' <i>sum</i>
pus	<i>wia</i>	
road	<i>sikka</i>	' <i>sika</i>
salt	<i>milh</i>	' <i>mile</i>
scales	<i>mizan</i>	<i>mizan</i> 'scales, balance' (Kamus 2014)
scissors	<i>magass</i>	<i>ma'kas</i>
shoulder	<i>katif/kitfa</i>	KN <i>kítfa</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 150)
sick man	<i>aiyan</i>	<i>a'yan</i>
skin	<i>gilid</i>	' <i>gili/jili</i> <i>gilid</i> (Kamus 2014)
small pox	<i>jedri</i>	<i>jeder</i> (Kamus 2014)
sore	<i>dabara</i>	' <i>dabara</i>
space, room	<i>nafass</i>	KN <i>nafasi</i> 'place, space' (Luffin 2004: 256)
spoon	<i>malaga</i>	KN <i>málaga</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 147)
swell	<i>wirim</i>	
syphilis	<i>halag</i>	
	<i>mahali</i>	
testicles	<i>kuka</i>	
	<i>beda</i>	
thigh	<i>wirik</i>	<i>wiriki</i> (Kamus 2014)
thing	<i>haja</i>	' <i>haja</i>
time	<i>marra</i>	' <i>mara</i>
time	<i>wakit</i>	' <i>wakti</i> KN <i>wákit</i> (Luffin 2005: 95)
	<i>mudda</i>	<i>múda</i> 'period' (Luffin 2005: 96) <i>muda</i> 'period of time' (Kamus 2014)
tongue	<i>lisan</i>	<i>li'san</i>
tooth	<i>sinn</i>	' <i>sin</i>
	<i>sinun pl.</i>	<i>su'nun</i>
throat	<i>halgum</i>	

tongue	<i>lisan</i>	<i>li'san</i>
urine	<i>bul</i>	
vagina	<i>kuss</i>	
vein	<i>irig</i>	
wages	<i>mahiya</i>	<i>meyya</i> ‘salary’ (Owens 1977: 160)
water	<i>moiya</i>	<i>'moyo</i>
well	<i>bir</i>	<i>biri</i> (Kamus 2014)
woman	<i>maria</i>	<i>'marya</i>
work	<i>khidima</i>	<i>'kidima</i>
year	<i>senna</i>	<i>'sana</i>
wrong (offence)	<i>ghalat</i>	<i>galatu</i> ‘error, fault, mistake’ (Kamus 2014)

‘bed’: The form *angarib* (Owen & Keane 1915: 2) appears to be the original one, given that an identical form is recorded in all the other contemporary sources: *angarib* ‘bed’ (Meldon 1908: 131), *angarīb* ‘bedstead’ (Jenkins 1908: 13), *angareeb* ‘bed’ (Meldon 1913: 22). Also, the early UN forms closely resemble their JA counterpart *anggreb* (Smith & Ama 1985: 21).

‘body’: For *josed* (Owen & Keane 1915: 26), cf. SA *ḡasad* ‘body’ (Hillelson 1925: 34). The form provided by Jenkins (1908: 15), *gasid*, is certainly an Egyptianism, cf. EA *gasad* ‘human body’ (Hinds & Badawi 1986: 160).

‘boil’: The form *hibin* (Owen & Keane 1915: 28) exhibits the segolate vowel [i], cf. SA *hibn* ‘abscess’ (Hillelson 1925: 2); see also JA *hibin* (Smith & Ama 1985: 24).

‘bone’: The form *adm* (Owen & Keane 1915: 26) is identical to the one given by Jenkins (1908: 14). Unlike modern UN *'ladum*, these forms do not exhibit agglutination of the Arabic definite article, just like JA *adum* (Smith & Ama 1985: 24). The [u] in the modern N form can be traced back to SA: Hillelson (1925: 34) lists two variants, with and without a segolate vowel: *'aḏm* and *'aḏum*.

‘clothes’: The word *kiswa* is not glossed as such, but it appears in the entry ‘undress’ *umrugu kiswa* (Owen & Keane 1915: 3); cf. SA *kiswa* ‘clothes’ (Hillelson 1925: 56), the identical form in Jenkins (1908: 21) and *kiswah* in Meldon (1913, Vocabulary: 42).

‘cold in head’: The form *zuguma* (Owen & Keane 1915: 28) exhibits an epenthetic [u], cf. SA *zukma* ‘cold (in head, etc.)’ (Hillelson 1925: 58) and JA *zugma* ‘catarrh, mucus, snot’ (Smith & Ama 1985: 182).

‘diarrhoea’: The variant *harura* (Owen & Keane 1915: 28) is similar to *harūra* (Jenkins 1908: 27); cf. perhaps SA *hurār* ‘excrement’ (Amery 1905: 130, Hillelson 1925: 101). The

variant *huru* (Owen & Keane 1915: 28) may be related to JA *uru* ‘piss’ (Smith & Ama 1985: 179).

‘dysenthery’: This is rendered in Owen & Keane (1915: 28) by *huru dam*. If *huru* is a cognate of JA *uru* ‘piss’ (Smith & Keane 1985: 179), then *huru dam* literally translates as ‘pissing blood’.

‘face’: The form *wish* (Owen & Keane 1915: 27) is identical to those given by Jenkins (1908:) and Meldon (1913: 77). This may well be the original UN form, derived from SA *wish* (Amery 1905: 134). The current UN form '*waji* appears to originate from another SA variant, *waǧih* (Hillelson 1925: 104).

‘fever’: The form *wurda* (Owen & Keane 1915: 29) is similar to *orda*, given by Jenkins (1908: 34). The two forms share a labial reflex of the first vowel in the SA etymon *wirda* ‘fever’ (Amery 1905: 139, Hillelson 1925: 108).

‘fingers’: For *asaba* (Owen & Keane 1915: 27), cf. *asbāt* ‘finger’ (Jenkins 1908: 34) – where <t> is most probably a typo – and JA sg. *asba* pl. *asaabe* ‘finger’ (Smith & Ama 1985: 122).

‘foot’, ‘leg’: The variant *rigl* (Owen & Keane 1915: 27), which is certainly an Egyptianism, is also found in Jenkins (1908: 35) and Meldon (1913: 86).

‘giddiness’: The form *dosh* (Owen & Keane 1915: 29) is similar *todōsh* (Jenkins 1908: 38): they both share the absence of the etymological word-final vowel, cf. SA *dōsha* (Amery 1905: 157, Hillelson 1925: 123).

‘gonorrhoea’: For the variant *bejel* (Owen & Keane 1915: 28), see the identical form in Jenkins (1908: 38) and JA *bajala* (Smith & Ama 1985: 52). The variant *habub* (Owen & Keane 1915: 28) cannot be corroborated by comparative evidence.

‘half’: The <ss> in *nuss* (Owen & Keane 1915: 5) may represent [ss], see the identical form in Jenkins (1908: 40).

‘hour’: The <aa> in *saa* (Owen & Keane 1915: 2) stands most likely for two short vowels [a], separated by a hiatus; a long [a:] would not be justified etymologically.

‘hospital’: The form *gisla* (Owen & Keane 1915: 5) is similar to both *gislah* (Meldon 1913: 106) and *gizla* (Jenkins 1908: 42).

‘itch’: For the variant *jurban* (Owen & Keane 1915: 29), cf. SA *ǧarbān* (Hillelson 1925: 180) and JA *jarabaan* ‘scabies’ (Smith & Ama 1985: 144).

‘lamp’: For *fanus* (Owen & Keane 1915: 6), see *fānūs* ‘lamp’ (Jenkins 1908: 47) and *fanūs* ‘lantern’ (Meldon 1913: 123) as well as JA *fanuus* ‘lamp’ (Smith & Ama 1985: 62).

‘latrine’: In *mustarah* (Owen & Keane 1915: 6), just like its counterpart *mustarāh* (Jenkins 1908: 48) and JA *mustaraa* (Smith & Ama 1985: 62), the second vowel is still the etymologically justified [a]. In the currently attested forms, the vowel at issue is [u], which has probably obtained via vowel copying.

‘measles’: The form *hisiba* (Owen & Keane 1915: 29) exhibits an epenthetic [i], cf. SA *hiṣba* (Hillelson 1925: 183), unlike the corresponding form *hisba* in Jenkins (1908: 52).

‘mouth’: The comparison of the forms *khasma* (Owen & Keane 1915: 27) and *khashma* (Jenkins 1908: 55) shows that <kh> may stand for [x], which would be etymologically justified, cf. *khashm* ‘mouth’ (Hillelson 1925: 192). The form also illustrates the alternation [ʃ] ~ [s].

‘name’: The form *isma* (Owen & Keane 1915: 7) differs from its modern counterpart in that it starts with [i]. It may represent an older variant, later supplanted by the one with word-initial [a], as also suggested by evidence from Jenkins (1908). The entry ‘name’ lists *asma* (Jenkins 1908: 56) but for ‘What is your name?’ two versions are offered: *Asmak El?* – where <l> should read <i> – and *Ismak shinu?* ‘What is your name?’ (Jenkins 1908: 56). The variant with word-initial [i] occurs once more in *Ismak ei?* ‘What is your name?’ (Jenkins 1908: 103).

‘neck, throat’: For the variant *halgum* (Owen & Keane 1915: 27), cf. *halgūm* ‘throat’ (Jenkins 1908: 87).

‘nose’: The form *nangaratu* (Owen & Keane 1915: 27) as well as *nangārātū* (Jenkins 1908: 57) start with [n] and might, therefore, reflect an earlier pronunciation. However, this raises the issue of what would have possibly triggered the palatalization to [ɲ], which appears in their modern N counterparts.

‘penis’: The form *zibi* (Owen & Keane 1915: 28) exhibits degemination of etymological /bb/ as well as the paragogic vowel [i]. Both phonological adjustments are suggestive of a pidginized form. This is also one of the very few words in which the etymological geminate consonant does not appear.

‘vagina’: The <ss> in *kuss* (Owen & Keane 1915: 28) may represent [ss], which would be etymologically justified, cf. also *kuss* ‘vagina’ (Jenkins 1908: 91).

‘permission’: In *rukṣa* (Owen & Keane 1915: 8) the reflex of SA /x/ is [k]. This is the only exception among the lexical items attested in Owen & Keane (1915): in all the others words derived from etyma containing /x/ this is transcribed with <kh>. The corresponding form in Jenkins (1908: 62) is *rūksa* ‘permission’ (Jenkins 1987: 62), i.e. also with [k] corresponding to the etymological /x/, cf. SA *rukḥṣa* ‘permit’ (Hillelson 1925: 215).

‘place’: For the occurrence of [e] in the variant *mahel* (Owen & Keane 1915: 8), see *maheil* (Jenkins 1908: 63).

‘pus’: For *wia* (Owen & Keane 1915: 29), cf. the similar form *wīa* in Jenkins (1908: 67).

‘scissors’: The <ss> in *magass* (Owen & Keane 1915: 9) may stand for [ss], cf. the identical form in Jenkins (1908: 74).

‘swell’: For *wirim* (Owen & Keane 1915: 10), cf. *wirim* ‘swelling’ (Jenkins 1908: 84); and JA *worim* ‘swelling’ (Smith & Ama 1985: 102)

‘syphilis’: The variant *halag* (Owen & Keane 1925: 29) is identical to the form given by Jenkins (1908: 84). The variant *mahali* (Owen & Keane 1925: 29) cannot be corroborated by comparative evidence.

‘thigh’: The form *wirik* (Owen & Keane 1915: 28) exhibits the segolate vowel [i], which is also found in *wirik* ‘thigh’ (Jenkins 1908: 87), cf. SA *wirk* ‘thigh’ (Hillelson 1925: 293).

‘time’: The <rr> in *marra* (Owen & Keane 1915: 24) may represent [rr], which would be etymologically justified; cf. *marra* ‘once’ (Jenkins 1908: 59).

‘time’: The <dd> in the variant *mudda* (Owen & Keane 1915: 11) may stand for [dd], since it would be justified etymologically.

‘tooth’: The <nn> in *sinn* (Owen & Keane 1915: 28) may represent [nn], which would be etymologically justified.

‘urine’: For *bul* (Owen & Keane 1915: 11), cf. *bul* (Jenkins 1908: 91) and JA *bul* (Smith & Ama 1985: 110).

‘vein’: The form *irig* (Owen & Keane 1915: 26) exhibits the segolate vowel [i], just like *irig* ‘vein’ in Jenkins (1908: 84), cf. SA ‘*irg* (Hillelson 1925: 310). An identical form is also found in JA, in the phrase *irig ta dom* ‘blood vessel’ (Smith & Ama 1985: 142).

‘wages’: The form *mahiya* (Owen & Keane 1915: 12) is similar to both *māhīya* (Jenkins 1908: 93) and JA *mahiya* (Smith & Ama 1985: 111). Therefore, this may be the original form of the word, closer to the SA etymon *māhīya* ‘wages (monthly)’ (Hillelson 1925: 213) than the current N form *meyya* ‘salary’ (Owens 1977: 160).

‘well’: For *bir* (Owen & Keane 1915: 12), cf. *bīr* (Jenkins 1908: 95).

‘wrong’: The <gh> in *ghalat* (Owen & Keane 1915: 13) may stand for [ɣ], which would be justified etymologically.

‘year’: The <nn> in *senna* (Owen & Keane 1915: 13) may be an error of transcription. First, [nn] would not be etymologically justified, cf. SA *sana* ‘year’ (Hillelson 1925: 330). Second, Jenkins (1908: 98) records the form *sana*.

2.2 Personal pronouns

	Owen & Keane (1915)	Modern N
I	<i>ana</i>	'ana/'an
you (sg.)	<i>inta</i>	'ita/'ta
he	<i>hua</i>	'uo/'owo
we	<i>nihna</i>	'ina/'nina
you (pl.)	<i>entu</i>	'itokum/'itakum/'tokum/tom
they	<i>huma</i>	'umon/'omon

As can be seen, with the exception of the 1st person singular, the forms of the personal pronouns differ significantly from those of their modern counterparts. On the other hand, however, the paradigm of the personal pronouns in Owen & Keane (1915: 14) is, with the exception of one variant, *nīna*, identical to that provided by Jenkins (1908: 4). Note also that Jenkins (1908) frequently uses a superscript macron to mark stressed vowels, which were not necessarily long ones. Therefore, *entū* ‘you (pl.)’ and *hūma* ‘they’ did not have the long vowel [u:] respectively, just like the corresponding forms *entu* and *huma* recorded in Owen & Keane (1915: 14).

According to Kaye & Tosco (1993: 282), the paradigm in Jenkins (1908) is that of “the UA pronouns”, i.e. they do not assign it to a particular variety, UDA or UPA. However, it is possible that Jenkins (1908) and Owen & Keane (1915) independently represent the earliest, i.e. original paradigm of N, which was at the time closer to the one in the lexifier and was subsequently replaced with the currently used one. There is some evidence pointing to this possibility. First, consider the variant *nīna* ‘we’. This is identical to one of the forms in modern UN, *'nina*, which “is mainly used by older people” (Wellens 2003: 52, f.n. 57). An identical form, *nīna* – with the variant *nēna* – is also recorded in KN, in the speech of a subject born in 1919. These facts suggest that *'nina* is a diachronically older form. Second, consider the paradigm of the personal pronouns in JA (Kaye & Tosco 1993: 282, Nakao 2014: 5). This is virtually identical to that of modern N. The forms of the 1st person plural pronoun also include a variant *nīna* (Smith & Ama 1985: 112) or *nīna* (Nakao 2014: 5), identical to modern N *'nina*. This again suggests that *nīna/nīna* is diachronically the older form. Third, the Juba Arabic paradigm given by Nakao (2014: 5) includes two variants for the 2nd person singular pronoun: *íta*, as in modern N, and *ínta*, as in Jenkins (1908: 4) and in Owen & Keane (1915: 14). The second variant may well be a relic of the original paradigm of the personal pronouns, initially found in N as well.

2.3 Possessive pronouns

	Owen & Keane (1915)	Modern N
mine	<i>bitai</i>	<i>'tai/ta'yi</i>
thine	<i>bitak</i>	<i>'taki</i>
his	<i>bitau</i>	<i>'to</i>
ours	<i>bitatna</i>	<i>'tena</i>
yours	<i>bitakom</i>	<i>'takum/'tokum</i>
theirs	<i>bitahum</i>	<i>'toumon</i>

As in the case of the personal pronouns, the paradigm in Owen & Keane (1915: 14) differs from that of modern N: the main difference is the absence of initial *bi-* in modern N.

Here again, however, the paradigm in Owen & Keane (1915: 14) is remarkably similar to the one given by Jenkins (1908). The only differences are in the forms for the 2nd and 3rd person plural, for which Jenkins (1908: 2) has *bitatina/bitānīna* and *bitahom* respectively. Kaye & Tosco (1993: 283) write that the variant *bitatina* listed by Jenkins (1908: 2) “could be a typographical error for *bitānīna*”. The occurrence of the similar form *bitatna* in an independent source (Owen & Keane 1915: 14) does away with this possibility. The form *bitatna* could be derived from an originally feminine form *bitat*, reanalyzed as a *status constructus*, as suggested by Kaye & Tosco (1993: 283) for the variant *bitatina*.

The paradigm provided by Jenkins (1908: 2) is considered by Kaye & Tosco (1993: 283) to be illustrative of UA, again with no specification of the particular variety, i.e. UDA or UPA. The hypothesis advanced here is that the paradigm in Jenkins (1908: 14) and Owen & Keane (1915: 14) is actually that of early N, which was at the time closer to the one in the lexifier (see also Wellens 2003: 229, f.n. 200). On this view, the modern N paradigm has obtained via the loss of initial *bi-*. This is also one of the scenarios proposed by Kaye & Tosco (1993: 283), who write that “in Nubi [...] *bi-* was interpreted as a separate morpheme and deleted”. Again, there is circumstantial evidence that the forms with initial *bi-* are diachronically older. Nakao (2013a, 2013b) provides several examples of such forms occurring in samples of pidginized Arabic formerly used in Sudan: *bantagoon beta ana* ‘my trousers’; *nas bitak* ‘your people’; *belede bita uwa* ‘his village’. This suggests that the optional initial *bi-* in JA (Smith & Keane 1985: 206, Tosco & Kaye 1993: 283) is a relic of an earlier stage of the language rather than “probably reintroduced via decreolization”, as stated by Kaye & Tosco (1993: 283). Therefore, the initial paradigm of the JA possessive pronouns and adjectives appears to have been similar to that of early N.

2.4 Demonstrative adjectives

Owen & Keane (1915)		Modern N
this	<i>de</i>	' <i>de</i>
that	<i>dak</i>	' <i>dak</i>
these	<i>dol</i>	' <i>dol</i>
those	<i>dal</i>	

The forms in Owen & Keane (1915: 15) are listed here under the heading “demonstrative adjectives” since they are glossed ‘this man’, ‘that thing’, ‘these things’, and ‘those men’ respectively, even though they do not appear accompanied by these nouns. They are virtually identical to the forms given by Jenkins (1908: 87): *dei*, *dāk*, *dōl*, and *dāl* respectively.

2.5 Indefinite adjectives

	Owen & Keane (1915)	Modern N
other	<i>tani</i>	' <i>tani</i>
all	<i>kullu</i>	' <i>kulu</i>
every, each	<i>kullu/kull</i>	' <i>kila</i>

‘all’: The <ll> in *kullu* (Owen & Keane 1915: 1) would be etymologically justified. However, whether it really stands for [ll] is not so clear, given that Jenkins (1908: 9) lists two variants, *kull* and *kūlū*, of which the second one, exhibiting degemination of etymological /ll/, is presumably the pidginized variant.

‘every, each’: The <ll> may stand for [ll] since it would be etymologically justified. The variant *kullu* appears in the alphabetical word list (Owen & Keane 1915: 1), while the *kull* occurs in the sample sentence *Abila marra talata kull yom lamma inta akalu khalas*. ‘Take it 3 times a day after food.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 24). This second variant is identical to the form given by Jenkins (1908: 32). The evidence from Owen & Keane (1915) and Jenkins (1908) suggests that *kull(u)* is the original form for ‘every, each’, later replaced by '*kila*. Several other pieces of evidence can be adduced in support of this hypothesis. First, '*kulu* is still occasionally used in modern UN with the meaning ‘every’. Consider the following sentence from Wellens (2003: 295): '*ito gu we'di 'nouo 'akil 'kulu 'yom* ‘you give him food every day’. Second, this still holds for modern KN as well: Luffin (2005: 193) writes that “l’emploi distributif de *kul* est rare, car il est généralement remplacé par *kila*”. Third, according to Luffin (2005: 193), “le terme *kila* est emprunté au kiswahili *kila*”. If so, this borrowing must have occurred at a later stage.

2.6 Adjectives

	Owen & Keane (1915)	Modern N
bad	<i>battal</i>	<i>ba'tal</i>
big	<i>kabir</i>	<i>ke'bir</i>
cold	<i>barid</i>	' <i>bari</i>
different	<i>barau</i>	KN <i>baará</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 144)
good	<i>kwes</i>	' <i>kweis</i>
	<i>semeh</i>	' <i>seme</i>
hot	<i>harr</i>	' <i>har(i)</i>
little	<i>sakhair</i>	<i>sa'kar/sa'kari</i>
long	<i>tawil</i>	<i>to'wil</i>
		KN <i>tewil</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 145)
many	<i>ketir</i>	<i>ke'tir</i>

near	<i>gharib</i>	<i>ge'ri</i> KN <i>gerib</i> (Luffin 2005: 96) <i>gerib</i> (Kamus 2014)
necessary	<i>lazim</i>	<i>lazim</i> (Luffin 2005: 208)
ready	<i>hadir</i>	<i>hadhir</i> (Kamus 2014)
same	<i>sawa</i>	KN <i>sawa</i> (Luffin 2004: 215)
short	<i>gasir</i>	<i>gi'sher</i> KN <i>giseer</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 145)
strong	<i>shadid</i>	KN <i>shedíd</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 148)
sufficient	<i>kafi</i> <i>kifaia</i>	<i>kafa</i> 'enough' (Kamus 2014)

'bad': The <tt> in *battal* (Owen & Keane 1915: 2) may represent [tt], cf. *battal* 'bad' (Jenkins 1908: 12) and SA *baṭṭāl* 'bad' (Hillelson 1925: 21).

'different': The form *barau* is not glossed as such, but it occurs in the sentence *Mush barau, sawa*, translated as 'There is no difference' (Owen & Keane 1915: 25).

'little': The <kh> in *sakhair* (Owen & Keane 1915: 2) is interesting. If <kh> stands for [x], this would be a rather unusual reflex of SA /y/. On the one hand, *sakhair* is the only lexical item in Owen & Keane (1915) in which etymological /y/ is not preserved. On the other hand, in modern N forms, the reflex of etymological /y/ is normally [k].

'ready': For *hadir* (Owen & Keane 1915: 9), cf. *hādir* 'ready' (Jenkins 1908: 68). The form is also found in JA: *hadir* 'ready' (Smith & Ama 1985: 83).

'same': The form *sawa* is not glossed as such, but it occurs in the sample sentence *Mush barau, sawa*, translated as 'There is no difference' (Owen & Keane 1915: 25).

'strong': The form *shadid* is not glossed as such, but it occurs in the sentence *Inta shadid shwair?*, translated as 'Are you better (improving)?' (Owen & Keane 1915: 22).

'sufficient': For the variant *kafi* (Owen & Keane 1915: 25), cf. SA *kāfī* 'enough' (Hillelson 1925: 98). For *kifaia* (Owen & Keane 1915: 25), cf. SA *kifāya* 'enough' (Hillelson 1925: 98). A similar form is found in JA: *kifaiya* 'sufficient' (Smith & Ama 1985: 101). The evidence from Owen & Keane (1915: 25) suggests that *kafi* and *kifaia* are the early N forms for 'sufficient'. The currently used N form *kafa* is etymologically derived from the SA verb *kafā* 'it is enough' (Hillelson 1925: 98) and it appears to have supplanted the two original variants.

2.7 Verbs

Owen & Keane (1915)		Modern N
be able	<i>agadar</i>	' <i>agder</i> /' <i>agider</i>

approach, come	<i>gharibu</i>	KN <i>geerí</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 158)
close	<i>dana</i>	
arise, get up, stand up	<i>gum</i> <i>wagif</i>	' <i>gum</i> ' <i>egif</i> /' <i>egifu</i> /' <i>wegifu</i> /' <i>yegifu</i> <i>wegif</i> / <i>wogif</i> /' <i>yegif</i> (Kamus 2014)
assist, help	<i>saadu</i>	' <i>sadu</i>
ask	<i>asal</i>	' <i>asadu</i> KN <i>ásal</i> (Luffin 2005: 129)
bathe	<i>barridu</i>	' <i>beredu</i>
beat	<i>dugu</i> <i>darab</i>	' <i>dugu</i> ' <i>durubu</i> 'to shoot'
		KN <i>dúrubú</i> 'to shoot' (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 155)
bend	<i>lifu</i>	KN <i>lífú</i> 'to tie together, roll up' (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 144) <i>lifu</i> 'turn, wrap' (Kamus 2014)
bend down	<i>dengerri</i>	' <i>dengiri</i> /' <i>dengir</i>
bind, fasten	<i>arbut</i>	' <i>robutu</i>
bite	<i>adi</i>	' <i>adi</i>
break	<i>khassaru</i>	' <i>kasuru</i>
be broken	<i>khassaru</i>	' <i>kasur</i>
breathe	<i>nafass</i>	<i>nafas</i> (Kamus 2014)
bring	<i>jib</i>	' <i>jib</i> /' <i>jibu</i>
call	<i>nadi</i>	<i>na'di</i>
carry (a load)	<i>shilu</i>	' <i>shilu</i> /' <i>sulu</i>
catch, hold of	<i>umsiku</i>	' <i>amsuku</i>
clean	<i>nedifu</i>	' <i>nedifu</i>
come	<i>begi</i>	' <i>ja</i>
cough	<i>gohh</i>	' <i>goho</i> /' <i>koho</i>
count	<i>hisab</i> ' <i>isabu</i>	KN <i>ísab</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 154) <i>hisab</i> (Kamus 2014)
die	<i>mut</i>	' <i>mutu</i>
do, make	<i>ammal</i>	KN <i>amulu</i> (Luffin 2004: 52)
dress	<i>ilbis</i>	' <i>lebis</i> KN <i>álbis</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 154)
drink	<i>asherub</i> / <i>assherub</i>	' <i>ashrub</i> /' <i>ashrubu</i> /' <i>asrub</i> /' <i>asrubu</i> /' <i>asurubu</i>
eat	<i>akal</i>	' <i>akul</i> /' <i>akulu</i>

explain	<i>allimu</i>	' <i>alimu</i> 'to teach'
extend	<i>adil</i>	<i>adili</i> 'correct, straight' (Kamus 2014)
fall down	<i>waga</i>	' <i>waga</i>
fine	<i>gata mahiya</i>	
be finished	<i>khalas</i>	' <i>kalas</i> /' <i>kala</i>
get, obtain	<i>hasal</i>	
	<i>amsiku</i>	' <i>amsuku</i>
give	<i>weddi</i>	<i>we'di</i> KN <i>wedi/wodi</i> (Kamus 2014)
go	<i>rua</i>	' <i>ro</i> /' <i>rua</i> /' <i>rwa</i>
hear	<i>asma</i>	' <i>asma</i> /' <i>asuma</i>
get hurt	<i>waja</i>	' <i>waja</i>
know	<i>arif</i>	' <i>aruf</i> /' <i>arufu</i> KN <i>arfu</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 157), <i>árifu</i> (Luffin 2005: 130) <i>arif/aruf/arufu</i> (Kamus 2014)
leave	<i>sibu</i>	' <i>sibu</i>
be left (remain)	<i>baki</i>	KN <i>báki</i> 'stay' (Luffin 2005: 105) ' <i>baki</i> 'remain at a place' (Owens 1977: 243)
lie down	<i>num</i>	' <i>num</i>
look	<i>shuf</i>	KN <i>shuf</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 122)
look for	<i>fettish</i>	<i>fetis/fetisu/fetish/fetishu</i> (Kamus 2014)
measure	<i>wazin</i>	
mix	<i>khalafut</i>	' <i>kalaptu</i> KN <i>kálbatu</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 155) <i>kalbutu</i> 'stir' (Kamus 2014)
open	<i>fatta</i>	' <i>fata</i>
pass blood	<i>huru dam</i>	
prepare	<i>adulu</i>	' <i>adulu</i>
	<i>hadar</i>	
put	<i>kutu</i>	' <i>kutu</i>
read	<i>agara</i>	' <i>agara</i>
remove, take away	<i>amrugu</i>	' <i>amrugu</i>
return, come back	<i>arja</i>	' <i>arija</i>
rub	<i>masah</i>	<i>masa</i> (Kamus 2014)

say, speak	<i>kellem</i>	'kelem(u)
see	<i>shuf</i>	KN <i>shuf</i> 'look' (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 122)
send	<i>rassal</i>	'rasul
shake	<i>hizu</i>	'izu
show	<i>wurri</i>	<i>we'ri</i>
shut	<i>sidu</i>	'sidu
shut up, be quiet	<i>askut</i>	'askutu
sit	<i>gennib</i>	'gen 'stay'/'geni 'stay, remain'
sleep	<i>num</i>	'num
spit	<i>bazzag</i>	KN <i>bujá</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 149)
swallow	<i>abila</i>	'bila 'abula (Owens 1977: 190) abula (Kamus 2014)
swell	<i>wirim</i>	'werim werimu (Kamus 2014)
take	<i>shilu</i>	'shilu/'sulu
tell	<i>kellem</i>	'kelem/'kelemu
touch	<i>lamis</i>	
try	<i>jarab</i>	<i>ja'ribu</i> 'jerebu (Owens 1977: 211) <i>jerib</i> (Kamus 2014)
turn oneself, a thing	<i>aglibu</i>	'gelebu/'gelibu/'gilibu KN <i>áglibu</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 154)
undress	<i>umrugu kiswa</i>	'amrugu + 'kiswa
untie	<i>fiku</i>	'fiku
urinate	<i>bulu</i>	
vomit	<i>gidif</i>	'kidif KN <i>kidifu</i> (Kamus 2014)
wait	<i>ishtanna</i>	<i>sten/'stenu, sténa</i> (Luffin 2005: 78) KN <i>ténu</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 155)
walk	<i>mashi</i>	'masi/'mashi
want	<i>aúz</i>	'aju/'azu
wash (thing)	<i>ghassalu</i>	'kasulu
write	<i>katib</i>	'akitibu/'katif/'katifu KN <i>katib(u)/katíf</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 156)

‘approach, come’: The <gh> in the variant *gharibu* (Owen & Keane 1915: 1) is open to two interpretations. It may be an error of transcription, cf. SA *garrab* ‘come near’ (Hillelson 1925: 295). On the other hand, <gh> may indeed represent [ɣ]: Hillelson (1925: xxiii) writes that “ḡ equals *g* (as in the English word “go”), but many speakers show a tendency to substitute *gh*”. Notice also that the spelling with <r> is indicative of degemination, given that the SA etymon has [rr]. As for the variant *dana*, cf. SA *danā* ‘come near’ (Hillelson 1925: 195).

‘assist, help’: The <aa> in *saadu* (Owen & Keane 1915: 2) is open to two interpretations: it may represent [a:], but this would not be etymologically justified, or, more likely, it may stand for two short vowels [a], separated by a hiatus.

‘ask’: The form *asal* (Owen & Keane 1915: 1), with [l], differs from modern UN, in which it is *asadu*, with [d]. The former appears to have been the original form, since KN also has *ásal* and the JA form is *asalu* (Smith & Ama 1985: 19).

‘bathe’: The <rr> in *barridu* (Owen & Keane 1915: 25) may represent [rr], cf. the form *barridū* ‘wash, *intrans.*, clothes’ in Jenkins (1908: 93).

‘bend’: The form *lifū* (Owen & Keane 1915: 2) is similar to the one recorded by Jenkins (1908: 35): *lifū* ‘fold’.

‘bend down’: It is not clear whether the <rr> in *dengerri* (Owen & Keane 1915: 2) stands for [rr], which is not found in the SA etymon *dangar* (Hillelson 1925: 30). However, Jenkins (1908: 82) has *dungerri* ‘steep’.

‘break’ and ‘be broken’: If the <ss> in the form *khassaru* (Owen & Keane 1915: 2) really represents [ss], then its etymon is SA *kassar* rather than *kasar* (Hillelson 1925: 38). This is likely in light of Amery’s (1905: vii) observation that “in the Sudan [...] more frequently, a derived form is used for the primitive”.

‘breathe’: The form *nafass* in Owen & Keane (1915: 23) is identical with that recorded by Jenkins (1908: 17). Consequently, <ss> probably represents [ss].

‘beat’: The gloss ‘beat’ for *darab* in Owen & Keane (1915: 2) would suggest that this may have been the original meaning in earlier stages of the language and that the current meaning ‘to shoot’ is a later development. However, the conflicting evidence from other contemporary sources makes it rather risky to reach this conclusion. Thus, while Jenkins (1908: 13) has *darab* ‘to beat’, Meldon (1913, Vocabulary: 21) specifies that “the verb *darab* is used for “to fire”, “to shoot””.

‘bind, fasten’: Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 155) write that the KN verb *róbutu* is etymologically derived from “**arbuT-u** ‘tie it’”³. Similarly, according to Wellens (2003: 238),

³In the system of transliteration used by Pasch & Thelwall (1987) <T> represents emphatic *t*.

the current UN verb '*robutu* is etymologically derived from the imperative *arbut-u*. The form in both KN and UN would thus illustrate the claim by Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 105) that “with verbs, [...] inversion, the metathetical rearrangement of neighbouring sounds, must have happened in a large number of cases”. However, as shown by Tosco & Owens (1993: 258, n. 46), the derivation “via metathesis of initial vowel and consonant is implausible and unsupported by any independent phonological or comparative argumentation”. Tosco & Owens (1993: 240) therefore include *robutu* in the groups of verbs etymologically derived from the perfective form. The hypothesis put forth here is that earlier N may have had two variants for ‘to bind, to fasten’: one derived from the imperative, i.e. *arbut*, recorded in Owen & Keane (1915: 2), and one derived from the perfective, cf. modern N *robutu*. Of the two, only the former is attested in currently available records of early N. Consider the circumstantial evidence in favour of this assumption. First, *robutu* ‘bind’ also occurs in JA (Smith & Keane 1985: 23). Second, the form etymologically derived from the imperative is also recorded in a pidginized variety of Arabic, contemporary with early N, formerly spoken in the État Indépendant du Congo: *arbuttu* ‘attacher’ (Wtterwulghe 1904: 20). Third, both the form etymologically derived from the imperative and the one etymologically derived from the perfective are found in another Arabic-lexifier pidgin contemporary with early N, namely T: *arbotou* ‘tie’ (Wellens 2003: 238) and *rabotu* ‘to tie’ (Tosco & Owens 1993: 240). The situation reported for T would exactly parallel the one posited here for early N.

‘catch, hold of’: The <u> in *umsiku* (Owen & Keane 1915: 3) is a typo, cf. *amsiku* ‘get, obtain’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 5).

‘come’: The form *begi* recorded in Owen & Keane (1915: 3), an Egyptianism, originates from the imperfective one, whereas in modern UN (and KN) the verb ‘to come’ is *ja*, etymologically derived from the perfective form. It appears that the latter is a later development, which has supplanted the original one. This claim is corroborated by evidence from Jenkins (1908) and Meldon (1913). The paradigm of the verb “**TO COME JA**” (Jenkins 1908: 4-5), typical of how verbs are conjugated in what Jenkins (1909: 3) calls “‘A’ being the way the majority speak” contains exclusively *beji/begi*, for all tenses, persons and numbers. Similarly, Meldon (1913, Introduction: 11) explicitly writes that “the verb *جاء* *jā* to come is used with the prefix *ب*”. This is illustrated with the following three examples: *ana beji* ‘I come, am coming’, *enta beji*, and *hua beji*. Note, incidentally, that the imperfective form is the etymological source of the verb ‘to come’ in two other pidginized varieties of Arabic, contemporary with early UN. The corresponding forms are *be-dji* in the pidginized Arabic formerly used in the État Indépendant du Congo (Wtterwulghe 1904: 18) and *bedji* in T (Wellens (2003: 241).

‘cough’: The <hh> in *gohh* (Owen & Keane 1915: 21) may stand for [hh]. This would be justified etymologically since [h] is the reflex of Arabic /ħ/, and it is also geminated.

‘do, make’: Owen & Keane (1915: 4) have *ammal*. The reflex of SA ‘*amal* ‘to do, to make’ seems to be rare in modern N; for instance, UN uses ‘*so*, cf. SA *sauwā* ‘do’ (Hillelson 1925: 87). There is, however, independent evidence which suggests that the situation may have been different in earlier stages of the language. Thus, Jenkins (1908: 28) has *amal* ‘to do, make’, but a variant *amil* occurs four times in the sample sentences: *Matta’mil andū khaff*. ‘Don’t frighten him.’ (Jenkins 1908: 100) [lit. ‘Do not make at him fear.’]; *Int’amil ei?* ‘What are you doing?’ and *Nīna amil teir bitatina*. ‘We will leave our camp here.’ (Jenkins 1908: 103) [lit. ‘We will make our camp.’]; *An⁴amil shinū?* ‘What shall I do?’ (Jenkins 1908: 104). Also, the corresponding forms in JA are *amilu* (Smith & Ama 1985: 121) or *amulu* (Nakao 2014: 7).

‘explain’: The <ll> in *allimu* (Owen & Keane 1915: 4) may represent [ll], which would be etymologically justified.

‘fine’: The literal meaning of *gata mahiya* is ‘to cut wages’. An identical phrase, *gata māhīya*, is found in Jenkins (1908: 82), where it is glossed ‘stoppage of pay’.

‘get, obtain’: The form *hasal* (Owen & Keane 1915: 5) is also found in Jenkins (1908: 41), where it is glossed ‘have’.

‘give’: Whether <dd> in *weddi* (Owen & Keane 1915: 5) represents [dd] is unclear. The comparative evidence is contradictory: *weddī* in the entry for ‘give’ (Jenkins 1908: 38), but a degeminated form is found in one of the sample sentences: *Wedi hūa khaff*. ‘Frighten him.’ (Jenkins 1908: 100) [lit. ‘Give him fear.’].

‘look for’: The <tt> in *fettish* (Owen & Keane 1915: 3) may stand for [tt] since a similar form, *fattīsh* ‘search’, is given by Jenkins (1908: 75). Also, the geminate consonant would be justified on etymological grounds, cf. SA *fattash* ‘look for’ (Hillelson 1925: 175).

‘open’: The <tt> in *fatta* (Owen & Keane 1915: 22) may be an error of transcription, cf. SA *fataḥ* ‘open’ (Hillelson 1925: 205). There is no geminate consonant in the form given by Jenkins (1908: 59) either: *fatah* ‘open’.

‘pass blood’: Early UN *huru* appears to be a cognate of JA *uru* ‘piss’ (Smith & Ama 1985: 179). Therefore, the phrase *huru dam* in Owen & Keane (1915: 21) literally means ‘to piss blood’.

‘send’: The form in Jenkins (1908: 75) is also *rassal*. The early UN form is therefore closer to the SA etymon *rassal* (Hillelson 1925: 257) than its modern counterpart, in which the vowel in the second syllable is /u/.

‘show’: The <rr> in *wurri* (Owen & Keane 1915: 10) may indeed represent [rr] since Jenkins (1908: 77) also has *wurri* ‘show’.

‘sit’: The <nn> in *gennib* (Owen & Keane 1915: 10) may stand for [nn], cf. SA *gannab* ‘sit down’ (Amery 1905: 329), *gannab* ‘sit’ (Hillelson 1925: 265). The same form is given by

⁴An error of transcription: *An* should read *Ana*.

Jenkins (1908: 78), but an alternative form which exhibits degemination of etymological /nn/ occurs in two of the sample sentences⁵: *Genib fi zūbād*. ‘Sit down’ (Jenkins 1908: 102); *Inta genib fein?* ‘Where do you live?’ (Jenkins 1908: 104).

‘spit’: The SA form is also *bazag* (Hillelson 1925: 274). The form in Jenkins (1908: 81) is *bazag*. It is therefore unclear whether <zz> in the form in Owen & Keane (1915: 10) stands for [zz]. As for the KN form *bujá* it is etymologically derived from the SA noun *buzāg* ‘saliva’ (Hillelson 1925: 274), *buzaag* (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 149)⁶.

‘tell’: The <ll> in *kellem* (Owen & Keane 1915: 11) may stand for [ll], since Jenkins (1908: 73) also has *kellem* ‘say’.

‘touch’: For *lamis*, which occurs in *matalamis* ‘Don’t touch it.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 23), cf. the similar form found in JA: *lemes* (Smith & Ama 1985: 107).

‘turn oneself, a thing’: Early UN appears to have had two variants. The form *aglibu* (Owen & Keane 1915: 11) is similar to a form occurring in a sample sentence in Jenkins (1908: 103): *Aglibū*. ‘Turn it over.’ The verb appears to have also had the meaning ‘to win, to defeat’: see '*gelebu*/*gelibu* (old UN '*aglibu*) ‘win, defeat’ (Wellens 2003: 238). This is the variant still found in KN. A similar form, *aglib* ‘turn over’ occurs in JA (Smith & Ama 1985: 108). A second variant, *aggalibu*, is given by Jenkins (1908: 90) in the entry for ‘turn’.

‘undress’: The <u> in *umrugu kiswa* (Owen & Keane 1915: 3) is a typo, cf. *amrugu* ‘remove, take away’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 9).

‘urinate’: For *bulu* (Owen & Keane 1915: 26), see *būlu* in Jenkins (1908: 91). An identical form occurs in JA: *bulu* (Smith & Ama 1985: 109).

‘wait’: In addition to *istanna* ‘to wait’ (Jenkins 1908: 93) a variant *ishtanna* occurs in one of the sample sentences: *Ishtanna hini*. ‘Wait here.’ (Jenkins 1908: 103). The latter is identical to the form *ishtanna* recorded in Owen & Keane (1915: 12). This suggests that <nn> may indeed stand for [nn].

‘want’: The form *auz* (Owen & Keane 1915: 12) presumably reflects the original pronunciation, given that Jenkins (1908: 97) records *aūz* ‘wish’. Circumstantial evidence is provided by the JA form, which is also similar: *awz* ‘want’ (Smith & Ama 1985: 111). The currently used UN variants, '*aju*/*azu*, must have obtained from *auz* via metathesis, with the latter variants replacing the original one. This is also the account suggested by Luffin (2005: 72) for KN *ázu*. (Luffin 2005: 72),

‘wash (thing)’: The <ss> in *ghassalu* (Owen & Keane 1915: 12) may reflect a pronunciation with [ss], given that Jenkins (1908: 93) has *kassalū* ‘wash, v. trans., oneself’. Note that SA *ghassal* ‘to wash’ is one of the examples given by Amery (1905: vii) who writes

⁵See also Kaye (1991: 14, n. 19).

⁶Note, however, that *bujá* does not figure in the list of Kenya Nubi verbs derived from nouns (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 158).

that “in the Sudan [...] more frequently, a derived form is used for the primitive”. The <gh> for [ɣ] would be etymologically justified.

‘write’: According to Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 156), KN *katib(u)/katif* is etymologically derived from “**aktib-u** ‘write it!’”. Owens (1985: 237) writes that older speakers of both KN and UN use the form *aktibu*, while there is an alternative form, KN *'katibu*, UN *'katifu*. Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 105) claim that “this second form has developed out of the first one by inversion of the two initial sounds”⁷. The occurrence of the form *katib* in Owen & Keane 1915: 13) raises doubts about this account since it suggests that this is the original form. There is also circumstantial evidence in favour of this hypothesis. While *katab* ‘write’ Jenkins (1908: 97) is of no assistance, since it appears to be a non-pidginized form – presumably in UDA, *katifū* ‘writing’ (Jenkins 1908: 97) is relevant to the point at issue, given that it contains [f], which occurs in both UN and KN variants of the verb ‘to write’. There is thus conflicting evidence with respect to the chronology of the UN (and KN) variants for ‘to write’: according to Owens (1985: 237) *aktibu* would have been the oldest, whereas the data in Owen & Keane (1915: 13) and in Jenkins (1908: 97) indicate that *katib* would have been the original form. However, this contradictory evidence can be reconciled by assuming that early Nubi had both *aktibu*, etymologically derived from the imperative, and *katib*, etymologically derived from the perfective. Circumstantial evidence for the plausibility of the coexistence of these forms can be adduced from T, a pidgin contemporary with early Nubi, which had two such variants: *aktoubou* and *kétéfou* (Wellens 2003: 238). Note that contra Wellens (2003: 238) it is here assumed that only the former variant derives etymologically from the imperative.

2.8 Adverbs

	Owen & Keane (1915)	Modern N
a bit	<i>shwair</i>	'sia <i>shiya/siya/shuwiya/suwiya</i> (Kamus 2014)
again	<i>tani</i>	
all right	<i>kwes</i>	'kweis
	<i>semeh</i>	'seme
carefully, gently,	<i>bishoesh</i>	<i>bi'ses/bi'sesi</i>
	slowly	KN <i>bishéesh/bisées</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 144) <i>bi'sheshi</i> (Owens 1977: 103)
completely	<i>khalis</i>	
	<i>tamam</i>	<i>ta'mam</i>
day after tomorrow	<i>bad bukra</i>	'bad 'bukra

⁷Cf. the discussion of ‘bind, fasten’.

day before yesterday	<i>wallet embareh</i>	'waltum 'bari
down	<i>filata</i>	<i>fa'lata</i>
far	<i>baid</i>	<i>bo'yi</i>
		KN <i>boyí/beíd</i> (Luffin 2004: 61)
first	<i>awal/awwal</i>	'awal
	<i>awalan</i>	<i>aw'lan</i>
here	<i>hini</i>	'in'ini
		KN <i>híni</i> (Luffin 2005: 136)
		<i>ini</i> (Kamus 2014)
inside	<i>jua</i>	'jo'jua
left side	<i>shimal</i>	<i>sho'mal</i>
like	<i>ze de</i>	<i>je'de/ze'de</i>
		KN <i>zedé</i> (Luffin 2005: 206)
like this	<i>kedí</i>	<i>kedé</i> 'so' (Luffin 2004: 13)
		KN <i>kedá/kedé</i> (Luffin 2005: 206)
more	<i>ziada</i>	<i>zì'yada</i>
not yet	<i>lissa</i>	'lisa
now	<i>hassa</i>	'ase
only	<i>sakhit</i>	
outside	<i>barra</i>	<i>ba'ra</i>
perhaps	<i>yimkin</i>	KN <i>yúmkin</i> (Luffin 2005: 207)
quickly, lightly	<i>guam</i>	'gwam
		KN <i>guwám</i> 'soon' (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 150)
		<i>gu'wom</i> (Owens 1977: 103)
right side	<i>yomin</i>	<i>you'min</i>
then	<i>baden</i>	<i>ba'den</i>
there	<i>hinak</i>	'na
		KN <i>ená/iná</i> (Luffin 2005: 132), <i>henák</i> (Luffin 2005: 172)
		<i>inaa/inak/henak</i> (Kamus 2014)
today	<i>enharde</i>	<i>na're</i>
tomorrow	<i>bukra</i>	'bukra
very	<i>khalis</i>	KN <i>khalis</i> (Luffin 2004: 61)
yesterday	<i>embareh</i>	(a)m'bari

‘a bit’: The <r> in *shwair* (Owen & Keane 1915: 25) is a misprint, possibly for <e>. Notice also the absence of a vowel after [ʃ], cf. *shwaiya* ‘few’ (Jenkins 1908: 34) unlike in the corresponding modern UN and KN forms.

‘again’: For *tani* (Owen & Keane 1915: 1), both Jenkins (1908: 9) and Meldon (1913, Vocabulary: 6) have *tāni*.

‘carefully, gently, slowly’: The form *bishoesh* (Owen & Keane 1915: 3) is identical to a variant which occurs in the sample sentence *Rūa bishoesh* (Jenkins 1908: 100); the other variant is *bisheish* ‘slowly’ (Jenkins 1908: 79). It is also similar to the second variant listed by Meldon (1913, Introduction: 13) *bisheish/bishawish* ‘slowly, gently’ or *bisheish/bishawish* ‘slowly’ (Meldon 1913, Vocabulary: 197).

‘day before yesterday’: For *wallet embareh* (Owen & Keane 1915: 13) see the very similar form *wallet embārih* in Jenkins (1908: 98). For word-final [t] in the first member of the compound, cf. EA *ṛawwilt imbaariḥ* ‘day before yesterday’ (Hinds & Badawi 1986: 44). The <ll> does not stand for an etymologically justified [ll].

‘far’: The form *baid* (Owen & Keane 1915: 8) is similar to a variant recorded by Jenkins (1908: 33): *bāid* ‘far’. Note the occurrence of the vowels [a], unlike its modern N counterparts with the vowel [o]. A variant *beid* occurs in two sample sentences in Jenkins (1908: 100 and 101 respectively): *Min hini fī moyya tāni beid sei fein?* ‘How far is the next water?’; *Beid sei fein?* ‘How far?’. This is identical to the second KN variant *beid* listed by Luffin (2004: 61). It appears, then, that the word still had the word-final [d].

‘first’: The <ww> in *awwal* (Owen & Keane 1915: 2), if it really represents [ww], appears to reflect variation in the pronunciation of this item, for which two variants without a geminate are also listed: *awal/awalan* (Owen & Keane 1915: 4).

‘here’: The form *hini* (Owen & Keane 1915: 6) is identical to the one listed by (Jenkins 1908: 41). It is very likely that *hini*, with word-initial [h] is the original form. This conclusion is supported by the fact that in KN “la forme *hini* ne s’entend que parmi les locuteurs plus âgés” (Luffin 2005: 198), whose speech presumably is typical of earlier stages of the language.

‘left side’: Owen & Keane (1915: 7) erroneously give *yomin*.

‘not yet’: The form *lissa* is not glossed as such, but it appears in the sample sentence *Inta lissa ma akalu* translated as ‘Before food’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 24), but which actually means ‘You have not eaten yet.’ Whether <ss> really represents [ss] is unclear, given that Jenkins (1908: 57) lists two variants in his entry for ‘not yet’: *lissa* and *līsa*. It may well be the case that the former is the UDA variant, whereas the second is the pidginized form.

‘now’: The form *hassa* (Owen & Keane 1915: 8) differs from *assa* ‘now’ in Jenkins (1908: 57) in that it starts with [h]. The word-initial [h] suggests that the etymon is SA *hassa* ‘now’ (Amery 1905: 242, Hillelson 1925: 200) or *hassa* ‘jetzt’ (Galla 1997: 146), contra

Luffin (2005: 197), who derives KN *áse* ‘de l’arabe *as-sā‘a*’. The <ss> may stand for the phonetic realization [ss].

‘only’: The <kh> in *sakhit* ‘only’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 17) is an error of transcription, since [x] would not be justified etymologically, cf. SA *sakit* ‘simply (without reason, without addition)’ (Hillelson 1925: 264). Forms derived from this etymon and with similar meanings includes *saqète* ‘rien, sans rien’ (Wtterwulghé 1904: 25) – where <q> presumably represents [k] – in the pidginized variety of Arabic formerly used in the État Indépendant du Congo, and JA *sakit* ‘just, simply, only’ (Smith & Ama 1985: 163).

‘outside’: The <rr> in *barra* (Owen & Keane 1915: 8) may represent [rr], cf. SA *barra* ‘outside’ (Amery 1905: 251) or *barrā* ‘outside’ (Hillelson 1925: 207), and the identical form in Jenkins (1908: 60).

‘perhaps’: A form similar to *yimkin* (Owen & Keane 1915: 8) is found in Jenkins (1908: 62): *imkin* ‘perhaps’.

‘right side’: Owen & Keane (1915: 7) erroneously give *shimal*.

‘there’: The form *hinak* (Owen & Keane 1915: 6) is identical to the one in Jenkins (1908: 86). This suggests that the early N form was disyllabic, that it contained the word-initial [h], and that it still preserved the word-final [k]. This conclusion is reinforced by the occurrence in modern N of the variant *henak* (Kamus 2014). Note also that the KN variant *hénak* (Luffin 2004: 172) only occurs in the speech of a subject born in 1919, whose pronunciation may be illustrative of earlier stages of the language.

‘very’: The <kh> in *khalis* (Owen & Keane 1915: 11) may stand for [x], as in the identical KN form (Luffin 2004: 61). Although not found in the entry for ‘very’, the word does occur in one of the sample sentences in Jenkins (1908: 102): *Shūf kālis el gilid bita ras bitau*. ‘Take care of the head skin.’, where *shūf kālis* literally means ‘watch very [well]’.

