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Modalities in Arabic



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XVI

Modalities in Arabic



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2016

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I. MODALITIES

MODALITIES AND MODALIZATION AS SEEN BY THE ARAB GRAMMARIANS

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Abstract: The present article revisits a set of ideas stemming from previous studies in which I approached modalities in Arabic and the connections that can be made between this category and the one known in traditional Arab linguistics as *nawāsiḥ*, based on both formal and semantic common features, highlighting, at the same time, the relevance of this discussion for the debates around the influence possibly exerted on Arab grammarians by other linguistic traditions. While acknowledging that modalities constitute an open, flexible and constantly evolving category, I also put forward a series of criteria that have proved to be helpful in assessing the modal function of different elements of linguistic expression in modern literary Arabic.

Keywords: modalities, *nawāsiḥ*, traditional Arab grammar, modern literary Arabic, grammaticalization.

1. General remarks

In a few previous works (Angheliescu 1973-74, 1981, 1982, 1985, 2004), I drew attention to a semantic-grammatical category emphasized by authors writing in Arabic, beginning in the early centuries of Islam: those elements grouped under the name *al-nawāsiḥ*, a name translated here as either “modifiers” or “modalities”. In the latter case, the translation is meant to draw attention to a similar function played by the two sets of elements: those called *nawāsiḥ* in Arabic, on the one hand, and those called, in the Greek & Roman tradition, “modalities”, on the other.

In what follows, starting from my previous work, I intend to briefly outline the main characteristics of this approach as proposed by the Arab grammarians, as well as to bring out its importance in the present day.

2. The concept of “modalization” with reference to *al-nawāsiḥ*

What we call “traditional Arab grammar” is, first of all, a syntax whose object is explaining casual variance by semantic and grammatical justifications, interestingly explained through their *position* in the sentence: through the “operator” (*‘āmil*), of the type “it is true” or “it is not true”, “it is certain”, “it is doubtful”, which can refer to something visible, manifest, or just supposed, the main elements of the sentence acquire a case, that is, they are either “elevated” (*marfū‘*, an approximate equivalent of the nominative), or “tugged” (*mağrūr*, an approximate equivalent of the genitive), or “adjunct” (*manṣūb*, an approximate equivalent of the accusative).

The status of different nominal elements of the sentence is manifested, in this view, through the “rank” attributed through the very act of placing the protagonists within the sentence. In the typical sentence, that with a **verb**, the rank is *‘āmil* (a name which means “active factor”). It is thus called because it is responsible for both the nominative of the agent and the accusative of the object, an object seen as *manṣūb*, i.e. “adjunct”. From the perspective discussed above, the verb appears as “the strongest operator”, since it is the verb that justifies the entire set-up of the act of speech, with ranks, roles for the main and secondary elements etc.

However, in the play performed through the act of communication, the roles are not stable and unchanged. The elements that make up the sentence can change positions. This happens, for instance, when an element is introduced in the sentence from among those that express a position in relation to a whole, and it consequently occupies the first place in the sentence. That is the situation for those elements that the Arab authors call *nawāsiḥ*, and which we can translate as modalities, since they fulfill functions similar to those thus named in formal logic. As results from the above, they express notions such as: *it is true* or *it is not true that (...)*, *it is forbidden*, *it is desirable* etc., i.e. a number of phrases that shape the perspective over the coming statement and influence the grammatical status of the main elements in the sentence: someone “is a liar” in the nominative (*huwa kāḍibun*), but “is not a liar” (*laysa kāḍiban*) in the accusative.

3. *Nawāsiḥ* as seen by the Arab grammarians and *modalities* as seen by others

About the linguistic category of modalities, as they appear in the European tradition of language analysis, it has been long said that it originated in logic – by which Aristotelian logic was understood, which is known to have shaped European linguistic thought at a very early stage. In what concerns linguistic studies in the Arab space, according to opinions expressed by Arab and Western authors in the past centuries, here too there can conceivably (logically and chronologically) have existed contacts of Arab authors with previous linguistic schools: not just Greek linguistic thought, whose influences were noted long ago, but also other influences from India or an area that comprised the Iran, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon of today.

It is interesting to note that, in the past centuries, the same influences that refer to the topic of interest here were attributed sometimes to India, at other times to Greece or other sources. However, if we examine closely the *system* of linguistic analysis proposed by Sibawayhi and even his predecessors, we note that it only sporadically fits the shape that this analysis of Arabic will take with later great Arab authors, who are also said to have been influenced by Greek logic, among other things.