2.9 Numerals

2.9.1 Cardinal numerals

	Owen & Keane (1915)	Modern N
1	<i>wahid</i>	'wai
2	<i>etnen</i>	<i>ti'nen/ti'nin</i>
3	<i>talata</i>	<i>ta'lata</i>
4	<i>arba</i>	'arba'/aruba
5	<i>khamisa</i>	'kamsa
6	<i>sita</i>	'sita
7	<i>saba</i>	'saba
8	<i>tamania</i>	<i>ta'maniya</i>
9	<i>tissa</i>	'tisa

10	<i>ashara</i>	' <i>ashara</i>
11	<i>hidashara</i>	<i>i'dashar</i>
12	<i>etnashara</i>	<i>it'nashar</i>
13	<i>talatahara</i>	<i>tala'tashar</i>
14	<i>arbatashara</i>	<i>arba'tashar</i>
15	<i>khamstahara</i>	<i>kam(i)s'tashar</i>
16	<i>sitashara</i>	<i>si'tashar</i>
17	<i>sabatashara</i>	<i>saba'tashar</i>
18	<i>tamantashara</i>	<i>taman'tashar</i>
19	<i>tissatahara</i>	<i>tisa'tashar</i>
20	<i>ashrin</i>	<i>ishi'rin</i>
21	<i>wahid ashrin</i>	' <i>waid(i) ishi'irin</i>
22	<i>etnenashrin</i>	<i>ti'nin w(u) ishi'rin</i>
30	<i>talatin</i>	<i>tele'tin</i>
40	<i>arbain</i>	<i>ar'bein/arbe'yin</i>
50	<i>khamsin</i>	<i>kam'sin</i>
60	<i>sittin</i>	<i>si'tin</i>
70	<i>sabain</i>	<i>se'bein/sebe'yin</i>
80	<i>tamanin</i>	<i>tama'nin/tema'nin</i>
90	<i>tissin</i>	<i>ti'sein/tise'yin</i>
100	<i>mia</i>	' <i>mia</i>
200	<i>miten</i>	<i>mi'ten</i>

'1': The form *wahid* (Owen & Keane 1915: 15) may be an earlier variant, with an intervocalic [h] and with the word-final [d], cf. SA *wāhid* (Hillelson 1925: 335). This is corroborated by several pieces of evidence. First, the form in Jenkins (1908: 104) is *wāhid*. Second, 'way has an allomorph with word-final [d], 'waid, used to form the cardinal numbers after twenty (Wellens 2003: 90), e.g. 'waid(i) ishi'irin. Third, according to Wellens 2003: 99, f.n. 99), "one elder speaker from the North" produced the variant 'wakhid, with a hypercorrect [x] as the reflex of SA [ħ], and with word-final [d]; this variant may well reflect an earlier pronunciation. Fourth, Luffin (2005: 61 and 161) reports the occurrence in KN of the alternative forms *wáy* and *wáhid* 'one'.

'2': The form *etnen* (Owen & Keane 1915: 15) is similar to *etnein* (Jenkins 1908: 104), cf. SA *itnēn* 'two' (Hillelson 1925: 335). This suggests that the earlier variants have been subsequently supplanted by the current forms, UN *ti'nen/ti'nin* (Wellens 2003: 90) and KN *tenén/tinén* (Luffin 2005: 157). With respect to the KN forms Luffin (2005: 162) writes that "*tinén*« deux » a perdu le *i* initial de l'arabe (*ithnān*, dial. : *itnén*)". However, the modern

UN and KN may be of West Sudanic Arabic origin, cf. *tinēn* ‘two’ (Owens & Hassan 2007: 712), Chadian Arabic *tinēn* ‘two’ (Abu-Absi 1995: 11).

‘5’, ‘15’ and ‘50’: The <kh> in *khamisa* (Owen & Keane 1915: 15), *khamstashara* (Owen & Keane 1915: 16) and *khamsin* (Owen & Keane 1915: 17) may represent [x], which would be etymologically justified and which is also found in the forms *khamisa*, *khamstashara* and *khamisīn* given by Jenkins (1908: 104). Note, incidentally, that in KN the numeral ‘five’ is one of the few words with [x], in free variation with [k]: *khámsa* ~ *kámsa* ‘cinq’ (Luffin 2005: 64).

‘6’, ‘16’ and ‘60’: There is inconsistency in the transcription: thus, while *sita* (Owen & Keane 1915: 15) and *sitashara* (Owen & Keane 1915: 16) exhibit degemination of etymological /tt/, the <tt> in *sittin* (Owen & Keane 1915: 17) suggest the occurrence of [tt]. However, the possible preservation of etymological /tt/ in early UN cannot be ruled out, in light of the forms *sitta*, *sittashara* and *sittīn* respectively, listed by Jenkins (1908: 104), and of the forms *sittah*, *sittasharah* and *sittīn* respectively, given by Meldon (1913, Appendix, Numerals).

‘9’, ‘19’ and ‘90’: The <ss> in *tissa* (Owen & Keane 1915: 15), *tissatashara* (Owen & Keane 1915: 16) and *tissin* (Owen & Keane 1915: 17) is mysterious, since [ss] would not be etymologically justified. The evidence from Jenkins (1908) and Meldon (1913) is contradictory. The corresponding forms are *tisa*, *tisatashara* and *tisīn* respectively in Jenkins (1908: 104), but *tissah*, *tissatasharah* and *tissahīn/tissīn* respectively in Meldon (1913, Appendix, Numerals).

‘11’: The form *hidashara* (Owen & Keane 1915: 15) is identical to the one given by Jenkins (1908: 104), which suggests that in earlier UN the numeral started with [h], the reflex of SA [ḥ] in *hid‘ashar* ‘11’ (Amery 1905: 414), *ḥidāshar* ‘11’ (Hillelson 1925: 335)⁸.

‘21’: In *wahid ashriin* (Owen & Keane 1915: 16), the numeral is directly followed by that for ‘twenty’, whereas in Jenkins (1908: 104) the forms for ‘21’, ‘22’, ‘23’, and ‘24’, i.e. *wāhid wa ashriin*, *etnein wa ashriin*, *talāta wa ashriin*, and *arba wa ashriin* respectively are linked by *wa* ‘and’. This suggests that the use of *wa* was optional in early UN just as in modern UN in which “after twenty, the cardinal numerals are composed of the numeral followed by the tens and optionally linked together by *u*, *wu*, or *wa* ‘and’” (Wellens 2003: 90).

2.9.2 Ordinal numerals

	Owen & Keane (1915)	Modern N
1st	<i>el awwal</i>	<i>ta aw'lan</i>
2nd	<i>el etnen</i>	<i>ta ti'nin</i>
3rd	<i>el talata</i>	<i>ta ta'lata</i>

⁸Hillelson (1925: 335) also lists the variant *iḥdāshar*.

‘1st’: The form *elawwal* (Owen & Keane 1915: 17) is identical to the one in Jenkins (1908: 104). The <ww> may represent [ww], which would be etymologically justified.

‘2nd’: The form *el etnen* (Owen & Keane 1915: 17) differs from the one in Jenkins(1908: 104): *el tani*. The two may have been variants. On this analysis, the former is continued by modern UN *ta ti'nin* ‘second’ (Wellens 2003: 91) and modern KN *ta tinén* ‘second’ (Luffin 2005: 168), while the latter would have fallen out of use, given the existence of the homophonous form UN *'tan(i)* (Wellens 2003), KN *tan*, meaning ‘other’ (Luffin 2005: 190). Note that in modern KN “« second » peut se dire *tan* [...] mais, en réalité, *tan* est plus souvent utilisé dans le sens de « autre »” (Luffin 2005: 168).

2.9.3 Distributive numerals

Owen & Keane (1915)		Modern N
one by one	<i>wahid wahid</i>	
two by two	<i>etnen etnen</i>	

Unfortunately, there is no information in the literature on distributive numerals either in earlier UN or in the modern UN and KN varieties.

2.10 Question words

Owen & Keane (1915)		Modern N
how	<i>kef/kiffin</i>	<i>'kef/ke'fin</i>
how many	<i>kam</i>	<i>'kam</i>
what	<i>e</i>	
	<i>shinu</i>	<i>su'nu</i> KN <i>shúnu/súnu</i> (Luffin 2005: 194)
when	<i>miten</i>	<i>mi'ten</i>
where	<i>wen</i>	<i>wen</i>
	<i>fen</i>	KN <i>fen</i> (Luffin 2005: 158)
who	<i>minu/min</i>	<i>mu'nu</i>
why	<i>le</i>	<i>'le</i>
	<i>alishan e</i>	

‘how’: It is difficult to ascertain whether <ff> in the variant *kiffin* stands for [ff]. On the one hand, [ff] is not found in the SA etymon *keifin* (Amery 1905: 180), *kēfin* (Hillelson 1925: 144). On the other hand, the evidence provided by Jenkins (1908) is contradictory. The corresponding form in Jenkins (1908: 43) is *keifin* ‘what’, but a form *kiffin*, identical to that in

Owen & Keane (1915: 12), occurs once in the sample sentences in Jenkins (1908: 103): *Kiffin?* ‘What?’. The occurrence of the variant *kef* in both early and modern N calls into question Kaye & Tosco’s (1993: 284) claim that “JA *kef* is a decreolized form”.

‘what’: The variant *e* (Owen & Keane 1915: 12) no longer occurs in modern N, but its occurrence in earlier stages of the language is corroborated by Jenkins (1908: 95), who lists a variant *ei* ‘what’. This is an Egyptianism, cf. Hillelson (1925: 321) and Kaye & Tosco (1993: 298). The variant *shinu* in Owen & Keane (1915: 12) is similar to those listed in two contemporary sources. Jenkins (1908: 95) has *shinu* in his entry for ‘what’, but *shinū* in his sample sentences: *Int’auz shinū?* ‘What do you want?; *Dei shinū dei?* ‘What is that?’ (Jenkins 1908: 103). The forms in Meldon (1913: 227), *shinū/sinū*, display the alternation [ʃ] ~ [s].

‘where’: The currently employed form is *wen*. The alternative form *fen* (Owen & Keane 1915: 12) is an Egyptianism, see also Hillelson (1925: 322) and Kaye & Tosco (1993: 298). There is independent evidence that this variant must have occurred in earlier stages of the language. First, a similar form is attested in Jenkins (1908: 95), whose entry for ‘where’ includes the variant *fein*. This is also the only variant which occurs in seven of the sample sentences, e.g.: *Inta rūa fein?* ‘Where are you going?; *Inta genib fein?* ‘Where do you live?’ (Jenkins 1908: 104). Second, Meldon (1913: 228) also lists a similar variant, *fain* ‘where’. Finally, the KN variant *fen* occurs in the speech of a subject born in 1919, which may reflect earlier usage.

‘who’: The form *min* (Owen & Keane 1915: 12) appears to be a non-pidginized variant, cf. the comments of Kaye & Tosco (1993: 284) on *mīn*, recorded by Jenkins (1908: 96).

‘why’: Meldon (1913: 7) lists *ala shan ay* ‘for what reason, why’, very similar to the form in Owen & Keane (1915: 12). While this variant for ‘why’ is no longer found in modern N, a “hybrid” form, *ashan le*, combining the two earlier variants, is listed in *Kamus* (2014).

2.11 Particles

Owen & Keane (1915)		Modern N
<i>no</i>	<i>la</i>	KN <i>la</i> (Luffin 2005: 216)
<i>yes</i>	<i>aiwa</i>	' <i>ai</i> /' <i>aiwa</i>
	<i>nam</i>	

‘yes’: For *aiwa*, *nam* (Owen & Keane 1915: 13), cf. the identical forms in Jenkins (1908: 98). The second variant is also transcribed *nām* (Jenkins 1908: 104).

2.12 Prepositions

Owen & Keane (1915)		Modern N
above	<i>fok</i>	' <i>fogo</i> KN <i>fóo</i> (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 159), <i>fog/fógo/fok</i> (Luffin 2004: 233) ' <i>fok</i> (Owens 1977: 44)
as far as, until	<i>ladi</i>	' <i>ladi</i>
before, in front	<i>giddam</i>	<i>gi'dam</i>
behind	<i>warra</i>	' <i>wara</i>
below	<i>teht</i>	' <i>te</i> KN <i>téte</i> (Luffin 2005: 116), <i>teht</i> (Luffin 2005: 159) <i>teht</i> (Kamus 2014)
from	<i>min</i>	' <i>min</i>
with	<i>ma</i>	' <i>ma</i>

‘above’: Jenkins (1908: 8) has *fōk*, i.e. very similar to the form in Owen & Keane (1915: 1). Also, the KN variant *fok* is less frequent than the other forms. This suggests that *fok* is, perhaps, the earliest form.

‘before, in front’: The <dd> in *giddam* (Owen & Keane 1915: 2) may represent [dd], which would be etymologically justified.

‘behind’: The form *warra* is interesting since the SA etymon *warā* (Hillelson 1925: 29) does not contain [rr]. However, the form listed in Owen & Keane (1915: 2) appears to have had [rr]. This is corroborated by evidence from two other sources. The same form occurs in five of the sample sentences in Jenkins (1908): *Arjah warra*. ‘Come back.’ (Jenkins 1908: 99); *Rua alei saff warra*. ‘Go round behind.’ (Jenkins 1908: 100); *Shuf warra*. ‘Look behind.’ (Jenkins 1908: 102); *Nīna rua warra*. ‘Shall we follow?’ (Jenkins 1908: 102); *Li warra*. ‘To the rear.’ (Jenkins 1908: 103). Also, in his entry for ‘behind’, Meldon (1913, Vocabulary: 22) explicitly mentions that it is “pronounced warra”. Note, finally, the form *uerra* ‘derrière’ in the pidginized variety of Arabic once spoken in the former État Indépendant du Congo (Wtterwulghe 1904: 22). On the strength of this evidence it may be concluded that *warra* ‘behind’ is a case of “spontaneous” gemination.

‘below’: KN *teht* appears to be the original form since it is the least frequently occurring variant.

2.13 Conjunctions

Owen & Keane (1915)		Modern N
after	<i>baden</i>	<i>ba'den</i>
because	<i>alishan</i>	<i>ala'san/ala'shan</i>
like	<i>ze</i>	<i>'je'ze</i>
when	<i>lama/lamma</i>	KN <i>lamá/lamán</i> (Luffin 2004: 255)

‘when’: The form *lama* (Owen & Keane 1915: 12) is one of the very few words in which the etymological geminate consonant is not preserved, cf. SA *lamma* ‘when’ (Hillelson 1925: 322). The second of the modern KN forms appears to be derived from a different etymon, SA *lamman* ‘wenn (als)’ (Galla 1997: 148).

3. Phonology

The paucity of the data in Owen & Keane (1915) and the existence of several doubtful transcriptions make it impossible to go beyond the brief remarks that follow.

Early UN appears to have had a vocalic system consisting of five phonemes: /i/, /e/, /a/, /u/ and /o/. None of the etymologically long vowels has been retained.

Regressive vowel assimilation, a characteristic of modern UN (Wellens 2003: 47-48), is not attested: compare e.g. *filata* ‘below, down’ and *amsiku* ‘get, obtain’ to modern UN *fa'lata* and *'amsuku* respectively.

There is a significant reduction in the number of consonant phonemes. Thus, the “emphatic” consonants are all replaced by their “plain” counterparts, e.g. *tawil* ‘long’, *darab* ‘beat’, *sakhair* ‘little’. The voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ is not preserved, regardless of the position within the word, e.g. *alishan* ‘because’, *nam* ‘yes’, *asma* ‘hear’. The reflex of its voiceless counterpart /ħ/ is generally [h], in all positions: word-initially, e.g. *hasal* ‘get, obtain’; word-medially, e.g. *teht* ‘below’; word-finally, e.g. *semeh* ‘good’, and also geminated, *gohh* ‘cough’. In one case, the reflex is Ø: *ladi* ‘as far as, until’, cf. SA *leħadd* ‘till’ (Hillelson 1925: 296).

On the other hand, the velar voiceless fricative /x/ is generally retained, at least in word-initial position, e.g. *khalas* ‘to be finished’, and so is its voiced counterpart /ɣ/, e.g. *ghalat* ‘wrong (offence)’.

The palatal nasal /ɲ/, occurring in modern N, is not attested, in the only form in which it could have been found, *nangaratu* ‘nose’, cf. modern KN *nyangáratu*.

Word-final stops are frequently retained. Consider e.g. the following forms which do not exhibit a word-final stop in modern UN: *barid* ‘cold’, *gharib* ‘near’, *hinak* ‘there’. This is one of the factors accounting for the larger number of words ending in a consonant in comparison with modern UN.

Gemination appears to have been generally retained. It is attested both with obstruents and with sonorants, both in word-medial position, e.g. *battal* ‘bad’, *giddam* ‘in front’, *khassaru* ‘break’, *kullu* ‘all’, *warra* ‘behind’, *awwal* ‘first’, and word-finally, e.g. *magass* ‘scissors’, *gohh* ‘cough’. However, gemination does not appear to have been phonologically distinctive⁹.

On the whole, the picture that emerges is that of a more conservative phonology in comparison with that of the modern varieties of N¹⁰.

4. Morphosyntax

The domain of nominal morphology is characterized by the virtually complete absence of inflected forms. The only exception is *sinun* ‘tooth pl.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 28). Otherwise, there is no evidence for an overt marking of plurality.

The Arabic definite article occurs in the three ordinal numerals listed¹¹, *el awwal*, *el etnen* and *el talata* (Owen & Keane 195: 17) as well as in two of the sample sentences: *Num fil batan* ‘Lie on on your stomach.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 23); *Hizu el gezaz*. (Owen & Keane 1915: 24). In addition, traces of the Arabic definite article are found in one lexical item, *libra* ‘needle’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 8) and in what appear to be lexicalized phrases: *filata* ‘down’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 1); *filel* ‘night-time’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 8); *filel de* ‘to-night’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 8).

There is one example which makes it possible to ascertain the existence of the enclitic demonstrative: *filel de* ‘to-night’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 8).

There are two occurrences of pronominal suffixes, in addition to those attached to *bita*¹². The possessive pronominal suffix for the 2nd person singular is found in one of the sample sentences, in what might be analyzed as a lexicalized phrase: *Ismak shinu*, *ismak e*. ‘What is your name?’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 20). It may be, however, assumed that remnants of the Arabic possessive pronominal suffixes were still in use, apparently only for inalienable possession. This would be corroborated by contemporary textual evidence: *Ismak shinu?* ‘What is your name’ (Jenkins 1908: 56) and *Ismak ei?* ‘What is your name?’ (Jenkins 1908: 103); *Alei sotāk*¹³. ‘Raise your voice.’ (Jenkins 1908: 102). Note also that the occasional use of possessive pronominal suffixes is reported for modern N as well. With respect to UN, Wellens (2003: 52, f.n. 59) mentions “one instance of an expression of possession on *-ak*, namely ‘*dom-ak* ‘your blood’”. As for modern KN, Luffin (2005: 174) reports “quelques cas de pronoms personnels directement suffixés aux substantifs auxquels ils se rapportent”, all

⁹Cf. Kaye & Tosco (1993: 277) on gemination in UDA and UPA.

¹⁰See Heine (1982), Owens (1977, Introduction), Prokosch (1984: 84-85), Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 97-107), Owens (1985: 233-250), Wellens (2003: 36-51), Luffin (2005: 57-89), Owens (2007: 521).

¹¹See section 2.

¹²See section 2.

¹³Presumably a misprint of *sōtak*.

occurring in the speech of a subject born in 1919, which may reflect earlier usage, e.g. *kan ómr-i sába sána* ‘J’avais sept ans’; *fi Somália béled ísm-u Yónte* ‘en Somalie, dans une région dont le nom est Yontay’. The object pronominal suffix for the 3rd person singular is found in the sample sentence *Nadi loh.* ‘Call him.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 26). Again, this is corroborated by contemporary textual evidence: *ma bidūru* ‘I don’t like him’ (Jenkins 1908: 50); *Ma kellem loh.* ‘Do not tell him.’; *Iddi ni.* ‘Give me.’; *Iddi loh.* ‘Give him.’; *Iddi loh tāni.* ‘Give him a second one.’ (Jenkins 1908: 100). Also, these are paralleled by an example from modern KN, in the speech of a subject born in 1919, which may be illustrative of earlier usage: *kúlu shāder bi-ázeg urúg-o* ‘chaque arbre nourrit ses racines’ (Luffin 2005: 174). To sum up, the available evidence suggests that pronominal suffixes, both the possessive and the object ones, were occasionally still used in early N.

The verbs attested in Owen & Keane (1915) are etymologically derived from the following: the imperative, the perfective, the imperfective and the active participle forms of verbs, e.g. *arbut* ‘bind, fasten’, *masah* ‘rub’, *begi* ‘come’, *mashi* ‘walk’ respectively; one verb is derived from a noun: *hisab* ‘count’. The overwhelming majority of the verbs originate from the imperative or the perfective forms. Some verbs may be plausibly traced back either to the imperative or to the active participle form, but also to a perfective e.g. *arif* ‘know’.

A number of verbs end in *-u*¹⁴: *adulu* ‘prepare’; *aglibu* ‘turn oneself, thing’; *allimu* ‘explain’; *amrugu/umrugu* ‘remove, take away’; *amsiku/umsiku* ‘get, obtain’, catch, hold’; *barridu* ‘bathe’; *bulu* ‘urinate’; *dugu* ‘beat’; *gharibu* ‘approach, come close’; *ghassalu* ‘wash’; *huru dam* ‘pass blood’ *khassaru* ‘break’, ‘be broken’; *lifū* ‘bend’; *nedifu* ‘clean’; *saadu* ‘assist, help’; *shilu* ‘carry (a load)’; *sibu* ‘leave’; *sidu* ‘shut’. Several consonant-final verbs have modern UN counterparts ending in *-u*: *arbut* ‘bind, fasten’; *arif* ‘know’; *asherub/assherub* ‘drink’; *askut* ‘shut up, be quiet’; *auz* ‘want’; *darab* ‘beat’; *fettish* ‘look for’; *jarab* ‘try’; *jib* ‘bring’; *katib* ‘write’; *kellem* ‘say, speak’; *khalafut* ‘mix’; *mut* ‘die’.

The tense and aspect system appears not to have been fully crystallized. For instance, the preverbal progressive marker *gi* is not attested, a characteristic that Owen & Keane (1915) share with two other sources on early UN, Jenkins (1908) and Meldon (1913). This is rather surprising in light of the fact that the preverbal progressive marker *gi* occurs both in modern N and in JA. However, there are already signs of an emerging tense and aspect system, similar in some respects to that of modern UN. The bare form of the stative verbs always has a non-past interpretation: *Inta waja wen.* ‘Where does it hurt you?’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 20); *Inta furr furr.* ‘Does it itch?’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 22). On the other hand, the bare form of non-stative verbs also has a non-past interpretation: e.g. *ana rua* ‘I go’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 17),

¹⁴For the origin of *-u*, which is beyond the scope of this paper, see Versteegh (1984: 124-125), Owens (1985: 257), Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 153-159), Miller (1993: 153), Wellens (2003: 241-243), Luffin (2005: 265-267), and Owens (2014).

nihna jib ‘we bring’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 19); *huma ma jib* ‘they do not bring’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 19). Preverbal *bi* marks the future: *ana bi rua* ‘I will go.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 18), cf. Meldon (1913, Introduction: 8), e.g. *enta bikasar* ‘you will break, you are going to break’. However, it is not entirely clear whether this was the only value expressed by preverbal *bi* in early UN. There is some evidence that it may have also expressed the habitual aspect with stative verbs, as in *ma bidūru* ‘I don’t like him’ (Jenkins 1908: 50) or the present progressive with non-stative verbs, as in *enta bikasar* also translated as ‘you are breaking’ (Meldon 1913, Introduction: 8). Preverbal *kan* marks the past¹⁵: *ana kan rua* ‘I went’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 18), rather than a continuous action in the past, as in Jenkins (1908: 4), e.g. *ana kan beji* ‘I was coming’. There are four examples showing that postverbal *khalas* appears to function as a completive aspect marker¹⁶: *ana rua khalas* ‘I have gone’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 18); *Adm khassaru khalas*. ‘Is the bone broken?’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 22); *Abila marra talata kull yom lamma inta akalu khalas*. ‘Take it 3 times a day after food.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 24)[lit. Swallow three times every day after you have eaten.]; *Lama inta akalu khalas*. ‘After food.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 24)[lit. After you have eaten]. This confirms Kaye & Tosco’s (1993: 281) assumption, based on the only one such example in Jenkins (1908: 3), *ana shūf kalass* ‘I saw (I have finished to see)’, that “the pluperfect would rather have been expressed through *kalass*”. This is further corroborated by evidence from (Meldon 1913, Introduction: 8): e.g. *enta kasar khalas* ‘thou breakest’. Note that in all these examples *khalas* occurs exclusively in postverbal position¹⁷, unlike in modern UN, in which “*ka'lasmay* occupy any position in the clause” (Wellens 2003: 121). Finally, imperative sentences use the bare form of the verb¹⁸.

Given that the number of sample sentences in Owen & Keane (1915) amounts to only 67, including those illustrating the paradigm of conjugation of verbs and many imperative sentences, the remarks that follow are of necessity very sketchy.

Basic word order is (S)VO. Consider the following examples: *Sidu khasma*. ‘Shut your mouth.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 23); *Inta rua barra kwes*. ‘Are your bowels all right? (do you go all right)?’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 21); *Khalafat ma moiya*. ‘Mix it with water.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 24).

Declarative and interrogative sentences have an overt subject: *ana rua* ‘I go’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 17); *hua jib* ‘he brings’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 19); *Inta waja wen?* ‘Where does

¹⁵In *ana ma jibt* ‘I did not bring.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 19) *jibt* must be dismissed as it is obviously not a pidginized form.

¹⁶For various analyses of the functions of this item in modern N, see Owens (1977: 210), Heine (1982: 38), Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 125-126 and 130), Luffin (2005: 293-294) for KN, and Wellens (2003: 21) for UN.

¹⁷Or, perhaps, in sentence-final position, see Meldon (1913, Introduction: 8) who writes that “the object is mentioned after the principal verb and before *khalas*”.

¹⁸Except for the verb ‘to come’, with its special imperative form *tal* (Owen & Keane 1915: 23).

it hurt you?’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 21); *Adm khassaru khalas?* ‘Is the bone broken?’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 22).

Imperative sentences, whether positive or negative, do not have an overt subject: *Fatta khasma*. ‘Open your mouth.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 22); *Mata adi*. ‘Don’t bite it.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 23).

Four negators are found in the sample sentences in Owen & Keane (1915). These are: *mush*, *ma*, the discontinuous marker *ma...sh*, and *mata*. The first occurs with adjectives: *Mush lazim*. ‘It is not necessary’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 25); *Mush kafi*. ‘It is not sufficient’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 25); *Mush barau* ‘There is no difference’ [lit. It is not different] (Owen & Keane 1915: 25). The negator *mush* is obviously an Egyptianism. It is also attested in Jenkins (1908), but Kaye & Tosco (1993: 285) regard it as typical of UDA. However, *mush* may have been used in early N as well. This would account for the occurrence of *mush* and of its variant *mesh* in modern KN, in the speech of a subject born in 1919 (Luffin 2005: 217), which may be illustrative of earlier usage. Verbs are negated by means of the negator *ma* in preverbal position: *huma ma jib* ‘They do not bring.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 19); *Inta lissa ma akalu* ‘Before food’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 24)[lit. You have not eaten yet]. The discontinuous marker *ma...sh*, another Egyptianism, is only found in two frozen expressions: *Malesh*. ‘It does not matter.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 25); *Mayinfash*. ‘It is no use.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 25). Both are also attested in Jenkins (1908): *maleish* ‘mind, never’ (Jenkins 1908: 53) or *māleish*. ‘never mind’ (Jenkins 1908: 56); *Ma yimfash* ‘It won’t do, it’s no good.’ (Jenkins 1908: 102). Of these, the first still occurs in modern N: *maalesh* (Kamus 2014). Finally, as in modern UN, the negator *mata* is confined to negative imperative sentences¹⁹, in which it appears in preverbal position: *mata rua* ‘do not go’ (Owen & Keane 1915:18); *Matalamis*. ‘Don’t touch it.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 23); *Mata assherub*. ‘Don’t drink it.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 25).

In interrogative sentences question words may occur *in situ*: *Inta minu* ‘Who are you?’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 20). *Ayan shinu*, *ayan e* ‘What is the matter with you?’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 20). *Inta waja wen* ‘Where does it hurt you?’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 20). Question words may also be topicalized, occurring in sentence-initial position. There is only one such example: *min inta* ‘Who are you?’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 20).

Nothing can be said with respect to complex sentences, given that there are only two such cases. One of them illustrates sentence coordination by means of *baden* ‘then’: *Awwal barridu baden masah dawa*. ‘First bathe then rub on the medicine.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 25). The other illustrates an adverbial clause of time, which follows the main clause: *Abila*

¹⁹For a monomorphemic analysis, see Heine (1982: 43) for modern KN *máta*, and Nakao (2014: 12) for JA *máta*. Several authors have proposed a bimorphemic analysis: *má* + *ta*, where *má* is the negator and *ta* the addressee, see Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 139) for KN and Wellens (2003: 125) for UN; *ma* + *ta*, where *ma* is the negator and *ta* ‘you’ for JA (Tosco 1995: 428 and 455, n. 3).

marra talata kull yom lamma inta akalu khalas. ‘Take it 3 times a day after food.’ (Owen & Keane 1915: 24)[lit. Swallow three times every day after you have eaten.].

To conclude, the morphosyntax of early UN, based on what can be inferred from the data in Owen & Keane (1915) displays, sometimes only *in nuce*, characteristics which are similar in many respects to those of the modern varieties²⁰.

5. Lexicon

The overwhelming majority of the lexical items found in Owen & Keane (1915) are of Arabic origin. Of these most are common to EA and SA dialects. The words of EA origin include: *auz* ‘want’; *begi* ‘come’; *bukra* ‘tomorrow’; *e* ‘what’; *embareh* ‘yesterday’; *enharde* ‘today’; *fen* ‘where’; *gilid* ‘skin’; *ragil* ‘man’; *rigl* ‘foot’, ‘leg’. The lexical items etymologically derived from SA include: *angarib* ‘bed’; *bakan* ‘place’; *dengerri* ‘bend down’; *jib* ‘bring’; *khasma* ‘mouth’; *kiffin* ‘how’; *kura* ‘foot’, ‘leg’; *minu* ‘who’; *miten* ‘when’; *semeh* ‘good’; *shinu* ‘what’; *waga* ‘fall’; *waja* ‘get hurt’. Some of these words are typical of a particular area. For instance, *bakan* ‘place’ is “typiquement « ouest-soudanais »” (Luffin 2005: 417), while *kiffin* ‘how’ is of East SA origin (Owens 1997: 417).

The non-Arabic vocabulary consists of: *angarib* ‘bed’; *dengerri* ‘bend down’; *gisla* ‘hospital’ and possibly *nangaratu* ‘nose’, one of the “lexical items typical to [sic] Nubi” (Nakao 2013b: 9). Of these, the first two belong to what Kaye & Tosco (1993: 300) designate as “non-Arabic words already present in SA which were taken into UA together with the Arabic material”: *angarēb* ‘bed (native bedstead)’ (Hillelson 1925: 27), which is “ultimately from Nubian” (Kaye & Tosco 1993: 300); *dangar* ‘bend’ (Hillelson 1925: 30) and ‘stoop’ (Hillelson 1925: 279). This may also be the case of *gisla* (see also Kaye & Tosco 1993: 300). The case of *nangaratu* is controversial. Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 143) include KN *nyangáratu* ‘nose’ among the N lexicon of unknown origin. On the other hand, Kaye (1991: 12) suggests that ECA “*munxār* was an ingredient in the KN development”, but that “the etymon is AR *minqār* ‘beak (also ‘bill of a bird’), netting an early ECA or SCA Colloquial Arabic] form **mangār*, cf. *nqr* ‘to peck’”.

As already noted by Nakao (2013a), the early UN vocabulary in Owen & Keane (1915) “contains no record of (clearly) African loanwords”. This is undoubtedly due to its small size and to the predominantly medical nature of the terms selected.

6. Conclusions

²⁰See Nhial (1975), Heine (1982), Owens (1977), Prokosh (1984: 85-95), Owens (1985: 250-261), Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 107-138), Miller (1993), Wellens (2003: 52-205), Luffin (2005: 89-414), Khamis & Owens (2007), Owens (2007: 522-524, and forthcoming).

The analysis of the samples in Owen & Keane (1915), compared both to those in other contemporary sources and to modern UN and modern KN, has shown that they genuinely represent early 20th century UN.

The data in Owen & Keane (1915) provide insights into the development of the phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon of UN. While it exhibits many of the general characteristics of Arabic-lexifier pidgins and creoles (see e.g. Owens 1989, Avram 1993, 1994 and 1995, Miller 2002), early UN differs in several respects from the modern variety. Thus, early UN seems to have been characterized by a more conservative nature of the phonology (e.g. the absence of regressive vowel assimilation, the retention of /x/ and /ɣ/ as well as of gemination, the larger number of words ending in a consonant), the occurrence of what appear to be morphologically more conservative forms (e.g. the possessive pronouns with initial *bi-*), the absence of some morphosyntactic features (e.g. the progressive marker *gi*), and the occurrence of lexical items etymologically derived from EA which are no longer part of the UN vocabulary or are, at best, obsolete.

These findings thus shed light on the question whether N qualifies for the status of an early creolized pidgin. Kaye & Tosco (1993: 301) conclude, on the basis of their analysis of the data in Jenkins (1908), that early N was still a “developing pidgin”, which “was not yet stabilized at that period” and on which EA and SA were still exerting influence. The data from Owen & Keane (1915) analyzed in this paper are a further confirmation of the fact that early 20th century UN had not as yet undergone stabilization.

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THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS ON GRAMMAR FROM THE KAHLE FONDS SOME RESEARCH PROPOSALS¹

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Abstract. The Paul Kahle Fonds, preserved at the University of Turin, gather together printed books, manuscripts and papers related to the activities of Paul Ernst Kahle (1875-1964) as an orientalist scholar. In the Islamic manuscripts section, a big number of them deal with the Arabic grammar tradition. Most of the works included in the manuscripts date back to the post-classical age (from XI to XIX century), with a particular concentration in the XIV century. Almost all the works are commentaries of first or second order to previous treatises by well known grammarians. From a point of view both chronological and structural, these works can be placed in the pedagogic stage of the Arabic grammar tradition, characterized by a change in the organisation of the topics and in the way topics relating to syntax or morphology were dealt with. On the basis of two main perspectives, some clusters are identifiable to illustrate the different relations one can recognize between the original independent treatises and their commentaries or between commentaries of the same/different order. In such a way, scholars are also allowed to check for possible and more complex inter-text relationships, to highlight mutual influences among authors and/or commentators, to investigate topics or methods peculiar to one author/commentator and to follow up their developments.

Keywords: Arabic grammar tradition; post-classical age; pedagogic grammar; commentary (*ṣarḥ*); gloss (*ḥāṣhiya*); inter-textrelationships; role of commentaries in the transmission of knowledge.

Introduction

The grammar section in the *Catalogue of Islamic Manuscripts of the Kahle Collection* (hereinafter *Catalogue*) accounts for the majority of the manuscripts, second only to the division dedicated to legal matters. It collects sixty-three manuscripts out of 274, amounting to the 23% of the grand total. These documents cover from item 212 to item 274 in the *Catalogue*.² Sixty-two manuscripts are in Arabic language; only one, the manuscript inv. no. 257/V (cat. no. 274)³ is written in Persian and is anonymous. As it often occurs in other Kahle Collection sections, the ratio between manuscript and specimen of the same work does not

¹Parts of this article were originally used in the paper presented at *Archives of the Orient, International Conference on Paul Ernst Kahle*, University of Turin, 10th-11th April 2014. For Paul Kahle's biography, the detailed description of the fonds structure, and a first consultation of the collected material, visit <http://www.paulkahle.unito.it/index.php>.

²The number of the inventoried manuscripts should be 277, if we consider also the three manuscripts from the Kahle Fonds that have not been included in the *Catalogue*. See Tottoli *et alii* (2011: 16).

³In the *Catalogue* each item is indicated by a progressive number (put here between brackets) and classified by a new inventory number, that corresponds to a previous one. In this article only the progressive number of the *Catalogue* and the new inventory number will be indicated.

come to 1:1 all the times. Some manuscripts are actually a miscellany collecting treatises covering several Islamic subjects. Neither does the ratio between work and witness come always to 1:1. In seven cases the same work is represented by many witnesses or by several copies of the same witness. As a consequence, the sixty-three grammar-centred manuscripts contain forty-seven different works out of 309 (265 of which in Arabic). Nine of these works have an anonymous author.

The dating of manuscripts and works

Most manuscripts date back to XVII-XVIII century, with one exception: the manuscript inv. no. 149 (cat. no. 226) that was copied on 9th April 1492 in Ḥamā (Syria) and includes one of the three specimens of the commentary by Ibn ‘Aqīl al-Quraṣī al-Hāšimī (d. 1367) on Ibn Mālik’s *‘Alfiyya* (d. 1274) that are included in the Kahle Collection. More recent manuscripts were copied in XIX century. The grammar works and their authors cover a longer time span, which stretches from XI to XIX century, featuring a concentration of titles in the XIV century. One thus comes to the conclusion that the grammar material present in the Kahle Collection is rather late, post-classical to say the least. Works copied within the manuscripts are not particularly rare or uncommon. The *Catalogue* itself highlights the fact that all the works, but the 9 anonymous ones, are well documented in the majority of manuscript collections recorded worldwide (we can find many references, for example, in Brockelman’s *Geschichte* and in many other well known collections catalogued by Derenbourg, Karabolut, Levi della Vida, Mingana, etc.). Many have already been edited at least once and in some cases they have been translated as well.

Even though scholars would hardly find something relevant concerning the major debates or the long and detailed descriptions and explanations on which grammarians of the classical age used to focus, these works feature a certain structure coherency and an agreement of objectives. As a matter of fact, the whole *corpus* of grammar texts in the Kahle Collection can be chronologically placed in a stage of the Arabic grammar tradition characterized by a stronger and stronger pedagogic and didactic aim. This implies a change in the organisation of the topics and in the way topics relating to syntax or morphology were dealt with (Carter 1991: 132 ff. and Carter 2007: pp. 188-9). A first pedagogic intent dates back to the IX-X century works, whose authors made an effort to sum up or, at times, to simplify long and complex previous grammar treatises. Nevertheless, it was mainly from the XI century onwards that the need of compiling works distinguished by a didactic orientation emerged. The most ancient work in the Kahle Collection of manuscripts is a short treatise about syntax by the theologian, grammarian and semantics scholar ‘Abd al- Qāhir al-Ġurġānī (d. 1078). The work is known as *Mi’at ‘āmil fī al-naḥw*, as well as *al-‘Awāmil al-mi’a fī al-naḥw* (inv. no. 261/III, cat. no. 212). M.G. Carter considers this treatise one of the first and

most significant examples of this new trend taken on by grammar studies (Carter 1991: 133; Larcher 1993).

Features of the pedagogic works on grammar

What are actually the characteristics of the works that in large part can be inserted in the pedagogic stage of the Arabic grammar tradition? Hereinafter a list of the key points:

1. the author's intention of carrying out a synthesis of the grammar general principles (*'uṣūl*) or just of one of its parts, i.e. syntax or morphology, very often starting from an earlier work, the *Kitāb* by Sībawayhi as an example;

2. the attempt aiming at simplifying the arguments together with the synthesis operation;

3. the works are relatively short when compared to treatises written in the previous centuries (this feature should anyway be coupled to the last one in this list so to make its pertinence more valuable);

4. topics are no longer connected by natural or logical rapports but their sequence follows criteria applied for didactic aims;

5. different difficulty levels according to the end users of the work (elementary to advanced levels): the same author is able to write dissertations showing dissimilar degrees of difficulty or can deliver different versions of the same work;

6. the pedagogic choice of using verse lines so to help memorising the topics (the most renown example, but not the only one, is the famous *'Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik, which recurs more than once in the Kahle Collection);

7. many pedagogic treatises have enjoyed a high number of commentaries, at time dozens of commentaries, ranking among first, second and third order; it is relevant to mention that some commentaries were written by the authors themselves.

It should be noted that, even though the original treatise might not be particularly long, the commentary, which at times could include the full text of the commented work, can consist of a much larger number of pages.

According to the opinion of Ibn Khaldūn (m. 1406) about the sciences concerned with the Arabic language, in particular grammar (*naḥw*),⁴ their appearance was due to scholars' fear of the corruption of the linguistic habit as a consequence of the contact between Arabs and non-Arabs speaking Arabic at the time of the Islamic conquest. Grammarians thus

⁴ The other "pillars" of the language are lexicography (*luġa*), eloquence / clarity (*bayān*) and literature (*'adab*). See the section titled *Fī 'ulūmi al-lisāni al-'arabi* in the sixth chapter of Ibn Ḥaldūn's *Muqaddima*, several editions. In his English version, Rosenthal translates *bayān* as "syntax and style" (Rosenthal 1967: III, 319).

provided for general norms, deriving them from the Arab way of speaking, in order to preserve their correct linguistic habit (Ibn Ḥaldūn 1995: 546; Rosenthal 1967: III, 321-2).⁵ After mentioning some of the main grammar scholars of the previous centuries, such as al-Ḥalīl ibn 'Aḥmad, Sībawayhi and the grammarians from Kūfa and Baṣra, Ibn Ḥaldūn, who began to write the well known *Muqaddima* in the year 1375, states that in their age there were many grammatical discussions, divergent opinions and an increasing number of proofs and arguments. Then he comes to talk about the more recent scholars, such as al-Zamaḥṣarī, Ibn Mālik and Ibn al-Ḥāḡib (see below), whose methods were different in so far as they tried to cut short the long discussions, though including everything relevant that had been transmitted before them. Some of these more recent scholars focused on basic rules for students or versified their works to facilitate their learning (Ibn Ḥaldūn 1995: 546-7; Rosenthal 1967: III, 322-4).

Additional distinctive features could be added to the above list; nevertheless, to fully understand the nature and worth of the manuscripts on grammar gathered in the Kahle Collection, we need to focus on and further develop the last point of the list.

Commentaries from the Kahle Collection on grammar works

With the exclusion of eight items, three of which are anonymous but independent works, the remaining forty grammar dissertations gathered in the Kahle Collection are each a “commentary” to a previous one. The commentary can be of a first or second order. A second order commentary occurs when it comments a treatise which is in its own turn a commentary to another work. In the Kahle Collection there is not any grammar commentary that goes beyond the second order. The commented work can be part of the Collection or not, as it happens in most cases.

In this respect, a strange circumstance is worth mentioning here. Whereas all first order commentaries refer to original independent works that actually can be present or missing in the Collection, in the case of a second order commentary, the commented document, i.e. the middle link, is always present in one of the manuscripts, even though it will not necessarily be the same one of its commentary. A concrete example will better explain such an event. Manuscripts registered as inv. no. 123 (cat. no. 248) and inv. no. 163 (cat. no. 249) are two second degree commentaries, respectively entitled *Ḥāšiya 'alā šarḥ al-'āḡurrūmiyya li-al-šayḥ Ḥālid al-'Azharī*, by 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī al-'Azharī al-Wafā'ī (fl. XVII century), and *Kitāb al-Qalyūbī 'alā al-šayḥ Ḥālid šarḥ al-'āḡurrūmiyya*,⁶ by Šihāb al-Dīn 'Aḥmad b. 'Aḥmad al-Qalyūbī (m. 1659), on the treatise *Šarḥ al-'āḡurrūmiyya*, also known as *Nuzhat dawī al-*

⁵See also Versteegh (1997: 153-165), where Ibn Ḥaldūn's view on the historical development of Arabic is told to be an important testimony of Arabs' attitude toward their own language.

⁶The title we can read on the same page where the old inventory number appears (o.i. no. 263), shows a clear syntax mistake; in order to rectify it, one should add the word *mu'allif* between *Ḥālid* and *šarḥ*.

qulūb, by Ḥālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Azharī, (m. 1499). The latter is a first degree comment on *al-Muqaddima al-‘āğurrūmiyya* by Ibn ‘Āğurrūm (d. 1323). Now, in the Kahle Collection we can find two specimens of *Šarḥ al-‘āğurrūmiyya*, inv. no. 135 (cat. no. 246) and inv. no. 136 (cat. no. 247), but no specimen of *al-Muqaddima al-‘āğurrūmiyya* is reported.

Leaving aside all the hypothesis related to the specific history of the formation of the Kahle Collection of manuscripts, about which many details are provided for in the *Catalogue* itself (Tottoli *et alii* 2011: 12-6), one could argue that the missing original independent treatises might have never been in Paul Kahle’s hands. In other words, we should consider the possibility that all manuscripts or many of them come from the same cultural context, where the habit of collecting different orders of commentaries on the same work was widespread. Furthermore, such a habit should be regarded as the only or, at least, the main way to pass on knowledge and foster learning. This explanation is supported also by the fact that in other sections of the Kahle Collection (Qur’ānic Sciences, Philosophy and Logic, Law, Rhetoric, etc.) written commentaries on previous works are numerous. Considering that all these commentaries are quite late dating, one can assume that in the post-classical age, most likely starting from XIII/XIV century onwards, the widespread of works that were considered important in one field of study or another was guaranteed by the circulation of their commentaries.

Some technical terms

Arabic terms usually adopted to point out the several orders of commentaries are *šarḥ* (pl. *šurūḥ*, explanation, clarification) for a first order commentary, usually translated as “commentary”; *ḥāšiya* (pl. *ḥawāšī*, page side note, comment) for a second order commentary, usually translated as “gloss”, and *ta‘līq/ta‘līqa* (pl. *ta‘ālīq/ta‘līqāt*, annotation added at the end of the dissertation, but also interlinear comment) for a third order commentary, translated with the word “super gloss” (Wisnovsky 2004: 160). A synonym of *šarḥ* is the verbal noun *tafsīr* (pl. *tafāsīr*, clarification, explanation, comment) that often indicates first order commentaries to philosophical works, on top of commentaries to other subject matters and obviously to the *Qur’ān*. Other recurring terms bearing the meaning of note, annotation, which at times, like the previous ones, appear in titles are *nukat* (sing. *nukta*, fragment, short explanatory note), *fawā'id* (sing. *fā'ida*, useful observation, meaning in its plural form “observations”, “notes”) and *tanbīhāt* (sing. *tanbīh/-a*, reference, note, annotation).⁷ The bare text upon which different kinds of annotation are written is usually called *matn*.

⁷ Concerning the medieval meaning of terms such as *ḥāšiya*, *ta‘līq/-a*, *nukta*, *fā'ida*, *tanbīh/-a* see Dozy, respectively to the entries ḤŠW, ‘LQ, NKT, FYD and NBH. About the meaning, the use and the circulation of *ḥāšiya*, see the correspondent entry edited by Rosenthal in EI²: (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hasiya-SIM_2794).

Whether each of these terms actually corresponds to a type of formally different commentary and should this variation be considered from a diachronic and/or synchronic point of view, it is still a complex question that cannot easily find a definite answer. Most likely, whereas from their very first appearance *šarḥ* and *tafsīr* indicated a commentary that constituted a new independent work from the dissertation it commented, the other terms marked notes that could be read aside on the page margin (*ḥāšiya*, *fawā'id*, *tanbīhāt*), in the middle of the work itself (*ḥāšiya*, *ta'līq/-a*) or at the bottom of the *matn* (*ta'līq/-a*).

Important additions to the text, meant to be preserved, were expected to be inserted in the body of the *matn*. Sheet margins were rather destined to corrections, variants, additional information, quotations and so forth which were not necessarily connected to a specific passage in the text (Rosenthal EI²). When commentary writing developed to the extent of turning into a proper literary genre and a tool to hand down knowledge, some of the above mentioned terms started to appear regularly in titles, even though, most of the time, they were not meant to preannounce the specific type of comment that would have followed. In any case, commentators could in their turn be commented by other scholars, both on their commentaries and/or on one of their original independent works, let alone cases in which authors commented on their own selves.

Classification of commentaries from the Kahle Collection

Data drawn from a first analysis of the Kahle Collection grammar manuscripts seem not to contradict what has been described so far. The forty commentaries in the Collection can then be divided as follows:

- thirty-five first order commentaries, five of which are self commentaries;
- five second order commentaries.

The most frequent terms recurring in titles are, in fact, *šarḥ* and *ḥāšiya*, even though they do not follow a precise commentary order. If we assume that generally *šarḥ* is used to designate a first order commentary and *ḥāšiya* a second order commentary, we can also see how in some cases this rule is not strictly followed. We find titles where none of the two nouns appears, but other terms bearing general meaning of synthesis (*ḥulāṣa*), essence (*ḥulāṣa*), fragments (*šudūr*), useful teachings (*fawā'id*), way/method (*mahağ*). Thus, we can conclude that, dealing with commentaries of the Kahle Collection on grammar works, there is no systematic use of technical terms to designate different orders of commentaries.

The following list gathers together all the works on grammar – the original independent treatises as well as the commentaries – included in the *Catalogue of the Islamic Manuscripts*

from the Kahle Collection, except for those by an anonymous writer. They are divided according to the century their author belongs to and along a chronological progression.⁸

XI century

– al-Ġurġānī, 'Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1078)

1. *Mi'at 'āmil fī al-naḥw = al-'Awāmil al-mi'a fī al-naḥw*, inv. no. 212 (cat. no. 262/III)

XII century

– al-Ḥarīrī, 'Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim (d. 1122)

2. *Mulḥat al-'i'rāb*, inv. no. 202/II (cat. no. 217)

XIII century

– Ibn Mālik, Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Ṭā'ī al-Ġayyānī (d. 1274)

3. *Kitāb al-'alfiyya*, inv. no. 156, 157, 202/I, 158 (cat. no. 220-3)

– Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ġamāl al-Dīn b. Mālik (d. 1287)

4. *Šarḥ manzūmat Ibn Mālik fī 'abniyat al-'af'āl = Šarḥ lāmiyyat al-'af'āl*, inv. no. 141 (cat. no. 230)

– al-'Isfarā'inī, Tāġ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1300 ca.)

5. *Hāšiya 'alā al-miṣbāḥ = Ḍaw' al-miṣbāḥ*, inv. no. 160 (cat. no. 218)

XIV century

– 'Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd (fl. first half of XIV sec.)

6. *Marāḥ al-'arwāḥ*, inv. no. 175/II (cat. no. 253)

– al-'Astarābādī = al-'Astarābādī, Rukn al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (d. 1315)

7. *[al-Šarḥ] al-mutawassiṭ = al-Wāfiya fī šarḥ al-kāfiya*, inv. no. 131 (cat. no. 231)

– al-'Iṣfahadī, 'Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Ġīlī (d. 1330 ca.)

8. *Šarḥ [al-tašrīf] al-'izzī*, inv. no. 129 (cat. no. 243)

– al-Biġā'ī, Šihāb al-Dīn (d. 1336)

9. *Ta'līqa 'alā ḥall 'alfāz al-'āġurrūmiyya*, inv. no. 142 (cat. no. 245)

– Ibn Hišām al-'Anṣārī, Ġamāl al-Dīn (d. 1360)

10. *Šarḥ šudūr al-ḍaḥab fī ma'rifat kalām al-'arab*, inv. no. 155 (cat. no. 254)

11. *Muġnī al-labīb 'an kutub al-'a'ārīb*, inv. no. 152 (cat. no. 255)

⁸Several works included in the list are known by different titles or by variants of the same title, which appear here as they are reported in the *Catalogue*. Similarly, in a few cases the author's name can have more than one form.

12. *Šarḥ al-qaṭr* = *Šarḥ qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-šadā*, inv. no. 153, 154, 208 (cat. no. 256-8)

– Ibn ‘Aqīl al-Qurašī al-Hāšimī, Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1367)

13. *Šarḥ ‘alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, inv. no. 150, 151, 149 (cat. no. 224-6)

– Nuḡrakār = Nukrakār, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad (d. 1374)

14. *Šarḥ al-šāfiya*, inv. no. 255/I (cat. no. 237)

– al-Taftāzānī, Sa‘d al-Dīn Masūd b. ‘Umar (d. 1389)

15. *Šarḥ al-tašrīf fī al-šarf* = *Šarḥ al-tašrīf al-‘izzī*, inv. no. 168-171 (cat. no. 239-242)

– al-‘Aqfahsī, ‘Aḥmad b. ‘Imād al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī (d. 1405)

16. *Manzūma [fī] al-ma‘fuwwāt*, inv. no. 277 (cat. no. 270)

– al-Maylānī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Umarī (d. 1408)

17. *Šarḥ al-muḡnī*, inv. no. 153, 154, 175/I (cat. no. 266)

XV century

– al-Tūsawī, Ḥāḡḡī Bābā b. Ḥāḡḡī ‘Abd al-Karīm (fl. 1450 ca.)

18. *Ḥulāṣat al-‘i‘rāb šarḥ [al-]mišbāḥ [fī al-naḥw]*, 265

– al-Ġāmī, Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1492)

19. *al-Fawā‘id al-diyā‘iyya* = *al-Fawā‘id al-wāfiya bi-ḥall muškilāt al-kāfiya* = *Šarḥ-i Mullā*, 232

– al-‘Ašmūnī = al-‘Ušmūnī = al-Šumūnnī, Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 1494 ca.)

20. *Kitāb šarḥ al-‘alfiyya* = *Manḡāḡ al-sālik ‘ilā ‘alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, 228

– al-‘Azharī, Ḥālid b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1499)

21. *Kitāb ‘i‘rāb al-‘alfiyya* = *Tamrīn al-ṭullāb fī šinā‘at al-‘i‘rāb*, 229

22. *Šarḥ al-‘aḡurrūmiyya* = *Nuzhat dawī al-qulūb*, 246-247

23. *Muwaṣṣil al-ṭullāb ‘ilā qawā‘id al-‘i‘rāb*, 259-261

24. *Šarḥ al-‘azhariyya*, 262-264

XVI century

– al-‘Anšārī, ‘Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aḥmad (d. 1520)

25. *al-Manāhiḡ al-kāfiya fī šarḥ al-šāfiya*, inv. no. 130 (cat. no. 238)

– Yaḥyā b. Naṣūḥ b. ‘Isrā‘īl al-Rūmī (d. 1543 ca.)

26. *Šarḥ al-‘awāmil*, inv. no. 125 (cat. no. 213)

– al-Ru‘aynī, Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Makkī al-Mālikī (m. 1547)

27. *Mutammimat al-‘aḡurrūmiyya*, inv. no. 166 (cat. no. 250)

– al-Fākihī, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Aḥmad (m. 1564)

28. *al-Fawākih al-ğanniyya ‘alā mutimmat al-’āğurrūmiyya = Šarḥ mutimmat al-’āğurrūmiyya fī ‘ilm al-’arabiyya,*⁹ inv. no. 144 (cat. no. 251)

XVI-XVII century

– ‘Abū l-Ḥayr b. ‘Abī al-Su‘ūd b. Zāhira (fl. 1601 ca.)

29. *Rašf al-raššāf [al-saniyya] min mazğ ‘alfāz al-’āğurrūmiyya,* inv. no. 124 (cat. no. 252)

25. Walī b. ‘Aḥmad al-Rūmī al-‘Uṭmānī (fl. XVI-XVII sec. Ca.)

30. *al-Maṭlūb [fī] šarḥ al-maqšūd,* inv. no. 128 (cat. no. 267)

XVII century

– ‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭī al-’Azharī al-Wafā‘ī (fl. XVII sec.)

31. *Hāšiya ‘alā šarḥ al-’āğurrūmiyya li-al-šayḥ Ḥālid al-’Azharī,* inv. no. 123 (cat. no. 248)

– Ibn Šalāḥ, ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Izz al-Dīn (d. 1640)

32. *Mišbāḥ al-rāğib wa-miftāḥ ḥaqā’iq al-ma’ārib,* inv. no. 260/V (cat. no. 233)

– al-Qalyūbī, Šihāb al-Dīn ‘Aḥmad b. ‘Aḥmad (d. 1659)

33. *Kitāb al-Qalyūbī ‘alā al-šayḥ Ḥālid šarḥ al-’āğurrūmiyya,*¹⁰ inv. no. 163 (cat. no. 249)

– al-Qayūğāqī al-‘Uṭmānī, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Walī (d. 1711)

34. *Zubdat al-’i’rāb = Zubdat al-’i’rāb šarḥ ‘iẓhār al-’asrār,* inv. no. 122 (cat. no. 268)

XVIII century

– al-Kilānī, Nūr al-Dīn b. Šihāb al-Dīn (fl. XVIII sec.)

35. *Šarḥ [al-]taṣrīf al-’izzī,* inv. no. 162 (cat. no. 244)

– Zaynī-zāda al-Bursāwī, Ḥusayn b. ‘Aḥmad (d. 1755)

36. *[al-Fawā’id al-šāfiya ‘alā ‘i’rāb al-kāfiya],* inv. no. 217 (cat. no. 234)

– al-Sağğā‘ī, ‘Aḥmad b. ‘Aḥmad (d. 1783)

37. *Kitāb ḥāšiyat al-šayḥ al-Sağğā‘ī ‘alā Ibn ‘Aqīl,* inv. no. 193 (cat. no. 227)

XIX century

– al-Ṭarābīšī, ‘Umar b. Muḥammad (m. 1869)

38. *al-Faṭḥ al-mubīn ‘alā risālat al-tamrīn fī al-naḥw,* inv. no. 174 (cat. no. 269)

⁹ The word *mutimma* is a variant for *mutammima*, which is more largely attested than the former. For other variants see Tottoli *et alii* (2011: 428).

¹⁰ See note no. 6.

The above list gathers thirty-eight titles, to which the nine anonymous ones must be added to reach the number of the whole *corpus* of works on grammar included in the Kahle Collection, that is forty-eight. In order to square numbers, one more work should be added to the list. It is about a first order commentary by a not well indentified al-Muṣṭafā b. Bahrām on the *Mi'at 'āmil fī al-naḥw* (= *al-'Awāmil al-mi'a fī al-naḥw*), the short treatise on syntax by al-Ġurġānī. The title of this commentary is *Mu'rab šarḥ al-'awāmil* (inv. no 261/IV, cat. no 214) and since we don't know when its author lived, it cannot be included in a chronologically ordered list.

Cluster identification process

Hereinafter some clusters are used as examples to illustrate the different relations one can recognize between works and their commentaries. The underlying principle to identify each cluster stands in collecting an original independent work, included or not included in the Kahle Collection, together with its various types of commentaries. In this perspective C^a refers to a self commentary by the author himself, C¹ designates a first order commentary, while C² marks a second order commentary. Such taxonomy follows to some extent Wisnovsky's way to classify commentaries on logic works (Wisnovsky 2004: 160). A different process to indentify clusters will be showed later.

Cluster 1 (*Mi'at 'āmil fī al-naḥw*)

'Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ġurġānī (d. 1078), *Mi'at 'āmil fī al-naḥw = al-'Awāmil al-mi'a fī al-naḥw* (inv. no. 261/III, cat. no. 212)

C¹: Yaḥyā b. Naṣūḥ b. 'Isrā'īl al-Rūmī (d. 1543 ca), *Šarḥ al-'awāmil* (inv. no. 125, cat. no. 213)

C¹: al-Muṣṭafā b. Bahrām (d.?), *Mu'rab šarḥ al-'awāmil* (inv. no. 261/IV, cat. no. 214)

C¹: anonymous, untitled (inv. no. 261/V, cat. no. 215)

C¹: anonymous, *Šarḥ al-'awāmil* (inv. no. 257/IV, cat. no. 216)

Cluster 2 (*Kitāb al-alfiyya*)

Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālīk (d. 1274), *Kitāb al-alfiyya* (inv. no. 156, 157, 202/I, 158, cat. no. 220-223)

C¹: Ibn 'Aqīl al-Qurašī al-Hāšimī (d. 1367), *Šarḥ alfiyyat Ibn Mālīk* (inv. no. 150, 151, 149, cat. no. 224-226)

C²: 'Aḥmad b. 'Aḥmad al-Saġġā'ī (d. 1783), *Kitāb ḥāšiyat al-šayḥ al-Saġġā'ī 'alā Ibn 'Aqīl* (inv. no. 193, cat. no. 227)

C¹: Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-’Ašmūnī [=al-’Ušmūnī = al-Šumūnnī] (d. 1494 ca), *Kitāb šarḥ al-’alfiyya = Manḥağ al-sālik ‘ilā ‘alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* (inv. no. 176, cat. no. 228)

C¹: Ḥālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-’Azharī (d. 1499), *Kitāb ‘i’rāb al-’alfiyya = Tamrīn al-ṭullāb fī šinā‘at al-’i’rāb* (inv. no. 140, cat. no. 229)

Cluster 3 (*Lāmiyyat al-’af‘āl*)

Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Mālik (d. 1274), *Lāmiyyat al-’af‘āl = al-Miftāḥ fī ‘abniyyat al-’af‘āl* (missing)

C¹: Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ġamāl al-Dīn b. Mālik (d. 1287), *Šarḥ manzūmat Ibn Mālik fī ‘abniyyat al-’af‘āl = Šarḥ lāmiyyat al-’af‘āl* (inv. no. 141, cat. no. 230)

Cluster 4 (*Šuḍūr al-ḍahab*)

Ġamāl al-Dīn Ibn Hišām al-’Anšārī (d. 1360), *Šuḍūr al-ḍahab fī ma‘rifat kalām al-’arab* (missing)

C^a: *Šarḥ šuḍūr al-ḍahab fī ma‘rifat kalām al-’arab* (inv. no. 155, cat. no. 254)

Cluster 5 (*Kitāb al-’i’rāb*)

Ġamāl al-Dīn Ibn Hišām al-’Anšārī (d. 1360), *Kitāb al-’i’rāb ‘an qawā‘id al-’i’rāb* (missing)

C¹: Ḥālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-’Azharī (d. 1499), *Muwaššil al-ṭullāb ‘ilā qawā‘id al-’i’rāb*, (inv. no. 137-139, cat. no. 259-261)

Cluster 6 (*al-Muqaddima al-’āğurrūmiyya*)

Ibn ‘Āğurrūm (d. 1323), *al-Muqaddima al-’āğurrūmiyya* (missing)

C¹: Šihāb al-Dīn al-Biğā‘ī (d. 1336), *Ta‘līqa ‘alā ḥall ‘alfāz al-’āğurrūmiyya* (inv. no. 142, cat. no. 245)

C¹: Ḥālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-’Azharī (d. 1499), *Šarḥ al-’āğurrūmiyya = Nuzhat ḍawī al-qulūb* (inv. no. 135-136, cat. no. 246-247)

C²: ‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭī al-’Azharī al-Wafā‘ī (fl. XVII sec.), *Ḥāšiya ‘alā šarḥ al-’āğurrūmiyya li-al-šayḥ Ḥālid al-’Azharī* (inv. no. 123, cat. no. 248)

C²: Šihāb al-Dīn ‘Aḥmad b. ‘Aḥmad al-Qalyūbī (d. 1659), *Kitāb al-Qalyūbī ‘alā al-šayḥ Ḥālid šarḥ al-’āğurrūmiyya*¹¹ (inv. no. 163, cat. no. 249)

C¹: Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ru‘aynī (d. 1547), *Mutammimat al-’āğurrūmiyya* (inv. no. 166, cat. no. 250)

¹¹See note no. 6.

C¹: 'Abū l-Ḥayr b. 'Abī al-Su'ūd b. Zāhīra (fl. 1601 ca), *Rašf al-raššāf [al-saniyya] min mazğ 'alfāz al-'āğurrūmiyya* (inv. no. 124, cat. no. 252)

Cluster identification on the basis of an original independent work highlights the vertical rapport between the latter and its several orders of commentaries. Such a representation shows a mainly diachronic prospect of the circulation of a certain treatise through its own commentaries. By this perspective scholars could also establish relations between commentaries of the same order in diachrony and/or synchrony. They could also highlight rapports between the *matn* and one of its commentaries or compare the historical, geographical and cultural backgrounds specific to each commentator and so on. Furthermore, since these commentaries of different orders cover a time span of a few centuries, it could be worthwhile to investigate what has changed in the commentary approach from one author to the following one(s).

All the same, there is another possible way to identify clusters from a different point of view. Such a perspective does not focus on one original independent work any longer, but targets one author/commentator, tracing the recurrence of his name through the Collection, both as commentator or commented author. M.G. Carter indicates three names as the most representative grammarians as far as pedagogic grammar is concerned: Ibn Ḥāğib (d. 1249), Ibn Mālik (d. 1274) e Ibn Hišām (d. 1360),¹² who are all present in the grammar section of the Kahle Collection.¹³ To these names one could add a fourth name, the one of al-'Azharī (d. 1499), who belongs to a much later period but still plays a very relevant role in the Kahle Collection. From this new perspective, taking into account the four above mentioned grammarians, we can identify the following clusters. In this new series of clusters W stands for the original independent work from which different orders of commentaries originated.

¹² Ibn Hišām has been said to be a better grammarian than Sibawayhī especially for his ability in discussing many an aspect of the subject, in particular the rules of *'i'rāb*, and composing treatises that were clear and pedagogically useful; cf. Carter 1991, p. 136. This is what Ibn Ḥaldūn wrote on him in the English translation by Franz Rosenthal (1967: vol. 3, 324-5): «At the present time, there has reached us in the Maghrib a systematic work (*dīwān*) from Egypt attributed to the Egyptian Scholar Jamāl-ad-dīn b. Hishām. [...] He called his work *al-Mughnī fī l-i'rāb*. He indicates all the fine points of the vowel endings in the Qur'an and set them down accurately in chapters and sections and according to basic norms all of which are very orderly. We have found in (the work) much information attesting to (the author's) ability and abundant knowledge of grammar. [...] In this way, he has produced a remarkable work that shows his powerful (linguistic) habit and his acquaintance with the subject.» This passage is found in Ibn Ḥaldūn (1995: 547).

¹³ In his contribution to the volume *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*, Carter included also al-Zamaḥṣarī (m. 1144) in this group of grammarians (Carter 1991: 133), while in the article he wrote for the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (Carter 2007: 188), Zamaḥṣarī's *Mufaṣṣal* is said to be among the first pedagogical grammars written expressly for madrasas, together with the *Mi'at 'āmil* by al-Ğurğānī (d. 1078).

Cluster A (Ibn al-Ḥāḡib)

Ḡamāl al-Dīn 'Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. 'Umar b. 'Abī Bakr al-Mālikī Ibn al- Ḥāḡib (d. 1249)

W: *al-Kāfiya*, short dissertation on syntax (missing)

C¹: al-'Astarābādī = al-'Astarābādī (d. 1315), [*al-Šarḥ*] *al-mutawassit* = *al-Wāfiya fī šarḥ al-kāfiya* (inv. no. 131, cat. no. 231)

C¹: al-Ḡāmī (d. 1492), *al-Fawā'id al-ḍiyā'iyya* = *al-Fawā'id al-wāfiya bi-ḥall muškilāt al-kāfiya* = *Šarḥ-i Mullā* (inv. no. 145, cat. no. 232)

C¹: Ibn Šalāḥ (d. 1640), *Miṣbāḥ al-rāḡib wa-miftāḥ ḥaqā'iq al-ma'ārib* (inv. no. 260/V, cat. no. 233)

C¹: Zaynī-zāda al-Bursāwī (d. 1755), [*al-Fawā'id al-šāfiya 'alā 'i'rāb al-kāfiya*] (inv. no. 217, cat. no. 234)

C¹: anonymous, [*Šarḥ al-kāfiya*] (inv. no. 255/III, cat. no. 235)

C¹: anonymous, *Kitāb zakī fī 'ilm al-naḥw fī ḥāšiyat al-kāfiya* (inv. no. 127, cat. no. 236)

W: *al-Šāfiya*, short dissertation on morphology (missing)

C¹: Nuqrakār = Nukrakār (d. 1374), *Šarḥ al-šāfiya* (inv. no. 255/I, cat. no. 237)

C¹: al-'Anšārī (d. 1520), *al-Manāhiḡ al-kāfiya fī šarḥ al-šāfiya* (inv. no. 130, cat. no. 238)

Cluster B (Ibn Mālik)

Ḡamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik (d. 1274)

W: *Kitāb al-'alfiyya* (inv. no. 156, 157, 202/I, 158, cat. no. 220-223)

C¹: Ibn 'Aqīl al-Qurašī al-Hāšimī (d. 1367), *Šarḥ alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* (inv. no. 150, 151, 149, cat. no. 224-226)

C²: 'Aḥmad b. 'Aḥmad al-Saḡḡā'ī (d. 1783), *Kitāb ḥāšiyat al-šayḥ al-Saḡḡā'ī 'alā Ibn 'Aqīl* (inv. no. 193, cat. no. 227)

C¹: Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Ašmūnī [=al-'Ušmūnī = al-Šumūnnī] (d. 1494 ca), *Kitāb šarḥ al-'alfiyya* = *Manḥaḡ al-sālik 'ilā 'alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* (inv. no. 176, cat. no. 228)

C¹: Ḥalīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Azharī (d. 1499), *Kitāb 'i'rāb al-'alfiyya* = *Tamrīn al-ṭullāb fī šinā'at al-'i'rāb* (inv. no. 140, cat. no. 229)

W: *Lāmiyyat al-'af'āl* = *al-Miftāḥ fī 'abniyat al-'af'āl* (missing)

C¹: Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ğamāl al-Dīn b. Mālīk (d. 1287), *Šarḥ manzūmat Ibn Mālīk fī 'abniyat al-'af'āl* = *Šarḥ lāmiyyat al-'af'āl* (inv. no. 141, cat. no. 230)

Cluster C (Ibn Hišām)

Ğamāl al-Dīn Ibn Hišām al-'Anšārī (d. 1360)

W: *Muġnī al-labīb 'an kutub al-'a'ārīb* (inv. no. 152, cat. no. 255)

W: *Šudūr al-dahab fī ma'rifat kalām al-'arab* (missing)

C^a: *Šarḥ šudūr al-dahab fī ma'rifat kalām al-'arab* (inv. no. 155, cat. no. 254)

W: *Qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-šadā* (missing)

C^a: *Šarḥ al-qaṭr* = *Šarḥ qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-šadā* (inv. no. 153, 154, 203, cat. no. 256-258)

W: *Kitāb al-'i'rāb 'an qawa'id al-'i'rāb* (missing)

C¹: Ḥālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Azharī (d. 1499), *Muwaššil al-ṭullāb 'ilā qawā'id al-'i'rāb*, (inv. no. 137-139, cat. no. 259-261)

Cluster D (al-'Azharī)

Ḥālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Azharī (d. 1499)

W: *al-Muqaddima al-'azhariyya fī 'ilm al-'arabiyya* (missing)

C^a: *Šarḥ al-'azhariyya* (inv. no. 132, 133/I, 134, cat. no. 262-264)

W: Ğamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālīk (d. 1274), *Kitāb al-'alfiyya* (inv. no. 156, 157, 202/I, 158, cat. no. 220-223)

C¹: *Kitāb 'i'rāb al-'alfiyya* = *Tamrīn al-ṭullāb fī šinā'at al-'i'rāb* (inv. no. 140, cat. no. 229)

W: Ğamāl al-Dīn Ibn Hišām al-'Anšārī (d. 1360), *Kitāb al-'i'rāb 'an qawa'id al-'i'rāb* (missing)

C¹: *Muwaššil al-ṭullāb 'ilā qawā'id al-'i'rāb* (inv. no. 137-139, cat. no. 259-261)

W: Ibn 'Āġurrūm (d. 1323), *al-Muqaddima al-'āġurrūmiyya* (missing)

C¹: *Šarḥ al-’āğurrūmiyya = Nuzhat dawī al-qulūb* (inv. no. 135-136, cat. no. 246-247)

C²: ‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭī al-’Azharī al-Wafā’ī (fl. XVII sec.), *Hāšiya ‘alā šarḥ al-’āğurrūmiyya li-al-šayḥ Ḥālid al-’Azharī* (inv. no. 123, cat. no. 248)

C²: Šihāb al-Dīn ‘Aḥmad b. ‘Aḥmad al-Qalyūbī (d. 1659), *Kitāb al-Qalyūbī ‘alā al-šayḥ Ḥālid šarḥ al-’āğurrūmiyya*¹⁴ (inv. no. 163, cat. no. 249)

This second cluster identification process allows scholars to check for possible and more complex inter-text relationships, to highlight mutual influences among authors and/or commentators, to investigate topics or methods peculiar to one author/commentator and to follow up their developments, etc.

From the last above mentioned cluster, a few sample pages are chosen to show what the different kinds of commentary look like. In the first two pages from the *Šarḥ al-’azhariyya* by Ḥālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-’Azharī (d. 1499), a commentary by the author himself on his *al-Muqaddima al-’azhariyya fī ‘ilm al-’arabiyya*, after the usual invocation of God, the confession of faith and the eulogies upon the Prophet and his family, al-’Azharī’s explanations are inserted just after the single word or short utterance to which they are related, the former being written in black ink, the latter in red. In such a way, if we read only the rubrications in red, skipping all the black ink words, we have the *matn*, the bare text of the original independent work:

wa-ba‘du al-kalāmu fī iṣṭilāḥi l-naḥwiyyīna ‘ibāratun ‘ammā iṣtamala ‘alā talāṭati ašyā’in wa-hiya al-lafzu wa-al-ifādatu wa-al-qaṣdu fa-al-lafzu... “As a technical term used by grammarians, speech is an expression of what consists of three things: expression [phonetically articulated], information and intention. The expression...”¹⁵

Let’s consider now another treatise by al-’Azharī, the *Šarḥ al-’āğurrūmiyya = Nuzhat dawī al-qulūb*, a first order commentary on *al-Muqaddima al-’āğurrūmiyya* by Ibn ‘Āğurrūm (d. 1323). As we have seen above, while there is no specimen of Ibn ‘Āğurrūm’s *Muqaddima* in the Kahle Collection, al-’Azharī’s commentary is reproduced in two of its manuscripts, the inv. no. 135-136 (cat. no. 246-247). In the second manuscript we have an example of those annotations added onto the page margins that were largely used in post-classical commentaries and whose insertion we can find in several manuscripts of the Collection. In many cases these marginal notes are to be seen as complementary to the main comment

¹⁴See note no. 6.

¹⁵Concerning the technical meaning of *lafz* (expression, form), often seen in opposition to *ma’nā* (meaning), and the different ideas it implied in the history of Arabic grammar *stricto sensu* and in the other sciences concerned with the language, see Lancioni-Bettini 2011 (especially pp. 109-143), where the topic is discussed from the rhetoricians’ point of view.

included in the body of the page. The last red rubrication on f. 3b (= p. 6) is the articulated word *wa-at-tanwīnu* followed by al-'Azharī's explanation. On f. 4a (= p. 7) a marginal note is added, most likely by the hand of the same copyist, to provide further information about the four varieties ('*aqsām*) of *tanwīn*, i.e. *tanwīn at-tamkīn*, *tanwīn at-tankīr*, *tanwīn al-muqābala* and *tanwīn al-'iwaḍ*, as the reader can infer from the following:

'*ašār bi-al-amṭilati 'ilā aqsāmi al-tanwīni al-arba'ati <al-lāḥiqati>*¹⁶ *bi-al-ismi fa-'ašāra bi-zaydin wa-raḡulin 'ilā tanwīni al-tamkīni wa-'ašāra bi-ṣahin 'ilā tanwīni al-tankīri wa-huwa al-lāḥiqu li-ba'di al-'asmā'i al-mabniyyati farqan bayna ma'rifatihā wa-tankīrihā wa-'ašāra bi-muslimā<tin> 'ilā tanwīni al-muqābalati wa-huwa al-lāḥiqu li-mā ḡumi'a bi-'alifin wa-tā<'in> mazīdatayni ḡa'lū tanwīnahu fī muqābalati al-nūni min muslimīna wa-'ašāra bi-ḥīna'idīn 'ilā tanwīni al-'iwaḍ wa-huwa al-lāḥiqu li-id 'iwaḍan 'an al-ḡumlati allatī yudāfu 'ilayhā* "He showed by means of examples the four varieties of *tanwīn* that are attached to the noun. He showed by means of *Zaydun* and *raḡulun* the *tanwīn at-tamkīn*; by means of *ṣahin* the *tanwīn at-tankīr* that is typical of certain indeclinable nouns as a distinctive mark between the definite and the indefinite; by means of *muslimā<tun>* the *tanwīn al-muqābala* that is typical of what builds its plural by adding '*alif* and *tā<'>*, as they made its *tanwīn* correspond to the *nūn* of *muslimīna*; by means of *ḥīna'idīn* the *tanwīn al-'iwaḍ* that is typical of *id* in replacement of the clause which would be annexed to it".

In some other manuscripts, such annotations fill up all the margin space on the four sides of the page, the text being progressively rotated to the point of being upside down. This particular arrangement of the marginal notes suggests the idea of a group of people standing around the book and taking part in its reading under the teacher's control. In that way the reading of the main text used for the class could be interrupted by additional information, examples, digressions, etc.

Some conclusions

In recent years many a scholar have focused on the huge production of commentaries and glosses concerning several ranges of Islamic sciences, a kind of intellectual expression that was neglected in the past decades and centuries. Some examples are Smyth (1992) on the tradition of commentaries on Muḥammad al-Sakkakī's *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm*; Wisnovsky (2004) on post-classical commentaries on philosophical works; Ahmed (2013) on commentary/gloss genre in rationalist disciplines, focusing on a late treatise on logic, the *Sullam al-'ulūm*, by Muḥibballāh al-Bihārī; Saleh (2013) on glosses to the text of *al-Kaššāf*, the Qur'ān commentary by al-Zamaḡṣarī. Thanks to their surveys we are now aware of the existence of a new genre, for someone a new subgenre, of literature with its own characteristics and rules.

¹⁶ The word has been previously deleted, then partially corrected.

Writing commentaries and glosses on previous basic works, on the top of being the main method of intellectual activity in post classical age, was a tool to develop debates and controversies on grammar, semantics, rhetoric, logic and theology in that time, particularly from the XIII/XIV century onwards. Commentaries of different orders, that in many cases are actually “new works” with few clear links with the previous ones, were also used for teaching in an scholar/academic environment. William Smith argues that the format of commentary triggered some debates, emphasizing differences of opinion in a way that was characteristic to the Muslim tradition. In his opinion, the commentary form is like a permanent open forum, thanks to contributions of copyists and instructors throughout time and space (Smyth 1992: 597).

The Kahle Collection of manuscripts offers us a good opportunity to add new information concerning some issues, like mutual influences among commentators, the problem of authorship, interferences between commentaries of the same or different order, pedagogical utility, ways for developing discussions about specific matters, etc. As far as manuscripts on grammar are concerned, but it would probably be true also for other subjects, the collected data resulting from the study of one of the mentioned clusters (or other clusters to be indentified), both in diachronic and synchronic perspective, would tell something interesting about the variation in the Arabic grammar tradition. This variation, that at times could be seen as innovation, is not to be meant only in terms of contents, but more likely as a new way of dealing with grammar topics within different frames, such as academic debates or scholar teaching. What might come to light from such a survey is the polarization between the need of preserving classical/authorial models and the search for new forms. This is what has affected the Arabic thought through the centuries, involving not only linguistic sciences but every field of human speculation. The two opposite poles are kept together in a kind of harmonic ensemble by tradition. Being able to assimilating new elements without losing completely the old ones, tradition is fluid enough to play the role of mediator between the two poles.

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APPELLATIONS DE L'ÉCLAIR ET DU TONNERRE CHEZ LES ROUMAINS ET LES ARABES

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Résumé : Le texte qui suit présente une comparaison entre le lexique relatif aux phénomènes atmosphériques tant en roumain qu'en arabe, appuyée sur des textes médiévaux du domaine populaire, et particulièrement le *Kitāb al-maṭar* de Abū Zayd Al-Anṣārī. Ma démarche s'inscrit dans le domaine de la recherche des universaux linguistiques, tout en valorisant les efforts de chercheurs des textes anciens (J. H. Gottheil, Cătălina Velculescu) qui se sont penchés sur les descriptions d'événements météorologiques de ce genre retenues par les recueils populaires, afin de constater la façon dont chacune des deux langues reflète la sensibilité et la finesse de l'expression des locuteurs.

Mots-clé: appellations de l'éclair et du tonnerre ; textes médiévaux ; Abū Zayd Al-Anṣārī ; *Kitāb al-maṭar* ; recueils populaires ; lexique arabe ; lexique roumain.

Les appellations de l'éclair et du tonnerre ont représenté un des sujets des manuscrits qui circulèrent au Moyen-Âge tant en Orient qu'en Occident. Ce sujet reflète l'effort des grammairiens et des lexicographes de définir le vocabulaire de leur langue, ainsi que la curiosité du grand public, preuve de la préoccupation générale pour une connaissance des phénomènes naturels transcendant les croyances proposées par les sciences traditionnelles. Je me propose dans cette contribution de démontrer que les œuvres arabes concernant de tels sujets devraient être incluses parmi les sources possibles des recueils populaires qui circulèrent en Europe au Moyen-âge. Mes commentaires reposent, d'une part, sur les commentaires d'Alexandru Ciorănescu¹ et ceux de Cătălina Velculescu² concernant des manuscrits roumains des XVII^e-XIX^e siècles, dont quelques textes conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, à Bucarest (dorénavant, B. A. R.), d'autre part, sur l'ouvrage du lexicographe arabe de l'École de Baṣra ('Irāq) Abū Zayd Sa'īd ibn 'Aws Al-Anṣārī *Kitāb al-maṭar*, « Le livre de la pluie » (1233 A. D.), conservé dans un unique manuscrit, l'Arabe 4231 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France³.

¹ *Întrebări și răspunsuri* („Questions et réponses”), éd. Alexandru Ciorănescu, „Cercetări literare”, 1, 1934, p. 47-82.

² *Pentru fulgere și pentru tunete cum să fac* („À propos des foudres et des tonnerres, comment ils naissent”), éd. C. Velculescu, Bucarest, 2002 (Dorénavant, « Velculescu 2002 »).

³ La source principale pour cette analyse est l'édition de J. H. Gottheil dans *Journal of American Oriental Studies*, 16, 1896, p. 282-317 (Dorénavant, « Gottheil 1896 »).

Cătălina Velculescu se proposait dans son article mentionné de présenter des fragments tirés d'ouvrages divers qui avaient en commun l'intention de répondre à la question : « Qu'est-ce que c'est que la foudre, le tonnerre et le grondement ? » Les manuscrits sur lesquels reposent ses commentaires sont présentés dans une édition moderne à la fin de son article.⁴ Elle traite premièrement du *B. A. R. Ms. rom. 4378* qui, à côté d'*Apocalypses* apocryphes, de la *Vie de St. Alexis* et de *Sindipa*, comprend quelques *Questions et réponses* sur la peste, les tremblements de terre, la foudre et le tonnerre. La source de ces textes est indiquée : c'est « le saint et divin *Livre de la loi (Pravila)* », contenu dans le *B. A. R. Ms. rom. 1604*. Celui-ci renferme une collection de lois traduite du grec en roumain et imprimée en 1652 à Târgoviște dans un volume de plus de 800 pages, connu aussi comme *Indreptarea legii* ou *Pravila lui Matei Basarab*. Le volume finit par une *Liste d'enseignements* tirée des *Questions et réponses* attribuées à St. Anastase, patriarche d'Antioche. C. Velculescu cite Violeta Barbu qui a établi comme source de cette dernière collection un recueil en grec qui aurait comme origine les *Questions* de Pseudo-Anastase du Mont Sinaï, auxquelles ont été ajoutés différents fragments des œuvres d'Hippocrate, de Galien, de Caton, d'Ésope etc. Velculescu remarque l'absence des éléments fantastiques qui caractérise le fragment sur la foudre et le tonnerre, contrairement à d'autres textes semblables.

Un autre recueil, étudié et présenté par Alexandre Ciorănescu, réunit des questions attribuées soit à un certain « Azimit » ou « Iazimir » (c'est-à-dire, adepte de la communion aux azymes (donc, catholique), soit à l'empereur Léon « le Sage »⁵. Les questions ont été rédigées dans des buts polémiques, dans le contexte des rencontres entre les hiérarques de Byzance et ceux de Rome (Velculescu 2002 : 49). Les sources identifiées de ce texte sont : un livre en slavon sur les tonnerres, intitulé *Gromotika* (< sl. *grom* = « tonnerre »⁶), les *Psaumes*, le *Livre de Jérémie*, l'œuvre du philosophe Ermogène (Velculescu propose de voir ici Hermogène de Tars, II^e siècle AD). Dans sa rédaction abrégée, ce dernier texte connut une large circulation.

C. Velculescu note aussi quatre questions sur la foudre et le tonnerre dans le texte intitulé *Questions de St. Épiphanie adressées au bienheureux André concernant les forces de la nature et l'avenir, avec leurs réponses*. Il s'agit d'un fragment d'un ouvrage byzantin du X^e siècle concernant la vie de St. André Salos (« Le fou en Christ »), qui vécut à Constantinople aux V^e-VI^e siècles. Ce fragment, dont peu de copies nous restent, reprend des croyances populaires concernant St. Élie et le rapport entre la foudre, le tonnerre et le dragon (gr. *drakon*, roum. *balaur*).

⁴ Il s'agit du *B. A. R. Ms. rom. 4378*, f. 234-236v; 3806, f. 19, 22, 22v-23, 40v, 46v; 1619, f. 4v, 9, 20-20v; 452, f. 15-15v, 22v-25v; 2786, f. 329, 333-336; 3590, f. 81, 83-84v; 1151, f. 186, 188v, 197v, 202v-203.

⁵ Que les Roumains ont connu par de nombreuses traductions de chronographes, voir la n. 19 dans Velculescu 2002 : 53.

⁶ C'est C. Velculescu qui a correctement expliqué ce titre, interprété auparavant comme *Gramatika* ("La Grammaire") (Velculescu 2002: 50).

Les explications comprises dans ces manuscrits à propos de la pluie, de la foudre et du tonnerre, avec des variations mineures, peuvent être résumées comme suit: la foudre et le tonnerre sont signes de la colère de Dieu et apparaissent à cause de nos péchés ; la foudre frappe lorsque les nuages, nés à cause de la chaleur du soleil et des vapeurs de la terre, entrent en collision ; la pluie tombe quand les nuages se dispersent ; l'arc-en-ciel participe à la création de la pluie, en rassemblant les eaux des rivières et des mers pour les placer dans les nuages ; la neige naît de la pluie qui tombe des nuages à travers l'air froid de l'hiver (c'est pour cela qu'elle ne tombe jamais en Egypte, pays « plus proche du soleil », où il fait toujours chaud). Parmi les thèmes secondaires de ces commentaires : le jour et la nuit, la foudre comme arme divine contre les serpents ou les dragons habités par les diables, le rôle du coq dans l'ordre divin du coucher et du lever du soleil, la création et le déplacement des étoiles⁷.

La plupart des recueils qui renferment ces textes sont consacrés à des thèmes populaires, tels que les quatre « natures » qui composent le corps humain, les cinq sens, les âges de l'homme, les symboles des pierres précieuses, les étapes de l'évolution de l'embryon humain etc. Ces sujets et d'autres similaires forment le contenu des *Encyclopédies* orientales et de celles de l'Europe occidentale des XI-XIV siècles. Comme C. Velculescu le note, le grand historien littéraire roumain Nicolas Cartoian a étudié des collections de tels textes dans les cultures médiévales : latine, byzantine, romaines, allemande et slaves, remarquant entre autres leur amalgame d'éléments chrétiens orthodoxes et hérétiques (Velculescu 2002 : 48). À côté de celles déjà mentionnées, d'autres sources indiquées par C. Velculescu, à part celles orales anonymes (Velculescu 2002: 54-44), sont Aristote (*De caelo*), le *Livre des Rois* et les « échos corrompus de croyances antiques » (Velculescu 2002 : 52). J'ajouterai que les grammairiens arabes musulmans de l'époque classique (IX^e-XII^e siècles), par leurs nombreux ouvrages dédiés à l'inventaire et aux commentaires sur des groupes sémantiques, pourraient sûrement être des sources perdues des recueils populaires européens.

L'un des plus célèbres grammairiens de l'École de Basra , « l'Imam de la philologie arabe », Abū Zayd Al-'Anṣārī (m. vers 830 A. D. à Basra), naquit dans une famille ennoblie tant par sa richesse que par ses exploits : il fut dit que son grand-père Tābit avait recueilli des versets du Coran du temps de Muḥammad. Arrivé à Bagdad vers 774 AD, Abū Zayd s'intéressa à la langue arabe, à son vocabulaire et ses expressions, dans leurs formes citadines et surtout dans celles des bédouins. Cité par tous les grands lexicographes arabes, surtout pour ses connaissances approfondies de la tradition linguistique des arabes, il reçut l'appellatif d'*Al-Naḥawī*, « Le Grammaire ». Au moins 25 ouvrages de dimensions modérées (*Épîtres*) sont cités par les grammairiens postérieurs, ce qui leur assura la survie jusque de nos jours. Ses biographes affirment qu'il était très religieux et qu'il s'était attaché tout d'abord à la secte

⁷ Gottheil cite Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, III, p. 173, qui discute de l'influence des étoiles sur la pluie.

des Qadarites (adeptes de la doctrine du libre arbitre), qui fut à l'origine du mouvement Mu'tazilite.

La plupart de ses traités sont des monographies sur des sujets particuliers dont le choix reflète les thèmes préférés des grammairiens arabes de l'époque classique:

- La langue arabe : *Sur le discours (Kitāb al-manṭiq)*, *Sur les dialectes (Kitāb al-luġāt)*, *Sur les expressions rares (Kitāb al-nawādir)*.

- La morphologie et la syntaxe arabes : *Sur le duel et le pluriel (Kitāb al-ġam' wa-l-taṭniyat)*, *Sur le traitement de la consonne hamza (Kitāb tahfīf al-hamz)*, *Sur la I^e et la IV^e forme du verbe (Kitāb fa'ilat wa-'af'alat)*.

- Les noms de certaines familles lexicales : *Sur le chameau (Kitāb al-'ibil)*, *Sur les vers (Kitāb al-'abyāt)*, *Sur les parties du corps (Kitāb ḥalq al-'insān)*, *Sur l'arc et les bouclier (Kitāb al-qaws wa-l-turs)*.

Parmi ces derniers traités, celui *Sur la pluie (Kitāb al-maṭar)*⁸ présente, sur 22 feuillets, les noms des variétés de la pluie, du tonnerre et d'autres phénomènes naturels associés. Ces sujets avaient été commentés aussi par Ibn Durayd (837-933 AD), qui présenta dans une épître les noms du tonnerre et de la foudre (Gottheil 1896: note 1). Le *Livre de la pluie* réunit un grand nombre de noms de cette forme d'intempéries, définis d'après la saison, la quantité des précipitations, la force, la vitesse des gouttes, l'effet sur la nature, la durée, la place où elle tombe, les nuages qui la produisent etc.

Le *Livre de la pluie* est divisé en plusieurs parties, consacrées chacune à l'un des phénomènes naturels associés à l'eau. Il débute par une présentation des saisons, avec des précisions sur les noms attribués à leurs divisions. Comme cette partie est considérée par l'auteur comme un simple préambule, le *Livre* commence en fait par les commentaires sur la pluie, ce qui justifie le titre de son épître, consigné par la postérité. La description des variétés de la pluie occupe 9 feuillets de la totalité des 28 de ce *Livre*. Les définitions respectent le critère de la gradation, non pas celui alphabétique (Feodorov 2003 : 87, 170-172). Pour préciser les particularités de la variété de pluie définie par chaque terme, l'auteur emploie des critères divers : la saison et le moment où elle tombe, la durée, l'intensité, les lieux, les dimensions des gouttes, la force et la rapidité etc. D'autres éléments qui seront définis dans les chapitres à suivre sont aussi invoqués ici, pour préciser les fines distinctions entre les variétés de la pluie : les nuages qui les produisent, la qualité de l'eau des gouttes etc.

Le deuxième chapitre du *Livre* s'occupe du tonnerre, qui est défini par rapport à sa force, sa durée son écho, sa beauté etc. Comme le tonnerre est un phénomène perçu par l'ouïe, ses variétés sont définies en tenant compte des qualités du son qu'il produit. Comme le mot

⁸ J. H. Gottheil étudia un seul manuscrit, l'*Arabe 4231* de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris), daté 631 AH = 1233 AD. Pour sa description codicologique, voir Gottheil 1896 : 317.

ṣawt est employé en arabe pour « un son » ainsi que pour « une voix », la valeur métaphorique est réalisée tout naturellement dans l'expression « la voix du tonnerre ».

La foudre est définie par l'intensité de la lumière, la durée, le caractère continu ou discontinu, en appelant aux capacités de la perception visuelle. Le fait qu'elle est étudiée seulement après le tonnerre pourrait être expliqué par la perception du son avant celle de la lumière de la foudre.

Les nuages diffèrent par leurs nuances de blanc ou de gris, les dimensions et la forme, la quantité probable de l'eau qu'ils renferment.

Vient ensuite un chapitre plus ample à propos des définitions des noms de l'eau. Ainsi, le lexicographe ajoute 44 termes géographiques, noms des variétés d'eau différenciées par le goût (doux/aigre), la quantité, l'aspect etc. Il débute par les noms des eaux qui coulent : le fleuve (*al-nahr*), la rivière (*al-ḡadwal*), le canal (*al-qanā'*, *al-qanāt*) : « *Al-nahr*, p. *al-'anhār*, c'est la rivière, qu'elle soit grande ou petite, et d'elle partent les *ḡadāwil*, c'est-à-dire celles qui se ramifient de la rivière pour asperger le champ et les dattiers, et d'elles procèdent les *'aqnāh*, sg. *qanā* : on dit « Voilà un canal », c'est-à-dire le trajet de la source par un cours d'eau au-dessous de la terre. On l'appelle *qanā* seulement s'il est couvert [par la terre], tandis que certains s'appellent *qanāt*, pl. *al-quniyyu*, et c'est la rivière dont le cours d'eau n'est pas du tout couvert [par la terre] [...]. » D'autres noms de l'eau qui coule sont définis par la suite, tels que *'ayn*, dont la double signification « source » et « œil » permet, comme dans les langues indo-européennes, un bon nombre d'expressions métaphoriques similaires au roumain « ochi de apă ». Les définitions des noms de l'eau qui tombe du ciel ne répètent pas ceux de la pluie, définis précédemment, mais apportent des précisions sur l'utilité de la pluie « dont s'abreuvent les chameaux » et « poussent les plantes » (fol. 12a-b).

Il est connu que la langue arabe avait été, avant le temps des grands grammairiens tels qu'Abū Zayd al-'Ansārī, dans une étape de son évolution profondément marquée par le caractère analytique⁹. En conséquence, les noms de la pluie, du tonnerre et de la foudre étaient très nombreux, dénotant des phénomènes dont les distinctions étaient assez subtiles : par exemple, *ḥalabat* est la pluie « qui coule comme un torrent et ne s'arrête pas avant d'avoir déraciné les plantes et ravagé la terre », tandis que l'on dit *ṣuḥirat* de la pluie dont le courant est si riche qu'il pénètre la tanière de l'hyène. De même, en ce qui concerne la foudre : « L'on dit *'awmaḍa* de la foudre 'légère', continue et rapide, tandis que *maṣa'a* [...] et *ramaḥa* [...] veut dire la même chose – la foudre rapide, 'légère' et rapprochée ». Evidemment, la richesse du vocabulaire concernant les manifestations de la nature est justifiée par leur importance pour des populations bédouines ou agraires, dépendant d'une manière décisive de l'eau des précipitations, du soleil, du vent, de la sécheresse etc.

⁹ Les exemples les plus connus sont ceux des noms du *lion*, plus de 200, et du *sabre*, environ 150 dans les dictionnaires des grands lexicographes arabes des XII^e-XIV^e siècles.

La démarche du lexicographe arabe nous paraît plus technique, plus penchée sur la définition des critères que distinguent les noms de chaque variété de pluie, de foudre et de tonnerre. Néanmoins, il emploie pour ses explications les mêmes méthodes que les encyclopédistes européens : il évoque des situations bien connues des lecteurs, il fait appel au fonds des croyances populaires, comme si sa recherche devait être accessible à tous les membres du public. Il puisa ses commentaires dans les textes sacrés, premièrement celui du Coran et des « Dires du Prophète » (*ḥadīth*). Les définitions s'appuient sur les opinions du lexicographe antérieur le mieux connu, Al-'Anbārī, souvent cité comme source, par celles d'Abū Ḥātim al-Sajastānī (m. 248 ou 255 AH), d'Abū l-Faḍl ibn al-Faraḡ al-Riyāsī (m. 257 AH) et d'Al-Sukkarī, ainsi que par les vers d'un « poète » (*al-rāḡiz*) resté anonyme. La poésie préislamique, souvent sans auteur précisé, était l'une des sources préférées des lexicographes arabes de la période classique, qui la considéraient comme un trésor de la langue arabe des bédouins, « non-altérée » par la vie citadine. Les preuves et les exemples sont transmis par « la chaîne des garants, des transmetteurs et des témoins » (Feodorov 2003: 86), sources que l'auteur nomme tour à tour : « Le *Livre de la pluie* d'Abū Zayd al-'Ansārī, relaté par son oncle...qui l'apprit de...qui la connaissait de...auquel le raconta.... ». Les recueils populaires commentés par C. Velculescu, de date bien postérieure, ne précisent plus la source, mais le début des explications est parfois : « On dit que », « Les uns racontent que... » (Velculescu 2002: 54).

Certains fragments du texte analysé ici ont été repris par les grands dictionnaires de la langue arabe : Zamahšārī, *Al-Mufaṣṣal* ; Muhīṭ *al-muhīṭ* ; Lisān *al-'arab* ; Ibn Hišām, *Vie de Muhammad* ; Al-Qazwīnī ; Al-Bayḍāwī ; *Kitāb al-'Aḡānī* ; Ḡawālīqī, *Al-Mu'arrab* etc. Quoique les définitions citées auparavant étaient tirées, pour la plupart, d'ouvrages composés par des lexicographes musulmans, les termes définis ont été également employés par des auteurs arabes chrétiens, jusqu'aux temps pré-modernes: par exemple, Macarie III Ibn al-Za'īm, Patriarche d'Antioche (1647-1672), dans l'explication du nom *Bānāyūtī*, « [St.] Panagiotis », provenant du grec, invoque le mot *ḡayt* qui définit, dans les travaux des philologues musulmans, la « pluie abondante ».¹⁰

Le but de ces considérations est d'encourager les chercheurs à mettre en parallèle des recueils populaires orientaux, notamment ceux arabes, avec des recueils de la même facture qui circulèrent en Europe au Moyen Âge : des textes aussi divers que possible, mais pourtant similaires par le type de discours, par la manière de définir et de classer les différentes manifestations de la foudre et du tonnerre et par les critères de leur inclusion dans l'une ou

¹⁰ Voir Nikolaj Serikoff, *An 'Unimaginative Compiler': Patriarch Macarius Ibn al-Za'īm and his Explanation of the Names of Greek Saints*, in *Relations entre les peuples de l'Europe Orientale et les chrétiens arabes au XVII^e siècle. Macaire III Ibn al-Za'īm et Paul d'Alep, Actes du Ier Colloque international, le 16 septembre 2011, Bucarest*, textes réunis et présentés par Ioana Feodorov, Bucarest: Éditions de l'Académie Roumaine, 2012, p. 164.

l'autres des catégories de phénomènes associés à la pluie et à l'orage, à côté d'autres sujets du même type. Tout le travail reste à faire pour identifier les sources orientales probables des recueils populaires occidentaux, en partant de ceux déjà identifiés comme communs aux auteurs arabes et aux auteurs européens médiévaux, en tant que sources de l'héritage sapientiel des littératures du monde. L'étude attentive des sources orientales pourrait établir des analogies dans le traitement d'un même sujet par des auteurs éloignés dans le temps et l'espace, pourtant proches par leur aspiration commune à enseigner le grand public et à assouvir sa curiosité. Ce mouvement de transfert de l'information au niveau des textes populaires est certainement comparable à celui qui généra, aux XII^e-XV^e siècles, la monumentale entreprise de traduction des traités de médecine, de mathématiques, d'astrologie ou de physique de l'arabe au latin et par la suite dans toutes les langues majeures de l'Europe savante.

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PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE CURRENT ARABIC DIALECT OF ORAN (WESTERN ALGERIA)

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Abstract: This article shall set out to analyze the Arabic dialect spoken in the Algerian city of Oran. It presents data from this dialect, collected during fieldwork, and, with the aid of this data, we shall discuss the dialect's main phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical features, comparing them to those of other Bedouin-based urban dialects such as that of Casablanca in Morocco.

Keywords: Arabic dialectology; Algerian Arabic; Oran (وهران); Bedouin dialects; bedouinization; urbanization.

1. Introduction¹

The aim of this paper is to show the main phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical features of the Arabic dialect spoken in the Algerian city of Oran. A comparative approach has also been applied with the objective of highlighting Bedouin and sedentary features in the dialect dealt with.

The study presented here is based on data gathered during a research stay conducted in the city of Oran and its surroundings between 6 February and 5 June 2014. The data collection was carried out by means of audio recordings and a dialectological questionnaire. All informants were born and brought up in Oran. It must also be indicated that most of them are aged between 19 to 26 years and are undergraduate students at the University of Es-Senia-Oran².

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² A sample of my audio recordings, accompanied by its transcription and translation, will be available soon on *CORVAM* (<http://www.unizar.es/estudiosarabes/CORVAM.htm>).

2. Historical and linguistic background

Oran, the second largest city in Algeria after the capital Algiers³, is located in the northwest of the country, around 270 km from the Moroccan border. According to the Arab geographer al-Bakrī, Oran was founded in 902 by the Andalusī sailors Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbī ʿAwn and Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdūn⁴. After being destroyed several times, Oran reached its apogee under the Zayyanid rule (13th-14th centuries), when the city became a thriving commercial port and an intellectual centre. Later, Oran was attacked and finally occupied by the Spaniards in 1509. After almost three centuries of occupation, an earthquake obliged the Spanish to leave the enclave in 1790. Oran subsequently fell under Ottoman rule. Finally, in late 1831 the first French legionnaires landed in Algeria and European colonists started to settle in Oran. It is worth noting that, during the colonial period, Oran had the highest proportion of European settlers in Algeria with over half the population being non-Algerian. With the advent of independence (1962), the vast majority of these settlers left the city and their empty apartments were filled by local migrants who, in their majority, came from the rural areas of Algeria. This rural flight increased during the so-called “black-decade” (1991-2002) when most inland inhabitants moved to northern cities, fleeing from national army raids and in search of better living conditions.

Arabic dialects of western Algeria are still scarcely known and there are very few fieldwork-researches on such vernaculars. Among others, we may quote the following works: Tlemcen (Marçais 1902), Mostaganem (Chachou 2009), Oran (Doutté 1903, Labed 2014), Saïda (Marçais 1908), west of the Algerian Sahara (Mercier 1907), and la Saoura (Grand’Henry 1979).

Concerning Berber influences on the dialect, we turn to Basset (1936: 1001-1006) who reports that the presence of Berber language in the former Department of Oran is limited to a few linguistic islets such as those of Old Arzew or the *qṣūr* lying between Méchéria and Beni-Abbès. Nonetheless, the latter article, I assure, has become obsolete and there is a need to carry out new researches on the Berber dialects spoken in this region⁵.

Below, I shall briefly lay out the most salient features of the Arabic dialect spoken in Oran (henceforth OA):

³ For a discussion of the possible etymologies of the place name Oran (Arabic وهران), see Benramdane 2004: 249-272.

⁴ Cf. al-Bakrī 1859: 165.

⁵ An exception is the following paper on the dialect of Igli (Béchar Province): Kossmann. 2010. “Grammatical notes on the Berber dialect of Igli (Sud Oranais, Algeria)”.

3. Phonetics

3.1. Classical *ǧīm* is realized as a palato-alveolar voiced sibilant /ʒ/ and not /ǧ/ as usually occurs in most northern Algerian dialects⁶, e.g.: **ʕaǧūza* > *ʕžūza* ‘mother-in-law’, CA⁷ *ǧabal^{um}* > *žbəl* ‘mountain’, CA *ḥāǧǧ^{um}* > *ḥāžž* ‘pilgrim’, CA *ǧabha^{um}* > *žəbha* ‘forehead’.

3.2. The three old interdentalals have merged with the corresponding stops, /t/ with /t/, /d/ with /d/ and /d̪/ with /d̪/⁸, e.g.: CA *taʕlab^{um}* > *tāʕlāb* ‘fox’, CA *taqīl^{um}* > *tqīl* ‘heavy’, CA *dirāʕ^{um}* > *dṛāʕ* ‘arm’, CA *durri^{yyum}* > *dərri* ‘boy, child’, CA *ḍifr^{um}* > *ḍfəṛ* ‘nail’, CA *ḍahr^{um}* > *ḍhər* ‘back’.

3.3. Unlike most Moroccan dialects and some southwestern Algerian ones, there are no cases of consonant harmony in stems containing sibilant sequences, e.g. *zūž* ‘two’ (never *žūž*), *ʕfənž* ‘sweet fritter’ (never *ʕfənž*), *šəms* ‘sun’ (never *šəms*)⁹. On the other hand, I found three examples where classical /ǧ/ undergoes dissimilation to /d/ when preceded or followed by a sibilant: CA *zuǧāǧ^{um}* > *zdāž* ‘glass’¹⁰, CA *al-ǧazāʕir^{um}* > *Dzāyər* ‘Algiers’¹¹, CA *ǧāsir^{um}* > *dāsər* ‘insolent, rude’. It must be highlighted that in OA this dissimilation is not as common as it is in Moroccan dialects where classical /ǧ/ is almost always pronounced /d/ or /g/ in contact with sibilant phonemes¹².

⁶ A fricative realisation /ʒ/ is also attested in Doutté’s text (Doutté 1903: 386). Conversely, classical *ǧīm* has an affricate reflex /ǧ/ in the dialects of Tlemcen, Ténès, Cherchell, Médéa, Blida and Algiers, cf. Marçais 1991: 376.

⁷ Classical Arabic.

⁸ Labed (2014: 140-143) describes the same situation. The loss of alveolar spirants is a common feature in most pre-Hilali sedentary dialects (except for those of Tunisia and northeastern Algeria). Nevertheless this is also true for some Bedouin-based urban dialects such as those of Casablanca or Tripoli, cf. Aguadé 2005: 61-62, and Pereira 2007: 84. Unlike OA, other western Algerian dialects such as Mascara or Aïn Témouchent do display interdental phonemes, cf. Bouhadiba 1992: 13, Bouamrane 1992: 40, and Boualem 1989: 9. It is remarkable that the Doutté’s informant still uttered /t/ and /d̪/, even though he already displayed a certain degree of hesitation in using dental or interdental pronunciations: *taʕbān* “snake”, *l-yəwṁ t-tāni* “the second day”, *ḍrūk* “now”, *ḍḍarəb mʕāha* “he fought her”, *təmma* “there”, but *tlāta* “three” and not *tlāta*, cf. Doutté 1903: 345-347. On the interdentalals in the Maghrebi dialects, see Taine-Cheikh 1988-89: 30-35, and Vicente 1999.

⁹ Sibilant harmony is a well-known phenomenon in Moroccan and some southwestern Algerian dialects, cf. Heath 2002: 133-134, and Douillet 1964: 224.

¹⁰ Some informants use *zāž* instead of *zdāž* ‘glass’. I have also attested the use of both forms in the town of Yellel, province of Relizane (ولاية غليزان).

¹¹ Consider that *l-Žazāyər* has the meaning of ‘Algeria’.

¹² The above-mentioned dissimilation of affricate /ǧ/ is also attested in some pre-Hilali dialects of Algeria. Nevertheless, examples of such a phonetic shift are very scarce compared to those found in Moroccan dialects. See Heath 2002: 136-138; Marçais 1977: 22; Cantineau 1960: 61-62; Cantineau 1940: 224; Marçais 1902: 31-33.

3.4. There are two cases of metathesis triggered by the occurrence of two sibilants within the same stem: **ʕaǧūza*>*ʕzūza* ‘mother-in-law’, CA *šams^{um}*>*səmš* ‘sun’¹³.

3.5. The voiced /g/ is the usual reflex of the old *qāf*, e.g.: **qātiʕ^{um}*>*gāṭāʕ* ‘bitter, sugarless’, *qassama*>*gəssəm* ‘he divided’, *qiṭṭ^{um}*>*gəṭṭ* ‘cat’, *ʔaqrāʕ^{um}*>*grāʕ* ‘bald’, *taqʕud^{um}*>*tūgʕūd* ‘you will stay’, *ṭarīq^{um}*>*ṭrīg* ‘road, way’, *rāqid^{um}*>*rāgəd* ‘sleeping, asleep’. Nevertheless, there are numerous examples where a voiceless realization /q/ has been preserved, e.g.: *qahwa^{um}*>*qāhwa* ‘coffee’, *qāsa*>*qās* ‘he threw’, *ṭaqīl^{um}*>*tqīl* ‘heavy’, *laqītu*>*lqīt* ‘I found’, *muqallaq^{um}*>*mqaḷḷaq* ‘hurried’¹⁴. There are some cases where both realizations have been recorded, e.g.: *qadīm^{um}*>*qdīm* ~ *gdīm* ‘old’, *qarīb^{um}*>*qrīb* ~ *grīb* ‘close, near’.

3.6. CA /q/ is realized as /k/ in the following words: **dā-l-waqt*>*dārṭāk* ‘now’¹⁵, CA *qatala*>*ktəl* ‘he killed’¹⁶.

3.7. The occurrence of laryngeal /h/ after pharyngeal /ʕ/ usually gives rise to coalescent reciprocal assimilation. That is to say, /ʕ/ undergoes partial assimilation to /h/ by becoming voiceless and, in turn, /h/ acquires the pharyngeal place of articulation of /ʕ/, e.g.: *l-qāšš tāʕha*>*l-qāšš tāhḥa* ‘her dress’, *glāʕha!*>*glāhḥa!* ‘remove it!’¹⁷. Moreover, /ʕ/ may be devoiced when followed by a consonant, e.g.: *qārāʕt*>*qārāht* ‘I waited’, *gāṭṭāʕt*>*gāṭṭāht* ‘I cut’, *lā-ʕša*>*lā-ḥša* ‘the dinner’, *mūl lā-ʕmāma*>*mūl lā-ḥmāma* ‘the one with the turban’.

3.8. The laryngeal /h/ is dropped in a few words: CA *fākiha^{um}*>*fākya* ‘fruit’, CA *nahaḍa*>*nāḍ* ‘he got up’, *mən hna*>*mən na* ‘over here’¹⁸, CA *hayyā*>*āyya* ‘let’s go; so, then’.

3.9. Some informants pronounce *ɾvəd* and *yəzvəṭ* instead of the most common *ɾfəd* ‘he raised, lifted’ and *yəzfəṭ* ‘he does an eyebrow slit’¹⁹.

¹³ Note that the variants *ʕzūza* and *šəms* are used alongside *ʕzūza* and *səmš*. This metathesis process is one of the most salient features of Cantineau’s D group, cf. Marçais: 1908: 18-19, and Cantineau 1940: 226.

¹⁴ For examples of minimal pairs /q/ ≠ /g/, see Boualem 1989: 15-16, and Labeled 2014: 135-136.

¹⁵ On this etymology, see Marçais 1902: 183, and Marçais 1977: 254.

¹⁶ See also Labeled 2014: 155. Although Cantineau (1960: 27, 69-70) states that *qatala*>*ktəl* is very frequent among sedentary dialects, this shift has also been attested in some Bedouin dialects, cf. Moscoso 2002: 38; Destaing 1937: 281; Marçais 1908: 14; Aguadé 1998: 143; Cohen 1963: 35.

¹⁷ On this assimilation, see Marçais 1908: 11.

¹⁸ This drop of /h/ is also attested in Saïda, cf. Marçais 1908: 9.

¹⁹ The shift /f/ > /v/ (voiced labio-dental fricative) may be explained by a voicing assimilation triggered by the presence of a previous voiced consonant (respectively *ɾ* and *z*). In the case of the verb *ɾvəd*, this voicing has generalized to all forms of its paradigm: *ɾvədu* ‘they lifted’, *ṭəɾvəd* ‘you lift’, *nəɾɾəvədu* ‘we lift’. It is worth

3.10. The voiceless palato-alveolar affricate /č/ appears as a separate phoneme in Spanish loan-words, e.g.: *flīča* ‘arrow’²⁰, *čīna* ‘orange(s)’²¹, *čīṭa* ‘monkey’²², *mīča* ‘petard, banger’²³, *mūčo* ‘boy working as masseur at the public bath or *ḥāmmām*’²⁴. Regarding *āču* ‘give (that)!’²⁵, I think that /č/ was likely originated from *hāt nšūf*.

3.11. Many of the old short diphthongs (*ay*, *aw*) have been monophthongized to *ī* and *ū*, e.g.: CA *šawk^{um}* > *šūk* ‘thorn’, CA *bayt^{um}* > *bīt* ‘room’, CA *fawqa* > *fūg* ‘over’, CA *lawz^{um}* > *lūz* ‘almonds’. But these diphthongs are often preserved when followed or preceded by pharyngeal or uvular consonants, e.g.: CA *xayt^{um}* > *xāyṭ* ‘thread’, **ḥawma* > *ḥāwma* ‘neighbourhood’, CA *xayma^{um}* > *xāyma* ‘tent’, CA *bayḍ^{um}* > *bāyḍ* ‘eggs’, CA *ḥayn^{um}* > *ḥāyn* ‘eye’²⁶.

3.12. Concerning vocalic phonemes, the Arabic dialect of Oran presents a system based on five vowels, two short and three long:

/ā/	/ī/	/ū/
/ə/ ²⁷		/ū/

Our study showed that Oran speakers oppose /ə/ to /ū/ in order to differentiate between the perfect and imperfect of some verbs, thus *ṣəbb* ‘he poured’ † *ṣūbb* ‘pour!’, *šəḥab* ‘he drank’ † *šūḥab* ‘drink!’, *skət* ‘he shut up’ † *skūt* ‘shut up!’, *ktəl* ‘he killed’ † *ktūl* ‘kill!’²⁸. Moreover, it

mentioning that another Bedouin dialect such as Hassaniyya Arabic displays a phoneme /v/ originated from CA /f/, cf. Cohen 1963: 8.

²⁰ < Sp. *flecha*.

²¹ On the word’s etymology, distribution, and its cognates, see Behnstedt / Woidich 2012: 493-495, and Heath 1999.

²² < Sp. *Chita* < Eng. Cheetah. *čīṭa* ‘monkey’ is also attested in the Arabic dialect of Larache (Morocco), cf. Guerrero 2014: 157.

²³ < Sp. *mecha* ‘fuse’.

²⁴ According to Marçais (1902: 16), *mūčo* ‘petit garçon de bain’ would come from Sp. *mozo*. In my opinion this word is probably a haplology of Sp. *muchacho*.

²⁵ *āču* ‘give (that)!’ is exactly the Oranian counterpart of Moroccan *āra*. On this latter form, see Heath 2002: 246-247.

²⁶ Cf. Labeled 2014: 137-138. In Doutté’s text, most of the old diphthongs are maintained, e.g.: *yəwm* “day”, *məwt* “death”, *məwḍaf* “place”, *gəyba* “absence”, cf. Doutté 1903: 345. The preservation of the old short diphthongs is shared by both sedentary and Bedouin dialects, cf. Marçais 1991: 377.

²⁷ The phonetic realization of /ə/ varies depending on the consonantal environment. In my transcription I have only indicated three allophones of this phoneme: 1. *ā* occurs in contact with emphatic, pharyngeal and velarized sounds; 2. /ū/ occurs in contact with /w/ or in labio-velarized environments; 3. *ö* occurs after or before /y/.

²⁸ Note that with other verbs there is no such an opposition. Examples: *fhəm* ‘he understood / understand!’ *ḥəll* ‘he opened / open!’, *ktəb* ‘he wrote / write!’.

seems that there are other minimal pairs opposing nouns. I have found two examples: *ṛbāṣ* ‘four (feminine form)’ † *ṛbūṣ* ‘a quarter’, *ḥābb* ‘he wanted’ † *ḥūbb* ‘love’.

4. Morphosyntax

4.1. The independent subject pronouns are the following:

Singular:		Plural:	
1.c.	<i>āna, ānāya</i>	1.c.	<i>ḥna, ḥnāya</i>
2.m.	<i>nta, ntāya</i>	2.c.	<i>ntūma</i>
2.f.	<i>nti, ntīyya</i>		
3.m.	<i>hūwwa</i>	3.c.	<i>hūma</i>
3.f.	<i>hīyya</i>		

4.2. The suffixed pronouns are the following:

Singular:			Plural:	
	After consonant	After vowel		
1.c.	<i>-i</i> ²⁹	<i>-ya, -īyya</i>	1.c.	<i>-na</i>
2.m.	<i>-ək</i>	<i>-k</i>	2.c.	<i>-kūm</i>
2.f.	<i>-ək</i>	<i>-k</i>		
3.m.	<i>-āh</i> ³⁰	<i>-h</i>	3.c.	<i>-hūm</i>
3.f.	<i>-ha</i>	<i>-ha</i>		

4.3. The reflexive is expressed by adding a suffixed pronoun to the word *ṛūḥ* ‘soul, spirit’ (plural *ṛwāḥ*), e.g.: *yḏīr ṛūḥāḥ ma yaṣmāṣ-š* ‘he pretends not to hear’, *thāllu f-ṛwāḥkūm* ‘take care of yourselves’.

4.4. The regular trilateral verb is inflected as follows:

4.4.1. Perfective.

Singular:		Plural:	
1.c.	<i>fṭārt</i> ³¹	1.c.	<i>fṭārna</i>
2.m.	<i>fṭārt</i>	2.c.	<i>fṭārtu</i>
2.f.	<i>fṭārti</i>		
3.m.	<i>fṭār</i>	3.c.	<i>fṭāru</i>

²⁹ *-ni* after a verb.

³⁰ The 3rd person singular masculine personal suffix *-āh* is characteristic of many Maghrebi Bedouin dialects such as those spoken in the Algerian region of Oran, most Bedouin dialects of Tunisia and those of Libya, cf. Marçais 1991: 378, Marçais 1908: 150, and Pereira 2007: 86.

³¹ *fṭār, yaṣfār* ‘to have lunch; to break fast during the holy month of Ramadan’. For ‘to breakfast’, the Arabic dialect of Oran uses the verb *tqāḥwa, yaṣtqāḥwa* (literally: to have a coffee), cf. Behnstedt / Woidich 2012: 233.

3.f. *fəṭṭəṭ*

4.4.2. Imperfective.

Singular:		Plural:	
1.c.	<i>nəftār</i>	1.c.	<i>nəffəṭru</i>
2.m.	<i>təftār</i>	2.c.	<i>təffəṭru</i>
2.f.	<i>təffəṭri</i>		
3.m.	<i>yəftār</i>	3.c.	<i>yəffəṭru</i>
3.f.	<i>təftār</i>		

4.4.3. Imperative.

Singular:		Plural:	
2.m.	<i>(ə)ftār</i>	2.c.	<i>(ə)ffəṭru</i>
2.f.	<i>(ə)ffəṭri</i>		

Note that both the imperfective and the imperative show gender differentiation in the singular: m. *təftār*, f. *təffəṭri* ‘you have lunch’; m. *(ə)ftār*, f. *(ə)ffəṭri* ‘have lunch!’. It is worth mentioning here that the gemination of the first syllable in the 2nd feminine singular person and in the plural forms of the imperfective is a salient feature of this and other Algerian dialects³².

4.5. Defective trilateral verbs display the following inflection:

4.5.1. Perfective.

Singular:			Plural:		
1.c.	<i>nsīt</i> ³³	<i>šrīt</i> ³⁴	1.c.	<i>nsīna</i>	<i>šrīna</i>
2.m.	<i>Nsīt</i>	<i>šrīt</i>	2.c.	<i>nsītu</i>	<i>šrītu</i>
2.f.	<i>Nsīti</i>	<i>šrīti</i>			
3.m.	<i>Nsa</i>	<i>šra</i>	3.c.	<i>nsāw</i>	<i>šrāw</i>
3.f.	<i>Nsāt</i>	<i>šrāt</i>			

4.5.2. Imperfective.

Singular:			Plural:		
1.c.	<i>nənsa</i>	<i>nəšri</i>	1.c.	<i>nənsu</i>	<i>nəšru</i>

³² Cf. Marçais 1977: 41, Marçais 1991: 377-378, and Marçais 1902: 61. The *ressaut* or first-syllable preservation device is considered to be widespread throughout north and west Oran, cf. Marçais 1991: 378, and Doutté 1903: 393-396.

³³ *nsa*, *yənsa* ‘to forget’.

³⁴ *šra*, *yəšri* ‘to buy’.

2.m.	<i>tansa</i>	<i>təšri</i>	2.c.	<i>tansu</i>	<i>təšru</i>
2.f.	<i>tənsāy</i>	<i>təšri</i>			
3.m.	<i>yansa</i>	<i>yəšri</i>	3.c.	<i>yansu</i>	<i>yəšru</i>
3.f.	<i>tansa</i>	<i>təšri</i>			

4.5.3. Imperative.

Singular:			Plural:		
2.m.	<i>Nsa</i>	<i>šri</i>	2.c.	<i>nsu</i>	<i>šru</i>
2.f.	<i>Nsāy</i>	<i>šri</i>			

By observing the table above, one realizes that the Arabic dialect of Oran, like most Bedouin dialects, shows no paradigm reconstruction in the imperfective plural forms, thus CA *yağrūna* → *yəšru* ‘they run’ instead of the urban / pre-Hilali *yəžrīw*. Nevertheless, and unlike other Bedouin dialects, Oran speakers say *nsāw* ‘they forgot’ instead of *nsu* (< CA *nasū*)³⁵.

4.6. The verb ‘eat’ shows in the perfective a weak trilateral stem *kla*, while in the imperfective the paradigm is *yākūl*. The active participle of this verb is *kāli* (f. *kālya*, pl. *kālīyyīn*)³⁶.

4.7. The passive voice is expressed by means of the prefix *n-* and to a lesser extent *t-*³⁷. Examples: *kān d-dlām w-rāni nxlāšt* ‘it was dark and I got scared’, *hād l-kəlma ma təngāl-š fə-Wāhrān* ‘this word is not used in Oran’, *t-tāqa ma tənḥāll-š* ‘the window does not open’, *z-zāwža xššha təndār f-əl-ma* ‘the second one must be put into the water’, *yətxābba ki-mādāma* ‘he hides like a woman’.

4.8. Unlike other Maghrebi dialects, the Arabic dialect of Oran lacks the usage of a present marker or preverb. Nevertheless, presentative *ra-* may be used to denote the actual present and the copula³⁸. Examples are: *d-dāwla rāhi dḍūr* ‘the police are patrolling’, *ša rāki bāgya?* ‘what do you (f.) want?’, *hāda rāh yšəddni!* ‘this one is holding on to me!’, *gālbi rāh tālāš* ‘I feel sick’, *l-wāqt rāh yəžri!* ‘time flies!’, *rākūm šāyfin* ‘you are seeing’.

³⁵ This peculiar usage (*nsāw*, *yansu*) is characteristic of Bedouin Algeria, cf. Marçais 1991: 378, Grand’Henry 1979: 220, and Marçais 1908: 85. For a more in-depth study of this issue, see Labed 2014: 184-186.

³⁶ See also Heath 2002: 382.

³⁷ This is also true for the Arabic dialect of Saïda, cf. Marçais 1908: 97-99.

³⁸ An accurate study of this OA particle can be found in Smara 2012. On the usage of presentative *ra-* in other Algerian dialects, see Souag 2005: 160, and Madouni 1993.

4.9. The Oran dialect is also characterized by the use of an invariable future marker *ġādi*. Examples are: *ġādi trūhi ʕla kṛāʕak?* ‘will you (f.) go on foot?’, *ġādi nuḍrūbha bə-tġyyīla* ‘I will have an afternoon nap’, *ġādi nəfššū tammāk* ‘we are going to have dinner there’. This particle is morphologically the active participle of *ġda*, *yaġdu* a verb meaning ‘to go’ and which is absent from the lexicon of the dialect³⁹. The use of *ġādi* combined with an imperfective verb is very widespread within both Moroccan dialects and those of western Algeria⁴⁰.

4.10. The Arabic dialect of Oran, like most Bedouin dialects, tends to use a synthetic structure in order to express the possessive relationship⁴¹. Unlike most pre-Hilali dialects, its use is not restricted to kinship expressions and body parts, e.g.: *pāspūrha* ‘her passport’, *qāššāh* ‘his clothes’, *šāhbətti* ‘my girlfriend’, *šwālḥək* ‘your stuffs’, *zīt zītūn* ‘olive oil’, *ḥūmmān l-Mūġrīb* ‘Morocco’s heat’, *xūbz d-dār* ‘home-made bread’, *ʕfīni qārʕət ma* ‘give me a bottle of water’, *zūž klāb* ‘two dogs’.

On the other hand, an analytical annexation is also possible, though less productive than the previous one. The genitive particles used in Oran are *tāʕ* and to a lesser extent *ntāʕ*⁴². These particles are inflected according to the number of the possessed (for plurals *ntāwəʕ* and *tāwəʕ*), but not according to its gender. Examples: *nəšʕāl l-ġārṛu ntāʕi* ‘I light my cigarette’, *bāġi yəddi li d-dṛāḥəm tāwʕi* ‘he wants to steal my money’, *s-sūwwa tāʕ ʕmmūk!* ‘your mother’s pussy! (= piss off!)’, *t-tqālīd tāwəʕ Wāḥrān* ‘traditions of Oran’.

4.11. The syllabic structure of many words in my data show *ressaut*⁴³: **mišlahā^{mn}* > *məššəlḥa* ‘broom’, CA *maqbara^{mn}* > *māqqābṛa* ‘graveyard’, CA *wahdahā* > *wāḥḥādha* ‘by herself’, *xədma* → *xəddəmtək* ‘your job’, *həḍra* → *həḍḍərti* ‘my speech’, *rūkba* → *rūkkūbti* ‘my knee’. It is worth mentioning that these latter forms appear as *xədməttək* ‘your job’, *həḍṛətti* ‘my speech’ and *rūkūbətī* ‘my knee’ in the speech of some other informants.

³⁹ The verb *ġda*, *yaġdu* ‘to go’ is used in some Bedouin dialects southern Oran and in the Mzab region, cf. Grand’Henry 1977: 246.

⁴⁰ Cf. Heath 2002: 216-217, and Grand’Henry 1979: 223.

⁴¹ Cf. Marçais 1991: 377. For a further detailed study on the use of analytic and synthetic genitives in OA, see Labed 2014: 193-205.

⁴² Both genitive particles can be considered as part of the national Algerian *koine*, based on the Algiers dialect. On the assimilation (CA *matāʕ^{mn}*) *ntāʕ* > *ttāʕ* > *tāʕ*, see Marçais 1908: 26. Within Moroccan dialects, *tāʕ* and *tāwəʕ* have also been attested in the Zṣīr Bedouin dialect, cf. Aguadé 1998: 149.

⁴³ According to Heath (2002: 203), “What *ressaut* (i.e. C₂-gemination) really does is to protect the stem-initial short-V syllable from right-to-left resyllabification, so that *bāggār-t-i* preserves the onset of *bāgr-a*, and *yə-ddəxl-u* preserves that of *yə-dxəlʔ*”. Instances of *ressaut* have also been recorded in the Zṣīr dialect. Nevertheless, its use is much less frequent than that of metathesis, cf. Aguadé 1998: 143-144.

4.12. Most quadrilaterals structured in the shape of $\{C_1\check{v}C_2C_3\bar{v}C_4\}$ form their plural in the shape $\{C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3\bar{i}C_4\}$. Examples: *ṣabbāt* ‘a pair of shoes’ → *ṣbābīt*, *ḥānūt* ‘shop’ → *ḥwānīt*, *ḥāllūf* ‘pig’ → *ḥlālīf*, *māhbūl* ‘mad, crazy’ → *mhābīl*, *māngūs* ‘earring’ → *mnāgīs*. This plural shape is widely used in other Bedouin dialects such as those of Tripoli (Libya), Saïda, the Mzab (central Algeria) or in Hassaniyya⁴⁴.

4.13. The adjectives of colour and defect on the shape $\{C_1C_2\check{v}C_3\}$ have a plural on the shape $\{C_1\check{u}C_2C_3\bar{i}n\}$. Examples: *zṛəg* ‘dark-haired, swarthy’ → *zūrḡīn* (CA *zurq^m*), *ḥmər* ‘red’ → *ḥūmrīn* (CA *ḥumr^m*), *byād* ‘white’ → *būyḏīn* (CA *bīd^m*), *kḥāl* ‘black’ → *kūḥlīn* (CA *kuḥl^m*), *qāḏḏ* ‘lame’ → *qūḏḏīn*, *ṣlāḏ* ‘bald’ → *ṣūlḏīn* (CA *ṣulḏ^m*).

A similar plural shape for these kinds of adjectives are to be found in Casablanca and in the Zṣīr dialect⁴⁵, however, we may not assume a Bedouin origin for this feature since “pure Bedouin” dialects such as those of Saïda and Hassaniyya do not display it⁴⁶. On the other hand, vowel /ū/ may be interpreted as the trace of an ancient form $\{C_1\check{u}C_2C_3\}$ that is attested in the dialect of Saïda⁴⁷.

4.14. Indefiniteness can be expressed in two ways: either by using an indetermination marker or by simply leaving the noun unmarked. In the Arabic dialect of Oran, there are two indetermination markers: the numeral *wāḥəd* + the definite article and the noun *ḥābba*, e.g.: *wāḥəd l-xāṭra* ‘once’, *wāḥəd ṣāḥbi* ‘a friend of mine’, *wāḥəd š-šīra* ‘a girl’, *ḥābba tūffāḥa* ‘an apple’, *ḥābba banāna* ‘a banana’, *ḥābba mātḥūḏa* ‘a piece of *mātḥūḏa*⁴⁸. The first one is a well-known indefinite marker in Algerian and Moroccan dialects⁴⁹. Regarding *ḥābba*, it is worth mentioning that this marker is mainly used with nouns referring to food. But in Oran, indefiniteness is mostly indicated by leaving the noun unmarked, e.g.: *ḥīni kās l-ātāy* ‘give me a glass of tea’, *ḥīni xūbza* ‘give me a piece of bread’. *šāfāḥ rāḏəl* ‘a man saw him’, *tḥāqīt ḏazāyri* ‘I met an Algerian’. This dominant trend toward the use of unmarked nouns in order to express indefiniteness is considered to be an identifying feature of Bedouin dialects⁵⁰.

⁴⁴ Cf. Pereira 2007: 87, Marçais 1908: 136-137, Cohen 1963: 205, and Grand’Henry 1976: 64. According to this latter author (*ibid.*, p. 64), “Ce type de pluriel est inexistant dans les parlers de citadins du Maghreb où généralement, à un singulier $C\check{v}CC\check{v}C$ correspond un pluriel $CC\bar{a}C\bar{a}C$ ”.

⁴⁵ The sole difference is that these two dialects do not show /ū/ between C_1 and C_2 , thus the plural shape is $\{C_1\check{v}C_2C_3\bar{i}n\}$, cf. Aguadé 2003: 307, and Heath 2002: 309.

⁴⁶ See Marçais 1908: 127, and Cohen 1963: 201.

⁴⁷ Cf. Marçais 1908: 127.

⁴⁸ *mātḥūḏa* refers to a certain type of flatbread very similar to that known in Morocco as *xūbz l-māqla* or *māxmār*.

⁴⁹ Cf. Marçais 1977: 163-165.

⁵⁰ Cf. Labed 2014: 188-189. Cf. Marçais 1991: 377. Consider that a ‘pure Bedouin’ dialect such as Hassaniyya has not any indefinite article, see Cohen 1963: 156.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that a pre-Hilali sedentary dialect such as that of Dellys also shares this specific feature⁵¹.

5. Lexicon

5.1. As expected, the OA vocabulary contains many lexical items typical of Algerian dialects such as *šbāb* ‘beautiful’, *mlīh* ‘good, well’, *ārwāh* ‘come!’, *səqša* ‘to ask’, *rāh* ‘to go’, *drāhəm* ‘money’, *ħāwwəs ʕla* ‘to search’, *ħkəm* ‘to hold, catch’, *kəsra* ‘bread’, *səggəm* ‘to prepare, tidy’, *nīf* ‘nose; pride’, *šādi* ‘monkey’, *xūdmi* ‘knife’, *nəzzəm* ‘to can’, *āyya* ‘let’s go, come on!’, *šāhha* ‘OK, alright’, *šāhḥīt* ‘thank you’. Within this framework, it is interesting to point out the increasing use of some terms which are not considered by my informants as belonging to the Oranian speech and which may reflect the advance of the Algiers dialect. Examples of such an expansion process are *stənna* ‘to wait’, *wāš* ‘what’, *ħābb* ‘to want’ and *šfa ʕla* ‘to remember’, instead of the more usual *qārāš*, *šāwāla*, *bga* and *ʕqāl ʕla*.

5.2. As regards the OA vocabulary, another aspect worth pointing out is borrowing. Many of the loan-words present in my data come from Spanish⁵² and, to a lesser extent, from Berber, e.g.: *būrša* ‘plastic bag’ (< Sp. *bolsa*), *šangla* ‘flip-flops’ (< Sp. *chancla*), *līxīya* ‘bleaching’ (< Sp. *lejía*), *ṛōxo* ‘blond’ (< Sp. *rojo*), *zənḥīt* ‘arse’⁵³, *māzūzi* ‘baby of the family, youngest child’⁵⁴, *zəkrūm* ‘bolt’⁵⁵, *šīr* ‘guy, boy’⁵⁶, *l-ġāši* ‘people’. But the main source for loan-words is of course French: *kazērna* ‘barracks’ (< Fr. *caserne*), *mwēt* ‘seagull’ (< Fr. *mouette*), *šāye* ‘that’s enough!’ (< Fr. *ça y est*), *ḍāndu* ‘turkey’ (< Fr. *dinde*), *lōto* ‘car’ (< Fr. *l’auto*), *sintūra* ‘belt’ (< Fr. *ceinture*).

5.3. The Oran dialect seems to share a certain number of lexical items with Moroccan dialects, for instance: *ʕqəl ʕla* ‘to remember’, *bla žmīl* ‘you’re welcome, not at all’, *ma lək?* ‘what is wrong with you?’, *xāwi* ‘empty’; instead of the typically Algerian *šfa ʕla*, *bla mziyya*, *wāš bīk?* and *fārəg*.

5.4. Lexically, there is also a resemblance with other Maghrebi Bedouin dialects. I shall cite here the following terms: *k^wrāš* ‘foot, leg’ (< CA *kurāš^(un)*)⁵⁷, *nuww* ‘rain’ (< CA *naw^{ʔun}*)

⁵¹ Cf. Souag 2005: 165.

⁵² On the Spanish loan-words of the Arabic dialect of Oran, see Benallou 1992, Benallou 2002: 65-132, and Moussaoui-Meftah 1992.

⁵³ Cf. DAF 5/389.

⁵⁴ Cf. Marçais 1908: 15.

⁵⁵ Cf. DAF 5/349.

⁵⁶ Cf. Behnstedt / Woidich 2011: 36.

⁵⁷ On this word and its presence in Bedouin dialects, see Behnstedt / Woidich 2011: 160.

‘rain consequent upon the raising of a star’⁵⁸, *rgəd* ‘to sleep’ (< CA *raqada*)⁵⁹, *rgəṣ* ‘to dance’ (< CA *raqaṣa*), *dīk* ‘cock (rooster)’ (< CA *dīk^{um}*)⁶⁰. The counterparts of these words in sedentary dialects are: *rʒəl*, *šta*, *rqəd*, *šʔāḥ* and *sərdūk*.

5.5. Typical Oranian words are: *gāya* ‘good, well’, *čīta* ‘monkey’, *čīpa* ‘bribe’, *gdəb* ‘to hold’, *ylīq lək* ‘you must’, *məšta* ‘winter’, *mūgrəf* ‘spoon’, *qārāf* ‘to wait’, *bāzz* ‘boy’, *gūryān* ‘baby (less than 2-3 years)’, *qādd* ‘to can’, *stgəll* ‘to watch’, *ssəḥəqq* ‘to need’, *šībāni* ‘father’.

5.6. The most characteristic adverbs are: *nīšān* ‘straight; exactly’, *dərwək* ‘now’⁶¹, *l-bārəḥ* ‘yesterday’, *gədwa* ‘tomorrow’, *wīn* ‘where’, *ki-* ‘when’, *ma zāl* ‘yet, still’, *mḍāri* ‘usually’, *tāni* ‘also, too’, *fə-gərdək* ‘slowly; wait!’, *bə-lə-ḥqāl* ‘slowly, softly’, *tamma* ‘there’, *lhīha* ‘there’, *b-əl-xūff* ‘quickly’.

5.7. Concerning the interrogatives, the following are of interest: *wīnta* ‘when’, *qāysāš* ‘at what time’, *wīn* ‘where’, *šāwāla* ‘what’, *ša* ‘what’, *ḥlāš* ‘why’, *ki-* ‘how’, *škūn* ‘who’, *šḥāl* ‘how much’.

6. Summary and conclusion

6.1. At a structural level, Cantineau (1940: 222) has proposed that the dialects of the former Department of Oran fall into four groups. The primary division distinguishes between sedentary dialects and Bedouin dialects. The first ones are spoken by the Muslim dwellers of Mostaganem and Tlemcen (S1: urban-type) as well as by the Msirda, the Trara and the Jews of Tlemcen and Oran (S2: rural-type). Regarding Bedouin dialects, Cantineau divides them into three types: A (spoken by the Sahara nomads), B⁶² and D⁶³ (both spoken in the Tell).

⁵⁸ *nuww* / *naww* ‘rain’ seems to be today the most usual word for rain in Algerian dialects and it is also dominant in Eastern Morocco with the exception of some sedentary dialects such as those of Algiers, Tlemcen or Cherchell (Behnstedt / Woidich 2011: 410). Other meanings related to ‘rain’ are attested in Hassaniyya (cloudy sky), Omani (rain cloud) and Libyan (heat), cf. Behnstedt / Woidich 2011: 409, 429.

⁵⁹ Also attested in the Zḥīr dialect, in Essaouira and in the Sous, cf. Aguadé 1998: 150, Moscoso 2002: 78, and Destaing 1937: 228.

⁶⁰ See Behnstedt / Woidich 2011: 312.

⁶¹ Several variants of this adverb are attested in the Moroccan region of the Sous (*dərwəq*) and in the Zḥīr dialect (*dūrək*), cf. Destaing 1937: 218, and Aguadé 1998: 150.

⁶² Marçais’ group (iv), cf. Marçais 1991: 379.

⁶³ Marçais’ group (ii), According to this author, these dialects could be an extension of the eastern Moroccan group, which in turn is considered as Maṣqilian by G.S. Colin, cf. Marçais 1991: 379.

6.2. It seems that by 1940⁶⁴ the urban sedentary dialect of Oran had, by all practical means, already disappeared to be replaced by a Bedouin-based vernacular. However, and as we have seen above, a few features of the old city dialect still remain. In order to give a clear picture of such a Bedouinization process, I will summarize below the main features of the dialect spoken in present-day Oran and attempt to classify them on the basis of Cantineau's categorization:

a) Sedentary features:

- Loss of interdental phonemes (Cantineau's S1 group).
- Alternation between /q/ and /g/ in some words.

b) Bedouin features:

- The usual reflex of *qāf* is /g/.
- *ǧīm* is always realized as a palato-alveolar /ʒ/ (Cantineau's D group).
- As a general rule *ǧīm* does not undergo any shift in stems containing sibilant sequences (Cantineau's B group).
 - Metathesis may occur occasionally in stems containing sibilant sequences (Cantineau's D group).
 - Gender differentiation in the 2nd person singular of the verb and independent pronouns inflections.
 - The 3rd person singular masculine personal suffix is *-āh* (Cantineau's D group).
 - Use of gemination as a device to preserve short vowels when in non-final open syllable: *yakkātbu*, *nāhhādru*, *māššālhā*, *xaddāmtāk* (Cantineau's B and D groups).
 - No paradigm reconstruction in the imperfective plural forms: *nāšru*, *yāžru*, *tānsu*, *tābṭi* (Cantineau's B and D group).
 - Preference for synthetic genitive constructions.
 - Plurals on the shape {C₁C₂āC₃īC₄} (Cantineau's B and D groups).
 - Indefiniteness is mainly expressed by leaving the noun unmarked.
 - The future marker is *ǧādi*.
 - Use of typical Bedouin terms: *k^wrāf* 'leg, foot', *nuww* 'rain', *rgəd* 'to sleep', *rgəṣ* 'to dance', *dīk* 'cock (rooster)'.

6.3. To sum up, the results for this preliminary study suggest that the Arabic dialect spoken in present-day Oran is a Bedouin-based vernacular exhibiting a few sedentary features

⁶⁴ Cantineau (1940: 223) states that "...à Mazouna, je n'ai retrouvé que des traces infimes d'un ancien parler de sédentaires; ces traces mêmes ont disparu à Mascara et à Oran où je les ai cherchées en vain: les apports nomades ont tout recouvert".

and a strong influence of the surrounding Bedouin/rural dialects. I expect to present a more in-depth analysis of OA in a future study.

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FROM LOCATIVE TO EXISTENTIAL: THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF “FĪ” IN THE SPOKEN ARABIC OF ALEPPO

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Abstract. “fī” exhibits multiple grammatical functions. As a prototypical preposition, “fī” demonstrates a wide variety of usages, ranging from a locative marker, over a temporal marker, to a figurative marker. This paper makes a case for the grammaticalization of “fī” in from a locative preposition to an existential pronoun, thus capturing the common claim that existential structures originate from locative constructions. The shift from a locative preposition to an existential occurs by the process of grammaticalization whereby lexical items and constructions assume in certain linguistic contexts grammatical functions, and once grammaticalized, continue to develop more grammatical functions. The grammaticalization of “fī” represents an interesting case in which the preposition is desemantized and decategorized but has retained its phonetic form.

Key Words: locative, existential, grammaticalization, reanalysis, verbless sentence, spoken Arabic

1. Introduction

Synchronically and diachronically speaking, language changes are inevitable given the dynamic nature of language. These changes give rise to new linguistic constructions at various linguistic levels: phonological, lexical, semantic, morphological, and syntactic. Changes are gradual and perhaps difficult to identify while they are in progress. Some changes can be keyed to external factors such as wars, invasions, and social upheavals; others can be ascribed to internal factors which relate to the establishment of morphological regularity (analogical leveling and potential analogical extension, along the lines of Campbell 2004: 93-5). While phonological changes may be conditioned by external social factors, syntactic variations are more likely to be conditioned by internal linguistic factors since they (i) do not usually have a social identification functions like phonological ones, and (ii) do not occur as frequently as phonological ones and are thus less available for social assessment (Hickey 2010: 173). Linguists working within Chomsky’s model of grammar argue that the locus of change is in childhood during the acquisition process (Fischer *et al.* 2000: 5). This amounts to saying that young learners construct their internalized grammar from the performance of adult speakers surrounding them. In other words, since each new generation of language acquirers has no direct access to the internalized language of the preceding generation, they attempt to ‘recreate’ for themselves the language of their predecessors. In such contexts, it is likely that children tend to pick up some elements exactly as they are and others only approximately. Therefore, their grammar would not be a replica of the grammar of their community but an approximation to it.

One striking observation about the spoken Arabic of Aleppo concerns the use of the word “fī” as a preposition and as an existential, as indicated in (1), (2), respectively:¹

- 1) *nām l-walad fī s-srīr*
 slept the boy in the bed
 ‘The boy slept in the bed’
- 2) a. *fī iṭṭa taḥt l-kirsi*
 there cat under the chair
 ‘There is a cat under the chair’

In spite of its similarity in form to and its historical derivation from the locative preposition “fī”,² existential “fī” does not show any of the syntactic properties that characterize prepositions in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo. For example, existential “fī” emphasizes existence and does not allow a definite NP to follow it. The paper posits that the shift from a locative preposition to an existential occurs by the process of grammaticalization whereby lexical items and constructions assume in certain linguistic contexts grammatical functions, and once grammaticalized, continue to develop more grammatical functions (Hopper & Traugott 2003). The shift from a locative preposition to an existential involves reanalysis, an essential mechanism leading to grammaticalization. The original claim that existential structures originate from locative constructions was made by Jespersen (1924: 155). Following Jespersen’s claim that English existential “there” developed out of the locative adverb “there”, Breivik (1997: 41) proposed that the diachronic development of existential “there” is an instance of grammaticalization. The grammaticalization of “fī” in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo represents an interesting case in which the preposition “fī” is desemantized (i.e., it has lost its locative and temporal content) and decategorized (i.e. it has changed its word category) but has retained its phonetic form

The aim of this paper is to try to explain, on descriptive syntactic grounds, how the preposition “fī” has developed a much wider range of uses than its original one in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo. The spoken Arabic of Aleppo, a form of colloquial Syrian Arabic, is the variety that is acquired natively and used in popular culture media (music, movies, etc.), and for everyday interpersonal, causal communication in the home and on the street. It should be highlighted here that Modern Standard Arabic lacks existential constructions introduced by “fī” whereas almost all contemporary Arabic dialects have developed “fī”-existential constructions.³ The paper argues that the preposition “fī” has assumed the function of an

¹ The transliteration of Arabic words follows the system used in the *Hans Wehr dictionary*.

² This seems to support Freeze’s (1992) idea that all existential proforms are invariably locative, and that, crosslinguistically, they are in complementary distribution with a locative argument subject.

³ Other kinds of existential sentences in Arabic are attested, but there is no systematic study which deals with these constructions in Modern Standard Arabic. Traditional Arabic grammarians point to constructions which begin with (a) *ṭamma(ta)*, (b) the adverb of place *hunāka*, and (c) a verbal element *yūjadu*:

existential pronoun that is used as a subject to license an indefinite subject in a verbless/nominal sentence (see also Lentin 1997).

1.1. Some Basic Assumptions

In this paper, I adopt some basic assumptions that I present here briefly. The term ‘grammaticalization’ is used to refer to the process whereby lexical items and constructions serve grammatical functions in certain linguistic contexts and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions (see Hopper and Traugott, 2003: xv; Heine 2003: 575; Heine and Kuteva 2002: 2; Heine and Kuteva 2007: 32; Bybee 2010: 30, 106; Lehmann 2004:155; Heine and Narrog 2011: 2f); Traugott and Dasher 2002: 81; Traugott and Trousdale 2010: 2ff). The transition from lexical to grammatical status is achieved by “a dramatic frequency increase” (Bybee et al., 1994: 8; Bybee, 2003: 602; 2007: 5ff; 2010: 20; Bybee and Hopper 2001: 1ff) in the number and types of grammatical contexts in which the grammaticalized morpheme is used.

The term ‘grammaticalization’ was originally coined by Antoine Meillet in 1912, but has been popularized in linguistics by the publication of *Thoughts on Grammaticalization* in 1982 by the German linguist Christian Lehmann. Since then, grammaticalization theory has been cross-linguistically investigated by the scholarly community in Europe, North America, and Asia. According to Fischer and Rosenbach (2000: 1), grammaticalization is “arguably the most widely discussed type of linguistic change”. The increased interest in grammaticalization can be keyed to the following properties.

First, grammaticalization processes are remarkably systematic; particular types of grammatical constructions tend to develop from specific lexical sources, and crosslinguistically identified examples of grammaticalization tend to show remarkable similarities. According to Bybee et al. (1994: 243), Bybee and Pagliuca (1987:112), and Heine and Kuteva 2002: 161ff), there is compelling crosslinguistic evidence that points to the fact that future markers originate from expressions of desire, obligation, and motion. For example, the English future auxiliary “will” developed out of the Old English content word “willan” (to want) (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 97), and the Modern Greek future particle “thelo” developed out of the Middle Greek phrase “t^hélo hína” (I want to) (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 24; Roberts and Roussou 2003, chap 5).

1. <i>tammata</i>	<i>asbābun</i>	<i>uḥra</i>
there	reasons	other
2. <i>Hunāka</i>	<i>rajulun fi</i>	<i>l-bayti</i>
there	man in	the house
3. <i>yūjadu</i>	<i>rajulun fi</i>	<i>l-bayti</i>
is found	man in	the house

As far as I know, the use of *tamma(ta)*, *hunāka*, and *yūjadu* in existential constructions is not attested in contemporary spoken Arabic varieties, including the variety investigated in this paper.

Second, crucial to grammaticalization is the concept that it tends to display a uniform directionality along the cline below (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 7):

content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

Through the gradual changes in the steps along the path of grammaticalization, a linguistic expression is decategorized from an open-class category into a closed-class item. That is, grammaticalization proceeds from concrete to abstract but not vice versa, and from the more linguistically autonomous to the more linguistically dependent. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 99) indicate that grammaticalization is “hypothesized to be prototypically a unidirectional phenomenon”.⁴ It is interesting to note that these unidirectional tendencies are not language specific, but are governed by cross-linguistically or even universally valid principles (Bybee et al. 1994).

Third, an important characteristic of grammaticalization theory is that it acknowledges the importance of diachrony as an explanatory factor in synchronic linguistics (see Hopper and Traugott 2003; Kuteva 2001). In other words, grammaticalization makes recourse to the panchronic approach under which language is viewed as a dynamic system, and diachrony is hypothesized as manifesting itself in synchrony.

The process of grammaticalization combines a number of certain principles and mechanisms of language change. Hein and Kuteva (2002; 2007) recognize four main interrelated principles of grammaticalisation, namely, desemanticization, extension, decategorialization, and phonetic erosion. These principles can be considered as universally involved in the development of grammatical forms, as has been attested by studies on a wide range of languages (Bybee et al. 1995; Hopper and Traugott 2003; Heine 2003: 579, Heine and Kuteva (2002: 2ff), and Heine and Kuteva (2007: 33ff).

We will start with the principles that are relevant to our analysis of the existential “fi”. First, *desemanticization* or bleaching is understood as semantic reduction or loss in meaning content. In other words, what normally occurs is a move from a more lexical to more a grammatical meaning. Since grammatical units refer to very abstract concepts, such as temporal relations (past, future) or case relations (possession, goal), the items to denote these concepts must acquire a very general meaning. The principle of *extension*, or context generalization, refers to the use of a linguistic item in new contexts where it could not be used

⁴ The question of unidirectionality attracted a lot of criticism (see especially Newmeyer 1998; 2001; Haspelmath 1999; 2004; Fischer et al. 2004; Campbell 2001; Campbell and Janda 2001; Janda 2001; Norde 2001; Norde 2009). Although some instances of change in the opposite direction, viz. from abstract to concrete have been identified (e.g. Ramat 1992), such cases are far fewer than the numerous examples concerning the unidirectionality hypothesis (Newmeyer 1998: 275-6; Haspelmath 1999; 2004).

previously. The principle of *decategorialization* pertains to the fact that as a unit grammaticalizes, it loses its categorial properties prototypical of the lexical category it was formerly a member of. For example, a linguistic expression that was originally a noun loses the potential of premodification by articles, quantifiers or adjectives, or can no longer take inflectional morphology (see Heine & Kuteva 2007: 40ff). Lastly, the principle of *erosion* refers to the loss of phonetic substance. When a lexical item splits into two uses, the lexical form retains its full phonetic form, whereas the grammaticalized item undergoes phonetic reduction.⁵ For example, in the process of grammaticalization of the future marker: *going to* > *gonna*. According to Heine and Kuteva (2007: 42), phonological erosion is ‘usually the last to apply in grammaticalization processes, and it is not a requirement for grammaticalization to happen.’ In other words, phonetic reduction is neither a necessary nor a sufficient property of grammaticalization. As we are going to see later, the preposition “fī” has evolved into an existential pronoun but has retained its phonetic form because monosyllabic words are stressed on the single syllable, which is the ultimate syllable.

In addition to the four principles mentioned above, I feel it is necessary to add a fifth from Hopper (1991: 24). The principle of *divergence* refers to the fact that a lexical form may undergo grammaticalization while the original form “may remain as an autonomous lexical element”. This exactly what has happened to the preposition “fī” in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo. That is, the grammaticalized form (existential “fī”) and the original form (preposition “fī”) coexist side by side.

Fundamentally, grammaticalization involves changes at the three main linguistic levels: lexical, grammatical, and phonetic. Although the effects of grammaticalization may be visible at these levels of linguistic structure, many scholars consider semantic change from concrete to abstract (or abstract to even more abstract) to be the precursor of structural change and is, as such, considered to be essential to any instance of grammaticalization (see Bybee et al. 1994: 37; Hopper and Traugott 2003: 76). Heine and Kuteva (2007) see extension as the central principle among the four interrelated principles: desemanticization, extension, decategorialization, and phonetic erosion. Regarding the precedence of semantic change, Heine and Kuteva (2007: 35) state that grammaticalization “tends to begin with extension, which triggers desemanticization, and subsequently decategorialization and erosion.” Generally, shifts in meaning lead to changes in word type. It is crucial to note that while desemanticization, decategorialization and erosion of a linguistic item result in a loss in semantic, morphosyntactic, and phonetic substance, extension involves gain in properties

⁵ In addition, when a lexical item splits into two different uses, it loses (some of) its original meaning, but it also survives intact without losing its meaning, a phenomenon sometimes referred to as *layering* (cf. Hopper 1991:22).

characteristic of the uses of the linguistic item in new contexts (Heine 2003: 579; Heine and Kuteva 2007: 34).

Grammaticalization may be viewed as a metaphorical shift from a concrete (or lexical) domain to an abstract (or grammatical) domain. For example, from the body domain, words for ‘on’, ‘behind’, ‘in front of’, and ‘inside’ have been metaphorically derived from nouns meaning ‘head’, ‘back’, ‘face’, and ‘belly’, respectively (see e.g. Lehrer 1974; MacLaury 1989; Hollenbach 1995).

Meaning extensions that are gradual and contiguous are *metonymic* in nature. Conceptual metonymy involves a cognitive process whereby connections between entities within a given conceptual domain are established through contiguity and association. Most grammaticalization processes involve metonymical inferences (Wischer 2006: 131). For example, in the sentence *John is going [to the restaurant]*, the verb *go* is used in its original lexical sense, complemented by a prepositional phrase as obligatory adverbial, and a movement in progress with a local direction is expressed. In *John is going [to have lunch there]*, this particular syntactic structure forms a critical context which allows pragmatic inferencing on the basis of a metonymical relationship (cf. Diewald 2002: 109ff). Also, in *John is going [to have lunch there]*, a movement in progress is intentionally directed on an action (*have lunch*), and a future event is understood as part of the situation. Through frequent use in similar contexts, this implicature was conventionalized in English, and the meaning of futurity became an integral part of the construction *be going to*.

One of the most interesting aspects of language change is the relationship between frequency and the process of grammaticalization. Bybee (2003; 2007) claimed that as a construction becomes more frequently used, it becomes a distinct, autonomous new construction, and lexical items associated with the construction may become semantically bleached and/or phonologically reduced.⁶ Bybee and Pagliuca (1985: 76) state that “as the meaning generalizes and the range of uses widens, the frequency increases and this leads automatically to phonological reduction and perhaps fusion”. In other words, as the lexical item gains grammatical function, it becomes more abstract (Hopper and Traugott, 2003). In the present case, the preposition “fi” loses its locative and temporal content by a process of generalization but does not undergo phonological reduction and fusion with other items.

The paper proceeds as follows. In section two, a short description of verbless/nominal sentences in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo is provided. In section three, the paper presents a descriptive analysis of the syntactic behavior of the preposition “fi” in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo. Section four provides a detailed account of the syntactic distribution of “fi” as an

⁶ This claim is not without problems, for linguistic items with high frequency do not necessarily undergo grammaticalization. Also, it is not unusual for grammaticalization to occur to linguistic items with low frequency (see Hoffmann (2004) and Brems (2007)).

existential pronoun used in existential constructions. Several properties of existential “fī” are highlighted in sections four and five. Section six discusses the use of the tense marker “kān” in verbless/nominal sentences. It is shown that when “kān” is used, it introduces a nominal sentence with an indefinite subject provided that the subject is in post-predicate position. Interestingly, when existential “fī” is used, it allows an indefinite subject to precede or follow the predicate. Two interesting properties of existential “fī” are also discussed, namely, the use of the negative particle “ma” and the question word “šū”. These two words are usually used with verbal predicators. The use of these words with “fī” shows that it has undergone a process of grammaticalization. Section seven concludes the paper.

2. Verbless Sentences in the Spoken Arabic of Aleppo

A verbless sentence or nominal sentence (*jumla ismiyya*) is the Arabic term for sentences in which a nominal expression is followed by another constituent which is predicated of or comments on the first. Several researchers have endeavored to study Arabic verbless sentences from various perspectives, e.g., classical Arabic, Modern standard Arabic, and vernacular forms around the Arab world (Bakir 1980; Fassi Fehri 1993, and Benmamoun 2000). While traditional Arab grammarians hold the view that these verbless/nominal sentences consist of a subject and predicate and lack a verb of any type, most contemporary syntacticians claim that these sentences contain a null verbal copula (Bakir 1980; Fassi Fehri 1993, and Bahloul 1994).

Verbless sentences in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo are characterized by two things: the type of predicator and the type of predicate complements that they have, since the predicate complement can influence the way the time reference of the proposition is understood. There are three types of complements: adjective phrases, noun phrases, and prepositional phrases. What is predicated of the subject is a predication of identity for nouns, a predication of quality or characteristic for adjectives, and a predication of location, obligation, possession, and existence for prepositions. Before I turn my attention to prepositional phrases as predicate complements, I provide a brief account of verbless sentences in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo.

Descriptively speaking, the spoken Arabic of Aleppo allows so-called verbless sentences in the present tense where the subject can be a definite noun phrase with an indefinite noun phrase as its predicate (3), a definite noun phrase with an indefinite adjectival predicate (4), a definite noun phrase with a prepositional phrase as its predicate (5), a definite noun phrase with an indefinite construct state noun phrase as predicate (6), a definite noun phrase with a definite construct state noun phrase as predicate (7), and a definite noun phrase with the predicate an adverb of place (8):

- 3) l-mudīr muhandis
the manager engineer
'The manager is an engineer.'
- 4) l-mudīr marīḍ
the manager sick
'The manager is sick.'
- 5) l-mudīr fī l-maktab
the manager in the-office
'The manager is in the office.'
- 6) l mudīr 'amm ṭālib fī l-madrasi
The manager uncle student in the school
'The manager is the uncle of a student in the school'
- 7) l mudīr 'amm iṭ-ṭālib
The manager uncle the student
'The manager is the student's uncle'
- 8) l-mudīr hun
The manager here
'The manager is here'

These sentences have the same present tense interpretation although there is no overt copular verb. In other words, in this verbless structure, tense is not specified for [+V] feature and, therefore, no verbal host is required. However, in past tense contexts, Tense requires a verbal host, and the copula (tense marker *kān* 'was') must be present, as the examples in (9) show.

- 9) a. l-mudīr kān muhandis
the manager was engineer
'The manager was an engineer.'
- b. l-mudīr kān marīḍ
the manager was sick
- c. l-mudīr kān fī l-maktab
the manager was in the-office
'The manager was in the office.'

Interestingly, in addition to the Subject-Copula-Predicate word order in the above sentences, the spoken Arabic of Aleppo allows three more orders, as illustrated below:

- 10) a. kān l-mudīr marīḍ [Copula Subject Predicate]
was the manager sick
- b. kān marīḍ l-mudīr [Copula Predicate Subject]
was sick the manager

c. marīḏ kān l-mudīr [Predicate Copula Subject]
 sick was the manager

Having briefly looked at verbless sentences, I now turn to focus on the functional behavior of the locative preposition “fī” in different contexts.

3. “fī” as a Preposition

The common prepositions that can occur as the predicate complement of verbless sentences in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo can be classified into locatives and possessives:

Locatives: *fī* (in, on, at); *b(i)-* (at, in, by, with); *‘ala* (on, about); *‘an* (about, from); *min* (from, of); *fō* (above); *taht* (under); *wara* (behind); *bayn* (between); *janb* (close/next to).

Possessives: *‘and* (with, by, at); *ma* (with); *la-* (to, for).

In the spoken Arabic of Aleppo, “fī” demonstrates a wide variety of usages, ranging from a locative marker, over a temporal marker, to a figurative marker.⁷ Firstly, “fī” is used to indicate location, as in:

- 11) a. a‘ad fī ṣ-ṣaff l-awwal
 sat-he in the row the first
 ‘He sat in the first row (of seats)’
 b. bayt-na fī ṭ-ṭābi’ t-tāni
 house-our on the floor the second
 ‘Our house is on the second floor’

Secondly, when “fī” is used in a temporal sense, it can express both punctuality and duration, (i.e., points in time and extension over a span of time):

- 12) a. fī aḥir ṣ-ṣayf [Punctual use of *fī*]
 at end the summer
 ‘at the close of the summer season’
 b. stašhad fī ḥarb tlata wa sab‘īn [durative use of *fī*]
 martyred in war three and seventy
 ‘He died as martyr in (during) the 1973 war’

Thirdly, “fī” can be used figuratively:

- 13) a. aḏda l-layl kullu fī ṣ-ṣalāh
 spent-he the knight all in the prayer
 ‘He spent all night praying’
 b. jār-na biyištiḡil fī z-zirā‘a
 neighbor-our work in the farming

⁷ Phonologically, the long vowel of the preposition “fī” can be reduced to a shorter one *fī-l-maktab* ‘in the office’, and sometimes can be dropped, as in *f-ṣ-ṣayf* ‘in the summer’. Interestingly, this phonological reduction is not possible with the existential “fī”.

‘Our neighbor works in the farming business’

Finally, “fī” can mean ‘per’

- 14) ḥōd tlat ḥabbāt fī l-yawm
take three pills a day/per day

It is crucial to point out that there exists another preposition, namely “bi-”, which is only used with full lexical NPs:

- 15) a. jaraḥ iṣba‘-u bi-s-sikkīn
wounded-he finger-his with the knife

‘He cut his finger with a knife’

- b. sū’ bi-sir‘a law samaḥt
drive with-speed if (you) please

‘Go fast, please’

Most speakers make a distinction between “fī” and “bi-”, preferring “fī” in the sense of ‘in’ while “bi-” is used in the senses ‘by, with’ (Cowell 2005: 479). What is common to most speakers is that “bi-” is not used with object pronoun clitics whereas “fī” can be followed by object pronoun clitics.

fī- <i>h</i>	‘in him, it’	fī- <i>ha</i>	‘in her, it’
fī- <i>k</i>	‘in you (m.)’	fī- <i>hon</i>	‘in them’
fī- <i>ki</i>	‘in you (f.)’	fī- <i>kon</i>	‘in you (pl.)’
fī- <i>yyi</i>	‘in me’	fī- <i>na</i>	‘in us’

- 16) a. l-miškli fī -na mu fī-yyon
the problem in-us not in-them

‘We are to blame, not them’

- b. fī mayy kūr fī -yya
there water much in it

‘There is a lot of water in it’

In some parts of Syria, the [h] in “-ha” and “-hon” is dropped: “fīyya” (in her), “fīyyon” (in them). From the preceding semantic characterization of “fī”, we can observe that “fī” has developed a complex network of interconnected meanings, i.e. locative, temporal, and figurative meanings. Synchronically, it can also be observed that “fī” has developed into a non-referential pronoun heading *there*-constructions. Consequently, we can speak of *divergence* between the lexical form and the grammaticalizing form: the two forms are cognate, but come to belong to two different grammatical categories. That is, the meaning of “fī” has diverged from concrete to abstract domains (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003: 118-122).

4. The Existential “fī”

Existential constructions refer to non-canonical constructions which express a proposition about the existence or the presence of someone or something. Existential constructions are introduced by existentials, which are by definition semantically empty (Chomsky 1981). Existential constructions in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo are characterized by the presence of “fī” and include an indefinite NP and an optional XP (PP, AP). In fact, all Levantine Arabic colloquial varieties (Lebanese, Jordanian, Palestinian, and Syrian) use existential constructions containing “fī”.⁸ As shown in (17), the existential “fī” is related to the logical subject of the nominal sentence, which is a nonspecific indefinite NP. This semantic restriction on the logical subjects of existentials like “fī” is known as the “definiteness effect” (Milsark, 1974, 1977).

- 17) a. fī malja’ taḥt l-arḍ
 there shelter under the ground
 ‘There is a shelter under the ground’
 b. fī taḥt l-arḍ malja’
 there under the ground shelter
 ‘There is a shelter under the ground’

Additionally, the existential “fī” can co-occur with any prepositional phrase, as in:

- 18) a. fī ‘aṣfūr [PP fō’ š-šajra]
 there bird above the-tree
 ‘There is a bird over the tree’
 b. fī iṭṭa [PP taḥt ṭ-ṭāwli]
 there cat under the-table
 ‘There is a cat under the table’
 c. fī maktūb [PP la-ilak]
 there letter for/to-you
 ‘There is a letter for you’
 d. fī ktāb [PP ‘ala ṭ-ṭāwli]
 there book on the-table
 ‘There is a book on the table’

⁸ Existential “fī”-constructions are also attested in Egyptian Arabic, and Gulf Arabic (except Iraqi Arabic which uses “aku”), and Tunisian Arabic which uses “famma”. There are several syntactic treatments in the literature on existential “fī”-constructions in different dialects of Arabic. Eid (1993) and Halila (1992) analyzed “fī” as a verbal predicate in Egyptian and Tunisian Arabic, respectively; Mohammad (1998; 2000) and Hoyt (2000) analyzed it as an existential pronoun in Palestinian Arabic.

- e. fī maktūb [PP min ṣadī'-ak]
 there letter from friend-your
 'There is a letter from your friend'
- f. fī birnāmij [PP 'an sūrya]
 there program about Syria
 'There is a program about Syria'
- g. fī dibbāni [PP fī š-šurba]
 there fly in the-soup
 'There is a fly in the soup'

Crucially, when “fī” co-occurs with other prepositions, word order between the subject and the predicate is free, as illustrated below:

- 19) a. fī iṭṭa [PP taḥt ṭ-ṭāwli]
 there cat under the-table
 b. fī [PP taḥt ṭ-ṭāwli] iṭṭa
 there under the table cat
- 20) a. fī maktūb [PP la-ilak]
 there letter for/to-you
 b. fī [PP la-ilak] maktūb
 there for/to you letter

A further characteristic of the existential “fī” is that it can immediately precede or follow other prepositions especially those that indicate possession:

- 21) a. fī ‘and s-sammān sikkar
 there at the grocer sugar
 b. fī ma‘-u maṣāri
 there with-him money
 c. fī la-ilak ktāb fī l-maktab
 there for-you book in the office

It is obvious that the existential “fī” is derived from the locative preposition “fī”. However, I assume without further supporting argument that there is no object pronoun clitic on the existential “fī” (contra Hoyt, 2000; Mohammad, 1998, 2000, among others) while there is one on the locative preposition “fī” (see Hoyt, 2000; Mohammad, 1998, 2000, among others). Therefore, existential “fī” is no longer a preposition because a preposition without an object is unattested in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo.

It should be pointed out here that preposition stranding is not allowed in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo. However, there is evidence that suggests that existential “fī” can be stranded in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo, especially with the negative particle “mā”.

- 22) bukra šiġl mā fī
tomorrow work NEG-there
‘There is no work tomorrow’
- 23) Student A: kān l-imiḥān ša‘b?
was the exam difficult
‘Was the exam difficult?’
- Student B: aṣ‘ab min hayk mā fī
more difficult than that NEG-there
‘There is nothing more difficult than that’
- 24) Customer: fī sikkaḥ?
there sugar
‘Do you have sugar?’
- Grocer: āsif, mā fī
Sorry, NEG-there
‘Sorry. No’

The use of the negative particle “mā” with existential “fī” is due to the fact that it is closely associated with indefinite nominal subjects.

- 25) a. mā fī iṭṭa [_{PP} taḥt ʔ-tāwli]
NEG-there cat under the-table
- b. mā fī [_{PP} taḥt ʔ-tāwli] iṭṭa
NEG-there under the table cat
- 26) a. mā fī maktūb [_{PP} la-ilak]
NEG-there letter for/to-you
- b. mā fī [_{PP} la-ilak] maktūb
NEG-there for/to you letter

I suspect that the existential “fī” is undergoing a process of grammaticalization as a quasi-verbal predicate; hence, it attracts the negative particle “ma”, which is usually used with verbal predicators. The partial grammaticalization extends to other prepositions especially those that indicate possession (Lyons 1977: 480), as the following examples illustrate:

- 27) a. ḥasan mā ‘and-u sayyāra
Hassan NEG by-him car
‘Hassan does not have a car’
- b. ḥasan mā ma‘-u ktāb
Hassan NEG with-him book
- c. ḥasan mā l-u ḥada
Hassan NEG to-him anybody
‘No body supports Hassan’

The above examples show that these prepositions are partially grammaticalized as quasi-predicators since they can be used with the negative particle “mā”.

The partial grammaticalization of “fī” (and the possessive prepositions) as a quasi-predicator is further supported by the fact that it can be preceded by the question word “šū” (what):

- 28) a. šū fī akl ‘ala l-‘aša
 what there food on the dinner
 ‘What’s there for dinner?’
 b. šū fī aḥbār l-yawm
 what there news the-day
 ‘What’s the news today?’
 c. šū ma‘-u sayyāra
 what with-him car
 ‘What kind of car does he have?’
 d. šū ‘and-ak wlād
 what with-you children
 ‘How many children do you have?’

It is noteworthy that the use of the existential “fī” as quasi-verbal predicate extends to other meaning domain, (i.e. having a modal-like meaning ‘to be able to’) (Cowell 2005: 415).

- 29) a. mā fī -hun yi‘mlū-lu šay
 NEG can they do him thing
 ‘They can’t do a thing for him’
 b. fī -yyi sā‘d-ak bi-kamm lira?
 can-I help-you with some liras
 ‘Can I help with a few pounds?’
 c. mā fī -yyi nām ba‘d l-akl
 NEG can-I sleep after the eating
 ‘I cannot sleep after eating’

In this role it can be found in sentences expressing ability or possibility.

5. Existential “fī” and the Definiteness Effects

One further property of “fī” is that it does not allow a definite NP to follow it irrespective of word order between the subject and the predicate as the following examples illustrate:

- 30) a. *fī la-ilak l-maktūb
 there to-you the-letter
 ‘There is the letter for you’

- b. *fi l-maktūb la-ilak
there the letter to you
'There is the letter for you'
- 31) a. *fi 'and s-sammān l-maktūb
there with the grocer the letter
'There is the letter with the grocer for you'
- b. *fi l-maktūb 'and s-sammān
there the-letter with the grocer
'There is the letter with the grocer for you'
- 32) a. *fi l-malja' taht l-arḍ
there the shelter under the ground
'There is the shelter under the ground'
- b. *fi taht l-arḍ l-malja'
there under the ground the shelter
'There is the shelter under the ground'

The above examples are ruled out because the associate NP is definite.

Based on the above evidence, we can characterize existential constructions in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo as follows:

- a) Existential “fi” construction emphasizes existence.
- b) The NP whose existence is emphasized (the associate) exhibits the definiteness effect.
- c) The construction lacks a special copula in the present tense.
- d) Existential “fi” co-occurs with a locative phrase in the same construction.

Next, I will focus on the distribution of existential “fi” in verbless sentences containing the tense marker “kān”.

6. Existential “fi” and the Tense Marker “kān” in Verbless Sentences with Indefinite Subjects

Formally, when the tense marker “kān” (was) is used, it introduces a nominal sentence with an indefinite subject provided that the subject is in post-predicate position.

- 33) a. *kān maktūb 'and s-sammān
was letter with the grocer
'There was a letter with the grocer'
- b. kān 'and s-sammān maktūb
was with the grocer letter
- c. *kān iṭṭa taht ṭ-ṭāwli
was cat under the table

- d. kān taḥt ṭ-ṭāwli iṭṭa
 was under the table cat
 ‘There was a cat under the table’
- e.* kān maṣāri ma‘ aḥmad
 was money with Ahmed
- f. kān ma‘ aḥmad maṣāri
 was with Ahmed money
 ‘Ahmed had some money’

The data above indicates the following: when the tense marker “kān” is used, all verbless sentences with indefinite subject are grammatical as long as the indefinite subject comes after the predicate. Furthermore, all the above examples are grammatical when “fī” is used. Subsequently, it can be concluded that only the presence of “fī” licenses an indefinite subject to precede its predicate.

- 34) a. fī kān maktūb ‘and s-sammān
 there was letter with the grocer
 ‘There was a letter with the grocer’
- b. fī kān ‘and s-sammān maktūb
 there was with the grocer letter
 ‘There was a letter with the grocer’
- c. fī kān iṭṭa taḥt ṭ-ṭāwli
 there was cat under the table
 ‘There was a cat under the table’
- d. fī kān taḥt ṭ-ṭāwli iṭṭa
 there was under the table cat
 ‘There was a cat under the table’
- e. fī kān maṣāri ma‘ aḥmad
 there was money with Ahmed
 ‘Ahmed had some money’
- f. fī kān ma‘ aḥmad maṣāri
 there was with Ahmed money
 ‘Ahmed had some money’

Note that the above sentences are also grammatical when “fī” follows the tense marker “kān”.

- 35) a. kān fī maktūb ‘and s-sammān
 was there letter with the grocer
 ‘There was a letter with the grocer’

- b. kān fī ‘and s-sammān maktūb
was there with the grocer letter
‘There was a letter with the grocer’
- c. kān fī iṭṭa taḥt ṭ-ṭāwli
was there cat under the table
- d. kān fī taḥt ṭ-ṭāwli iṭṭa
was there under the table cat
‘There was a cat under the table’

Based on the evidence that the above data provides, we can conclude that the preposition “fī” has undergone a process of grammaticalization whereby its locative/temporal meaning has been bleached, but its phonological form has been preserved. The grammaticalization of “fī” is followed by decategorialization. In some cases, both the lexical element and the grammatical form coexist in the language while in others the lexical item disappears from the language. In the present study, the development of the existential “fī” has not affected the status of “fī” as a preposition. What happened is that the lexeme “fī” split into two divergent uses. Specifically, the derived existential meaning of “fī” can be viewed as a metaphorical extension from a concrete sense to an abstract one. This is compatible with the general tendency of semantic change and grammaticalization proposed by Heine, Ulrike & Hünnemeyer (1991). The extension of the use of the preposition “fī” from more concrete senses to a more abstract existential marker can be construed as characteristic of a grammaticalization process known as subjectification, (i.e. the process whereby speakers/writers come over time to develop meanings for expressions that encode their perspectives and attitudes (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 30)). Evidence for this claim is provided by the evolution of existential clauses, which shows an increasing degree of subjectification, with a concomitant shift from a high to a low degree of the speaker’s commitment with respect to the proposition.

Interestingly enough, one feature of grammaticalization is “a dramatic frequency increase” (Bybee 2007: 336), arising from an increase in the number and types of contexts in which the grammatical morpheme is appropriate. Bybee (2006: 719) claims that there are various degrees of effect, depending upon the extent of the frequency. (i) low levels of repetition lead to conventionalization only (as in prefabs and idioms), (ii) higher levels of repetition can lead to the establishment of a new construction with its own categories, and (iii) extreme high frequency leads to the grammaticization of the new construction, the creation of grammatical morphemes, and changes in constituency. Given the contexts in which existential “fī” is used, we can predict that the existential “fī” is more frequent than the preposition “fī”. The evidence presented in this paper supports this prediction.

7. Conclusion

The paper provided a brief description of the syntactic distribution of the preposition “fi” in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo. As a prototypical preposition, “fi” demonstrates a wide variety of usages, ranging from a locative marker, over a temporal marker, to a figurative marker. The paper has shown that the existential “fi”, unlike the preposition “fi”, does not have a third person masculine clitic pronoun *-h* because it can be stranded. Furthermore, the paper has shown that in past existential sentences in which the copula “kān” is present, “fi” can precede or follow the copula. In this sense, “fi” is an existential quasi-verbal predicate which can host the verbal negation morpheme “ma” (not) and the question word “šū” (what).

The paper also examined the particular case of the grammaticalization of “fi” as an existential in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo. The semantic change of “fi” goes from coding location to existence. This is compatible with the general tendency of semantic change and grammaticalization in general. Specifically, the derived meaning of “fi” can be viewed as a metaphorical extension from a concrete sense to an abstract one. This change was motivated by frequency of “fi” in this variety. As the preposition “fi” is an extremely high-frequency word, frequency effect is regarded as the language-internal motivation for the grammaticalization of existential “fi”.

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AVENTURES DE HANNA DIYAB AVEC PAUL LUCAS ET ANTOINE GALLAND (1707-1710)

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Abstract: Translating the manuscript Sbath 254, containing an account written by the Syrian Maronite Hanna Diyab who was hired in 1707 as a guide and interpreter by the French royal explorer Paul Lucas (1664-1737), I have found previously unpublished confessions by Diyab concerning his visit to Versailles and his contribution to the most famous "translation" of the *Mille et une Nuits* (also known as *The Arabian Nights*), published by Antoine Galland. These confessions may be useful to shed some light on the following questions: 1) the position Diyab was about to hold in the Royal library of Louis XIV, 2) how he helped Galland to translate and add a dozen of tales to his 1001 nights, 3) why Galland managed to send him back home.

Keywords: Arabian Nights; Galland; Diyab; Lucas.

Introduction

En juillet 2006, le sous-Préfet de la Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane (BAV) et le directeur du Fonds des manuscrits orientaux m'ont suggéré de transcrire, traduire et commenter quatre manuscrits que possède la BAV. Deux de ces manuscrits sont des récits de voyages, autographes, rédigés par des Alépins: le ms. Sbath 89, (1656) par le Grec Orthodoxe Ra'd, décrivant son voyage d'Alep à Venise¹ et le ms. Sbath 254² par le Maronite Hanna Dyāb (dorénavant Hanna Diyab), relatant le sien avec son maître Paul Lucas (PL), d'Alep vers Paris et Versailles en 1707.

Le but de cet article

Les experts des *Mille et une Nuits* connaissent Hanna Diyab grâce au *Journal* de Galland et à sa *Correspondance*³, dans lesquels il est mentionné maintes fois depuis 1709⁴.

¹ Je viens de remettre à la BAV ma traduction du manuscrit Sbath 89 accompagnée des commentaires linguistiques qui seront prochainement publiés.

² "Le manuscrit est incomplet: il manque cinq folios au début, comme le montre une numération manuscrite des quarante premières pages. Le folio 1 de la numération actuelle correspond donc à l'ancien folio 6. Cent soixante-quatorze folios, vingt et une lignes par page. Texte très dialectalisant, riche d'informations et de notations de toutes sortes..." Lentin (1997: 49). En marge du f.90v, un inconnu a noté: "En Avril 1840, mon grand-père paternel a trouvé ce livre de voyage chez le maronite Gibrāyil fils de Dīb Rūkuz Dyāb".

³ C'est à certains passages de son *Journal* et à sa *Correspondance* publiés en partie par Omont Henri (éd.) (1919), Abdel-Halim (1964) et cités par May (1986) et Miquel-Ravenel (2009) qu'on fait appel dans cet article. Je viens d'apprendre qu'un des passages concernant Diyab – Galland a été traduit par J. Lentin pour les éditeurs du *Journal* dans Bauden, Frédéric & Waller, Richard (édit.). 2011. *Le journal d'Antoine Galland (1646-1715). La période parisienne*. Volume 1 (1708-1709). Leuven / Paris / Walpole: Peeters, 48-49.

Or, en traduisant le manuscrit autographe du ms. Sbath 254, j'ai découvert certaines confessions inédites, écrites de la main de Hanna Diyab, qui concernent Paul Lucas, Antoine Galland et ses « traductions » des *Mille et une Nuits*.

En tant qu'arabisant et jamais comme historien ou expert des *Mille et une Nuits*, on se propose dans cet article de révéler certains secrets concernant Galland, l'homme et son chef-d'œuvre.

Il s'agit d'un manuscrit dans lequel Hanna Diyab, l'interprète alépin de Lucas, parle (128r8-15) d'un homme âgé (*ḥityār*) qu'il ne nomme jamais « Galland » et qui s'occupait de la traduction des *Mille et une Nuits*. Il dit l'avoir aidé à les traduire et lui avoir raconté certaines légendes qui lui manquaient, mais il ajoute que plus tard, cet homme âgé l'avait renvoyé en Syrie « pour des ambitions personnelles ».

Hanna Diyab

Maronite d'Alep, Hanna Diyab (XVII-XVIII siècles), voulait devenir moine⁵. Il quitte Alep pour se rendre dans un monastère du Mont-Liban. Constatant l'austérité de la vie monastique, il renonce à cette vocation (1r1-3r) et retourne à Alep (7r10-), puis en repart en grand secret pour revenir au Mont-Liban (7r17-). Comme compagnon de voyage, il rencontre Paul Lucas qui était l'hôte de M. Sauron⁶, maître de son frère (7r20-21). C'est alors que Diyab reconnaît en lui l'homme qui voyageait pour le compte du « Sultan » de France [le Roi Louis XIV] (7r-7v1). Il se joint à lui comme voyageur et interprète (1707-1709), raconte maintes péripéties – entre autres, son aventure avec Galland – puis rentre à Alep. Sa famille s'en réjouit. De peur qu'il ne reparte, son frère Abdallah lui ouvre un magasin de tissus [litt. de drap]. Sa famille fait en sorte qu'entre-temps, il se fiance et se marie. Il aura des enfants et restera vingt-deux ans vendeur de tissus (170v10-19).

Il note dans son manuscrit qu'il a écrit ce récit en 1763 – cinquante-quatre ans plus tard, à l'âge de soixante-quinze ans (96r11-14) – et l'a achevé le 3 mars 1764 (174r13)⁷. Or, à en juger par les détails très élaborés, les centaines de noms de lieux et de personnes qu'il cite, on est en droit de penser qu'il l'a rédigé à partir d'un carnet de voyage.

⁴ Jérôme Lentin - que je sache – fut l'un des premiers à examiner ce manuscrit. Après l'avoir décrit (v. note 2) il annonce (1997: 49) "Nous en préparons une édition et une traduction, en collaboration avec B. Heyberger pour l'aspect historique". Or, jusqu'à présent (02.02.2014), l'édition annoncée par Lentin n'a pas été publiée.

⁵ Il n'est jamais devenu "monk" comme Chraïbi (2007: 3-4) l'a laissé entendre: "Both these tales, and several others, were told by Hannâ, a Maronite monk originating from Aleppo in Syria, with whom Galland had become acquainted through his friend, the traveler Paul Lucas. ... "

⁶ "Le 4 [mars], partis à la pointe du jour, après sept heures de marche nous nous trouvâmes à Alep, où je fus loger chez M. Sauron, mon ancien ami. D'Alep, où je demeurais jusqu'au 24, j'allai à Tripoli de Syrie par les mêmes endroits que dans mon premier voyage." Lucas (2002: 164).

⁷ Voir aussi (81v, 96r et 83v).

Paul Lucas

Paul Lucas (1664-1737): naturaliste, médecin et antiquaire du Roi Louis XIV. En sa qualité de spécialiste en médailles, il effectue son premier voyage commandé par la République de Venise. A son retour (1703), il publie son *Voyage du Sieur Lucas au Levant* et repart vers l'Orient l'année suivante, comme antiquaire de Louis XIV, chargé par le ministre Pontchartrain de rapporter maintes curiosités: médailles, pierres précieuses et gravées, manuscrits, etc.⁸ Lucas quitte Paris le 15 octobre 1704 (Lucas, 2002: 25) et arrive à Alep le 4 mars 1707, y demeure jusqu'au 24 mars (Lucas, 2002: 164). C'est durant son voyage d'Alep à « Tripoli de Syrie » qu'il rencontre Hanna Diyab (voir ci-dessous).

Les dates chronologiques fournies par Lucas, souvent, ne concordent pas avec celles de Hanna Diyab. Or, comment se peut-il que Lucas ait quitté Alep pour « Tripoli de Syrie » le 24 mars 1707 (voir Lucas, 2002: 164) et que tous deux l'aient quittée, selon Diyab, en février 1707 (10v1-) ? Comment se peut-il que Lucas ait situé son retour à Paris en septembre 1708⁹, alors que Diyab note son arrivée à « Bahris » en février 1709 (93v16) ? Est-ce dû à un trou de mémoire d'un Diyab qui ne mettait pas régulièrement son carnet de voyage à jour ? Diyab est-il arrivé plus tard ? Cohérent avec le but de cet article, on ne citera que les dates du manuscrit de Diyab.

Antoine Galland

Antoine Galland (1646-1715): orientaliste, philologue, épigraphiste, numismate, traducteur, antiquaire du roi. Habitué de la Bibliothèque royale, il est nommé en 1709 à la chaire d'arabe, alors qu'il est déjà célèbre à cette date, pour sa traduction des *Mille et une Nuits*, élaborée depuis 1701. Entre 1670 et 1688, il fait trois séjours dans l'Empire ottoman et surtout dans le Proche-Orient, totalisant presque quinze années d'expertise dans plusieurs domaines.

En 1701, Galland se fait rapporter par un Alépin résidant à Paris¹⁰, trois volumes de contes – provenant pour la plupart, d'un fonds arabe des *Mille et une Nuits*, adapté du moyen persan¹¹ – et en commence la traduction, glissant dans l'adaptation en français¹². C'est dans

⁸Les deuxième et troisième récits de ses *voyages*, publiés en 1714 (Paris N. Simart, deux tomes) et 1719 (Rouen, R. Machuel le jeune) sont téléchargeables. Les récits de Lucas concernant le trajet raconté par Hanna Diyab se trouvent à la fin de la première partie (chapitre XXXIX) et dans toute la seconde partie du *Deuxième Voyage*. C'est précisément dans la réédition de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, présentée par Duranton (Lucas, 2002) – qui en a modernisé l'orthographe – que nous puisons pour nos citations.

⁹Voir Duranton dans (Lucas, 2002: 7).

¹⁰"Depuis trois ou quatre jours, j'ai appris par la lettre d'un ami de Halep, résidant à Paris, qu'il a reçu de son pays un livre arabe, que je l'avais prié de faire venir; il est en trois volumes, intitulé *Les Mille et une Nuits*..." (Miquel-Ravenel, 2009: 115, *Lettre à Huet*, Caen 19 octobre 1701). Il ne s'agit sûrement pas de Hanna Diyab qu'il n'a rencontré qu'en 1709. Est-il question d'un alépin élève du Collège maronite de Rome?

¹¹Il s'agit vraisemblablement d'un fonds arabe adapté du moyen persan *Hazâr afsân [e]* (*Mille contes*), probablement au 9^e siècle, sous le titre d'*Alf layla wa-layla* (*Les Mille et une Nuits*) et qui a continué à se

ces trois volumes de manuscrits que Galland puise, pour publier les sept premiers tomes de son texte princeps des *Mille et une Nuits*¹³.

Grâce à Hanna Diyab, présenté le 25 mars 1709 par Lucas, Galland relance son entreprise¹⁴, « laquelle, au bout de huit années et d'autant de volumes, était arrivée à bout de souffle. Tous les contes qu'il écrivit pour *les Mille et une Nuits* à partir de 1709 sortent de cette rencontre. »(May, 1986: 85).

« Des quatorze récits qu'il dit avoir entendus de la bouche de Hanna, seul celui d' 'Aladdin', répétons-le, lequel lui fut remis par écrit, n'est pas résumé dans le *Journal*. Sur les treize autres, dont nous avons donc les sommaires de la main de Galland, sept seulement allaient être retenus par lui et donner naissance aux *récits* figurant dans les trois derniers volumes de l'édition princeps des *Mille et une nuits*. ». (May, 1986: 85-86). On est même en droit de se demander – ajoute May (1986: 92) « s'il ne disposait pas, pour 'Ali Baba' d'une version arabe de la main de Hanna, comme pour 'Aladdin' »¹⁵.

Hélas, aucun conte écrit en arabe de la main de Hanna Diyab ne semble avoir été retrouvé¹⁶.

Galland et Lucas

Tous deux ont voyagé en Orient et en Afrique du Nord. Dans son *Deuxième Voyage*, nulle part Lucas ne cite Diyab ou Galland. Quant à Galland, il parle amicalement de Lucas dans son *Journal*, comme d'un jeune collègue qui l'accommoda de quelques médailles et avec lequel il s'entretenait de leurs aventures en Orient:

« Je dinai avec M. Paul Lucas, qui me raconta plusieurs particularités de son dernier voyage au Levant » (Miquel-Ravenel, 2009 : 71, *Journal*, 28 avril 1708).

transformer durant le Califat abbaside (IX–XI siècles) et plus tard par suppressions ou adjonctions continues. Voir Littmann (1975) et Mahdi (1984-1994).

¹²Galland ne se limite pas à traduire ses contes, mais il le fait avec toute la circonspection que demande la délicatesse de la langue et de la culture françaises, conformément aux coutumes de son temps, qu'il est le premier à souligner. (Miquel-Ravenel, 2009: 115, *Lettre à Cuper*, août 1702). Parmi les meilleurs spécialistes qui ont examiné de près cette question, depuis Zotenberg (1887), on cite à ce propos, Hagège (1980) et May (1986: 67-102).

¹³Les douze volumes de son édition princeps se sont échelonnés entre 1704 et 1717. Les derniers tomes ont été publiés: en 1712 (IX - X) et posthume en 1717 (XI - XII).

¹⁴Galland note dans son *Journal*: le 10 janvier 1711: "J'achevai la traduction du 10^e tome des *Mille et une nuits* d'après le texte arabe que j'avais eu de la main de Hanna" (May, 1986:87); le 26 août: "Je commençais à travailler au 11^{ème} volume des *Mille et une Nuits*."; le 25 juillet 1712: "Je fis présent à M. Lucas des 9^{ème} et 10^{ème} tomes"; le 14 novembre: "J'achevais le 12^{ème} tome des *Mille et une Nuits*." (Miquel-Ravenel, 2009: 119-120).

¹⁵Du même avis Larzul (2007: 17-18).

¹⁶"As is well known, there is no Arabic text of "Ali Baba" prior to the eighteenth century. No Arabic text older than Galland's French version exists... The safest information at hand about the ultimate origin of "Ali Baba" is contained in Galland's *Journal*, which is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris". (Chraïbi, 2007: 3-4).

« J'allai à Versailles le matin, où je rendis mes respects à Madame la marquise d'O qui me fit l'honneur de me rendre manger à sa table. Je vis ensuite M. Oudinet, qui me fit voir des médailles apportées du Levant par M. Paul Lucas, et je couchai chez M. Carlieu, Inspecteur architecte. » (Miquel-Ravenel, 2009 : 71, *Journal*, 9 juin 1708).

« M. Lucas me fit présent de son dernier *Voyage au Levant* commencé en 1704 et achevé en 1708. Ce voyage n'est pas seulement estimable par l'histoire des aventures de M. Lucas, mais encore par la publication des inscriptions grecques qu'il a apportées. » (Miquel-Ravenel, 2009 : 123, *Journal*, 26 juillet 1712).

Or, dans sa *Correspondance* à Gijsbert Cuper, Galland avoue le 12 juillet 1709 :

« Il [Lucas] travaille à mettre son *Journal* au net. Mais, quand il l'aura achevé, comme il n'a pas la moindre teinture des lettres, et ainsi qu'il n'a pas de style, il faudra que M. Baudelot, qui a fait la mesme chose du premier *Voiage*, le mette aussi en estat d'estre imprimé et publié... ».¹⁷

Le *Deuxième Voyage* est désormais paru, il écrit au même, le 20 février 1714 :

« C'est un homme qui n'a aucune estude et pas mesme de style en écrivant [...] Je vous fais cette remarque pour vous faire comprendre que l'endroit principal par où M. Paul Lucas mérite la louange des gens de lettres, est son exactitude à bien copier ce qu'il voioit sur le marbre d'Ancyre, sans l'entendre. ».¹⁸

Diyab et Lucas

Lucas avait l'intention de parcourir, à partir d'Alep, les pays du Levant, « c'est-à-dire les pays arabes » (7v1-3). D'abord Diyab résoud un malentendu linguistique entre Lucas et le muletier (7v17-8r3) et, sachant qu'il était chrétien (8r4-6) et qu'il avait envie de parcourir le monde, Lucas lui aurait dit(8r19-8v6) :

(8r-19) « si tu veux visiter le monde tu ne trouveras personne (20) mieux que moi » et il m'a raconté qu'il avait été envoyé par le Sultan français pour faire le tour des pays (21). « Ma tâche – dit-il – est d'enregistrer ce que j'observe, de repérer des dates anciennes, des médailles, c'est-à-dire les monnaies (8v1) des rois d'autrefois et même des herbes locales ». Puis il m'a demandé : (2) « est-ce que tu sais lire la langue arabe? ». « Oui – ai-je répondu – et la langue des Francs aussi » (3) « **Donc – dit-il – si tu m'accompagnes je te ferai placer**

(١٩٨) فقلي انكان بتريد تسوح ما بتقدر
تقشع (٢٠) احسن مني واحكالي بانه مرسل من
سلطان فرنسا حتي ادور البلاد (٢١) واكتب ما
اراه. وافتش علي تواريخ قدم. وعلي مداليا اعني
معاملة (٨ب١) ملوك القدم. وعلي بعض حشائش
موجوده في هل بلاد. ثم سألني (٢) هل بتعرف
تقرا بلسان العربي. قلته نعم وبالفرنجي ايضاً (٣)
قلي ان رحت معي انا بجلسك في خزانة الكتب
العربية وبصير لك (٤) علوفه من الملك. وبتعيش

¹⁷Voir Duranton dans sa présentation de Lucas (2002: 8 et 9 note 1).

¹⁸*Ibid.*

dans le Fonds des livres arabes, tu recevras ainsi (4) du Roi une rentrée d'argent et tu vivras sous sa protection. (5) Le vizir¹⁹ m'a recommandé de faire venir avec moi, de ce pays, un homme qui connaît l'arabe. (6) Tu en bénéficieras énormément. Veux-tu venir avec moi ? ». « Oui! » – dis-je – ...

طول عمرک تحت نام الملك. وانا موصي (٥) من الوزير باني اخذ معي رجل يعرف بقرا بالعربي من هل بلاد. (٦) وهذا بيصير لك منه خير عظيم. ابتريد تروح معي فتلته نعم...

Diyab et Lucas quittent Tripoli (de Syrie) en février 1707, pour Zouq Mikael dans le Mont Kisrouan (10v1-), Beyrouth (11r8-), le Mont des Druzes (12v16-), Sidon (12v20-) où Lucas laisse Diyab seul chez le Consul et se dirige avec certains moines vers Jérusalem (13r2). Le 5 mai 1707, Diyab et Lucas s'embarquent à Sidon pour Chypre (14r7-), puis, en juin 1707, pour Alexandrie (18v1-) où ils reprennent une autre embarcation pour le Caire, passant par les ports d'al-Rosette puis de Damiette (21r17-18). Après un bref séjour au Caire, Lucas décide de faire voile vers el-Fayoum (27v6) où ils arrivent après quelques jours de navigation (28r1-). Lucas renonce à poursuivre son voyage vers la Haute-Égypte (al-Ṣaʿīd) (32v16), ils font marche arrière vers le Caire qu'ils quittent pour Alexandrie (33v5-10), d'où ils s'embarquent en 1708, pour Tripoli (Libye) et les pays maghrébins (34r7-). Après un long séjour à Tripoli, ils repartent pour Tunis (48v13-), passant par Djerba (48v16-), Sfax (50r5-), Hammamet (53r1). Ils arrivent à Tunis (54v11-) qu'ils quittent le 1^{er} juin 1708²⁰, sur un vaisseau anglais, pour Livourne (62r6-), passant par La Corse (62r9). Ensuite ils se dirigent vers Gênes (83v18-), d'où ils s'embarquent pour Marseille (86r9), la quittent (mars 1709) pour Paris (90v15-). Ils passent cinq jours à Lyon (91r3-) et dans la province de Bourgogne (92v20-), arrivent enfin à Paris en février 1709 (93v16).

Avant de partir pour Versailles, Lucas termine ses préparatifs : il se fait faire un habit très coûteux et envoie imprimer son livre dans lequel il décrit minutieusement ses voyages à travers les pays qu'il a parcourus, tout ce qu'il a vu comme merveilles et perçu comme nouvelles (93v18-20). Puis il ordonne à Diyab de revêtir le costume qu'il a apporté d'Alep (94r2-3). Ils quittent Paris et arrivent à Versailles (94r8-), se dirigent vers le palais du ministre Pontchartrain, chargé de l'Orient (94v7-8), qui les présente à sa Majesté le Roi Louis XIV. Diyab y passe huit jours, puis rentre à Paris où son maître Lucas avait loué un logis.

Diyab et Galland

Durant son séjour à Paris et à Versailles, Diyab raconte d'une manière très détaillée, des dizaines d'événements qu'il a vus et d'histoires qu'il a entendues. Parmi les événements

¹⁹ Il s'agit de Pontchartrain, ministre et chancelier de France.

²⁰ Le 4 juin 1708 d'après Lucas (2002: 220).

racontés vers la fin de 1709, il relate son rapport avec Antoine Galland qu'il a toujours appelé le *ḥityār* (l'homme âgé) :

(128r8) En ce temps-là je me sentais le cœur serré et je m'ennuyais dans ce pays (9). Un homme âgé nous rendait très souvent visite. Il était responsable de la bibliothèque arabe (10). Il lisait bien l'arabe et traduisait de l'arabe en français. Parmi (11) les œuvres qu'il traduisait à cette époque-là, il y avait le livre des contes (12) des Mille et une Nuits. **Cet homme me demandait de l'aider à résoudre certaines questions (13) qu'il n'arrivait pas à comprendre. Alors je les lui expliquais. Mais certaines nuits manquaient dans le livre (14), alors je lui ai narré certains contes que je connaissais, tant que son livre n'a pas été complété.** (15) Il était très content de moi et m'a promis qu'il s'emploierait de tout son cœur à faire tout ce qui pourrait me servir (16).

(٨١٢٨) وفي تلك الايام [م] صغره نفسي واتضجرت من ليل السكنة في تلك البلاد (٩) وكان يزورنا كثير اوقات رجل اختيار. وكان موكل علي خزانت كتب العربي (١٠) وكان يقرأ مليح بالعربي. وينقل كتب عربي الي الفرنسي. ومن (١١) الجملة كان في ذلك الحين ينقل كتاب عربي الي الفرنسي وهو كتاب حكاية (١٢) الف ليله وليله. فهذا الرجل كان يستعين في لاجل بعض قضايا (١٣) ما كان يفهمهم. فكنت افهمه اياهم. وكان الكتاب ناقص كام ليله (١٤) فاحكيت له حكايا الذي كنت بعرفهم فتم كتابه من تلك الحكايا (١٥) فانبسط مني قوي كثير. ووعدني بان كان لي ساله حتي يقضيها من كل (١٦) قلبه.

Mais de quel service s'agissait-il ?

(128r16) Un jour donc, alors que j'étais assis, conversant avec lui, il m'a dit : « je voudrais te rendre (17) un service, mais tu dois garder le secret. Je lui ai rétorqué : « quel est ce service que tu voudrais me rendre ? » (18). Il m'a répondu : « demain tu le sauras ». (19) Notre entretien terminé, il m'a quitté et le lendemain il est revenu, me disant : « réjouis-toi de cette grande occasion (20). Si elle arrive, ce sera pour ton bonheur ». (21) A ce moment-là, je lui ai dit : « réponds-moi : de quoi s'agit-il ? ». Il m'a répondu en indiquant un prince parmi les puissants du royaume : « celui-là m'avait demandé de lui trouver (128v1) un homme pour l'envoyer faire le même tour que celui de Paul Lucas – mon maître – et maintenant (2) j'ai pensé lui parler de toi, vu que tu as voyagé et que tu sais ce dont on a besoin ». (3) Il m'a ordonné de te

(١٦١٢٨) فيوم من ذات الايام وانا جالس بتحاكا معه قلبي يريد اعمل معك (١٧) خير لكن ان حفظت السر. فقلته ما هو الخير الذي بتريد تصنعه (١٨) معي معي. فقلتي نهار غدي برويك الخير الذي يريد اصنعه معك. فبعد (١٩) ما انتهينا من كلام مضي من عندي. وثاني يوم اجا وهو يقلي ابشر في الغنيمه (٢٠) ان صح هل امر بيكون في سعادتك. حينئذ قلته اجيبني ما هو الخير (٢١) فاجابني واومالي عن رجل امير وهو من اكابر الدوله بان كان طلب مني. (١٢٨ب) رجل حتي يرسله للسياحه مثل سياحة بوللو كاس الذي هو معلمي. والان (٢) خطر في بالي بان اقول له عنك لانك انت سحت وبتعرف المطلوب (٣) فامرني بانني احضرك الي عنده حتي يراك ويلقش معك. ونهار غدي بستناك (٤) في فلان مكان حتي نروح لعنده جمله. ولكن بالك ثم بالك تعطي خبر

conduire chez lui pour te voir et bavarder avec toi. Demain je t'attendrai (4) quelque part pour que nous y allions ensemble, mais prends bien garde à ne pas le dire à ton maître, (5) car il t'empêchera d'y aller. Nous nous sommes mis d'accord ainsi et il est sorti de chez moi. Le lendemain, (6) je suis allé à l'endroit indiqué, où il m'attendait déjà. Je l'ai accompagné jusqu'au (7) sérail du Prince en question. Il est entré chez lui et un instant plus tard les serviteurs m'ont ordonné (8) d'entrer. Je suis entré et me suis présenté devant lui.

لمعلمك (٥) لانه بيصدق عن الرواح. فاتفقا علي هذا الراي ومضي من عندي. وثاني يوم (٦) مضيت الي ذلك المكان فرايته في استنداري. فرحت معه حتي وصلنا (٧) الي صراية ذلك الامير المذكور. فدخل الي عنده وبعد هنيهة امروني الخدام (٨) بالدخول. فدخلت وامتثلت امامه.

Le prince en question l'accueille bien, l'interroge sur les pays qu'il a visités avec Lucas et sur les antiquités qu'ils en ont rapportées. Puis il lui dit de se préparer, de quitter son maître et de venir chez lui, lui promettant d'obtenir un firman royal semblable à celui de son maître, le recommandant auprès des ambassadeurs et des consuls. Il lui promet en outre d'autres lettres pour que les consuls puissent satisfaire toutes ses requêtes et gardent chez eux tout ce qu'il y déposera pour l'envoyer à Marseille... Il l'assure encore qu'il recevra une indemnité journalière et le remboursement de tous ses frais. Il lui promet qu'à son retour il élèvera sa position et lui offrira une charge très lucrative. Hanna le quitte, tiraillé entre l'inquiétude et l'espérance. (128v9-129r3).

Diyab décide de retourner à Alep, mais comment Lucas réagit-il ?:

(132v14) ... j'ai donc décidé (15) de quitter Paris, de faire ce que le Prince mentionné m'avait ordonné de faire et de voyager (16) comme le faisait mon maître. J'ai donc décidé d'agir ainsi et j'ai demandé à mon maître la permission (17) de rentrer dans mon pays. Quand il a entendu ces mots, il s'est étonné et m'a dit : « qu'est-ce qui te manque ? (18) Tu n'es pas satisfait de la vie que je te fais mener ? J'ai fait tant d'efforts pour toi ; je t'ai conduit (19) dans ce pays pour te faire du bien, te procurer un emploi honorable (20) qui te permettra de jouir des faveurs et de la protection du 'Sultan' de France et de vivre heureux toute ta vie. Mais toi, tu veux donner un coup de pied à cette chance et redevenir esclave des Musulmans, comme autrefois ». (133r1) Ses paroles m'ont

(١٣٢ب١٤) فجزمة (١٥) علي الخروج من بهريس. وافعل ما امرني به الامير المذكور حتي اسافر واسوح (١٦) سياحة معلمي. فصممت النيه علي ذلك وطلبت من معلمي اذن حتي (١٧) اسافر الي بلادي. فلما سمع مني هل كلام بهت وقال لي هل ناقصك شي (١٨) او انك مانك راضي بعيشك معي. انا تعبت عليك هل قدر وجبتك (١٩) الي هذه البلاد حتي اصنع معك خير واقيمك في وظيفه شريفه تكون (٢٠) تحت نام سلطان فرنسا وتعيش طول عمرك بالهنا والسرور. وانت (٢١) بتريد ترفس هذه السعاده وترجع يسيير للمسلمين كما كنت سابقًا (١١٣٣) فاسر كلامه فيّ وغيرت نيّتي عن الرواح لان كان دايمًا يقلي بان (٢) الوزير راسه مشغول من جري الكون الواقع في تلك

touché et j'ai changé d'avis quant à mon départ, car il ne cessait de me répéter : « (2) en ce moment le 'Vizir' a l'esprit trop occupé par les événements mondiaux. Mais (3) quand la paix arrivera, je tiendrai ma promesse et te ferai engager à la Bibliothèque. ».

الايام. لكن (٣) لما ببصير الصلح بكمل وعدي معك
وبدخلك الي خزانة الكتب.

Diyab devait-il remplacer Galland ?

(133r4) J'ai continué d'espérer et j'ai renoncé à aller chez le Prince dont j'ai parlé. (5) Trois jours plus tard, vu que je n'arrivais pas, celui-ci m'a convoqué chez lui avec l'**homme âgé** (6). Quand je me suis présenté à lui, il m'a salué, et m'a demandé : « pourquoi n'es-tu pas venu plus tôt (7), moi qui t'attendais ? ». Je lui ai répondu : « Monseigneur, mon maître ne m'a pas autorisé à le quitter parce qu'il a beaucoup fait pour moi. (9) Il m'a conduit dans ce pays pour me rendre service et me soustraire à l'esclavage des barbares. (10) Voilà pourquoi je ne voudrais pas le décevoir. ». Alors le Prince m'a dit : « moi aussi, je voudrais te faire du bien et faire de toi un homme de mon entourage, jouissant des privilèges du Roi et des miens. Va chez ton maître et dis-lui que tu as reçu une lettre de ta famille et que tu es obligé (13) de partir pour ton pays. Fais ce que je t'ai dit et reviens chez moi pour faire tes préparatifs (14) de départ. ». A ces mots, je suis resté sans voix et n'ai pu lui répondre (15) qu'affirmativement. Je suis sorti de chez lui perplexe ; mais c'est Dieu – qu'il en soit loué – (16) qui a arrangé cela.

(4) فضليت في هل امل. وعدلت عن الرواح
الي عند الامير المذكور. فلما (5) اسطبطاني بعد ثلاثة
ايام ارسل دعاني صحبة ذلك الاختيار (6) فلما امتثلت
امامه حيانى بالسلام. وصار يقلي لماذا تعوقت في (7)
مجبك الي عندي. وانا في استندارك. اجبتة يا سيدي ما
امكن ان (8) يعطيني لىخق اذن معلمي في الخروج من
عنده. لانه تعب علي كثير (9) وجابني الي هذه البلاد
حتي يفعل معي خير ويخلصني من اسر البرابره (10)
ولاجل هل سبب ما بريد افوت خاطره. حيند قلي
الامير وانا بريد افعل (11) معك خير. واجعلك من
توابعي. وتكون دايمًا تحت نام الملك ونامي (12)
امضي قول لمعلمك ان جاك مكتوب من عند اهلك
وسر وبنتلزم (13) بالرواح الي بلادك. افعل بالذي
اقوله لك وهلم الي عندي حتي اجهزك (14) وارسلك.
فلما سمعت منه هل كلام انبكمت وما قدرت رد عليه
(15) جواب الا بالسفر. فخرجت من عنده وانا في
حيره. ولكن الله سبحانه (16) دبر هكذا.

Comment Lucas et Diyab se sont-ils séparés ?

(133r16)... Je suis retourné chez mon maître et je lui ai dit : « Monseigneur! j'ai reçu une lettre (17) de mes frères et je ne pourrai plus rester ici. Quand il a entendu ces mots, (18) il s'est fâché et est entré dans une violente colère contre moi, disant : 'vous les orientaux, vous êtes

(١٦١٣٣) فرجعت الي معلمي وقلت له يا سيدي
انا جاني مكتوب من (١٧) عند اخوتي وما بيمن بقيت
استقيم ههنا. فلما سمع مني هذا الكلام (١٨) غضب
وانحصر مني في غاية ما يكون بقوله انتم يا ولاد
الشرق قليلين (١٩) الوفا امضي الي حيث ما تريد لكن

peu (19) fidèles. Va-t-en. Va où tu veux'. » Mais il l'a dit avec grandes rancœur et irritation. Il a – tout de suite – sorti (20) cent tiers (de ?), me les a donnés et m'a dit : « va-t-en et bon voyage. Mais (21) tu regretteras quand il sera trop tard. ».

بحرد وغيظ شديد. واخرج (٢٠) في الحال اعطاني مائة ثلث وقلبي روح مع السلامه. ولكن (٢١) سوف تندم حيث ما يفيدك الندم.

Hanna se dirige vers le relais des diligences qui voyagent vers Lyon... Il inscrit son nom sur la liste des voyageurs. Puis il va chez le Prince et l'informe qu'il a quitté son maître et pris une place dans la diligence... Le Prince appelle un scribe et lui ordonne d'écrire une lettre pour l'un des ducs du Palais du Roi, à Versailles, afin que celui-ci prépare un firman selon les modalités qu'il résume dans sa missive. Puis il ordonne à Hanna d'aller à Versailles et de remettre la lettre au Duc en question. Il y va et lui donne la lettre. Le Duc l'accompagne là où l'on écrit les firmans et les ordres du Roi. Il appelle donc chez lui le responsable de ce groupe de scribes et lui ordonne d'écrire un firman conforme aux instructions de la lettre. Mais le firman devra être présenté au Roi et ne pourra être sous-signé que le lundi. Le lendemain matin Diyab se rend chez le Prince et lui raconte que le firman ne sera prêt que le lundi suivant. Le prince le rassure, lui disant de partir pour Marseille où il recevrait plus tard les lettres de recommandation et le firman promis. Il ordonne au scribe d'écrire une lettre au chef des douanes de Marseille, qui s'occupe des échanges entre ce pays et les commerçants d'Orient. Dans cette lettre, il lui ordonne de garder Diyab chez lui jusqu'à l'arrivée du firman par le courrier, de lui remettre une lettre pour tous les consuls des pays d'Orient, de lui donner tout l'argent qu'il demandera et d'expédier à Marseille, sous le contrôle du chef des douanes, tout ce qu'il déposera chez eux. Il ordonne en outre d'écrire une lettre à l'ambassadeur français à Istamboul, pour qu'il lui procure un firman de recommandation du vizir, pour tous les gouverneurs des pays. Ensuite, Hanna emporte les lettres, prend ses affaires, quitte Paris pour Lyon, puis Marseille (133v1-135v16).

Une fois arrivé à Marseille, Diyab loge dans une auberge, puis il va chez le chef des douanes qui, après avoir lu la lettre du Prince, l'accueille avec grande déférence (135v16-21) et lui dit :

(136r1) ... « l'honorable Prince m'a écrit de te garder chez moi (2) jusqu'à ce qu'il t'envoie le firman du souverain et à mon tour, je te donnerai une lettre pour les consuls, comme me le recommande le Prince (3) dans cette lettre ». Et moi qui croyais que le firman du souverain m'avait précédé à Marseille! (4) Car toutes les semaines, arrive un courrier à Marseille. J'ai donc senti (5) que mon cas était voué à l'échec et j'ai renoncé à rester chez le chef des douanes, (6) lui

(١١٣٦) ... اخيرًا قلبي بان حضرة الامير كاتب لي بان ابيك عندي الي (٢) حين ما يرسل لك الفرمان وانا بعطيك مكتوب للقناصر كما اوصاني (٣) في مكتوبه هذا. وانا كان ظني بان الفرمان وصل قبل وصولي الي مرسيليا (٤) لان في كل اسبوع يبصل اولاق بمنزل الي مرسيليا. وقتيد حسيت (٥) بان مسالتي فاشوشه. ولاجل هذا ما ردت استقيم عند الشابندر (٦) بل قلته انا نزلت في استريه سد بتسما بتي

disant : « je loge déjà dans une auberge qui s'appelle 'Petit Paris', quand arrivera (7) le firman du souverain, veuillez m'appeler chez vous ».

بهريس. ولما بيصلك (٧) الفرمان ارسل ادعوني الي عندك.

Il y reste trois semaines et même une quatrième, mais personne ne se manifeste. Il s'assure donc que son projet avec ce Prince est un échec et lui écrit une lettre de reproches (136r16-20).

Mais que se passe-t-il entre-temps?

(136v1) ... Au cours de ces jours-là, un homme qui était de passage, est arrivé de Paris et a logé (2) à l'auberge où moi, l'humble, j'étais descendu. Un jour que je m'entretenais avec lui (3), il m'a demandé quel était mon pays et comment j'étais arrivé dans le sien. Je lui ai raconté (4) pourquoi j'étais venu, que j'étais arrivé avec un homme appelé Paul Lucas qui voyageait (5) pour le compte du Roi et comment je m'étais rendu à Paris avec lui. Bref, je lui ai raconté mon histoire du début à la fin (6) et comment le Prince Untel m'avait dupé, fait quitter mon maître et avait manqué (7) à la promesse qu'il m'avait faite. Il m'a dit : « tu as dit vrai, mon frère, mais le Prince n'est pas fautif, le coupable (8) c'est ton maître. **Moi, je vais te raconter ce qui s'est passé. L'homme âgé qui (9) te rendait visite, c'est lui qui, diaboliquement, a suscité le désir du Prince de t'expédier en voyage (10) car il avait entendu dire – et s'en était même assuré – que ton maître voulait te faire prendre en charge le Fonds des livres (11) arabes. De peur de perdre lui-même cette charge, il a combiné ce petit jeu, (12) convainquant le Prince de t'expédier en voyage.** Ceci fait, le Prince t'a envoyé à Versailles, afin qu'on (13) t'écrive le firman royal. Cette nuit-là, un ami de ton maître t'avait vu, (14) lui avait raconté que tu avais remis une lettre à un certain Duc, que (15) ce Duc t'avait fait rencontrer le 'chef' des scribes, pour qu'il te

(١٣٦ب١) ... وفي تلك الايام اتى من مدينة بهريس رجل عابر طريق ونزل (٢) في استريت التي نازل فيها الفقير. فيوم من ذات الايام لما كنت اتسامر انا (٣) وياه. فسألني عن بلادي وكيف كان قدومي الي تلك البلاد. فاحكيت (٤) له عن سبب مجيبي. وهو اني جيت مع رجل يسما بولوكاس من سواح (٥) الملك وكيف اني مضيت معه الي بهريس. وقصيتله بقصتي من اولها الي اخرها (٦) وكيف ان الامير الفلاني جونني واخرجني من عند معلمي. وكيف انه خرم بـ (٧) بوعده معي. فقلي صدقت يا اخي. ولكن حضرة الامير ما له دنب الدنب (٨) الي معلمك. وانا بحكيك بالمجراويه كيف تمت. فالاختيار الذي كان (٩) يزورك هو الذي شوق الامير في ارسالك الي السياحه تحت تلبسه (١٠) لانه سمع بل تحقق بان معلمك بيريد ياخذ لك وظيفة خزنه كتب (١١) العربي. وخوفا ليلا تفلت هذه الوظيفة من يده فلعب هذا الملعب (١٢) وشوق الامير في ارسالك. لما تم الامر والامير ارسلك الي ورساليا حتي (١٣) حتي يكتب لك فرمان من الملك. ففي تلك الليه راءك رجل من اصحاب (١٤) معلمك واحكي له بانك اعطيت مكتوب الي فلان دوك. وكيف ان (١٥) الدوك واجهك مع ريس الكتاب حتي يطيلك لك فرمان من الملك (١٦) توصاي فيك لاجل سياحتك. فلما سمع معلمك هذا الخبر. فمضي (١٧) الي ورساليا لعند ذلك الدوك واستخبر منه حقيقة الامر. فانحصر (١٨) معلمك بما ان هذه وظيفته عند الملك وهي السياحه. فمضي في الحال (١٩) عند حضرة الامير.

fasse obtenir un firman du roi (16) en guise de recommandation pour ton voyage. ». Quand ton maître a appris cette nouvelle, il est parti voir ce Duc (17) à Versailles et s'est informé sur la véracité des faits. Alors il s'en est attristé, (18) car voyager était sa charge à lui, près le Roi. Il est donc parti sans délai (19) chez l'honorable Prince, t'a dénigré, lui disant : « Monseigneur, prenez garde et ne confiez pas vos intérêts à un tel homme, parce que les Levantins sont traîtres; il pourrait, avec vos recommandations, obtenir de l'argent des Consuls et se réfugier dans son pays, où vous n'auriez plus (137r1) aucune autorité sur lui. Pour vous rendre service je suis prêt à le remplacer, mais seulement pour vous rendre service. Je vous enverrai tout ce que je recueillerai. ». Quand le Prince a entendu ton maître dire cela (3) il a changé d'avis et l'a chargé de voyager à ses frais.

Etait-ce vrai ?

(137r3) ... C'est ce qui, en effet, s'était produit (4), car plus tard, après mon arrivée à Alep, mon maître est arrivé lui aussi. Je l'ai rencontré et salué (5), l'ai invité chez nous et servi, lui rendant tous les plus grands honneurs. (6) Cette nuit-là il a dormi chez nous. Je lui ai mis un matelas à l'étage du dessus et après (7) le départ de mes frères, nous sommes restés seuls, assis, à causer. Il m'a reproché (8) de ne pas l'avoir informé de mon accord avec le Prince, à propos de mes voyages. (9) Il m'a dit aussi : « c'est un affront que tu m'as fait, auquel je ne m'attendais pas de ta part (10), car j'avais l'intention de te rendre un grand service, mais toi, tu as donné un coup de pied à cette chance ». (11) Après une longue conversation et de nombreux reproches, nous nous sommes endormis...

ووشي عليك بقوله له بالك يا سيدي تسلم امرك (٢٠) الي واحد مثل هذا. لان اولاد الشرق خاينين بيمكن علي موجب (٢١) امرك ياخذ من القناصر مال ويعصي في بلاده. وما ببعود يصير لك (١١٣٧) مقدره عليه. واكرامًا لخاطرك انا بنوب عنه وبخدمك هل (٢) خدمه. وايش ما جنيته برسلك هو. فلما سمع الامير من معلمك هذا (٣) الكلام تغير عقله ووجه له بانه يسوح علي كيسه.

(٣١٣٧) ... وهكذا صار (٤) لان بعد وصولي الي حلب بمده وصل معلمي الي حلب فواجهته وسلمت (٥) عليه. وعزمته لعندنا ووقفت في واجبه واكرمته غاية الاكرام. (٦) وبات تلك الليلة عندنا. وفرشت له فرشه في عليتي. فبعد (٧) ما مضوا اخوتي وبقيت انا واياه جلسنا نتسامر. فصار بيعاتبني (٨) كيف اني ما اعطتية خبر في اتفاقي مع الامير حتي امضي الي السياحه. (٩) وقلتي هذا نقص جري منك في حقي. وما كان املي منك تفعل معي هكذا (١٠) لان نييتي لله كانت لك افعل معك خير عظيم. الا انك رفست النعمه (١١) وبعد كلام مستطيل او عتاب جزيل. رقدنا ...

Conclusions

Laissons dormir en paix Diyab et Lucas, ce qui n'empêche pas de se demander :

1) A part les contes de Diyab, résumés dans le *Journal* de Galland, comment peut-on identifier les textes authentiques de Diyab et les ajouts de Galland, surtout en ce qui concerne les contes orphelins, mixtes ou hybrides, comme *Aladdin*, *Ali Baba*, etc. qui font ses succès en Occident?

2) Pourquoi Lucas n'a-t-il jamais mentionné Diyab dans son *Deuxième Voyage*, lui qui le cite des centaines de fois, pétri d'admiration pour ses talents et de reconnaissance pour les bienfaits qu'il lui a procurés?²¹

3) Pourquoi Lucas ne mentionne-t-il jamais Galland (qui le cite maintes fois dans son *Journal* et dans ses *Lettres*) ? Peut-on parler d'une rivalité Galland-Lucas ?

4) Diyab fut-il victime de leur rivalité ?

5) Diyab leur en a-t-il voulu ?²²

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²¹ Le public auquel Lucas et Galland s'adressent est l'un des plus illustres du Royaume (v. May, 1986: 44-45). Quant à Lucas, dans ses trois *Voyages*, il est souvent superbe, citant souverains, événements mythologiques et historiques, négligeant les traditions populaires et ses interprètes. Il suffit d'observer les titres pompeux de ses récits de *voyages* et la transcription des mots indigènes qu'il offre.

²² En Chrétien oriental pratiquant, Diyab considère maintes fois ses mésaventures avec Galland et Lucas comme le fruit d'une volonté divine, disant entre autres : (136r20) « ... c'est ce qu'avait prévu (21) la Providence pour mon bien. J'ai envoyé ma lettre et effacé de mon esprit (136v1) cette histoire » et après son retour à Alep : (170v14-21) « Je suis resté vingt-deux ans vendeur de drap. En effet (18) – volonté divine – mon frère ayant peur que je ne reparte, (19) fit en sorte qu'entre-temps, on me fiance, on me marie et que j'aie des enfants. C'est qu'évidemment (20) le Seigneur me vouait plutôt à la vie conjugale, alors qu'en quittant Alep en secret (21) j'avais l'intention de retourner chez les moines ».

RÉFLEXIONS SUR LA CATÉGORIE DES « PARLERS VILLAGEOIS » EN ARABE TUNISIEN

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Résumé. La littérature dialectologique consacrée à l’arabe parlé en Tunisie distingue les parlers sédentaires et les parlers bédouins sur la base de certains traits phonologiques et morphologiques. À côté de ces deux typologies dialectales, on signale la présence d’une troisième typologie de parlers dits « villageois ». Cette contribution se propose de présenter quelques réflexions sur la catégorie typologique des « parlers villageois » tunisiens en mettant en exergue leur nature mixte issue d’un long contact inter-dialectal.

Mots-clés : dialectologie arabe, arabe tunisien, arabe sédentaire, arabe bédouin.

1. Introduction

La dialectologie arabe – on le sait bien – distingue traditionnellement les variétés néo-arabes sur la base de critères typologiques qui produisent premièrement une bipartition des parlers en sédentaires et bédouins, et deuxièmement plus particulièrement une tripartition en dialectes citadins, ruraux et bédouins.

Cette ancienne tripartition se retrouve la première fois déjà dans l’œuvre d’Ibn Khaldoun (XIV^e siècle) et son application à l’analyse des parlers néo-arabes contemporains, exception faite pour certains courants d’interprétation contraires à cette hypothèse de travail, se poursuit jusqu’à nos jours.

Pour l’arabe maghrébin, la distinction entre variétés sédentaires et bédouines se concrétise dans l’individuation de parlers pré-hilaliens et hilaliens, dont les seconds sont le résultat de la deuxième vague d’arabisation de l’Afrique du Nord au XI^e siècle provoquée par les invasions des Banu Hilal et autres grandes tribus bédouines arabiques.

Dans l’introduction aux textes arabes recueillis dans le village sahélien de Takrouna¹, W. Marçais distingue, au sein de la typologie pré-hilalienne, des parlers qu’il qualifie de « villageois » (par opposition à « citadins ») et les situe dans quatre zones de l’Afrique du Nord : le Sahel tunisien, la région du littoral méditerranéen au Nord de Constantine, la région au Nord de Tlemcen, les montagnes du Maroc².

La littérature sur les dialectes de la Tunisie ne se soustrait pas à cette tradition et continue l’opposition citadin/villageois/bédouin. Or, la majorité des études portent sur des variétés nettement citadines telles que Tunis musulman et juif³ et Sousse⁴, ou bien des variétés nettement bédouines telles

¹ Marçais et Guïga (1925 et 1960-61).

² La distinction est reprise aussi dans Marçais (1938).

³ Stumme (1896) et Singer (1984); Cohen (1964, 1975).

⁴ Talmoudi (1980).

que Tozeur⁵ et Douz (dialecte des Marāzīg)⁶, alors que la seule étude sur une variété villageoise jusqu'à aujourd'hui reste la collection des textes de Takrouna.

Dans cette contribution, on proposera quelques réflexions sur la nature des variétés villageoises en tant que catégorie typologique à l'intérieur de ce qu'on appelle normalement « arabe tunisien ». En absence complète d'analyses sur la région intérieure du pays, on se basera notamment sur des données provenant du Nord-Ouest et des régions côtières⁷, ce qui, bien qu'arbitraire dans le choix, peut fournir quand même une idée du contact prolongé entre les deux typologies sédentaire et bédouine.

2. La localisation des parlers villageois

À l'intérieur de la classification générale des parlers tunisiens, les parlers villageois se retrouvent dans les zones suivantes :

- zone du Nord-Ouest (campagnes bizertines),
- zone du Sahel,
- zone des campagnes de Sfax.

Une première source d'information est la brève présentation des parlers arabes de la Tunisie de Marçais (1950 : 210-11) qui, à propos du Sahel, affirme que :

« Le consonantisme des parlers des villes tunisiennes se retrouve dans ceux de ces agriculteurs sédentaires, ainsi que les particularités [...] de la flexion verbale, de la morphologie et de la dérivation nominale. Mais le vocalisme accuse entre l'un et l'autre groupe de notables différences ».

Mais pour avoir une liste un peu plus étendue de ces parlers « villageois », il faut s'en remettre à Singer (1984 : 24-25) :

« In der Regenschaft ist vorläufig nur die Sprache der Dörfer, Marktflecken und Kleinstädte (wie Monastir und Msâken) des zentral-tunesischen Küstengebiets (des Sâhel) bekannt; von den Mundarten der Orte der Halbinsel des Kap Bon (Ḥammâmât, Nâbeul, Grumbâlia, Slîmân, Menzel Bū Zelfa etc.), der Region vor Bizerta und der Kleinstädte wie Testour (Tastûr), Tebourba (Ṭbûrba) im Westen von Tunis, die vermutlich dem Sâhli ähnlich sind, wissen wir bis jetzt so gut wie nichts ».

Dans l'impossibilité de traiter ces zones globalement, notre contribution consistera à discuter certains points qui nous semblent importants, en essayant de mettre en relief certains aspects phonologiques (consonantisme et vocalisme) et morphologiques (flexion verbale et opposition de genre).

⁵ Saada (1984).

⁶ Boris (1951, 1958) et plus récemment la grammaire de Ritt-Benmimoun (2014b).

⁷ Les données qui seront mentionnées à propos des villages de Mateur et de La Chebba sont issues de recherches personnelles ; toutes les autres données relatives au reste de la Tunisie ont été tirées de la littérature existante.

3. Aspects consonantiques

Le consonantisme des parlars villageois est considéré comme tout à fait analogue à celui des parlars citadins. Or, sur ce point, la référence à la réalisation du *qāf est implicite mais, en même temps, très évidente.

Nous savons que les parlars citadins de l'Afrique du Nord, qualifiés par David Cohen de « kairouanais » en raison de leur descendance généalogique de l'arabe de Kairouan, sont caractérisés par une réalisation uvulaire sourde du *qāf, donc *q*. C'est ainsi que tout au moins les Tunisiens se servent des deux expressions *tkallām bə-l-gāla* et *tkallām bə-l-qāla* pour indiquer les différents dialectes du pays. Mais deux observations préliminaires s'imposent :

- aucun parler tunisien ne connaît un emploi exclusif de l'une ou de l'autre variante et pour établir la réalisation propre à un dialecte il faut chercher dans son lexique fondamental les termes les plus communs ;

- dans le territoire tunisien, par rapport à la diffusion de *g*, la réalisation sourde en *q* est minoritaire et limitée, sur le plan géographique, à peu de gouvernorats qui donnent sur la mer, dont les principaux sont Bizerte, Tunis, Sousse, Monastir, Mahdia et Sfax ; à ces régions il faut quand même ajouter la ville de Kairouan, dans l'arrière-pays⁸.

Mais il faut aussi observer qu'à l'intérieur des gouvernorats à *q*, les localités caractérisées par l'usage de *g* sont très nombreuses.

Le Cap Bon et le Sahel, par exemple, qui sont toujours mentionnés comme un modèle de « parler villageois », exception faite pour le gouvernorat de Sousse, sont complètement à *g* et seules les villes côtières d'une certaine importance ont conservé *q*. C'est ainsi que les villes de Nabeul, Monastir, Mahdia et, plus au sud, Sfax présentent une réalisation à *q*, mais sont de toute manière entourées de *g*.

De même dans le Nord et le centre du pays, avec les trois grandes villes de Bizerte, Tunis et Kairouan qui ne sont que des îlots linguistiques à *q* dans une mer de *g*.

4. Aspects vocaliques

Le vocalisme des parlars villageois du Sahel tunisien se caractérise par le développement d'un système pentavocalique de longues (*ā : ē : ī : ō : ū*) qui résulte de la réduction des deux diphtongues originelles **ay* et **aw* respectivement en *ē* et *ō*⁹. Or, ce système est commun aussi bien aux parlars à *q* qu'aux parlars à *g*, comme le démontrent des dialectes citadins tel que celui de Mahdia¹⁰ et des dialectes villageois tels que ceux de Djemmal¹¹ ou La Chebba¹². Ici, en fait, on trouve **bayt* > *bēt* 'chambre' et **yawm* > *yōm* 'jour', à l'instar du système hilalien et du système de l'arabe oriental¹³, mais au contraire de tout système pré-hilalien où **ay* et **aw* se réduisent respectivement, à travers *əy* et *əw*, à *ī* et *ū*.

⁸ Les cartes géolinguistiques contenues dans Skik (1998) sont très éloquentes.

⁹ Marçais (1950: 211).

¹⁰ Yoda (2008).

¹¹ Baccouche (1969).

¹² Données extraites de recherches personnelles.

¹³ Durand (2014) retient le terme populaire *šāmi*.

Ce phénomène vocalique, qui semble typique du Sahel, n'est pas partagé par la plupart des parlars citadins et villageois du Nord(-Ouest) du pays qui gardent un système à trois voyelles longues $\bar{a} : \bar{i} : \bar{u}$ où les deux dernières voyelles peuvent aussi résulter de la réduction des diphtongues $*ay$ et $*aw$.

Par contre, un phénomène qui nous apparaît comme commun au Sahel et à une grande partie du Nord-Ouest tunisien, mais en même temps inconnu des grandes villes comme Tunis et Sousse, c'est le traitement de /i/ avant le pronom suffixe de 3^{ème} pers.sg.fém. *-ha*. Ainsi, au tunisois *fī-ha* 'en elle' correspondent le *fē-ha* du parler villageois de Takrouna¹⁴, le *fē-he* du parler citadin de Mahdia¹⁵ (tous les deux dans le Sahel) et, finalement dans le Nord-Ouest, ce que nous transcrivons [*fə:hæ*] du parler villageois de Mateur¹⁶.

5. Flexion verbale

Lorsqu'on parle de flexion verbale en arabe maghrébin, force est de rappeler que la distinction entre pré-hilalien et hilalien se base aussi sur la morphologie des verbes dits défectueux.

En fait, le traitement du morphème pluriel *-ū* à l'accompli et à l'inaccompli diffère et consiste en une consonantisation ou bien une assimilation, selon le modèle suivant qui se réfère au verbe *mšā* 'aller' :

	ACCOMPLI	INACCOMPLI
PRE-HILALIEN	<i>mšāw</i>	<i>yəməšīw</i>
HILALIEN	<i>mšū</i>	<i>yəməšu</i>

Et encore, le morphème de la 3^{ème} pers.sg. du féminin **-at* à l'accompli est traitée de deux manières différentes :

	ACCOMPLI
PRE-HILALIEN	<i>mšāt</i>
HILALIEN	<i>mšət</i>

Le tunisois (musulman et juif), par exemple, représente bien un système de type pré-hilalien commun à d'autres anciennes villes nord-africaines telles que Sousse, Tlemcen ou Fès, tandis qu'un système hilalien suit le modèle du dialecte de Tozeur, comme d'après le schéma suivant :

	TUNIS		TOZEUR	
	ACCOMPLI	INACCOMPLI	ACCOMPLI	INACCOMPLI
3 ^{ème} pers.fém.sg.	<i>mšāt</i>	<i>təməši</i>	<i>mšət</i>	<i>təməši</i>
3 ^{ème} pers.pl.	<i>mšāw</i>	<i>yəməšīw</i>	<i>mšū</i>	<i>yəməšu</i>

¹⁴ Marçais, Guîga (1958-61: 3064).

¹⁵ Yoda (2008: 489).

¹⁶ Mion (à paraître).

Or, dans son étude consacrée à Constantine, Cantineau (1939) éclaircit la pénétration des parlars nomades tunisiens en Algérie en expliquant que certaines particularités paraissent au fur et à mesure que l'on se dirige depuis les limites tunisiennes vers l'Ouest, un ordre dans lequel il trouve « les formes des verbes à 3^e radicale faible, en commençant par l'inaccompli (*tensi, yensu*) et seulement après l'accompli (*mšet, mšu*) ». Ce phénomène est mis en évidence aussi par le matériel analysé par Gibson (1999) dans différentes régions de la Tunisie et, finalement, par nos données provenant de la localité de Mateur (40 km au sud de Bizerte)¹⁷. Il est donc possible de constater que certaines zones de la Tunisie connaissent un croisement des deux systèmes fondamentaux qui, comme à Mateur, donne le modèle suivant :

	ACCOMPLI	INACCOMPLI
3 ^{ème} pers.sg.fém	<i>mšāt</i>	<i>təmši</i>
3 ^{ème} pers.pl.	<i>mšāw</i>	<i>yəməšu</i>

6. Opposition de genre

La 2^{ème} pers. sg., tant pour le système des pronoms personnels indépendants que pour la conjugaison verbale, ne connaît aucune opposition de genre dans les parlars citadins, comme par exemple ceux de Tunis, Sousse et Kairouan. Au contraire, cette opposition de genre est maintenue par tous les autres parlars tunisiens, qu'ils soient classifiables comme villageois ou bien bédouins :

		PRONOM	ACCOMPLI	INACCOMPLI	IMPERATIF
Tunis, Sousse, Kairouan	MASC. ET FÉM.	<i>anti</i>	<i>ktəbt</i>	<i>təktəb</i>	<i>əktəb</i>
Mateur, La Chebba, Tozeur, Douz	MASC.	<i>anta</i>	<i>ktəbt</i>	<i>təktəb</i>	<i>əktəb</i>
	FÉM.	<i>anti</i>	<i>ktəbti</i>	<i>təktbi</i>	<i>əktbi</i>

7. Réflexions pour une histoire linguistique

Suite à ces brèves réflexions concernant quelques phénomènes phonologiques et morphologiques, il semble nécessaire d'examiner tout au moins trois points plus en détail.

En ce qui concerne la phonologie, Marçais (1950) classifiait les variétés tunisiennes à *g* comme bédouines, mais Saada (1984 : 16) reconnaît que la classification typologique pose un problème fondamental : toute la Tunisie rurale ne parle qu'avec *g*. Au niveau de la réalisation du **qāf*, en fait, l'opposition citadin/villageois/bédouin se fait très aisément au Proche Orient et notamment en Palestine, mais la situation tunisienne ne permet aucune comparaison directe :

	PALESTINE	TUNISIE
citadin	'	<i>q</i>
rural	ḵ	<i>g</i>
bédouin	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>

¹⁷ Mion (à paraître).

Quant à la flexion verbale, le croisement des deux systèmes pré-hilalien et hilalien dans certains villages du Nord-Ouest qui, pour le pluriel des verbes défectueux, donne les 3^{èmes} pers. en *-āw* à l'accompli et *-ū* à l'inaccompli, ne devrait pas surprendre si l'on tient compte de trois facteurs :

1. l'existence de zones de transition dans toute l'Arabophonie, dont le cas de l'apparition progressive de l'inaccompli maghrébin en *n-* dans le delta du Nil en est un des meilleurs exemples ;

2. la pénétration progressive de certains traits bédouins depuis la Tunisie occidentale vers l'Algérie qu'a identifiée Cantineau (1939) en étudiant la situation du constantinois ;

3. la présence du même phénomène, d'après Marçais (1908 : 85-88), chez les Ulād Brāhīm de Saïda en Algérie (pour lesquels il cite, par exemple, <glôu/iéglu> et <ěnsôu/iěnsu>)¹⁸.

Finalement, la présence d'une opposition de genre dans les systèmes pronominaux et verbaux est un fait qui unit aussi bien les variétés villageoises que les bédouines, et qui éloigne ces deux typologies des variétés citadines et les rapproche plutôt des dialectes orientaux.

À ces trois points, il faudrait sans doute ajouter la distribution de certains pronoms personnels, parmi lesquels il nous semble important de focaliser l'attention sur ceux de 1^{ère} et 2^{ème} pers.sg. et de 1^{ère} pers.pl. :

1 ^{ère} pers.sg.:	
<i>āna</i> :	Tunis et tous le Nord-Est; Sfax.
<i>āni</i> :	Sousse et le Sahel.
<i>yāna</i> :	Kairouan.
<i>nāy(a)</i> :	Le Kef (Nord-Ouest extrême) ; zones rurales et bédouines du Sud.
2 ^{ème} pers.sg. :	
<i>anti</i> (m/f) :	Tunis, Sousse, Kairouan, Sfax.
<i>anta</i> (m) / <i>anti</i> (f) :	toute variété rurale ou bédouine du pays.
1 ^{ère} pers.pl. :	
<i>aĥna</i> :	Tunis, Sousse, Sfax.
<i>naĥna</i> :	Le Kef, Mateur, Kairouan.
<i>ĥnā</i> :	La Chebba (Sahel), Gabès.

Or, Saïda connaît <ĥōná> et <āĥná>¹⁹ qui est partagé, par exemple, par le Fezzan avec des formes telles que <ĥné>, <ĥná> et <ĥěna>²⁰. La curieuse forme *naĥna*, finalement, qui ne peut que rappeler la situation de Damas, est commune à une partie de l'Oranie.

Que dire donc des parlers villageois de la Tunisie ? De quelles conditions historiques et linguistiques sont-ils issus ?

Bien évidemment, il n'est pas possible d'aboutir aux mêmes conclusions pour toutes les régions tunisiennes qui connaissent des parlers villageois, et pourtant l'histoire du pays pousse à concevoir des développements semblables et communs à plusieurs aires.

¹⁸ A ce propos, il dit explicitement que «le pluriel analogique en *ĥu* est ici inconnu» (Marçais 1908 : 87).

¹⁹ Marçais (1908 : 149-150).

²⁰ Caubet (2004 : 82-83).

Le premier point est que, comme l'avait observé Marçais (1938 : 8-9), chaque région maghrébine qui connaît des parlars villageois borde la mer et possède tout au moins une ville chef-lieu régional ; en sus, elle est rejointe par des voies qui unissent l'arrière pays et le littoral.

Et c'est effectivement le cas, aussi bien pour le Nord-Ouest du pays que pour le Sahel : le premier, à côté de l'influence de Tunis, a Bizerte comme chef-lieu régional dont la *wilāya* représente depuis longtemps la destination de grandes vagues migratoires interrégionales provenant en même temps du Sahel et de la Kroumirie, tout au long de l'axe Le Kef – Béja – Bizerte²¹ ; le second peut compter sur l'économie des trois villes de Sousse, Mahdia et Sfax et, en étant le littoral le plus long du pays, est le but de toute route unissant l'intérieur du pays jusqu'à Kairouan.

Or, prenons le Sahel qui, dès le début, a été considéré comme un modèle des parlars villageois de l'Afrique du Nord. Les conditions sociales de cette région doivent être stables et solides déjà au XI^e siècle, car le polygraphe espagnol Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī²², dans sa description de l'Afrique du Nord, parlait très clairement de l'économie sahéenne et, en se référant par exemple à Sfax, affirmait que l'huile produite en abondance dans la région était exportée jusqu'en Egypte, Sicile et Europe en général. Les conditions climatiques et géologiques ont donc favorisé dans cette région le développement de la vie sédentaire à travers l'agriculture et plus particulièrement l'oléiculture, bien que dans le passé elle ait été souvent une zone d'élevage transhumant ou/et nomade. En outre, la région se trouve être l'aire la plus peuplée de toute la Tunisie puisque, d'après une étude de Despois (1931 : 260), au cours des années trente plus de cinquante villages s'y pressaient dont la plupart dépassaient 5.000 et quelques-uns 10.000 habitants.

Si nous recherchons dans l'histoire les traces de l'arabisation de ces zones, nous ne pouvons qu'isoler les deux phases d'avant et après les invasions hilaliennes. Selon Marçais (1938), avant les invasions hilaliennes ces zones fort probablement n'étaient pas peuplées par des Arabes, mais plutôt par des sédentaires arabisés. Cette arabisation commence à Kairouan qui, assez tôt, perdra son rôle de centre politique et le cèdera à Mahdia puis à Tunis. C'est à cette phase que l'on pourrait faire remonter les traits purement sédentaires, voire citadins, tels que la réalisation sourde du **qāf*, la neutralisation du genre à la 2^{ème} pers.sg. des systèmes pronominaux et verbaux et, très vraisemblablement, la semiconsonantisation du morphème pluriel -*w* dans les verbes défectueux, comme le suggère sa présence en maltais aussi.

Mais encore avant les invasions hilaliennes, n'oublions pas une donnée historique importante, c'est-à-dire qu'en 945-946 Ismā'īl al-Manṣūr, toujours d'après le récit d'al-Bakrī, quitta la ville de Mahdia pour établir sa résidence à Sabra, en provoquant la ruine de l'ancien siège de l'empire fatimide et la perte des habitants de ses faubourgs²³, ce qui nous incite aujourd'hui à voir en cela un événement qui laisse le champ libre, plus tard, à un repeuplement de la part de gens beaucoup moins urbanisés.

Les invasions hilaliennes (XI^e siècle) ont notoirement bouleversé toutes les conditions sociales de l'Ifrīqiya et, à propos du Sahel, Despois (1931 : 266) arrive à affirmer qu'après ces événements l'existence même du Sahel, avec ses villages, ses paysans et ses oliveraies, est très sérieusement

²¹ Picouet (1971).

²² Voir l'édition de Slane (1913 : 46).

²³ Voir al-Bakrī (éd. de Slane) : 68.

compromise et que de nombreux centres en disparaissent à jamais. C'est du reste ce qu'au XIV^e siècle nous révèle Ibn Khaldoun dans sa *Muqaddima* :

«Aujourd'hui, on peut encore y reconnaître quelques vagues traces de culture sédentaire, dans les familles descendant d'Al-Qal'a, de Kairouan ou de Mehdiya. L'économie domestique et certains usages en témoignent, dans un mélange que peut discerner l'œil exercé d'un citadin. Il en est ainsi dans la plupart des villes d'Ifriqiyya, mais non au Maghreb»²⁴.

S'il s'agit d'une « vague » humaine qui a entraîné une vague linguistique, comme on l'a souvent décrite, il faudra reconnaître qu'une vague avance pour reculer ensuite, en laissant le sable mouillé avec lequel elle est entrée en contact. C'est donc là le sens de la nature mixte de ces parlers, qui sont entrés en contact avec la submersion de l'arabe bédouin là où il n'était pas présent, en s'imprégnant de ses caractéristiques fondamentales: la réalisation sonore de l'ancien *qāf, le maintien de l'opposition de genre, une certaine tendance à assimiler le morphème pluriel -w dans les verbes défectueux.

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²⁴ Traduction de V. Monteil.

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CONCEPTUAL ORIENTATIONAL METAPHORS OF THE “HEAD” IN LITERARY ARABIC

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Abstract: The present paper deals with metaphorical expressions containing the name of the “head” (*ra’s*) in Literary Arabic, in an attempt to assess the part played by the conceptual metaphors they reflect within the wider frame of metaphorical conceptualization. The starting point is represented by the statements made by George Lakoff about metaphors involving names of body parts in his work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), where these metaphors are deemed to be rather modestly representative for conceptual metaphor and, moreover, to reflect a generally nonsystematic conceptualization of different notions in terms of the human body. The material we have examined suggests that, while it is true that metaphors involving the head in Literary Arabic are, just as in English, nonsystematic inasmuch as they are not part of a broader conceptualization process of the notions in questions based on the human body and its parts, it is also highly likely that these metaphors, when the notions are abstract or have a referent lacking clear cut physical boundaries, acquire an orientational nature and thus contribute to the systematicity of metaphors pertaining to this type.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor; orientational metaphor; systematicity; physical grounding; spatialization.

The human body is an important reference point in the strategies of metaphorical conceptualization described by George Lakoff in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), as it is involved, on different occasions, in scenarios meant to describe the mechanisms accounting for some concepts or conceptual systems being treated, at the level of thought, verbal communication and action, in a way that reflects their understanding through the lenses provided by metaphors or metaphorical systems shared by whole linguistic communities, cultural areas or even, when the metaphors in question seem to reflect universals of metaphorical conceptualization, by heterogeneous human groups and societies (a detailed account of Lakoff’s vision on the physical grounding of conceptual metaphors, which can coexist or interact with their cultural grounding, is to be found in the chapter “How Is Our Conceptual System Grounded”, 56-60). The connection with the corporeality of the human being, which is entailed by the physical dimension of metaphorical conceptualization, is also highlighted by placing the “canonical / prototypical person” in a very prominent position in respect to conceptualization processes, as it is apparent from the following passage, where Lakoff summarizes and endorses the vision presented by William E. Cooper and John Robert Ross in *World Order* (1975): “the canonical person forms a conceptual reference point, and an enormous number of concepts in our conceptual system are oriented with respect to whether or not they are similar to the properties of the prototypical person; since people typically

function in an *upright* position, see and move *forward*, spend most of their time performing *actions*, and view themselves as basically being *good*, we have a basis in our experience for viewing ourselves more UP than DOWN, more FRONT than BACK, more ACTIVE than PASSIVE, more GOOD than BAD; since we are where we are and exist in the present, we conceive of ourselves as being HERE rather than THERE, and NOW rather than THEN; this determines what Cooper and Ross call the ME-FIRST orientation: UP, FRONT, ACTIVE, GOOD, HERE, and NOW are all oriented toward the canonical person; DOWN, BACKWARD, PASSIVE, BAD, THERE, and THEN are all oriented away from the canonical person” (Lakoff, 1980: 132).

It is thus assumed that the physical properties of the human being lie at the basis of mental processes that are supposed to take place in the “collective brain” of a cultural and linguistic community and that can be indirectly identified by observing their impact at the level of speech. We can find such considerations in the context of presenting some of the types of conceptual metaphor, in passages meant to justify their existence and explain the way they work, and also to shed light on the different manifestations of the general principle of the physical grounding of some of these metaphor types. A suitable context for this kind of remarks is provided, among others, by the discussion of orientational metaphors, which consist in arranging different groups of concepts according to spatial models such as UP-DOWN, INSIDE-OUTSIDE, FRONT-BACK, CENTER-PERIPHERY, whose grounding is to be found in the different kinds of interaction with the physical environment as they are modeled and mediated by the human body, but also in the cultural experience shared by people living in a particular area (which explains why orientational metaphors, their physical grounding notwithstanding, can be different from one cultural area to another, although it is likely that they generally reflect universals of metaphorical conceptualization): “these spatial orientations arise from the fact that we have bodies of the sort we have and that they function as they do in our physical environment; orientational metaphors give a concept a spatial orientation; for example, HAPPY IS UP; the fact that the concept HAPPY is oriented UP leads to English expressions like ‘I’m feeling *up* today’; such metaphorical orientations are not arbitrary; they have a basis in our physical and cultural experience; though the polar oppositions up-down, in-out etc. are physical in nature, the orientational metaphors based on them can vary from culture to culture” (Lakoff, 1980: 14).

It can be noticed that these considerations are of a general nature, as they deal with the part played in the emergence of these thought patterns by the human body, together with its physical properties, as a whole. Body parts, subdivisions of the human body do not seem to be the object of a distinct theoretical approach, although references to them are not absent - without the notions having body parts as their referents being systematically dealt with, when metaphors reflected by expressions involving names of body parts are, however, referred to,

they are described as being rather modest according to the criteria used to establish the degree of representativeness of a particular metaphor for metaphorical conceptualization in general. When speaking about the different degrees of systematicity of conceptual metaphors, Lakoff chooses to exemplify non-systematic metaphors, either randomly or on purpose, with metaphorical expressions containing names of body parts: "...there are idiosyncratic metaphorical expressions that stand alone and are not used systematically in our language or thought; these are well-known expressions like the *foot* of the mountain, a *head* of cabbage, the *leg* of a table, etc.; these expressions are isolated instances of metaphorical concepts, where there is only one instance of a used part (or maybe two or three); thus the foot of the mountain is the only used part of the metaphor A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON; in normal discourse we do not speak of the *head*, *shoulders* or *trunk* of a mountain, though in special contexts it is possible to construct novel metaphorical expressions based on these unused parts ... the point here is that there are metaphors, like A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON, that are marginal in our culture and our language; their used part may consist of only one conventionally fixed expression of the language, and they do not systematically interact with other metaphorical concepts because so little of them is used; this makes them relatively uninteresting for our purposes but not completely so, since they can be extended to their unused part in coining novel metaphorical expressions, making jokes, etc. ... examples like the *foot* of the mountain are idiosyncratic, unsystematic, and isolated; they do not interact with other metaphors, play no particularly interesting role in our conceptual system, and hence are not metaphors we live by; the only signs of life they have is that they can be extended in subcultures and that their unused portions serve as the basis for (relatively uninteresting) novel metaphors; if any metaphorical expressions deserve to be called 'dead', it is these, though they do have a bare spark of life, in that they are understood partly in terms of marginal metaphorical concepts like A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON" (Lakoff, 1980: 54-55).

This extensive paragraph can be somewhat problematic for whoever aims to identify the position held by Lakoff towards body parts and their functioning as physical models for metaphorical conceptualization: on the one hand, there is no explicit statement unequivocally saying that body parts provide the grounding for conceptualization processes leading to the emergence of metaphors constantly having the aforementioned characteristics; on the other hand, one cannot ignore that all metaphorical expressions given as examples of non-systematic metaphors contain names of body parts, and the properties ascribed to them concur to minimize their importance, inasmuch as we are faced, according to Lakoff, with non-systematic, marginal, dead metaphors, which are isolated from the networks reuniting other kinds of metaphors (the most categorical formula used to emphasize this view can be deemed to be the one which, if we take into account the title of the book – *Metaphors We Live By*, seems to place these metaphors outside the frame of the book's object of study: "they ... are

not metaphors we live by”). The purpose of the present paper is to analyze, by means of the instruments provided by Lakoff’s theory of conceptual metaphor, metaphorical expressions containing the name of one body part – namely, the head (*ra*’s) – in Literary Arabic, in order to see whether, or to what extent, conceptual metaphors reflected by these expressions are all in accordance with the image emerging from what Lakoff himself has to say about them or, in other words, whether they have so little to offer when projected against the theoretical frame he puts in place or, on the contrary, they have some features that can mitigate this vision that places them at the fringes of, and, in some respects, even outside metaphorical systems representative for metaphorical conceptualization.

The material we will be looking at is taken from literary works pertaining to different stages of the development and flourishing of Arabic artistic prose – *al-’Adab al-Kabīr* (AK) and *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (KD) by Ibn al-Muqaffa^c (VIIIth century), *al-Maḥāsin wa-l-’Aḍḍād* (MA) by al-Ġāḥiẓ (VIIIth – IXth centuries), *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma* (TH) by Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī (Xth – XIth centuries), together with a selection of the *ḥadīths* collected by al-Buḥārī – *Ġawāhir al-Buḥārī* (JB).

Metaphorical expressions containing the name *ra*’s and confirming the verdict given by Lakoff about metaphors reflected by the expressions of the kind he points to in the previously quoted passage are by no means absent – there is a great number of contexts where, just as a table is ascribed a *leg*, different entities having a well defined physical profile, beyond which one does not need to make an additional conceptualization effort, based on a preexisting physical model, in order to perceive them as concrete objects with clear-cut boundaries, do acquire, however, a *head* (which means they are partially conceived of as entities with a physicality similar to that of a human being). Out of all the units of meaning that can be thought to make up the sememe currently associated with the *head* when its referent is the known human body part, the seme obviously standing out as reflecting the physical basis for these metaphors can be labeled as “the upper end of the human body” – in fact, the whole sememe of the *head* as designating the physical model in these cases appears to be reduced to this one seme. The intensity of this metaphorization process and the frequency of the expressions attesting it at the level of speech are witnessed to by the fact that the entry for *ra*’s in *Lisān al-’Arab* begins with the formula *ra’su kulli šay’in ’a’lāhu* (“the head of anything is its upper part”), as it is clear that this formula is particularly suited for defining the meaning of the name *ra*’s when it occurs in expressions reflecting “unsystematic” conceptual metaphors of the previously mentioned type (or, in other terms, the lexicographer is, at the very beginning of this entry, significantly not concerned with the need to specify that this name primarily designates a body part). This partial mapping of concrete objects in terms of the human body is sustained by various expressions where different objects are ascribed a “head”, and the highest degree of predictability can be attributed to metaphors concerning

elongated objects that can easily be pictured as entities having a mainly vertical position and whose upper extremity can be compared, based solely on spatial criteria, to a head lying on top of a human body: *ka-'annahu 'alamun 'alā ra'sihi nārun* (MA, 106) (“as if he were a signpost having a fire on its head”); *wa-tuḡ^calu l-^caṣā fī ra'si rumḥin* (MA, 162) (“and the stick is placed at the head of a spear”); *za^camū 'anna ḥamāmatan kānat tufriḥu fī ra'si naḥlatin ṭawīlatin dāhibatin fī s-samā'i* (KD, 332) (“it was said that a pigeon was hatching at the peak (lit. “in the head”) of a palm tree going up in the sky”). These sentences reflect a semantic evolution of the name *ra's* connected to the conceptualization of physical entities that can be objectively identified and delineated in a perceptible physical environment, which means that, in such situations, the metaphorical conceptualization consists of nothing else than partially projecting a physical model, represented in this case by the human body, on entities already having their own physicality. The same situation seems to be present when these metaphors involve entities whose vertical position is less obvious than that of a spear or a tree: *ḡufira li-mra'atin mūmisatin marrat bi-kalbin 'alā ra'si rakiyyin...* (JB, 487) (“a prostitute going by a dog next to (lit. “on the head of”) a well ... is forgiven”). In this case, it can be assumed that the well is ascribed a “head” at ground level on the basis of its vertical disposition beneath the ground.

These situations, when looked at in isolation from the wider context of the semantic evolutions of the name *ra's* and of its partaking in the metaphorical conceptualization of different notions, might seem, in accordance with Lakoff's statements, of relatively little importance. It is possible, however, that these simple conceptualizations represent a pattern that is also to be found in more complex cases, consisting in something more than the connection between the human figure and the shape of a signpost, a spear or a tree. This is what can be noticed when, still in the realm of the spatial and the concrete, we are met with metaphorical expressions implying the delineation of areas which become, only partially and on the sole basis of their acquiring a “head” at the level of linguistic expression, similar to distinct entities: *kāna 'umaru 'alā farsaḥayni, bal 'alā ra'si ṭalātati 'amyālin min makkata...* (MA, 192) (“Umar was at a two parasangs', nay, at a three miles' distance (lit. “on the head of three miles”) from Mecca”). The semantic equivalence between *'alā* and *'alā ra'si* in the prepositional phrases *'alā farsaḥayni* and *'alā ra'si ṭalātati'amyālin* can be taken as a proof that *ra's*, in this context, is subject to a process of grammaticalization involving a great deal of semantic depletion, whereby the formula *'alā ra'si...* can function as a prepositional compound, which means that, in the absence of our concern for metaphorical conceptualization and the part played by the *head* in such a process in Literary Arabic, the assessment of the overall information conveyed by this sentence could altogether ignore the occurrence of *ra's* in it. We can, however, give priority to the wording of the sentence and deem the presence of *ra's* the signal of a physically, even corporeally grounded

conceptualization which, as the equivalence between *‘alā* and *‘alā ra’si* in this sentence suggests, can also manifest itself at the level of speech in ways sometimes more subtle than using names of body parts. The conceptualization in this case would thus consist in partially conceiving the portion of space stretching between two points and quantified according to certain measure units in the terms of a body having a *head*. The main problem with such an approach would be that the entity conceived in this manner is horizontally oriented, whereas the model provided by the human body is vertical - the “canonical / prototypical person” is supposed to be standing up. A possible solution to this problem would be the assumption that the human body as a model for conceptualization processes faces the competition of the quadruped animal body (see Anghelescu, 2000: 101), and that this could be a case where the horizontally oriented quadruped animal body is the real model, which would allow for the head to be viewed as lying not *above* the rest of the entity, but *before* it. Going back to the wording of our expression, however, we can see how this solution engenders, in its turn, a new problem: the preposition *‘alā* in the formula *‘alā ra’si talātati ‘amyālin* suggests that, against objective reality, the matter being conceptualized is disposed according to the model of a vertical, standing body. Therefore, instead of looking for a physical model different from the human body, we could try to explain a formula of this kind by assuming that we might be dealing with an alternative materialization, represented by the partial projection of the model of the human standing body on a notion that has been subjected to an intermediate conceptualization process rendering it compatible with such a model. The argument that can be adduced in support of this supposition is one that, using elements of the theory of conceptual metaphor itself, enables us to also integrate this kind of metaphor in a wider network, within which its isolation and non-systematic nature can be alleviated. The argument relies on the fact that in this metaphor measure units are involved, and it is possible that the accumulation of a certain number of units, no matter what kind of objects they are supposed to measure, be conceptualized based on the physical model provided by the piling up of matter, whose most obvious effect is the increase in height of the pile, which means that such expressions can be looked at from the perspective of the orientational metaphor, more specifically of the MORE IS UP – LESS IS DOWN metaphor, exemplified by Lakoff with expressions like *my income rose last year, the number of errors he made is incredibly low* etc., whose conceptual basis is explained as follows: “if you add more of a substance or of physical objects to a container or pile, the level goes up” (Lakoff, 1980: 15-16). The adoption of this view might explain the apparent paradox consisting in the fact that someone can be “on the head” of a number of miles or other measure units that stretch horizontally, providing us, at the same time, with a means to bring these metaphors, at least partially, out of their state of isolation, by integrating them into a wider metaphorical system, of an orientational nature. This is how the metaphor reflected by this expression is, on the one hand, non-systematic, as

it is to be expected that a surface conceptualized in this manner will never be ascribed any body part, either human or animal, besides the *head*, and, on the other hand, it contributes to the systematicity of the orientational metaphor MORE IS UP – LESS IS DOWN, given that by identifying the end of a surface measuring a number of units with a *head*, i.e. with the part of the human body lying at its upper end, it is an attestation of accumulation being conceived of as the rising up of a pile of matter.

The following expression is one whose conformity with this hypothesis can be even more easily demonstrated. A first mention has to be made about the fact that it reflects an amply attested phenomenon – the conceptualization of time in terms of space: *ba^catahu llāhu ^calā ra'si 'arba^cīna sanatan ... wa-tawaffāhu ^calā ra'si sittīna sanatan* (JB, 631) (“God sent him (as a messenger) at the age of (lit. “on the head of”) forty years ... and took him unto himself at the age of (lit. “on the head of”) sixty years”). The metaphorical expressions in this sentence share with the previous one the same syntactical structure containing the name *ra's*, and the measure unit they involve, namely the years, can, just as in the previous case, be viewed as elements that, piling up on top of each other, form a block whose top is a *head*. The greater facility with which this kind of metaphorical expression can be deemed the reflection of the orientational metaphor MORE IS UP comes as a result of its connection with time, as in this case the notion being subjected to metaphorical conceptualization corresponds referentially to a portion of time, which does not have its own, objective material nature. In other words, conceiving a time interval as an accumulation of matter on a vertical axis does not have to overcome, as in the previous case, the obstacle of a spatial disposition of the referent of the notion being conceptualized in this manner that might seem problematic for such a process, simply because there is no matter at all.

Alongside common perspectives on space and time reflected by the metaphorical expressions containing the name *ra's*, there are also metaphors whereby hierarchically structured human groups are conceptualized in similar terms, as these metaphors exhibit the same partial projection on a given notion of the human physical model, out of which the only part identified as such is the *head*, which designates the leader of the group: *wa-aḥūhu huwa ra'su l-mu^ctazilati bi-l-'andalusi* (TH, 131) (“and his brother is the head of the mu^ctazilites in Andalus”); *dakara fihā s-sababa lladī min 'aḡlihi ^camila baydabā l-faylasūfu l-hindiyyu ra'su l-barāhimati li-dabšalīma maliki l-hindi kitābahu* (KD, 11) (“in it he mentioned the reason why Bidpay the Indian philosopher, the head of the Brahmans, authored his book for Dabshalim, India's king”); *...wa-'idā kāna l-ḥufātu l-^curātu ru'ūsa n-nāsi fa-dāka min 'ašrāḥihā* (JB, 561) (“and when the bare-footed and the naked will be people's heads (i.e. “leaders”), that is one of its (i.e. “the Hour's”) signs”). The involvement of the human body model in conceptualizing hierarchies rises the question of whether there is a type of conceptual metaphor suitable for explaining this phenomenon, and this type seems to be, yet

again, the orientational one, as it is reasonable to assume that the spatial relations highlighted by such metaphorical expressions are structured around the same vertical axis that emerges when looking at the previous set of expressions, since this is the only frame within which it makes sense for a leader to be the *head* of his group. The only difference between the two sets is the kind of physical grounding that Lakoff ascribes to the structuring of hierarchical relations according to this axis – this time, we are dealing with a metaphor he labels as HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN, and the physical grounding is the following: “physical size typically correlates with physical strength, and the victor in a fight is typically on top” (the following expressions are some of the examples adduced to illustrate this point: *I am on top of the situation; he’s in a superior position; he ranks above me in strength; he is under my control; he fell from power*) (Lakoff, 1980: 15). The conclusions that can thus be drawn concerning the systematicity of the metaphor reflected by this set of expressions are identical to those concerning the previous set: if we ascertain its systematicity based on the extent to which, besides the name designating the *head*, there are also names of other body parts that occur in these expressions, then there is practically no systematicity at all; if, however, we take these expressions as manifestations of the orientational metaphor according to which holding a leading position of some sort within a group is associated with being in a superior position, which can be, in the terms of the physical model provided by the human body, identified with a head, then we can consider this metaphor a part of a wider network of metaphors characterized by systematicity.

The highest degree of abstractness when it comes to notions in whose conceptualization the *head* has a part to play according to the data provided by our corpus may be found when looking at the next set of expressions, where a *head* is ascribed to abstract notions that appear at first glance to have no unit of meaning making them prone to be conceptualized in corporeal terms: *wa-wağadtu l-fağra ra’sa kulli balā’in* (KD, 196) (“and I have found that poverty is the head of all misfortune”); ...^c*alima ’annahu ’aşlu kulli ’adabin wa-ra’su kulli ’ilmin* (KD, 46) (“...he found out that it is the root / origin of all instruction and the head of all science”); ...*wa-ra’su l-kulli l-ğazmu wa-ra’su l-ğazmi li-l-maliki ma’rifatu ’aşğābihi* (KD, 280) (“and the head of everything is prudence, and prudence, for the king, is to know his companions”). In these sentences, abstract notions like “misfortune” or “science” are provided with a “head”, which represents other notions. One of these sentences (^c*alima ’annahu ’aşlu kulli ’adabin wa-ra’su kulli ’ilmin*) also offers a possible clue as to what the meaning of *ra’s* in such a context may be: the nominal phrase *ra’su kulli ’ilmin* (“the head of all science”) is coordinated with the phrase *’aşlu kulli ’adabin* (“the root / origin of all instruction”), and this syntactic relation, together with the internal symmetry of the two phrases, suggests quite strongly that the names *’aşl* (“root / origin”) and *ra’s* are semantically equivalent or at least close in this context. If this is true, and if the notion being identified with a *head* is seen as the

origin of the other notion whose name occurs in an expression of this kind, it rests with us to ask ourselves what kind of conceptualization lies behind it. The metaphors we have viewed so far have a physical grounding represented by the superior position of the head as opposed to the rest of the human standing body, which coexists with the physical groundings justifying their classification as orientational metaphors. This time, if we assume that, as far as the *head* is concerned, the same unit of meaning is highlighted, we have to admit that the relationship appearing to be the object of metaphorical conceptualization is not straightforwardly compatible with a vertical axis, given that the relationship between the source and the matter originating from it does not have a physical grounding always and invariably entailing a superior position for the source and an inferior one for the matter. This apparent difficulty requires a closer look at the possible spatial models that might underlie the conceptualization of such a relationship. First of all, there is no doubt that it consists of some kind of precedence of the source over the matter coming from it, and it is also quite safe to assume that from this perspective it is similar or close to the logical relationship between cause and effect. The important aspect in this respect, inasmuch as it may contribute to finding a plausible answer for this question, is that both types of relationship also have a temporal dimension – the existence of both source and cause is supposed to precede that of matter and effect. Based on this dimension and given that we have already dealt with metaphors contributing to the conceptualization of notions related to both space and time and involving the *head*, we can narrow down the variety of hypotheses to two choices: the precedence we are dealing with in this case could be conceptualized as a horizontally structured relationship, meaning that the source lies *in front* of the matter, in which case we can go back to the supposition we have already mentioned about the model of the human body being sometimes substituted by that of the quadruped, horizontally oriented animal, whose *head* occupies a frontal position, lying before the other elements making up the whole body; it could also, however, be conceptualized according to a vertical model, in which case the choice would be the human standing body, and there may be some arguments in favor of this last supposition. More exactly, there are strong indications that a vertical spatial model for temporal relations is not absent in Arabic: if one wants to say, for instance, that something dates back to a certain era, one can use the verb *ʿāda*, *yaʿūdu* (primary meaning – “to return”, “to go back”), but also the verb *raqiya*, *yarqā* (primary meaning – “to ascend”, “to rise”); a second argument sustaining the existence of such a spatial model can be found by looking again at the name *ʿaṣl*, whose primary meaning is “root”, which means that the relationship supposed to exist between an element designated by this name and other elements originating from it is also conceptualized along the lines of a vertical model (in this case, the physical model is that of a tree – the systematicity of the tree-metaphor appears to be reinforced if we take into account, for instance, the terminology of Islamic sciences, where the phrase *ʿuṣūl al-fiqh* (“the roots of

jurisprudence”) designates the foundations of Islamic jurisprudence, whereas the term *furūʿ* (“branches”) in this context is used with the meaning of “applied jurisprudence”).

In the following sentence, the name *ra’s* occurs in a structure which is, syntactically and, up to a point, also semantically similar to the previous ones: *wa-kāna ra’su mā ‘aḏamahu ‘indī ṣiğara d-dunyā ft ‘aynihi* (AK, 186) (“and the head of what made him great for me was the insignificance of the world in his eyes”). There is, however, a difference – this time, the name *ra’s* is annexed to a headless relative clause designating not a sole notion, but rather an *ad hoc* constituted category of notions. The element being designated by the *head* within this category is the fact that a certain friend of the author that is the beneficiary of the praise of which this sentence is a part scorns worldly things. The significance of this metaphorical expression consists in its presenting us with a context where the name of a body part reflects a process of categorization (the *head* is not the only body part involved in a categorization process entailing strategies typical for conceptual metaphor – one can point to the phrase *‘arabiyyun qalbun* (lit. “a heart arab”, where *qalb* is an apposition of *‘arabiyy*), signaled by *Lisān al-‘Arab*, whereby an Arab that qualifies for being a “heart Arab” is one that reunites in his person, to the utmost degree, the qualities on whose bases the whole category is formed, which implies that the category acquires a center (conceived of in corporeal terms as a heart) opposable to a periphery where one can assume that those elements having the same qualities to lesser degrees are to be found). The present metaphorical expression appears to have an alternative spatial model, whereby a category is structured differently from the center-periphery model. The material investigated so far suggests that there are one, possibly two physical models for orientational metaphors involving the *head* (there is the model of the human standing body, implying that the *head* is the upper part of an entity, and there may also be the model of the quadruped animal, implying that the *head* is the frontal part of an entity), and since there is nothing to suggest the possibility of the existence of a third model, we are left with deciding which one of the two is the more plausible here. In this case there are apparently no decisive factors tilting the balance in favor of one model, besides the purely statistical one - in most cases we have dealt with the model of the human body is unequivocally present, whereas the presence of the alternative, quadruped animal body model is challenged by scenarios making the human body model an equally, if not even more plausible alternative. We might, therefore, think that this metaphorical expression as well reflects a conceptualization partially based on the model of the human body, and that the category acquires a vertical structure, its most representative element lying above the other, less representative ones.

The metaphorical expressions involving the name *ra’s* in our corpus reflect a type of conceptualization fairly similar to the one Lakoff himself has pointed to when mentioning metaphorical expressions containing names of body parts in order to exemplify non-

systematic conceptual metaphors – all these expressions entail, in one way or another, the partial projection of the human standing body model (and possibly that of the quadruped animal body) on the notions subjected to metaphorical conceptualization, give that they all acquire a *head*. Based on this observation one can safely say that Lakoff's verdict is valid in the case of all these expressions, as they all reflect a non-systematic usage of the human body model, with no other body parts being ascribed to the notions in question so as to give them a more consistent corporeal nature. The unidimensional profile consisting solely of this feature is, however, only associated with notions whose referents are concrete objects (signposts, spears, trees, wells). The conceptualization process acquires an increased complexity as soon as, even staying within the realm of concrete entities, we go beyond objects whose objective physical features allow a precise, perceivable spatial delineation: we could thus see how, when a *head* is attributed to a portion of space quantified with measure units, there is a high likelihood that there be also an orientational metaphor interacting with the partial projection of the human body model on that portion. The orientational nature of these metaphors (more precisely, the structuring of the notions being conceptualized according to an UP-DOWN axis and, in some cases, possibly according to a FRONT-BACK one), is even more salient when notions acquiring a *head* are abstract, integrating them in the network of orientational metaphors that share these models and thus contributing to the systematicity of metaphors whose manifestations at the level of speech go far beyond the occurrences of names of body parts. Ignoring the orientational nature of these metaphors would create obstacles difficult to overcome for anyone aiming to understand, based on Lakoff's theory of conceptual metaphor and according to its tenets, how it is possible to ascribe a head to a portion of space, a time interval, a human group, an abstract notion or a whole category of abstract notions.

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ON MIGRATION, *HİĞRA*, IN AL-FĀRĀBĪ'S MORAL PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract: Contemporary debates on the increasing role of migration are seldom seeing this as a question of ethics and a religious duty. My article intends to point out the religious motivation of migration, as mentioned in al-Fārābī's *Fuṣūl al-madanī* (*The Aphorisms of the Stateman*). The Medieval political philosopher is using the word *hiğra* in its classical meaning (from the times of the Prophet), connecting it with war and the qualities of the city's chief (king, philosopher and warrior). It is a virtuous man's duty to leave a corrupt city for a virtuous one, otherwise he will feel like a "stranger in this world" (*ğarīb fī l-dunyā*); migration being thus seen also in terms of methaphysical survival.

Keywords: migration; *hiğra*; al-Fārābī; moral philosophy; methaphysical survival.

Contemporary debates on the increasing role of religion in public sphere embrace a broad range of themes; issues on Islam are frequently quoted, most of them in connection with violence and conflict. Although migration is considered an important topic, too, it is seldom seen as a question of ethics and a religious duty. My intention is to point out the religious motivation of migration, as mentioned in al-Fārābī's *Fuṣūl al-madanī* (*The Aphorisms of the Stateman*). The Medieval political philosopher is using the word *hiğra* in its classical meaning (from the times of the Prophet), connecting it with war and the qualities of the city's chief (king, philosopher, prophet and warrior): the same qualities, if used for conquest and evil, may cause disasters. Therefore, it is a virtuous man's duty to leave a corrupt city, otherwise he will feel like a "stranger in this world" (*ğarīb fī l-dunyā*); migration being thus seen also in terms of methaphysical survival.

Less known in Europe than Ibn Sīnā, al-Fārābī's name has nevertheless been quoted already by Albert the Great (Madhkour 1934: 2) Roger Bacon, Thomas Aquinas or the Latin Averroists, to be re-discovered in the XIXth century as an authority on moral and political philosophy¹. In spite of his Aristotelic and Platonic basis, al-Fārābī's views are essentially Islamic, mapping out a synthetic territory of religious, ethical and logical ideas, grace to an exhaustive knowledge of sciences and ancient philosophy. Without rejecting the mystic and contemplative convictions of his time, al-Fārābī was mainly interested in action, his books showing a serious attempt in reuniting politics (*al-ilm al-madanī*), social life and education. His theories on the leader of the Virtuous City (mostly in three of his works: *Arā' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, *Taḥṣīl al-sa'āda*, *Fuṣūl al-madanī*; al-Fārābī 1900; 1961; 1964; 1993 and

¹Grace to Steinschneider's (1885) and Dieterici's (1900) editions and translations.

1952) are showing a moral and social necessity: the ruler must be a wise, religious, perfect man.

As a translator into Romanian of two of the political Farabian works (al-Fārābī 2006 and al-Fārābī 2014), I will analyze the context in which he uses the concept of migration, always important in the Muslim world², but nowadays especially timely and, in fact, relevant for all religions.

Like most of the *falāsifa*, the tenth-century Muslim political philosopher is following the Greek Antiquity (Walzer 1963: 43-49) by presuming that the ruler must be legislator and educator at the same time, teaching people how to obtain the *sa'āda* (happiness and salvation). Yet the main points from Plato's *Republic* are adapted to Islamic thought and the philosopher is certainly spreading Muslim views when saying that a virtuous society and ideal state should encompass the whole world³. Following Plato's division, al-Fārābī is seeing the cities (states)⁴, into "virtuous" and "vicious", according to their willingness to obtain happiness/ salvation. From the Muslim point of view, this can be read as a division between *dār al-islām*, the abode of Islam⁵, and *dār al-kufr*, the abode of disbelief. The views of the inhabitants of these vicious (or "ignorant" and "errant") cities (*al-Madīna al-Fāḍila* 24 : *Arā' ahl al-mudun al-ḡāhila wal-dālla*) are expressed by "democratic" societies and do not put the virtuous persons in the top of the hierarchy; ordinary people are leading "those who call themselves leaders".

Al-Fārābī's *Fuṣūl al-madanī* underline the ancient idea that "the true king is he whose aim and purpose in the art by which he rules the cities are that he should afford himself and the rest of the people of the city true happiness" (al-Fārābī, 1961: & 27) by "moderate, mean actions" (al-Fārābī, 1961: & 26). Moderation is a dominant theme in the philosopher's texts, recalling the philosophers familiarity with Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*⁶, but it is also a personal conviction. A

² See Naqvi 2013: "Within the Islamic tradition, migration is a form of religious and political action that seeks to achieve moral and/or physical distance from evil, ignorance, and the absence of true belief".

³ In Berman's opinion this could be a reference to a political organisation including all parts of the inhabited world. Cf. al-Fārābī, 1895: 53; 1961: 11 and 111. It has become clear that for al-Fārābī, the meaning of philosopher, first chief, king, legislator and imam are all one. "He constructs an ideal state which resembles the world which proceeded from God. Then, his task is to imitate God by founding such a state in time and space. The relationship of the philosopher to the state is the same as that of God to the world." (Berman 1961: 58). On the other hand, analysing *The Attainment of Happiness*, Joshua Parens is convinced that al-Farabi was seeing the impossibility of achieving such a high goal: "To be truly just, the rulers of each nation would need to be philosopher-kings, and each city would need to have its own peculiar adaptations or imitations of philosophy suited to its particular climate and locale. In other words, a virtuous world regime would require a multiplicity of virtuous religions to match the multiplicity of virtuous nations. Alfarabi does not intend this world regime to be a realistic or even an ideal plan. Rather, he seeks to persuade his reader that the effort to establish a just world regime is an impossibly high, even if a noble, goal" (Parens 2006:4).

⁴ R. Walzer is translating *madīna* with "state" and *fāḍila* with "best" (Walzer 1957: 142).

⁵ A territory where the *ṣarī'a* is the supreme law and the Muslims hold political power is *dār al-islām*, even if the majority of the population are disbelievers.

⁶ "Anyone familiar with will find extensive similarities between the *Aphorisms* and that work. Alfarabi's account of internal *ḡihād* is no exception. According to Aristotle, there are six basic moral types: the bestial, the

king should reign in order to make his citizen happy— and not for “greatness and honour and domination and commanding and forbidding and being obeyed and made much of and praised” (al-Fārābī, 1961: &28), not for wealth and enjoyment of pleasures. Al-Fārābī is describing the “king in reality” or “king according to the law” (*malik al-sunna*) as “the first chief, in whom are combined six conditions: wisdom; perfect intelligence; excellence in persuasion; excellence of imagination; power to fight the holy war in person; and that there should be nothing in his person to prevent him attending to matters which belong to the holy war. He in whom all these are united is the model to be imitated in his ways and actions, and his words and counsels are to be accepted. It is his prerogative to rule all he comes to, and as he wills.” (al-Fārābī, 1961:& 53).

As we see, wisdom, intelligence, eloquence (persuasion) and imagination of the leader are on the same level with his capacities to fight in the holy war; the *muġāhid*, warrior of faith, has to be virtuous and to perform the actions by which happiness is attained, justice being the first of them (al-Fārābī, 1961: & 57). The ruler must be an accomplished orator and religion should be respected, because it is part of the human nature. Intuition/insight, linked to prophetic powers, is mentioned along with the capacity of the *malik al-sunna* to fight for the purpose of bringing people to virtue and thus to happiness. On the other side, if these qualities and the experiential faculty “are employed in the lowest of the ignorant polities, the conquest polity, it is baser and worse than in the other places. Similarly, when writing is employed in the ways of life of conquest, it is worse and baser than the other kinds of writing employed in the other polities and arts, and what the lowest people employ is nobler than writing employed in the service of conquest (...). Those human things which are the greatest of voluntary goods, and the arts, are apt in the conquest state to be evils or cause of disasters which happen in the world” (al-Fārābī, 1961: & 88). We understand that the same qualities can become hurtful and cause of disasters if employed in greedy conquest polity (tyranny) and in a conquest war which is not *fī sabīli -llāh*.

It is in this context that Al-Fārābī is discussing the duty of a virtuous man (*fāḍil*) to emigrate – if his city (or state) is vicious, of a corrupt politics (*al-siyāsa al-fāsida*): “He must emigrate to the ideal cities, if such exist in fact in his time. If they do not exist, then the virtuous man is a stranger in the present world and wretched in life, and to die is preferable for him than to live”. (al-Fārābī, 1961: & 88).

The philosopher is using the word *hiġra* for a departure determined by moral and religious dissatisfaction and is speaking about a virtuous city which might not exist at a certain historical time.

immoderate, the incontinent (or those who lack self-restraint), the continent (or those possessing self-restraint), the moderate, and the divine. After discussing briefly the lowest and highest ranks in *Aphorisms* 11– 12, Alfarabi turns to a comparison of the four middle ranks, focusing on the top two, continence or self-restraint and moderation. (...) A harmony between reason and desire in the moderate life makes it more pleasant. In the self-restrained life, desires, which should be a source of pleasure, are a source of pain, because they must be constantly combated. This combat between reason and desire Alfarabi refers to as “the virtue of struggle”, *faḍīlatu l-iġtihād*. (Parens 2006: 65).

The *muhāğir* is leaving a corrupt society, starting his individual way towards salvation – this passage being later the starting point of Ibn Bāğğā’s *Rule of the Solitary* (*Tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid*).

As being pointed out by Patricia Crone in her in-depth study on *The First-Century Concept of “Hiğra”*, the word *hiğra* has been used in sources of the first century of Islamic history for two different types of migration: the departure from Mecca to Medina in the time of the Prophet and the emigration from Medina (and other parts of Arabia) to garrison cities in the conquered lands during the Umayyad reign. Participants in both types of migration are known as *muhāğirūn* (Crone 1994: 352). The Qur’an identifies migrants (*man yuhāğiru, al-muhāğirūn*) as believers following Muḥammad’s example and leaving places where they “were hurt” on their way to God (3:194), encouraging “those who emigrated in God’s cause after they were wronged”. (16:40/43).

In *Sūratu l-Nisā*’ “the Angels ask those oppressed by disbelievers: “Was not the earth of Allah spacious enough for you to migrate therein?””(4:97).

This spirit of departure is occasionally associated with the struggle on the way of God(8:73/75, 9:19/20; 16:109/111 a.o).⁷ But, as we see, it is always linked to a historical context.

During the Umayyad period, *hiğra* is also frequently mentioned by many authors, including al-Ğāḥiẓ (*Risāla fi banī ’Umayya*, 297, apud Crone 1994: 362) with very concrete references, like in the concept *dāru l-hiğra* as a military centre (called also *manzilğihād*). A *muhāğir* is a resident of such a centre, a settled (and thus “civilized” person), in contrast with the nomad “ignorant” bedouins. He is someone who left behind him and avoided what God has forbidden⁸.

Al-Fārābī is reinforcing the spiritual accent of *hiğra*, underlining that the *muhāğir* may not live in times when such an ideal city or state exists, and then he will feel like a stranger in this world, “and to die is preferable for him than to live”. Dunlop is speculating in the *Introduction* to his translation that the philosopher might have had in mind his own departure from Bagdad in 942 to Syria, where the generous Sayf al-Dawla lived and held al-Fārābī up to his death in high esteem (*Introduction* to al-Fārābī 1961: 14). But, in my opinion, when the philosopher is speaking about the strangeness felt by the virtuous man in this world, if the ideal city does not exist, and that it would be

⁷One verse seems to identify *ğihād* as an activity peculiar to emigrants as distinct from those “who have given refuge and help” (8:71/73). Emigration and war-fare are meritorious if being performed *fi sabīli -llāh*, suggesting that if they are done in a non-religious vein, this would be wrong. After Muḥammad’s death, ‘Umar held the best person to be “a man endowed with a home, family and property who learns about Islam and who reacts by driving his camels to one of the abodes of emigration (*dār min dūr al-hiğra*), where he sells them and spends the money on equipment in the path of God, staying among the Muslims and confronting their enemy”. (Crone 1994: 358).

⁸This is what some of the Prophet’s *Traditions* point out. Mu‘āwiyya is quoted in reproducing a *ḥadīṯ* concerning *spiritual hiğra* “which will not come to an end until repentance does”. (Crone 1994: 370, 372). This idea is connected to that of *spiritual ğihād*, encouraging Muslims to be not only in control of their passions and desires, but also to forbid them in general, thus contributing to the moral health of society.

preferable for him to die than live such a wretched life, he is suggesting that the *muhāġir* (emigrant) and the *ġarīb* (stranger) are one and the same: a traveler to the abode of Hereafter. According to al-Ġawziyya, a stranger is a person who is seeing the evil, but has not enough power or courage to stop it, being alone in his ideas; he is recalling the strangeness felt at the beginnings by Muslims, when surrounded only by different other religions, and the feeling of true believers to be strangers among ordinary people, „as the scholars are strangers among the true believers” (al-Ġawziyya 2014). In this interpretation, a stranger is abandoning what he cannot change, dedicating his life to God. Al-Fārābī is seeing the *muhāġir* as such a traveler, unhappy by places where he doesn't belong: suggesting that we are all *muhāġirūn*, living in this world only for a while, before moving on to *al-'āhira*.

It is therefore that I would like to conclude that the concept of *hiġra* is illuminating, in al-Fārābī's *Fuṣūl al-madanī*, the important changes made by the 10th century philosopher to the elements of ancient Greek philosophy: he is transforming the advice given to the statesman into general advice for the individual spiritual growth in the frames of the *šarī'a*, for achieving on earth the divinely ordained moral imperatives and preparing the soul for the *al-'āhira*. I see here a deeper level of Al-Fārābī's vision on moral philosophy: the philosopher may – and even has to – take on social duties in the first part of his life, but he should always keep in mind that, if he cannot achieve virtue in spite of his efforts, it might be necessary to give up public involvement, – and follow the ascetic path. This is one of the most convincing arguments that political science should not overlook faith and that religion can never be a diminishing feature of human societies.

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III. BOOK REVIEWS

د. علي القاسمي: صناعة المعجم التاريخي للغة العربية
مكتبة لبنان ناشرون، الطبعة الأولى 2014م
التحقيق: منتصر أمين عبد الرحيم

إن الهدف من وضع كتاب يتعلق بصناعة المعجم التاريخي للغة العربية ليثدد على ضرورة إيجاد إطار تنظيري جيد يهتم ببيان جميع العوامل التي من الممكن أن تؤثر في كفاءة هذا المعجم وتؤكد على إمكانية تطويره واستمرارية هذا التطوير بالإضافة إلى محاولة بناء تصور واضح عن بنية هذا المعجم وهيئته.

جاء الفصل الأول (المعجم والمعجم التاريخي) من الكتاب بمثابة مدخل تعريفى يعرف بالمعجم التاريخي على أنه نوع من المعاجم عادة ما يكون أحادي اللغة، يرمي إلى تزويد القارئ بتاريخ الألفاظ مبنى ومعنى من خلال تتبع تطورها أو تغييرها منذ أقدم ظهور مسجل حتى يومنا هذا، فهو لا يقتصر على تناول اللغة في عصر معين، بل يتناولها في جميع العصور، وهذا يستدعي أن يضم هذا المعجم كل لفظ استعمل في اللغة داخل بلاد الناطقين بها أو خارجها، وأن يوثق تاريخ كل لفظ في شكله [الهجاء والنطق] ومعناه [التعميم – التخصيص – الرقي – الانحطاط] واستعماله [الشبوع – الندرة – الموضوع – المستوى – المكان – الزمان] منذ ولادته أو اقتراضه وحتى سباته أو مماته.

الفصل الثاني (تاريخ المعجم التاريخي) رأى المؤلف فيه أن متطلبات تصنيف المعجم التاريخي ثلاثة، أولها الحاجة الماسة إلى مثل هذا النوع من المعاجم، ثم توافر عدد كبير من الدراسات اللسانية التاريخية، وأخيراً وجود هيئة علمية ذات تخصصات متصلة، ثم جاء تفريق المؤلف بين المعجم التأثيلي والمعجم التاريخي مؤكداً على أن المعجم التاريخي يحدد تاريخ كل تطور وتحول يصيب اللفظ ويسوق شواهد حقيقية مقتبسة من الوثائق التي ظهر فيها اللفظ أول مرة وشواهد على جميع التغيرات والتحويلات التالية.

أما الفصل الثالث (المعجم التاريخي للغة العربية) فعرض لمحاولات وضع معجم تاريخي للغة العربية بداية من مشروع فيشر مروراً بالمعجم الكبير ومعجم المرجع للعلايلي ومشروع اتحاد المجامع اللغوية والعلمية والمشروع التونسي ومشروع الدوحة مؤكداً من وراء هذا الفصل على أن ظهور معجم تاريخي للغة العربية وفي أي ثقافة أخرى يرتبط بعوامل ثلاثة هي: حاجة ماسة إلى المعجم التاريخي، وموقف إيجابي من التغيير اللغوي، ودراسات في علم اللغة التاريخي، مشيراً إلى أن الموقف السلبي من دراسة اللغات أو اللهجات غير العربية الفصيحة المشتركة وكذلك رفض دراسة التغيير اللغوي باعتباره فساداً وخطراً على العربية أدباً إلى عدم وجود دراسات في علم اللغة التاريخي عامة ودراسة التطور اللغوي خاصة أضف إلى هذا أن معظم المعاجم التي تم إنجازها كانت في حقيقتها مجرد نقل من المعاجم القديمة.

ومرورا بالفصل الرابع (الكتابة العربية ركيزة المعجم التاريخي) الذي تناول العلاقة بين صناعة المعجم التاريخي وفن الكتابة العربية والعروبية نصل إلى الفصل الخامس (خطوات تصنيف المعجم التاريخي) الذي حدد فيه خطوات صناعة المعجم المنشود على النحو التالي:

- تحديد أهداف المعجم.
- تحديد عصور تطور اللغة.
- إعداد قائمة بالمصادر والمراجع الموثقة.
- إنشاء مدونة لغوية محوسبة.
- تكوين قاعدة شواهد موثقة على مداخل المعجم.
- تحرير مواد المعجم.
- ترتيب المداخل.
- المقدمة والمراجع.
- نشر المعجم تسويق المعجم.

وجاءت أهداف صناعة المعجم التاريخي في الفصل السادس (أهداف المعجم التاريخي للغة العربية) متصلة بمجموعة من المسائل المهمة أولها **المسألة اللغوية**: وتتمثل في معرفة اللغة العربية المطلوب التعامل معها في مرحلتي الجمع والوضع، و**المسألة التاريخية**: وتتناول تقسيم اللغة العربية إلى عصور، و تأريخ الألفاظ بحيث يوثق المعجم تاريخ كل لفظ في "شكله ومعناه واستعماله" ممثلاً له بعدد من الشواهد، و**المسألة الجغرافية**: وهي تخص النطاق المكاني لجميع نصوص اللغة، ثم **المسألة الموضوعية**: وتهتم بنوع الموضوعات والمجالات العلمية، وأخيراً **مسألة التغيير**: إذ يعنى المعجم بالتغير في جميع صورته وأشكاله وأنواعه.

وعرج الفصل السابع (**تحديد عصور تاريخ اللغة**) على مسألة تحديد عصور العربية. أما الفصلان الثامن (**مصادر المعجم التاريخي - المصادر الأساسية**) والتاسع (**مصادر المعجم التاريخي - المصادر الثانوية**) فخص بهما المؤلف مصادر المعجم المنشود الأساسية والثانوية، والأساسية هي تلك النصوص المدونة المكتوبة في صورة نقوش أو برديات أو مخطوطات ورقية أو كتب مطبوعة أو إلكترونية أصيلة أو مترجمة من مختلف الأماكن الجغرافية وفي متنوع الموضوعات الأدبية والعلمية والفنية خاصة تلك التي يمكن تحديد تاريخها أو عصرها. أما المصادر الثانوية فهي تلك الكتب التي تصف اللغة أو تقدها أو تشرحها أو تتحدث عنها، مثل كتب القواعد النحوية أو المعاجم ويستفاد منها في سد الفجوات في المصادر الأساسية.

وجاء الفصل العاشر (**لسانيات المدونة الحاسوبية وصناعة المعجم التاريخي**) مبنياً حول العلاقة بين لسانيات المدونة الحاسوبية والمعجم المنشود وأنواع المدونات، وخصائص المدونة الحاسوبية ومجالات استخدامها وأهدافها، ثم الحديث الخاص ببناء المدونة وأسباب صعوبة إنشاء مدونة باللغة العربية.

أما الفصل الحادي عشر (الشواهد في المعجم التاريخي) فيمثل حديثاً مستفيضاً عن طريقة جمع الشواهد وخصائص الشاهد الجيد وشروط استخدام هذه الشواهد وأهميتها داخل المعجم التاريخي. وجاء الفصل الثاني عشر (ترتيب مواد المعجم التاريخي) يبين لنا طريقة الترتيب الداخلي والخارجي في المعجم التاريخي مقترحاً أن يكون ترتيب هذا المعجم هو الترتيب الذي استخدمه الزمخشري في أساس البلاغة والبيومي في المصباح المنير إذ تبناه وطوره مجمع اللغة العربية في معاجمه؛ معجم ألفاظ القرآن الكريم، والمعجم الوسيط، والمعجم الكبير، واعتمده المؤلف كذلك في المعجم العربي الأساسي.

وركز الفصل الثالث عشر (أنواع المعلومات في المعجم التاريخي) على عشرة أنواع من المعلومات التي يجب أن تتكون منها مواد المعجم التاريخي هي:

1. الجذر ومعناه أو معانيه الكلية.
2. المداخل الرئيسية والمداخل الفرعية.
3. المعلومات التأثيلية.
4. التطور الشكلي للفظ (نطقه وتهجئته).
5. المعلومات الصرفية والنحوية.
6. المعلومات الدلالية.
7. معلومات عن الاستعمال.
8. المعلومات الإحصائية.
9. ملاحظات محرر المعجم وتعليقاته.
10. المقدمة والمصادر الأولية والثانوية.

أما التحليل الدلالي لألفاظ هذا المعجم فجاء في الفصل الرابع عشر (التحليل الدلالي) إذ يجب على المحرر كي يصل إلى تعريف دقيق القيام بالتحليل الدلالي للفظ للوقوف على معناه أو معانيه في النصوص التي ورد فيها ليوقف على التغيير الذي طرأ على معناه وعلى المعاني الجديدة التي اكتسبها في كل عصر. ثم جاء الفصل الأخير (التعريف في المعجم التاريخي) من هذا الكتاب ليبين شروط التعريف: الوضوح – الإيجاز- التساوي- الإيجاب – الخلو من اللغو، ويعرض لشروطه إذا كان مرتبطاً بألفاظ تشكل مجالاً دلاليّاً: الترتيب والربط – التناظر والتماثل- الإدراج والإندراج- التقسيم والتفريع والتشعيب- المتصاحبات اللغوية، ثم ذكر عيوب التعريف الواجب تحاشيها: الحشو – السطحية – تعريف المجهول بالمجهول – الوقوع في الدور والتسلسل – الإحالة المتكررة – عدم استخدام المميزات الدلالية لتخصيص معنى المشترك اللفظي.

أما بعد،

فهذا الكتاب من الكتب الرائدة في مجاله إذ أتاح لنا ولجميع المتخصصين في مجال المعجمية بصورة عامة والمهتمين بصناعة المعجم التاريخي بصفة خاصة خطة علمية واضحة تبين الخطوط النظرية والإجرائية لوضع المعجم، وجاء هذا الكتاب مشفوعاً بأمثلة تطبيقية من أعمال معجمية سابقة

ومعاصرة تخصص اللغة العربية أو غيرها من لغات أنجزت معجمها التاريخي لمناقشتها والوصول إلى إجراء مهم في تنفيذ مشروع المعجم التاريخي، هذا بالإضافة إلى العديد من الملاحق التي أعقبت فصولاً كثيرة من فصول هذا الكتاب كان من أهمها الملاحق الخاصة بالمصادر الأولية والثانوية وغيرها مما يتصل بصميم العمل في هذا المعجم المنشود، ولكن خطة الكتاب رغم أهميتها واتساقها ليست نهائية وقابلة للمناقشة والتعديل.

**Necim Gül. 2013. *Siirt Arapçasını Kurtarmak*. Ankara: Sage Yayıncılık. pp. 166.
ISBN: 9786054738878**

Reviewed by Gabriel Bițună

Necim Gül is an Arabic language independent researcher and enthusiast with a focus on the Spoken Arabic of Siirt, besides being one of the native speakers of this variety of Arabic. He was born (in 1972) and raised in Siirt, Turkey. Not long before graduating from the Faculty of Pedagogy and Education within the Dicle University, in Diarbakır, he received a position as deputy director of a high-school in the city of Siirt. On top of his researches on the Arabic spoken in the area, he also writes poetry, both in Turkish and Siirti Arabic (being probably the first Siirti speaker to ever write verses in this variety).

His book, entitled *Siirt Arapçasını Kurtarmak* i.e. “Rescuing Siirti Arabic”, is not only a collection of valuable and usable linguistic data that he has collected and can later on be used in further researches, but it also covers sociolinguistic, historical and cultural issues related to Siirti Arabic speakers.

The *motto* that the book begins with makes one wonder for quite a bit: “I wish that this book were written when the picture on the cover was taken”. If we take a look at the cover, we can see a picture that takes us back in time at least half a century: the main street, which would start at the top of the hill where the city houses were concentrated and lead to the market, where all traders and craftsmen would meet. Why would the author wish for someone to have written the book fifty or more years ago? What he actually means is quite understandable, once the readership sees that there is a heart rate line that pulsates and eventually comes to a flat line. The choice of such a cover, in the author’s opinion, signifies that the Siirt Arabic is coming to an end too.

The introductory paragraphs present the objective of the book to the reader: that is, the preservation of the language spoken in Siirt as a gift to humanity and to linguists across the world. A short biographical description of the author follows immediately.

The first major chapter is *Geçmişten Günümüze Siirt’te Yaşayan Topluluklar*, “Living Communities in Siirt, from Past to Present”, in which the reader is familiarized with a history of the Muslim Arab people of Siirt (going back, according to the author, to the period of the second Rashid Caliph, Umar), that have been cohabitating in the same area with non-Muslims (Armenians, Aramaeans and Chaldean Assyrians) and Kurds. The author himself acknowledges that further diachronic research must be done in order to better delimitate both the roots and the historical path of these people.

After stating that all people in the entire Siirt Province are widely known as *ristakiler*, the author argues that the Spoken Arabic of Siirt is influenced by a “strange unity” (p.16), given the presence of all the languages spoken in the region throughout the centuries: Syriac, Armenian, Chaldean-Assyrian, Turkish, Kurdish and Arabic.

In *Siirt Arapçasını Tanıyalım*, “Facts about Siirti Arabic”, the author argues that the syntactic structure of the Spoken Arabic of Siirt overlaps with the one of Standard Arabic, while differences between this variety and others neighboring it are only seen in vocabulary and morphology. The author briefly notes various facts about Siirti Arabic: there are phonetic differences between Mardin and Siirt, (making Mardini Arabic, in the author’s opinion, closer to Standard Arabic from this point of view); there is a difference in speeches of women and speeches of men, with respect to the voiceless uvular stop /q/: women tend to pronounce it as the glottal stop /ʔ/, whereas men always pronounce it as such, /q/; the Siirti Arabic has taken suffixes from Turkish *hâcarçi (taşustası)* (p. 20) “stonemason” or prefixes from Kurdish *bémix (beyinsiz)*(p. 20) “brainless, stupid”, etc.

The author argues in the chapter *Adını Koyalım*, “Let us put a name to it”, that one cannot name this variety of Arabic anything than “Spoken Arabic of Siirt”, as it encompasses both the geographical and the sociolinguistic criteria of the language.

In *Siirt Arapçasındaki Sözcüklerin Kökeni*, “The Roots of the Words in Siirti Arabic”, the author states that there is a strong natural influence of Kurdish and Turkish over the Arabic spoken in the studied area and then offers the readership a series of words of Classical Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish origins, like: *wahor (sirt)* “back”, from Classical Arabic (p. 24); *geşt (piknik)* “picnic”, from Kurdish (p. 25); *çêkédé (ceket)* “jacket”, from Turkish (p. 26), etc., followed by a series of words of unknown origin, i.e. *geri (konuşma eylemi)* “the action of speaking, speech”, *zamzîloq (salıncak)* “swing” (p. 28), etc.

The author provides a list of more than 200 words in *Siirt Arapçası ile Standart Arapçanın Benzer ve Farklı Yönleri*, “Similarities and differences between Siirti Arabic and Standard Arabic”, words which are used in daily speech, illustrating that, even if the ones pertaining to the religious domain were basically preserved as such from Standard Arabic, the ones that have to do with crafts and trades were borrowed from Turkish and Kurdish and then merged into the Arabic system.

In *Siirt Arapçası İçin İlginç Bir Benzetme*, “An interesting analogy with Siirti Arabic”, the author gives the example of a child that has been living away from his parents for most of his life, thus giving room to entirely new ways of life and thinking, to a new culture, different from the child’s parents. The child is the analogy of Siirti Arabic itself, which was taken away from its contact with Standard Arabic, fact that allowed it to develop on its own.

We are presented with a linguistic fact in *Siirt Arapçasının Ne Kadarı Arapça*, “How much Arabic is there in Siirti Arabic”: language is a natural means of communication, with its

own laws and these laws work in the living media. Therefore, according to the author, as long as Siirti Arabic has been away for so long from the Arab world, one cannot truly state that it can still be considered an Arabic variety, but a new emerging language.

In *Siirt Arapçası Bu Denli Değişime Nasıl Uğradı*, “How did such a change occur in Siirti Arabic”, we are offered a short explanation regarding the phonetic shifts that occur in Siirti Arabic, i.e. *wîp* (*kurt*) (p. 44) “wolf”, suffering the shift from the interdental /d̪/ to the fricative /v/, etc. The author also tries to explain that given the fact that Arabic has become of so little use in all domains it started to borrow from Turkish and Kurdish, which would eventually lead to its permanent decay. In the end of this chapter, there is another interesting list of words on top of which lies the question “how to classify them?”, as the author argues that these words will die along with the elders of the city, because no one from the newer generations uses them anymore.

The chapter *Suçlu Kim*, “Who is to blame”, brings forth a critical analysis of the author over the last generations of Siirti Arabic speakers: he states that they have begun to exclude Arabic even from the households, because they use Turkish at work and with most of their friends across the country. Even more, their children go to school where they must speak also Turkish. Therefore, nowadays no one would consider it strange if they hear someone saying an Arabic phrase filled with words in Turkish, i.e. *Bekçi îsey îlharâmi qovalamiş. (Bekçi, hırsızı kovalıyor.)* (p. 51) “The guard is chasing the thief”, etc.

In *Felaketler Zinciri ve Birkaç Anekdot*, “The chain of disasters and some anecdotes”, the author refers to the history of the people living in Siirt, which have gone through many hardships and struggles across their history, have had little to no access to information, while their literacy level has never been very high. The question raised here is how to preserve a language under such circumstances? The author himself states that he will try to teach his children his mothertongue, to help Siirti Arabic survive.

As the author states in *Modernizm ve Siirt Arapçasının Gerileme Çağı*, “Modernism and the age of decline of Siirti Arabic”, since the 1950’s and the advance of technology, many expressions and terms had to be taken from Turkish, being the only language in the area in contact with technological and scientific vocabulary.

The author presents a writing system for the Arabic variety that any Turkish speaking person could use in *Siirt Arapçası İçin Hangi Alfabe Kullanılmalıdır*, “Which alphabet should be used for Siirti Arabic”.

In *Latin Alfabetiyle Siirt Arapçası Yazma Denemeleri*, “Testing the Latin Alphabet for writing in Siirti Arabic”, we are offered many examples in this variety with their translations, i.e. *Beytu ihtaraq ehet mê tâq tafâhu. Evi yandı kimse söndüremedi.* (p. 71) “His house burned down and no one could extinguish [the fire]”, etc.

We are offered a great deal of Siirti Arabic idiomatic expressions in *Siirt Arapçasındaki Bazı Deyimler*, “Some expressions in Siirti Arabic”, i.e. *İbakkok İlgeri. (Hitabeti çok güçlü.)* (p. 95) “He has a very strong rhetoric (lit. He masters the speech)”. Also, in *Siirt Arapçasındaki Bazı Atasözü Örnekleri*, “Some samples of proverbs in Siirti Arabic”, we are given an impressive number of proverbs in Siirti Arabic, i.e. *Lé îsey şığél bîl hîlé îmut fîl fiqor. (Hile ile iş gören fakirliğe uğrar[...])* (p. 119) “the one that works by cheating, dies in poverty”.

In *Siirt Arapçasında Edebiyat*, “Literature in Siirti Arabic”, we are given expressions used when starting stories, like *Karra kêfi mê kêfi* (p. 124) “once upon a time”.

There is a brief comparative research on vocabulary (from Mardin and Hatay varieties of Arabic versus Siirti Arabic) and various linguistic facts in *Yurdumuzda Arapça Konuşulan Diğer Şehirler*, “Spoken Arabic in other cities of our country”, *İki Öz Kardeş: Siirt Arapçası ve Mardin Arapçası*, “Siirti Arabic and Mardini Arabic: full brothers” and *Mardin Arapçası ile İlgili İzlenimlerim*, “My impressions on Mardini Arabic”.

In *Biraz da Dil Bilgisi Çalışalım*, “Let us work a little on grammar”, the author presents the personal pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns, synonymous words and expressions, homonyms, antonyms, time related vocabulary, verbal conjugations, conditional markers, interrogative phrases, adjectives, adverbs, question markers, prepositions, conjunctions, numerals, nominal definiteness, comparatives, elements of sentence, passive voice, types of phrases, plurals, etc.

In *Sadede Gelelim – Siirt Arapçasının Kurtarılması İçin Neler Yapılabilir*, “Let’s cut to the point: How can Siirti Arabic be saved” and the following chapter, the author suggests the creation, under the patronage of Turkish Directorate of Culture, of a union of tested speakers of varieties of Arabic of all areas in Turkey. Then, the author states that, within the Institute of Living Languages and Dialects of the University of Siirt, everyone should focus on the preserving of these varieties. He later states that Siirti Arabic must be standardized in such a manner that it can be incorporated into the school programs, at least citywide, into television and radio and all media, so that people could benefit from hearing and especially reading and writing this endangered language.

The last chapters are basically poems written by Necim Gül or stories collected by him from the older generations of Siirti Arabic speakers.

In the “Final say”, the author calls for anyone who is interested in linguistic researches in general, or in Siirti Arabic in particular, to write about it, to preserve it, because, in his opinion, there is less than half a century left before it will completely disappear.

He ends his call with the following words: *Siirt Arapçasını Kurtarmak, Gerekli ve mümkün* (p. 180) “Saving Siirti Arabic, necessary and possible”.

István T. Kristó-Nagy. 2013. *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Un agent double dans le monde persan et arabe.* Paris : Editions de Paris (*Studia Arabica XIX*). p. 618. ISBN 978-2-85162-272-3

Compte-rendu fait par Laura Sitaru

Une étude exhaustive sur la personnalité d'Ibn al-Muqaffa', son époque et son œuvre, c'est l'impression que le livre d'István Kristó-Nagy laisse au bout de la lecture de ses six cents pages. L'auteur a trouvé nécessaire de fouiller en profondeur et d'apporter à la lumière les contextes historiques d'une complexité éclairante pour la vie et, surtout, pour la création d'Ibn al-Muqaffa'. En tant que chercheur fasciné par l'écriture d'Ibn al-Muqaffa', on découvre avec enchantement une contextualisation vraiment éclairante de ses écritures. « L'œuvre d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' représente le réveil de la conscience des intellectuels iraniens et leur recherche d'une identité redéfinie suite au traumatisme de la conquête islamique (...) elle est aussi un monument aux compositeurs qui, sous couvert de collaboration avec les conquérants, avaient pour objectif réel de servir leur société » (p. 23).

Ibn al-Muqaffa', le Persan arabisé et, peut-être, islamisé, le courage de ses écritures, la liberté de douter de tout, représentent dans la lecture d'István Kristó-Nagy l'incarnation de la « versatilité de la période suivant la conquête arabe, un monde en mouvement longtemps (et reste peut-être même aujourd'hui) incompris et ignoré » (p. 23). Accepté en tant que persan à la cour des Umayyades très attachés à l'idée de la suprématie ethnique des arabes, Ibn al-Muqaffa' trouve sa mort sous l'abbaside al-Manşūr dans une époque où la pluralité ethnique du Califat s'impose comme une réalité quotidienne. C'est toujours le paradoxe qui caractérise la société musulmane dans la tentative de trouver une identité au commencement de ce chemin à travers l'histoire de l'humanité.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' fait partie de la couche sociale des *kuttāb* (scribes, secrétaires, administrateurs, héritiers des fonctionnaires sassanides et byzantins), lesquels malgré la position sociale inférieure, méprisent leurs nouveaux maîtres – les Arabes – et les valeurs

tribales dont ils sont les porteurs. Par conséquence, « ils prennent leur ancien empire et leurs anciens souverains (...) comme des exemples de parfaite éducation, de culture, d'éloquence, de justice, de responsabilité et de magnanimité » (p. 35). Il y en a aussi d'historiens qui parlent ouvertement d'un conflit entre les *kuttāb* des premiers temps du Califat, étrangers à l'arabité et à l'islam dans la même mesure, et leurs maîtres arabes, d'où peut-être la réserve sur la création d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' manifestée jusqu'assez tard parmi les érudits de l'islam. « Ibn al-Muqaffa' a cependant eu des vues plutôt suspicieuses sur les Arabes, leur poésie et leur Coran, et il n'a utilisé ses connaissances de langue arabe et de l'islam que pour les remplir de l'héritage iranien actualisé et pour démontrer la supériorité de son intelligence et de sa culture sur les conquérants de son pays » (p. 38). Habituees depuis longtemps aux débats religieux, les populations conquises trouvent l'islam à ce moment-là assez simple et dépourvu de dimension argumentative. Dans ce contexte, « quand les arguments rationnels sont insuffisants, le pouvoir applique la violence pour s'affirmer, c'est ce que prouve d'une part la campagne systématique lancée par le calife al-Manṣūr contre les innombrables groupes politiques et sectes naissantes et d'autre part la *miḥna* ou l'inquisition menée par les califes al-Mahdī et al-Hādī contre les manichéens » (p. 42).

Il est bien impressionnant le nombre des sources que l'auteur a consultées, lues et traduites pour réaliser le portrait du « meilleur secrétaire au monde » (p. (57), selon l'appréciation du calife al-Manṣūr lui-même, le noble persan Rūzbih (*le béni*), alias Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Appartenant à deux modèles culturels différents, où les hommes de lettres étaient eux aussi évalués très différemment – considérés par les Persans porteurs de la sagesse, mais hommes de passion, poètes par les Arabes – Ibn al-Muqaffa' incarne toute cette ambiguïté (p. 56). Très souvent, les passages critiques face à l'islam et aux Arabes sont clairement exprimés, Ibn al-Muqaffa' ne cachant pas son adversité envers « les envahisseurs arabes de son pays » (p.66-67). « Mais il est allé plus loin encore que le persiflage contre les dignitaires arabes contemporains, il a répondu au défi lancé dans le Coran et il a eu l'audace de déclarer que sa *Mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān* (« La Parodie du Coran ») n'est pas de pire qualité que le texte original, considéré par les musulmans comme étant la parole de Dieu, dont la perfection et l'inimitabilité sont la preuve de la véracité » (p. 71-72). István Kristó-Nagyest convaincu que

la discussion autour de la religiosité d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' ne se porte pas en termes de croyant versus non-croyant, mais qu'il partage avec d'autres intellectuels persans de l'époque une sorte de dualisme rationnel, plutôt positif et, par conséquence, plus proche du monothéisme, pas nécessairement islamique (p. 78). La raison semble être le centre de sa doctrine, à côté de la croyance dans la « puissance amélioratrice de celle-ci » (p. 79). Dans le contexte d'une puissance politique absolue, afficher de croyance sincère, n'importe la nature de celle-ci, religieuse ou bien idéologique, ce serait une absurdité, même une chose répugnante, conquit Ibn al-Muqaffa' dans son « Epître sur l'Entourage » (*Risālafti-'l-Şahāba*). Il devient très clair que le contexte politique de l'époque favorisait la dissimulation, une qualité qu'un conseiller du prince ou du commandant des croyants devait posséder, même y exceller.

István Kristó-Nagy s'appuie dans la description de l'œuvre d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' sur un nombre impressionnant de sources de l'islam classique, dont quelques-unes utilisées en première, mais aussi sur les études précédentes des arabisants qui se sont dédiés au sujet. Il met en discussion la distinction que Francesco Gabrieli fait, en partageant l'œuvre d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' en « traductions » et « écrits originaux » (p. 81), invoquant les arguments mêmes de al-Ğāhiz, qui se trouve lui-aussi dans l'impossibilité de séparer les unes des autres. Mais l'essentiel de la démarche d'István Kristó-Nagy réside dans la découverte, au-delà des concepts éthiques et politiques d'Ibn al-Muqaffa', connus et étudiés, les fondements de sa pensée, c'est-à-dire « ses principes ontologiques et épistémologiques » qui se trouvent dans ses œuvres *religieuses*, telles *La Critique de l'islam* ou bien la *Mu'āraḍat al-Qur'ān*.

Le souci pour la formation d'une élite politique est plutôt le souci pour transmettre à la culture conquérante un patrimoine riche et précieux représenté par la civilisation persane. Ibn al-Muqaffa', sujet de ses maîtres arabes, est en fait leur formateur, leur enseignant, souvent avec l'arrogance de l'individu conscient de sa supériorité. C'est lui le « responsable » pour l'apparition de l'*adab*, en tant que genre littéraire et politique en même temps, c'est toujours lui la source devenue classique et obligatoire dans la formation des élites politiques musulmanes à travers les époques. Le mérite d'István Kristó-Nagy est aussi grand que le nom d' 'Abdallah ibn al-Muqaffa', le père des « miroirs des princes », parce qu'il offre au lecteur un livre irréprochable, à côté des fragments inédits de l'auteur même, jamais traduits de

l'arabe, tels : *al-Yatīma* (« La perle unique »), l'une de ses épîtres les plus célèbres, ou bien *Taḥmīd*, l'introduction d'une épître ou discours politique, ou ses *Lettres* « qui étaient citées par des auteurs postérieurs comme modèle de correspondance éloquente » (p. 95).

Le texte attribué à Ibn al-Muqaffa' et intitulé *al-Manṭiq* (« La Logique ») fait aussi l'objet de l'analyse d'István Kristó-Nagy : il s'agirait, conformément aux sources classiques consultées, de la traduction explicative de l'*Isagoge* de Porphyre et de trois livres de l'*Organon* d'Aristote (les *Catégories*, l'*Herméneutique* et les *Premières Analytiques*), transférés le plus probable en arabe du pehlevi (p. 177-179). On ajoute aussi une bibliographie très étendue et complexe (pp. 463-515) et un index qui couvre 90 pages (pp. 515-605), ce qui confère au livre un caractère tout à fait spectaculaire du point de vue académique.

Pierre Larcher, *Linguistique arabe et pragmatique*. Beyrouth, Damas: Presses de l'ifpo, 2014, pp. 438. (ISBN 978-2-35159-401-8)

reviewed by Ovidiu Pietrăreanu

Pierre Larcher's present volume is a collection of some of the articles he has published between the years 1983 and 1997 in a field of knowledge he has impacted upon to an utmost extent – approaching the Arabic language and Arabic linguistics from viewpoints offered by pragmatics, in a manner which yielded enticing results and, in many a case, shed new lights on matters interesting even for the not necessarily pragmatically oriented students of Arabic. The volume is prefaced by Kees Versteegh, who stresses the important part played by Pierre Larcher in raising awareness of the pragmatic dimension of the Arabic linguistic thought. As the author himself states in his "Introduction" (pp. 9-14), the chapters of the book are represented by twenty articles directly or indirectly drawn from the PhD thesis dealing with the opposition *ḥabar* vs. *'inšā'* (assertive vs. non-assertive utterances) which he defended in 1980 (p. 9). These articles were grouped into two major sections ("Tradition linguistique arabe et pragmatique" and "Linguistique arabe et pragmatique"), the first one being, in its turn, divided into three parts ("Le cadre général «Quand, en arabe, on parlait de l'arabe...»", "Analyses de détail" and "Les sources"). As these titles suggest, the arrangement of the chapters making up the parts they designate follows the organic growth of the subject, from the general to the particular, from the theoretical developments and their assessment to their appliances in approaching different aspects of the Arabic language (on more than one occasion, this arrangement appears to be more than a mere superimposed, "pedagogical" one, as there are issues that are treated in two or even more articles, bearing witness to the evolution of the author's views and his reassessment of different analyses and interpretations).

The first chapter, "Essai sur la méthodologie de l'histoire des «métalanguages arabes»", begins with a plea for recognizing not only the legitimacy of the Arabic linguistic *métalanguages* as an object of study, but also the awareness of the Arab linguists of the existence of such an object, pointing to the theoretical basis capable of providing them with the necessary tools for its grasping it (pp. 19-20). Larcher envisages three possible ways of approaching this matter, which he labels as "exhaustive", "extractive" and "abstractive", anticipating the implications of following every one of them: the first one is deemed problematic on practical reasons (the object of study, while being finite, is too vast to be thoroughly and effectively investigated – p. 22); moreover, he points to the potentially misleading effect of certain misconceptions about which texts might provide the specialist with the required data (in this respect, he offers the example of Ibn Ḥaldūn's *Muqaddima*,

where, against some expectations, one can find useful data about the *ḥabar* - '*inšā*' opposition – p. 24-25); the “extracting” approach, representing the cutting out of a specific “metalanguage”, while being compatible with a diachronic perspective (pp. 32-33), fails to recognize the multiple connections linking the various disciplines, going even beyond the borders of the strictly linguistic ones, and at the same time the demarcations arising between them (pp. 33-36); these considerations pave the way for the approach deemed the most suited in this context – the “abstractive” one, which is assumed to help the researcher end up with an abstract object of study, not identifiable with any one of the concrete “metalanguages” but representative for the all of them and illustrative for their differences and connections (p. 39).

In the second chapter, “Essai sur la catégorie de '*inšā*' (vs *ḥabar*)”, Larcher follows the emergence of the '*inšā*' category as opposed to the one known as *ḥabar*, in a trajectory going across disciplines and texts. After mentioning three facts he deems fundamental to the issue (the existence of a *ḥabar* - '*inšā*' opposition as a means of classifying utterances, the multidisciplinary and also transdisciplinary character of this opposition and its emergence in the late, postclassical period of linguistic sciences – p. 41), Larcher goes on to trace the emergence of the term '*inšā*' within the specific terminologies of different fields of knowledge, mentioning the various disciplines where it is used (*manṭiq*, *balāḡa*, *fiqh*, '*uṣūl al-fiqh*', *kalām*, alongside grammar, where it is rather a latecomer, as its earliest attestation seems to be in the work of Ibn al-Ḥāḡib (d. 1249) – p. 42) and the authors in whose works it is to be found associated to various meanings and reflecting various classifications of utterances (pp. 41-45). Based on these data, he then registers the different stages of its evolution: the first one is represented by its use by the '*uṣūliyyūn*' in opposition to '*ihbār*', the two terms designating two possible utterings (performative and assertive) of the same utterance (pp. 45-47); in the second stage, the term begins to appear in the grammarians' works metonymically associated with the utterance itself, designating both explicit and stative performatives and becoming an integral part of a tripartite classification of utterances (*ḥabar* – assertives, *ṭalab* – jussives and '*inšā*' – performatives) – pp. 47-50; the third stage of this evolution witnesses the emergence of the dual classification *ḥabar* – '*inšā*', whereby the second term designates all non-assertive utterances, thus integrating the category of the jussives (the grammarian Raḡī al-Dīn al-'Astarābādī (d. 1289), an author that features prominently throughout the book, divides this new '*inšā*' category into the subcategories: '*inšā*' '*īqā'cī*' – performatives and '*inšā*' '*ṭalabī*' – jussives) – pp. 50-52. Larcher then discusses the different definitions and understandings of '*inšā*', either of a positive nature or of a negative one, conceived of in opposition with the *ḥabar* category (pp. 52-57). At this point, and once the *ḥabar* – '*inšā*' opposition becomes stabilized, it is noticed that there are authors that detect a performative dimension of the assertive utterances themselves (in the case of 'Astarābādī, the reflection on this matter seems to have been triggered by the assessment of exclamatives, but afterwards he moved on to

describe in similar terms other assertives, primarily the ascriptive ones, the utmost extent of this approach being the detection of such a dimension even in the purely descriptive assertions) – pp. 57-60. There is also the opposite movement, consisting in the detection of an assertive dimension of performatives, this time the types of utterances being subjected to such an evaluation being the *maf'ūl muṭlaq* when used elliptically, but also, according to a broader perspective, when appearing alongside the verb it determines at the level of the surface structure (utterances subjected to this interpretation are labeled as *ḥabar 'inšā'ī* - pp. 61-62). From these developments, Larcher concludes that the evolution of the '*inšā'*' category reflects the systematization, in the postclassical era, of preexisting tendencies, but that this process is also not void of conceptual innovation.

The chapter titled “Grammaire, logique, rhétorique dans l’islam postclassique” contains a detailed account of the use of the '*inšā'*' term and category in various disciplines. The first section deals with the field of Arabic rhetoric (*balāḡa*), seen as the discipline of illocutionary speech (as opposed to *ḥaṭāba*, the rhetoric tributary to the Hellenistic tradition, which, being conceived of as the art of persuasion, focuses on perlocutionary speech). In this field, and based on the distinction between the “linguistic” and the “rhetorical” component of a given utterance, there are authors who notice that formally assertive utterances can accidentally acquire, in certain contexts, a performative quality (pp. 67-70). As for the field of logic, it is treated in connection with the work of the '*uṣūliyyūn*', who, in their efforts of deriving a legislation from the Qur'an and the *sunna*, take what is recognized as God's word as an uttering having God as an agent and ascribe it a jussive quality as a basis for legislation; their interpretations oftentimes reflect logical operations that are intertwined with an inherently pragmatic approach (as an example, one can point to the syllogistic nature of the reasoning behind the prohibition of intoxicating beverages – *al-nabīd muskir – kull muskir ḥarām – al-nabīd ḥarām* – coexisting with the performative quality ascribed to a sentence like *kull muskir ḥarām*, which is treated as a stative performative utterance, equivalent in its meaning to an explicit performative – *ḥarramtu kull muskir* – p. 75). These operations aim at deriving legal rulings ('*aḥkām šar'īyya*) from God's speech seen as his address (*ḥiṭāb*) to mankind (pp. 71-76), but, in the postclassical age, and in connection with theological disputes about the relation between God and his speech which lead to the aš'arite view of there being a distinction to be made between *ḥiṭāb lafẓī* (“verbal address”) and *ḥiṭāb naḥsī* (“mental address”), *ḥukm* is identified with *ḥiṭāb naḥsī*, and, as such, shares with God's speech its eternal nature, which means that the *fa'altu* verbs within the utterances representing the '*aḥkām*', besides their interpretation as performatives, also become markers of an “archetypal speech”, functioning as the formal correlate of the eternity of the speech (pp. 76-79). Within the realm of grammatical reflection, Larcher exemplifies the pragmatic dimension of the grammarians' method and discourse by analyzing the treatment of certain structures and

speech parts (the vocative structure, the *'asmā' al-'af'āl*, the *ḥurūf mušabbaha bi-l-fī'l* and the *maf'ūl muṭlaq ta'kīd li-ġayrihi*) in 'Astarābādī's work. Observing the cases where the interpretation of these structures implies using structures that involve *fa'altu* verbs, he argues that these verbs are not used as concrete, but as abstract performatives, which in turn leads him to conclude that this fact bears witness to the emergence of a new opposition, parallel to *ḥabar – 'inšā'*, that consists in opposing two ways of signifying the same thing – namely, a mental state of the speaker – and also to a conceptual extension coming as a continuation of the one which the *ḥabar 'inšā'ī* category reflects (p. 83). The particles of the *ḥurūf mušabbaha bi-l-fī'l* category that are approached in this context are *lākinna* and *'inna* – it is noticed that, unlike other particles of their category, they do not add a pragmatic value to the utterances they operate upon, and yet are described as modifying semantically the *kalām* in which they occur, which means that *kalām* is a polysemantic term in 'Astarābādī's speech, designating both sentence and discourse, and, at the same time, that 'Astarābādī enlarges the extent of the *'inšā'* category so as to make it relevant also at the level of discourse (pp. 85-86). The *maf'ūl muṭlaq ta'kīd li-ġayri-hi* fulfils an adverbial function, modifying a sentence that is supposed to be equivocal in respect to its pragmatic dimension, the role of the *maf'ūl muṭlaq* being to disambiguate this dimension, unlike the *maf'ūl muṭlaq ta'kīd li-nafsi-hi*, that comes as the “corroborator” of an unequivocal sentence. The object of preoccupation for Larcher in this case is 'Astarābādī's detachment from tradition by establishing in different terms the distinction between the two kinds of sentences – in his view, both corroboratives determine a “saying”, which is explicit in the case of the sentences corroborated by the *maf'ūl muṭlaq ta'kīd li-nafsi-hi* and implicit in the case of those corroborated by the *maf'ūl muṭlaq ta'kīd li-ġayri-hi*, a “saying” that is an integral part of the sentence's meaning by virtue of its very saying, and that is restituted as a performative *fa'altu* verb governing the sentence as a direct object and corroborated by one of the two aforementioned types of *maf'ūl muṭlaq*. This reconsideration of the two corroboratives is taken as a manifestation of 'Astarābādī's contention that the *'iḥbār* (the “uttering” of an assertion) is a semantic constituent of the *ḥabar* (pp. 86-87). From all these facts it is concluded that, for 'Astarābādī, the definition of *kalām* rests on semantic and pragmatic rather than formal criteria – i.e. the *kālam* qualifies as such inasmuch as it is an “act of the speaker”, an act that can be made explicit by means of a *fa'altu* performative verb within an abstract representation of the sentence in question (p. 88). The final remarks concern 'Astarābādī's status based on these observations: he is a highly singular figure and, at the same time, representative for latent tendencies triggered by previous developments of the linguistic sciences (pp. 89-91).

The fourth chapter, “Éléments pragmatiques dans la théorie grammaticale arabe postclassique”, the first in the series of articles included in the second part of the first section of the volume, aims at studying the pragmatic aspect of the language science designated by

the term *nahw* in its narrower meaning, roughly equating the meaning of “syntax”, in the postclassical period. The author subjected to scrutiny is, again, 'Astarābādī, and the samples of pragmatically oriented reasoning selected from his work concern the two levels of complexity generally identified within this discipline – sentence constituents and sentences. Concerning the first level, Larcher highlights the pragmatically oriented definitions of the pronouns 'anā and 'anta, of verbs in the perfect aspect and the particle *lākinna* (pp. 97-99). At sentence level, Larcher retraces the evolution of the 'inšā' category in 'Astarābādī's writings, ending his considerations on the matter by contending that in this grammarian's view the pragmatic value of an utterance is an integral part of its meaning (pp. 99-103). The next point to be emphasized is the unifying perspective adopted in respect to sentences, which are all ascribed a component labeled as 'iḥbār (an “act of assertion” which is an immediate one (*fī l-ḥāl*) in the case of assertive utterances, and an underlying one (*fī l-'aṣl*) in the case of jussive and performative utterances, which acquire their surface structure as a result of transformations operated upon the 'aṣl, the “basis”), a perspective that ascribes a performative value to assertive utterances (pp. 103-106). The use of *fa'altu* performative verbs in the reconstruction of the “bases” of some of the utterances is taken as a proof that *fa'altu* performatives have a double status in 'Astarābādī's work, as they can function both as parts of actual surface structures and as metalinguistic abstract forms, used only as a means of reconstructing the theoretical “bases” of surface structures (Larcher argues in favor of this point by adducing, once more, the examples of the vocative structure and the *maf'ūl muṭlaq ta'kīd li-ḡayrihi*) – pp. 106-109. In conclusion, Larcher reaffirms his conviction that the pragmatic value of the uttering is, for 'Astarābādī, a semantic constituent of the utterance, emphasizing the syntactic means of highlighting this constituent, which is expressed, at the level of the “basis”, by a *fa'altu* performative *verbum dicendi* governing the sentence (pp. 109-110).

In the fifth chapter, bearing the title “Un traitement original du sens dans la tradition arabe : la sémantique *bi-hi*”, Larcher deals in a more detailed fashion with a topic already touched upon in the previous chapter, namely the pragmatically oriented definition of personal pronouns, taking it as a basis for broader considerations on the treatment of meaning in some Arab sources. He pursues this course starting with Émile Benveniste's considerations on the category of the person in verbs, whereby he highlights the asymmetry between the first and second person, on the one hand, and the third person, on the other. The fact that Benveniste sees in the Arab grammatical tradition a similarly asymmetric treatment leads Larcher to some considerations of his own: the Arab grammar does not operate with the grammatical category of the person, as all personal marks are treated as pronouns; on the other hand, there are distinctions to be made between different Arab authors - if Ibn al-Ḥāḡib, in defining (personal) pronouns, distinguishes the third person pronoun as having an

anaphoric quality, 'Astarābādī, his commentator, further highlights differences between the autonomous referentiality of proper names and the non-autonomous referentiality of third person pronouns correlated with their anaphoric quality, but, most importantly, when defining the pronouns 'anā and 'anta, he introduces an element of circularity in their definition, stating that they are designed to designate those who are meant to use them (in the case of 'anā) or to be addressed by them (in the case of 'anta) in the process of communication, thus emphasizing one more distinction between these pronouns and the third person pronoun: the fact that the first and second personal pronouns, while also being referentially non-autonomous, exert their referentiality by means of the instance of uttering containing them. The formulas used by 'Astarābādī to define the pronouns 'anā and 'anta (*mā wuḍī'a li-l-mutakallim bi-hi 'aw al-muḥāṭab bihi* – “that which has been instituted to designate the one who utters it or the one being addressed by it”), whose circularity reflects the pragmatic approach to their understanding, share with formulas used to define other speech parts understood in the same manner (demonstratives, verbs) the prepositional phrase *bi-hi*, where the personal pronoun has as an antecedent the element of linguistic expression being defined, which leads Larcher to put forth a terminological proposition – labeling this treatment of meaning, which he deems to be original in respect to both the Arab and Western linguistic tradition, with the formula “sémantique *bi-hi*” (pp. 113-120).

The chapter bearing the title “Dérivation délocutive, grammaire arabe, grammaire arabisante et grammaire de l'arabe” deals with the topic of derivatives known as delocutives, according to a terminological tradition instituted by Benveniste, in the Arabic language and in connection with the treatment of these derivatives in both Arab and Western grammatical tradition. After recalling Benveniste's understanding of the delocutives as morphological verbal derivatives from expressions he labels as “locutions” that designate the uttering of those expressions (e.g. *remercier = dire: Merci!*) (p. 121), Larcher points to the solution put forward by Benoît de Cornulier to the apparent implausibility of this process having a purely morphological nature – instead of assuming that there is a one stage process whereby the delocutive verb is derived from the locutionally used expression, he states that one should rather assume that the first stage of this process is one where the expression in question acquires a new meaning by means of autodelocutivity, i.e. by its reinterpretation through its locutional use, and only then can it be taken as a basis for the morphological derivation of a delocutive verb (p. 122). This three stage process is further refined by Jean-Claude Anscombe, who, labeling the whole process “generalized delocutivity”, adds a fourth stage, represented by the mechanism named by Oswald Ducrot “l'illusion performative” (explaining this mechanism in connection to a greeting formula, Ducrot states that, in this stage, “pour accomplir une salutation, on énonce ce que l'on fait à seule fin de le faire” – p. 122), a mechanism Larcher sees fit for explaining the connection between explicit and implicit

performatives, the former being generalized delocutives of the latter (p. 123). Larcher then notices that Arab grammarians define and describe delocutives in terms that can be deemed similar to those of Benveniste, in that they describe what seems to be a process of morphological derivation (by using terms such as *muštaqq* – “derived”) also having a semantic dimension (the meanings of delocutive verbs are expressed by periphrastic formulas of the type *qāla* x – “to say x”) – pp. 123-125. There are, however, signs that an author like ʾAstarābādī is aware that this process is a more complex one – for instance, he notices that the name *salām* can be taken as the *mašdar* of both the delocutive verb *sallama* (“to greet”) and of the non-delocutive *sallama* (“to preserve”), when occurring in the formula *salāmun ʿalay-ka*, to which he ascribes a precative nature, thus exhibiting a viewpoint compatible with the first three stages of generalized delocutivity (pp. 125-126). Larcher then follows the line of ʾAstarābādī’s reasoning as he discusses this formula in connection with theoretical assumptions he shares with other grammarians about any utterance being reducible to one of two possible sentence types – nominal or verbal: as the nominal character of the constituents of the formula is counterbalanced by an atypical word order and a semantic charge of a non-assertive nature, it is assumed that the underlying basis has the form of a verbal sentence, the name *salām* in the surface structure being thus originally a *mafʿūl muṭlaq* fulfilling a verbal function; in this respect, ʾAstarābādī deals polemically with the reconstruction of the basis as a performative utterance (*sallamtu ʿalay-ka salāman*), considering that in this case the noun *salām* would have as its basis the verb *sallama*, which, as a performative, would be derived from the formula containing this very noun, concluding that the basis of the formula must be a precative utterance (*sallama-ka llāhu salāman*), which means that, in terms of the modern theory of generalized delocutivity, he describes the formula in the second stage of the process accounted for by this theory, whereas the view he challenges describes it in its fourth and last stage (pp. 127-131). As both ʾAstarābādī’s hypothesis and the one he challenges interpret *salām* as a verbal noun corresponding to the verb *sallama*, whether used as a performative or not, Larcher places this debate within the larger context of the theories revolving around the *mašdar*, discussing the syntactic and semantic dimensions of the relationship between the verb and the verbal noun, alongside the morphological one (the discussion also includes the *ism al-mašdar*, as *salām* is included, in this context, into the category of nouns being able to syntactically function as *mašdars* without corresponding morphologically to the verbs they are associated with) – pp. 131-135. When it comes to the treatment of delocutives in the Arabist grammatical tradition, Larcher signals that they are accounted for, without being designated as such, mostly among verbs belonging to the second derivative stem of the triconsonantal verb and the first stem of the quadriconsonantal verb, pointing to the existence of other verbal derivative stems being able to function in this manner and addressing the denominative nature generally ascribed by this tradition to delocutive verbs (p. 135-138). In

the concluding remarks of this chapter, it is pointed to the “anonymous, but real” presence of delocutive mechanisms in traditional Arabic grammar and lexicography, concordant with both benvenistian and autodelocutive theories, as well as to the impact that meditating on these verbs should have on views generally held by the Arabist grammatical tradition (pp. 138-139).

The seventh chapter, “Présuppositions «syntaxiques» et «pragmatiques» dans la théorie grammaticale arabe postclassique”, looks into the matter of what is known as presupposition in modern pragmatics in the Arab grammatical tradition. The points to be made in this chapter rely on the discussion of two sentences, *ḍarabtu Zaydan* (“I hit Zayd”) and *alladī ḍarabtu-hu Zaydun* (“the one I hit is Zayd”), and their treatment in ’Astarābādī’s *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya*, as it is emphasized that this grammarian interprets these sentences in accordance with the theory lying behind this modern concept: he states that the second sentence explicitly signifies the assumption, on the speaker’s part, that the receiver has a previous knowledge of him having hit someone, whereas in the case of the first sentence this is only a possibility. The fact that ’Astarābādī perceives the possibility of interpreting the first sentence in the same manner as the second is seen as a proof that the type of information known today as “presupposition” can, in his view, rely on syntactical means of conveyance, but it can also be of a purely pragmatic nature (p. 141-143).

The eighth chapter, “La particule *lākinna* vue par un grammairien arabe du XIII^e siècle ou comment une description de détail s’inscrit dans une théorie pragmatique”, deals with the views held by ’Astarābādī about the particle *lākinna*, taking them as a sample of reasoning within a system of linguistic thought not lacking a pragmatic dimension. The main focus lies on a text from ’Astarābādī’s *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya*, whence Larcher extracts the essentials of ’Astarābādī’s approach - the treatment of the formal aspects of *lākinna*’s government within the framework of its category (“*inna* and its sisters”) and the semantic description of this particle as a pragmatic connector of two utterances. Of particular importance, in this respect, is its definition in connection with the participants in the act of communication, as it is said to introduce a second utterance by which the utterer prevents a false conclusion that the addressee might draw from his first utterance, which means that the two utterances are not directly, but indirectly opposed, by means of an implicit third utterance conveying that conclusion - this function of *lākinna* is designated by the Arab grammarians with the term *istidrāk* (translated by Larcher as “rectification preventive”) - pp. 147-149. Larcher then sets out to address three questions arising from the occurrence of the verb *istadraktu* in ’Astarābādī’s description of *lākinna* – why is a particle paraphrased by a verb? why is this verb in the first person singular? Why is it a *fa’ala* verb? The answer to the first question is provided by reminding the fact that the category of particles to which *lākinna* belongs is also known as *ḥurūf mušabbaha bi-l-fi’l* precisely based on features they are deemed to share with

verbs on the formal, syntactic and semantic levels. The second question is addressed by highlighting the fact that the use of a first person singular verb reflects the connection with the utterer and signals its understanding as marking a “speech act” (in this context, the polysemy of the formula *fī^cl al-mutakallim*, which can mean both “act of the speaker” and “verb in the first person singular” in Arab linguistic terminology, becomes relevant). As for the third question, it is tackled by reminding a characteristic of ’Astarābādī’s approach already pointed to in the fourth chapter – the pairing of *fa^cala* verbs with the concept of ’*inšā*’, the former being the formal correspondent of the latter (p. 149-152). The following sections of the chapter integrate the *fa^caltu* - ’*inšā*’ correspondence reflected by ’Astarābādī’s treatment of *lākinna* into the broader theoretical frame of pragmatically oriented approaches in the Arabic linguistic tradition (for instance, in respect to the use of the verb *istadraktu* to express the meaning of *lākinna*, the reader is reminded that ’Astarābādī uses *fa^cala* performative verbs as abstract representations of the pragmatic element of the elements of speech he deals with, and not as concrete paraphrases – Larcher brings into discussion in this context, as a similar case, the vocative structure of the type *yā Zaydu*, also interpreted by means of a performative verb, which, if the verb were to be actualized in its surface structure, would become either invalid or lose its non-assertive quality) – pp. 153-163. The chapter ends with general considerations about ’Astarābādī’s status which emphasize both his uniqueness and his representativeness for a “pragmatic aspect” that characterizes language sciences in Islam (pp. 163-165).

In the ninth chapter, “Les arabisants et la catégorie de ’*inšā*’ Histoire d’une occultation”, Larcher studies the possible reasons and factors that might account for the fact that the *ḥabar* - ’*inšā*’ opposition has remained largely unaccounted for in the Arabists’ literature. After briefly retracing the evolution of the concept of ’*inšā*’ and highlighting its “pluri- and trans-disciplinary” nature, Larcher draws attention to the general ignorance of this category, supporting this assertion with data from the articles on the terms *ḥabar* and ’*inšā*’ in both editions of the Encyclopaedia of Islam (p. 169-171). He attributes this ignorance to a lack of understanding of the sources, giving once more the example of Ibn Ḥaldūn’s *Muqaddima*, which contains passages that could have been taken as a basis for an assessment of this oppositions, and yet there are translators who either mistranslate the term ’*inšā*’ when it occurs in the text or altogether overlook it (pp. 171-173). The main culprit behind this state of affairs is believed to be Silverstre de Sacy, who, while not ignoring the term, reinterprets the *’iḥbār* - ’*inšā*’ opposition, according to his own theoretical background, along the lines of an opposition between “deux manières de notre pensée” that have as a correspondent the modal desinential inflection of verbs, on the morphological level, and verbal sentences, on the syntactical one (moreover, Carl Caspari’s grammar, in Wright’s version, defines *fa^caltu* performatives in accordance with their modern understanding, but still translates and treats the term ’*inšā*’ according to de Sacy’s understanding) – pp. 173-176. Larcher then approaches

Sacy's distinction between *ḡumla 'ihbāriyya* and *ḡumla'inšā'iyya* and his interpretation of 'inšā' in modal terms, assuming that he must have had access to a source that uses the terms 'ihbār and 'inšā' to designate both an uttering and an utterance of an assertive or non-assertive nature, identifying such a possible source in Ibn al-Ḥāḡib's 'Amālī, where the terminological pair *ḡumla 'ihbāriyya - ḡumla'inšā'iyya* can be found, alongside the alternative pair *ḡumla ḥabariyya - ḡumla'inšā'iyya*, and which provides definitions of the *ḥabar - 'inšā'* containing elements that could be seen as sustaining de Sacy's interpretation (pp. 176-181). In the next two sections of the chapter, de Sacy's view is further confronted with that of Caspari, which appears to largely confirm his antecessor's perspective (pp. 181-183), and also with that of Louis Massignon, who, in commenting al-Ḥallāḡ's famous saying 'anā l-ḥaqq, offers an interpretation of 'inšā' that is also, but differently, divergent from that of the mainstream postclassical Arab tradition (pp. 183-184). In conclusion, Larcher stresses the influence, both positive and negative, of contemporaneous theories on historians of language sciences, as well as Silvestre de Sacy's immense authority in the field of Arabic Western linguistics (pp. 185-186).

In the third part of the first section of the book, "Les sources", Larcher critically assesses, in four distinct chapters, the editions of the works of Arab grammarians he deals with in his book (Raḍī al-Dīn al-'Astarābādī's *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya*, Ibn al-Ḥāḡib's *Al-'Īdāḥ fī šarḥ al-mufaṣṣal* and *Al-'Amālī al-naḥwiyya* and four grammatical works of 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Ġurḡānī), alongside considerations about their ideas and backgrounds (pp. 187-225).

In the fourteenth chapter, "Vous avez dit «délocutif»?", which is also the first chapter of the second section of the book ("Linguistique de l'arabe et pragmatique"), Larcher continues the discussion of delocutives begun in the sixth chapter, this time the starting remarks revolving around the delocutive formations corresponding to the formula *ḡu'iltu fidā-ka* (lit. "may I be made your ransom") – the verbal noun *al-ḡā'fada*, the verb *faddā-hu* and the verbal phrase *fadā-hu bi-nafsi-hi*. Larcher begins by noticing that no constant correlation can be made between the morphological features of these formations and their delocutive quality, which means that a definition of delocutivity should rely more heavily on functional rather than formal criteria (this observation also holds true for locative formulas as well) – pp. 230-234. In the next stage, he reviews the different positions held by theoreticians who dealt with delocutivity in French, among whom he mentions Benveniste, who established an opposition between delocutive and denominative verbs based on whether they can be paraphrased as "dire: x" or "faire x", and also Anscombe, who integrates benvenistian delocutivity into a broader, comprehensive lexical delocutivity, transcending formal particularities and relying on a pragmatically based semantic approach, as he explicitly paraphrases delocutives as having an illocutionary character (p. 234-235). Larcher then proceeds to argue against the validity of claiming that lexical delocutives are permanently and invariably illocutionary,

pointing to the existence of pairs of delocutive verbs sharing the same locution as a base out of which only one is illocutionary (e.g. *sabḥala* – “to say *subḥāna llāhi*” – non-illocutionary vs. *sabbaḥa* – “to do what one does by saying *subḥāna llāhi*” – illocutionary), adding that there are even cases when lexical delocutives are used to designate the effect that the uttering of the formula they are derived from produces on the receiver, which makes him take into consideration the more complex situations, where mechanisms such as metaphor and metonymy are involved, concluding that ascribing delocutive verbs a mere illocutionary quality does not cover everything that has to be said about their semantic charge. At the same time, he admits that there are also regularities – taking French locutions and delocutives as examples, he states that, from a diachronic point of view, it is possible to predict that a jussive formula will engender a delocutive whose meaning will be metonymically related to its own, whereas a declarative locution will engender an illocutionary delocutive, and, synchronically, the fact that the meaning of a locution being used nominally, even on the spot, is predictable nevertheless means that the mechanism involved in such a use must be generalized delocutivity, with no process of lexical derivation being involved (pp. 236-241). Anscombe’s mechanism of generalized delocutivity is, however, critically scrutinized as well, as Larcher states that in the transition from the second to the fourth stage of the mechanism, i.e. from the stage where the usage of the formulas relies on the primary meanings of their constituents to the one where it relies on their secondary meanings, acquired through autodelocutivity, this theory does not take into account the cases that involve alterations incurred by the formula (the Arabic example given in this context alongside a number of French ones is the formula *‘amra-ka llāha*, used to anticipatively mark a request, which Larcher assumes to be the “deformed” version of a formula originally used as a long life wish – *‘amara-ka llāhu*). It is acknowledged that Anscombe talks about ellipsis as a “hypermarqueur de dérivation illocutoire”, but Larcher adopts a position whereby he assumes that ellipsis can be taken as an integral and not a supererogatory part of such a process (taking the illocutionary verb *faddā-hu*, paraphrased as “saying to someone *ḡu‘iltu fidā-ka*”, as an example, he argues that the illocutionary value of this verb is integrated into its semantic charge through different stages of reduction of the formula, up until it becomes possible for the name *fidā’* to be associated with either its primary meaning or its secondary, illocutionary one – an ambiguity which the primary wording of the formula does not appear to support - and to provide the basis for the derivation of the illocutionary verb *faddā*) – pp. 241-251. The discussion about the last, periphrastic derivative of the aforementioned formula, *fadā-hu bi-nafsi-hi*, is connected with the question of whether there is a “syntactical delocutivity” – Larcher looks into cases when the delocutive derivate appears to be not a single lexical item, but a complex structure, both in French and Arabic. Such cases are represented in Arabic by formulas like *al-marḥūm fulān* (“the deceased / late So-and-so”), which are linked with pious formulas like *fulān – raḥima-*

hu llāhu (“So-and-so, may God have mercy upon him”) – in such a context the past participle *marḥūm* is only morphologically linked with the verb *raḥima*, as it stands for the whole illocutionary formula, and, based on lexical, semantic and syntactical arguments, the only valid explanation Larcher sees fit for this kind of connection is one that relies on the relative use of the definite article *al-* with active or passive participles. The problem with this interpretation of the facts, namely the fact that relative clauses are only compatible with an assertive interpretation, whereas the formula being transformed in this fashion is a precative one, is addressed by assuming that the formula is subjected to the mechanism described above, i.e. to an elliptical transformation whereby the agent is dropped and the verb acquires the passive form (*ruḥima*), thus reaching a stage where it is possible to read it as either a precative utterance or as a “kind of performative assertion”. This supposition is also extended to passive participles used as proper nouns (*al-Manṣūr*, *al-Mu’ayyad*, *Mu^cammar*), and the nodal point in this kind of correspondence is seen in the ambiguity of *fa^cala* verbs, which can be interpreted as both assertives and precatives, the transition between the two meanings being provided by elliptical conditional structures, that are also deemed to have an explanatory power when it comes to a structure like *fadā-hu bi-naḥsi-hi* (pp. 251-264). Larcher concludes this chapter by stating that a distinction has to be made between formal, either lexical or syntactical, processes of delocutive derivation, and semantico-pragmatic ones, acknowledging, at the same time, that semantic autodelocutivity has also a formal dimension (p. 264-265).

The book’s fifteenth chapter, “D’une grammaire l’autre: Catégorie d’adverbe et catégorie de *maf^eūl muṭlaq*”, has a more markedly diachronic dimension, as it has among its objectives to follow a possible trajectory of the emergence of speech parts that can formally qualify as adverbs in Modern Arabic. The contention of this chapter is that Classical Arabic, while not having an adverbial form per se, has an adverbial function fulfilled by the *maf^eūl muṭlaq*, although the connection between the *maf^eūl muṭlaq* and this function is not an exclusive one (pp. 267-268). The first question Larcher addresses has a terminological nature – the formula *maf^eūl muṭlaq* is discussed in connection with the technical terms used by Arabic language sciences belonging to the same lexical family as *maf^eūl – fi^cl*, *fā^cil* (pp. 268-270). Then the different values and functions fulfilled by the *maf^eūl muṭlaq* are presented according to their description in Arab traditional grammar, and it is also stated that in the arabist Western tradition this *maf^eūl* is usually treated as being close or even identical to the internal object (one syntactical argument in favor of this view is that there are instances when what is originally a *maf^eūl muṭlaq* can, in certain conditions, be transposed into the subject of a passive verb, just like a direct object) – pp. 270-275. By not being totally identifiable with an internal object, however, the *maf^eūl muṭlaq* is close to an “ad-verbal” syntactic constituent, while the obliteration of the *maṣḍar* when it has a qualifier eliminates the internal nature of

the *maf'ūl muṭlaq* and paves the way for its evolution towards the status of an adverb (pp. 275-278). The adverbial and the verbal function of the *maf'ūl muṭlaq* are also dealt with, together with the elliptical transformation represented by the dropping of the verb, so as to make it possible for the *maf'ūl muṭlaq* to take on a verbal function, according to the Arab traditional theory (pp. 278-279). These two functions are reunited in the so-called “*maf'ūl muṭlaq* de phrase”, which is supposed to modify a whole sentence not containing at surface level a verb corresponding to the *maf'ūl muṭlaq* but conveying its meaning nevertheless – once again, the two subcategories of this particular *maf'ūl* - *maf'ūl muṭlaq ta'kīd li-nafsi-hi* and *maf'ūl muṭlaq ta'kīd li-ġayri-hi*, that are also dealt with in the third chapter, are approached in this new context. This time, they are also treated in connection with the French category of “adverbe de phrase”, together with views held by Arab authors on the criteria to be applied when distinguishing between them (pp. 279-285). The last section of the chapter puts forward a scenario for the evolution of the *maf'ūl muṭlaq* from an adverbial function in Classical Arabic to an adverbial form in Modern Arabic – from a synchronic point of view, this structure is seen as having an advantage over other structures fulfilling an adverbial function (*maf'ūl fī-hi*, *ḥāl*, *ġārr wa-maġrūr*) by virtue of the attraction it exerts upon them (Larcher exemplifies this point by showing how one structure can be analyzed both as a *ḥāl* and a *maf'ūl muṭlaq*). From a diachronic perspective, it is assumed that the undefined *maf'ūl muṭlaq*, having the accusative indefinite marker *-an*, was the pivotal form in the transition from the adverbial function to the adverbial form. Larcher also mentions another stimulus acting in the same direction – the survival of the ending *-an* in Modern Arabic, which has practically lost its desinential inflection, favors its reanalysis as an adverbial suffix added to a nominal basis. Another contributing factor is deemed to be the influence of European languages having adverbial endings added, generally, to adjectives (which might explain pairs of adverbs like *sirran* and *sirriyyan*, out of which the second form could be the result of such an influence) - pp. 285-290.

The sixteenth chapter, “Les *maf'ūl muṭlaq* «à incidence énonciative» de l’arabe classique”, is a reassessment of the views presented on the “*maf'ūl muṭlaq* de phrase” in the previous chapter as well as in the third one. The first part of the chapter resumes the previously presented analysis of this category (pp. 291-301). As for the reassessment of his previously held positions, it is centered on the distinction between the uttering and the illocutionary act, which Larcher says he had not taken into account. After discussing at length his own, as well as 'Astarābādī's and Ducrot's, misapprehensions (pp. 301-315), he puts forth a detailed classification of the “*maf'ūl muṭlaq* de phrase” that incorporates the aforementioned distinction and substitutes the traditional one between *maf'ūl* - *maf'ūl muṭlaq ta'kīd li-nafsi-hi* and *maf'ūl muṭlaq ta'kīd li-ġayri-hi*, which does not have, in his view, a decisive criterion (pp. 315-316).

The seventeenth chapter, “Du *mais* français au *lākin(na)* arabe et retour: fragment d’une histoire comparée de la linguistique”, confronts the particles mentioned in the title as objects of study in themselves, and also the views held on them by the Arab pre-modern and French modern linguists. After a brief introduction, the chapter goes on to briefly review ’Astarābādī’s treatment of *lākinna* already dealt with in the eighth chapter (pp. 318-319), then examines the view of Oswald Ducrot on the conjunction *mais*. Larcher states from the beginning that the object of study is *mais* as the equivalent of *lākinna* to the exclusion of *bal*, then notices that Ducrot adopts a position close to that of ’Astarābādī when he says that regarding *mais* in a structure *p mais q* as a marker of direct opposition between *p* and *q* is wrong, as their opposition is mediated by a conclusion *r* that the speaker wishes to prevent the addressee from drawing (pp. 320-321). Among the chief similarities between the two treatments of these particles, Larcher sees fit to draw the reader’s attention to their common pragmatic grounding, as both authors describe them in connection with the participants in the act of communication, and also to the fact that the opposition between the two statements is considered a mediated one (p. 321). The dissimilarities registered between these approaches concern aspects of the logical relations detected between the two indirectly opposing statements *p* and *q* and the implicit, rejected conclusion of the addressee *r* – first, it is observed that ’Astarābādī describes the functioning of *lākinna* in situations where *q* is a negation of *r*, whereas Anscombe and Ducrot consider that the general situation is one where *q* does not negate *r*, the opposite situation being a particular one (this hierarchy is not embraced by Larcher, who sees no reason why one case should be granted preeminence over the other) – pp. 322-325. The second dissimilarity appears when looking at the relationship between these linguists’ approaches and logical operations: in the case of ’Astarābādī and other Arab grammarians, the transition between utterances is always of an inferential, even syllogistic nature, which leads some of them to the paradoxical conclusion that *lākinna* can function, in some cases, as a mark of “corroboration” (*tawkīd*), whereas Anscombe and Ducrot manage to avoid such a paradox by acknowledging that the logical order can be superseded by the argumentational one (more precisely, a statement that goes logically in the direction of a conclusion *r* can be argumentatively directed towards an opposite conclusion) – pp. 325-330. Larcher then signals the third and last difference: if Ducrot does not ascribe *mais* itself an illocutionary power, stating, at the same time, that it can only be described in connection with the pragmatic orientation of speech, ’Astarābādī, by interpreting *lākinna* through the performative *istadraktu*, ascribes the illocutionary power to the particle itself (this difference, however, is not an irreducible one – Anscombe and Ducrot finish by recognizing *mais*, within a more general theory of argumentation, as a mark of the “illocutionary act of argumentation”) – pp. 330-334. In the conclusion of this chapter, Larcher emphasizes the overall similarity between ’Astarābādī’s treatment of *lākinna* and Ducrot’s treatment of *mais*,

while highlighting a syntactical objective difference between the two particles – *lākinna* seems to be less the equivalent of *mais* itself than of its adverbial paraphrases (*pourtant*, *cependant* etc.), since it can be preceded by the conjunction *wa-* and can introduce apodotes, which means it is a connector without also being a conjunction (p. 335-336).

The eighteenth chapter, “*Mā fa^cala* vs *lam yaf^eal*: Une hypothèse pragmatique”, presents the reader with a hypothesis on the distinction to be made between the two negative structures mentioned in the title along the lines of a classification of negative structures based on a proposal advanced by Ducrot – namely, the distinction between a descriptive negation (i.e., in logical terms, a negation included in the dictum falling in the field of an assertion) and a metalinguistic negation (i.e. a positive dictum falling in the field of a negation), although Larcher substitutes the term “metalinguistic” with the term “polemic” (pp. 337-340). Larcher opens the discussion with a text of Sībawayhi where it seems to be suggested that the structure *mā fa^cala* is a polemic negation, as it occurs within a dialogue, as a response to a previous, affirmative statement (*wa-llāhi la-qad fa^cala* – *wa-llāhi mā fa^cala*) – in more general terms and slightly different terms, forms that appear in Sībawayhi’s presentation to actualize an oath modality are deemed by Larcher to be non-marked for negation modality, the solution for this problem being to assume that in these cases the negation is included in the dictum, which falls, in its turn, in the field of the oath modality. In support of this view, Larcher adduces the example of Q, 33:40 (*mā kāna Muḥammadun ‘abā ‘aḥadin min riḡaālikum wa-lākin rasūla llāhi wa-ḥātama n-nabiyyīna*) – in this case the fact that Muhammad did not have adult male sons was supposed to be common knowledge, so there is no need to assume that *mā kāna* here is a polemic negation. Larcher assumes, however, that it is possible to reconcile the modal and non-modal interpretation of the negation *mā fa^cala*, by resorting to Ducrot’s mechanism of autodelocutivity – the primarily non-modal *mā fa^cala* can be re-read as a modal negation by treating *fa^cala* as a citation (of an actual or a virtual utterer) negated by means of *mā* (pp. 340-348). Further proof of the descriptive nature of the negation *mā fa^cala* and the modal nature of *lam yaf^eal* is presented from texts of ‘Astarābādī and ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Ġurġānī (pp. 348-352) and also from the detailed analysis of a passage taken from al-Ġazālī’s ‘*Ayyuhā l-walad* performed in close connection with the presuppositions of each of the negative statements (pp. 352-361).

In the chapter titled “*Mā fa^cala* vs *lam yaf^eal*: Addendum”, Larcher addresses possible objections to his analysis of Q, 33:40 raised on the basis of the context provided by Muhammad marrying the wife of an adopted son (in which case it would be possible to take the negation in the verse as a polemic one): he points out that *lākin*, according to ‘Astarābādī’s view, is not a synonym of *bal*, which means that in this statement of the form *non p wa-lākin q p* is not substituted by *q* (so as to provide an excuse for Muhammad by negating his paternity); the fact that Muhammad did not have biological adult male sons is

polemically reasserted, the modal marker in this context being the verb *kāna* (here, a marker of a logical modality – necessity - as opposed to *yakūnu* as a marker of possibility), whereas the negation itself is descriptive (pp. 363-366).

The twentieth and last chapter of the book, “L’interrogation en arabe classique”, is a presentation of interrogation in Arabic which involves, according to Larcher’s own statement at the beginning of the chapter, information drawn from traditional Arabic grammar (*naḥw*) for syntax related issues and from traditional Arabic rhetoric (*balāġa*) for issues related to semantics and pragmatics. The first type of question to be treated is the one placed at the centre of this category – total questions. Larcher notices that Arab sources seldom take into account intonation as an interrogative marker, mentioning the special case of Ibn al-Ḥāġib, who, using for the first time systematically the concept of *’inšā’* as corresponding to a category which includes all non-assertive utterances and generally sees those utterances as the result of a particle being applied to assertive utterances, treats interrogatives lacking an interrogative particle as either having been made to incorporate the interrogative meaning into their semantic charge or as having been subjected to an ellipsis, in which case it can be assumed that intonation is implicitly taken into account (pp. 368-370). When it comes to the distinction between the particles of total interrogation *hal* and *’a*, Larcher presents Sībawayhi’s view on the matter, who treats *hal p* as a neutral question and *’a-p* as a question oriented towards a positive answer (pp. 370-371). As for partial questions, they are marked by speech parts that Arab grammarians treated as nouns and that are thus generally treated as markers (in compensation, it was deemed plausible to assume that these interrogations had to be understood as though they were preceded by *’a*, which confirms its association with aforementioned orientation, since partial interrogations are partially oriented by their presuppositions) – pp. 371-373. Alternative questions are treated in respect to the distribution of the disjunctive particles *’am* and *’aw*, the difference between the two boiling down to the former signifying an exclusive disjunction and the latter – an non-exclusive one (pp. 373-374). Indirect interrogatives are approached based on the concern of whether they are really syntactically distinctive from direct interrogatives, since their markers are the same, but Larcher points to the conversion incurred by deictic pronouns when a direct interrogative is subordinated as a counterargument to their supposed indistinctiveness (p. 375). In the case of negative interrogatives, Larcher begins by noticing that the particle *’a* can be associated with all negative particles with no restriction, whereas *hal* can only combine with *lā* – *hallā*, then he discusses the views held by different Arab grammarians on the illocutionary power of an utterance introduced by *hallā* (pp. 375-378). The last issue to be addressed is that of rhetorical questions: Larcher states that they have an assertive power, which means that they could have been excluded from his presentation, but he has included them nevertheless because they can be used to provide an explanation for the emergence of *mā* as a negative particle – in his view,

ambiguous structures, where *mā* can be ascribed an interrogative, a relative or a negative quality may have triggered such a development (pp. 378-379).

The title of the book suggests that it lies at the crossroads between pragmatics and Arab linguistics, whereas the complexity of the topics it deals with proves to be, both on the basis of the content itself and of the author's programmatic statements in various places and contexts, far greater than that, as it fruitfully interacts with the history and evolution of linguistic thought both in the Arab world and in the West and uses the concepts provided by pragmatics as effective tools meant to shed new light on different aspects of the Arabic language both synchronically and diachronically. This book can certainly enrich the knowledge and broaden the horizons of anyone who is interested in either pragmatics or the Arabic language and Arabic linguistic thought; as for those who happen to be interested in all these fields, it is a book we think they should by no means fail to read.

Aldo Nicosia. 2014. *Il romanzo arabo al cinema. Microcosmi egiziani e palestinesi*. Roma: Carroci Editore, p. 135. ISBN 978-88-430-7217-0

Reviewed by Laura Sitaru

Each of us has experienced difficulties in identifying a book that we read in the script of a movie based on it and not seldom we were surprised by the way in which the characters of the book came to life in the film in a way that we, as readers, would have never imagined. This is a topic that gains far greater consistency when it comes to contemporary Arabic literature and its translation into film, in view of the linguistic complexity of the Arab cultural area.

In his *Il romanzo arabo al cinema. Microcosmi egiziani e palestinesi*, Aldo Nicosia thoroughly analyzes the transformations the literary work undergoes on its path towards filmic adaptation.

Originated in an impulse that any Arabist is faced with when dealing with the phenomenon of diglossia in the Arab linguistic area – that of understanding the sayings of the book characters when transferred to the screen – Aldo Nicosia's book is a good moment for reflection. For the author, watching film productions – adaptations of literary works – helped him escape what he calls *autismo arabistico dell'accademia* – academic autism on Arabic language (p. 15). *Nessuno mi aveva avvisato delle reazioni di stupore, misto a derisione, che avrei provocato su qualsiasi interlocutore, ogni volta parlavo come un libro* (p. 14)¹.

Although it reflects a linguistic reality, which exists in the Arab world – the traditional distribution of roles, and linguistic registers between MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) and Arab dialects, Aldo Nicosia's statement seems a judgment too harsh against an already historic option of Western academia of studying literary Arabic language, as a vehicle of a huge culture.

It goes without saying that adaptation to particular linguistic realities represents a must when the purpose of the research also implies a good knowledge of these realities. Aldo Nicosia focuses on two national-cultural spaces well defined in terms of literature – the Egyptian and the Palestinian one – which develop literary themes in which national motives are clearly stated. Writers were particularly interested in those literary works that questioned the social issues of immediate interest and, whether referring to a close adaptation of a literary work translated on screen or to its rewriting by means of introducing new elements – it appears that cinematic approach has helped the literary work gain more prestige.

¹*Noneone has told me about the reactions of amazement, sarcasm even, every time I was taking as a book character.*

Naguib Mahfouz himself acknowledges that his novels being adapted for the big screen increased their fame:

Riconosco che il cinema ha rafforzato i miei soggetti narrativi e la mia visione artistica. Se le mie opere non fossero trasferite sul grangeschermo, non avrebbero goduto di così grossa fama. Mi considero baciato dalla fortuna del cinema, poiché coloro che hanno trasposto i miei romanzi, registi o attori, sono stati dei grandi artisti, e ho provato piacere nel vederli all'opera (p. 23)².

Aldo Nicosia considers that conformity to literary work is a false problem, basing his statement on Derrida's interpretation (p. 24), since it's impossible to talk about *un calco filmato*, but about a variety of understandings and interpretations that a literary work can have. The film adaptation would, thus, be nothing but one of the images the literary work produces, its image assignation. The screen writer and the director can be equally considered authors, since, in Derrida's terms, we cannot refer to a certain hierarchy between *book* and *film*.

For each artistic product – film and book – the techniques through which they are achieved are different, as are the scenes possibilities, their highlighting, character creation all these belong to different registers. Perhaps, the point where differences between the two analyzed artistic categories become most perceivable is the linguistic register. One thing is clear: the characters of the book and those of the movie do not speak the same way, most of the time, the characters of the book exceed its pages and start speaking like the Egyptian and Palestinian streets.

Characters give up on a dialogue held in literary Arabic language, and begin expressing themselves in a dialectal version of the language, corresponding to socio-linguistic immediate actuality. Aldo Nicosia notices the ideological imprint of the cultural product, the way it changes, responding to contemporary social and political developments (p. 40-43). The premiere of the movie adapted from Naguib Mahfouz's *Miramar* novel in 1969, two years after the defeat of the Arab states in the war against Israel, is a good example.

The role of literary production in the construction of identity, Egyptian or Palestinian, is finely analyzed by the author, each book or movie character is being the bearer of a powerful ideological message³.

Reading the book of Aldo Nicosia we will discover powerful and profound interpretations and analyses of famous literary works and their filmic correspondent such as *Mīrāmār*, *Riḡāl^{mn} fi š-šamsi*, *Māliku l-ḥazān*, *Imāratu Ya'qūbiyān*.

²*I have to confess that the cinema braced up my narrative themes and the artistic perspective over them. My novels had the chance to be transferred into filmic productions, which has definitely increased their celebrity. Therefore, I consider myself very lucky because those who transferred my novels into films were big artists, and I felt a real pleasure in seeing the results of their work.*

³This aspect was also examined by Jeff Shalan in *Writing the Nation: The Emergence of Egypt in the Modern Arabic Novel*, "Journal of Arabic Literature", Vol. 33, No. 3/2002, pp. 211-247.

Paul din Alep, *Jurnal de călătorie în Moldova și Valahia* (Paul of Aleppo, *Travel Notes from Moldavia and Wallachia*), edition and annotated translation by Ioana Feodorov, with a *Foreword* by Răzvan Theodorescu, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române; Brăila: Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, 2014, 619 pp. ISBN 978-973-27-2429-3; ISBN 978-606-654-097-1

Reviewed by George Grigore

This book prepared by Ioana Feodorov, part of her broader project *Travels of Patriarch Makarius III Ibn al-Za‘īm in the Romanian Principalities, Written by his Son, Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo*, comprises, among others, a vast *Introductory Study* (pp. 7-75) which in itself is a proper investigation, carried out based on the highest academic standards. It concerns the personality of Būlos al-Ḥalabiyy and his travels to the Romanian Principalities, in the 17th century, followed by an *Editor’s Note* signed again by Ioana Feodorov (pp. 77-85), the translation of approximately one third of Paul’s *Journal* into Romanian (pp. 145-435), and the Arabic text (pp. 437-593). Out of the 311 pages that the largest manuscript of Paul’s *Journal* encompasses, the editor/translator selected for publication in this first volume all those that refer to the Romanians of the principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, including passages written by the Syrian Archdeacon while in Ukraine or in Moscow that are connected with the Romanians. The volume also encloses extensive lists of cited titles (pp. 112-143), and *Indices* of proper names and geographical terms (pp. 597-617).

The Arabic manuscript reflects the impressions of Paul of Aleppo, Archdeacon of the Antiochian Church, which marked him all through his travels, while accompanying his father, Makarius III Ibn al-Za‘īm, the Patriarch of Antioch and the Entire East, through the Romanian Principalities, Ukraine and Russia, in 1652-1658. The purpose for this lengthy voyage was for them to obtain spiritual, financial, and political help from the Orthodox countries that the Eastern clerics visited.

During his journey, Paul of Aleppo took down with diligence everything that he considered relevant of the way of life of their hosts, while insisting the most on their behavior, practices, idioms, art forms and architectural styles. Considering the scarcity of the data that reached us about the Romanians’ life in the 17th century, this work is a priceless document, which can help our deeper understanding of the intricate mosaic of their daily life, by providing us with a detailed panorama of far gone times.

Feodorov deals with the text at several levels:

1. The researcher’s perspective, reflected by the *Introductory Study*, as well as the footnotes to the Romania translation, where she displays a deep, erudite understanding not

only of the text, but also of the period when it was created, of the history of Christianity in the Romanian lands and the Middle East, as well as a broad knowledge of comments by other experts who studied this text over the years. Feodorov records and discusses, with outstanding minuteness and care, on all the known scholars who edited or translated parts of Paul of Aleppo's *Journal*, stressing the merits of the only complete translation ever: the Russian one by G. A. Murkos, published in Moscow in the late 19th – early 20th century. Moreover, the vast bibliography that Feodorov's work is based on, presented in two sections *Abrevieri și sigle* (Abbreviations and Acronyms) and *Alte surse* (Other Sources), could become in itself an independent work, extremely useful to all those who wish to research Paul of Aleppo's notes.

2. The perspective of the editor who, based on a comparison of several manuscripts of the Arabic text, including the ones preserved in Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris), the Institute for Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Saint Petersburg), and the British Library (London), succeeded for the first time in establishing (with help from researchers in all the countries covered by Paul of Aleppo's journal) a text which will definitely become the ideal source of translations into other languages.

3. The translator's perspective. Ioana Feodorov succeeds, with this book, in offering the Romanian culture a version that is composed in a harmonious style that combines the language of old chronicles, religious texts, and contemporary expressions, leading the reader back to the old times without burdening him with outdated vocabulary. Note should be taken that the translation closely follows the Arabic original, reflecting its contents with accuracy.

It is worth mentioning that Paul of Aleppo's notes are written in a special variety of Arabic, the Middle Arabic widely used by Eastern Christians since the mediaeval times. Beside the Islamic and the Judaic varieties, this level of Arabic features within the "Middle Arabic" domain, which is characterized by both classic and colloquial particularities, in a mixture that is produced by the writer as he composes his work. Deciphering texts written in such a variety of Arabic is very difficult for the researcher, who needs to know Classical Arabic as well as the colloquial variety. If for Classical Arabic a large number of sources are available – grammars, dictionaries, etc. – for the colloquial Arabic of the Middle Ages sources are scarce, to say the least. Therefore, the researcher is compelled, based on the information taken over from present-day colloquial Arabic of the concerned area, to try to decode such texts, from all points of view: phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and semantic. Often, searching for the meaning of a word in colloquial speech, inserted in the text under scrutiny, requires a pains taking labor and much checking in other languages of the area. The interest for this variety of Arabic, in which a large number of works, especially chronicles, were

composed, is increasing among Arabic specialists all over the world. In Romania, the only expert in this variety of Arabic is Feodorov who, for years now, has studied the Arabic used in the Eastern Christians' works, and is recognized in the academic community, at home and abroad, as a specialist in this domain. Her expertise is revealed by her published works, her invitation to prestigious international reunions, her courses at the University of Bucharest, for the Master Degree program at the Department of Arabic, which have been followed with much interest by the students, some attracted to follow their training in this field.

The Arabic text published in the book under discussion here, so difficult to transfer to another language, will definitely draw the attention of experts in Middle Arabic, while the book itself is a real treasure for specialized libraries. By editing this text, a richer dialogue may be established with Centers for Arabic Studies around the world, which brings great scientific benefits, an international dimension of this type of research conducted in Romania, and value added to a rare and very particular specialization in the domain of Arabic language and literature.