We have extensively referred to the problem of possible influences on Arab authors in the early centuries of Islam, and later, in Angheliescu, *Gîndirea lingvistică arabă (Arab Linguistic Thought)*, starting from Elamrani-Jamal’s remarks (Elamrani-Jamal 1983), we showed that the idea of the Greek influence on the works of the Arab grammarians started from the a priori conviction that all sciences in the Arab world had submitted to Greek influences. This, the author thinks, would be an obvious anachronism, since most of

Aristotle's translations into Arabic are later than the works of the great founders, Al-Khalil and Sibawayhi – by a century and a half, even two.

However, the main argument for justifying the originality of the construct proposed by the ancient grammarians is, we believe, that of the connection drawn by Arabic (reflected in the works of these grammarians) between this construct and *the case system of Arabic* (see §2). The evolution of the system of modalities in Arabic, to which we will briefly refer in what follows, underlines this connection. Starting from these remarks, we will refer to two distinct thought traditions applied to language analysis: that of Greek origin, later known in the Arab space, and that promoted by authors writing in Arabic about Arabic, following a more original manner of interpreting language – including in the case of modalities, which are of special interest to us here.

We intentionally began this article by a succinct presentation of the structure of the sentence as conveyed by the later Arab grammarians (of the 9th and later centuries), insisting on the type of analysis reflected in the terminology used by the authors of works on Arabic, beginning with the very term *nawāsiḥ*. This term is known to have originated not in Greek thought and terminology, but in Muslim canon law. Within this framework, the term refers to verses that “erase”, i.e. abrogate, other previous verses: in other words, elements with modalizing functions erase and replace those previously placed at the head of the sentence.

Placement at the head of a sentence is a privileged position, as it indicates how the sentence should be viewed: as “certain” or “assumed” when *'inna* is present, as “probable”, “possible” etc. in the case of *la'alla* etc. This is a pragmatic perspective in discourse analysis, concerning modalization and modalities and their role in discourse – a role underlined by the “case” attributed to them: an equivalent of the accusative. These elements called *nawāsiḥ* are said to “situate” the statement, i.e. they offer the first clues to “what to expect”.

Case has long been claimed to be one of the most “irrational” categories of grammar, in that it has no logical justification. However, when case is made manifest through elements that the early Arab grammarians introduce in the category of modalities and mark as such through the *position* they attribute them, as happens in literary Arabic, case can appear as an eminently rational category. This type of reasoning, justifying case marks by other reasons than those related to their function in discourse (nominative subject – accusative, oblique, genitive etc. object), confers originality to the Arab authors' endeavor and places the issue of influences over them in a different light. I do not believe it to be an accident that the system of elements with a modalizing role in Arabic has amplified along time, together with the nuanced reasoning making them necessary.

Modalities in modern literary Arabic: general remarks on the system

The brief presentation of the nucleus of the modalities system in Arabic is based on a few of our older published work, especially *Modality and grammaticalization in Arabic* (Angelescu 1999). Both there and in older works, I started from a nucleus of elements known to the early Arab grammarians as *al-nawāsiḥ*, and then I widened the field of investigation, including in each chapter modalities with similar roles to those included by

the Arab grammarians in their list of modalities. The system is not closed; new elements with similar functions to the old ones keep appearing in modern discourse, where things are never „taken for granted”. The modern author “asks” (*'as'al*) and “wonders” (*'atasā'al*), thinks “it is possible” (*min al-mumkin*) or “it is impossible” (*min al-mustaḥīl*) etc., in various phrases concerning the assumed discourse, which strengthen the system and sometimes enrich it.

We do not intend to offer here an exhaustive presentation of the category of modalities; we are merely attempting to formulate certain remarks on the older and newer tendencies manifest in the evolution of the system of modalities, here understood not merely as *al-nawāsiḥ*.

Functions of modalizers

One definition of elements with a modalizing role, which I initially considered and later found lacking, was Perkins's (1983: 18-19):

Instead of asserting absolutely that such and such is the case, one may - perhaps for reasons of uncertainty, tact or politeness - indicate that the truth of what one has to say is by no means assured, that it is based on conjecture or that it can be verified only as so....

The definition appears as excessively restrictive: the corpus of modern texts comprising modalities which I built over the years (mostly out of press excerpts) showed that the functions of modalizing elements are more numerous than those presupposed by Perkins, and they are connected to the normal functioning of language, and not uncertainty, tact or politeness. In fact, it has been long noted that the only common element among the various notions of modalization seems to be the possibility of conceiving a simple, primary, nuclear, descriptive, static sentence hidden behind the modalized sentence.

Based on a corpus especially rich in modern Arabic press, I proposed a list of modalizers with the following criteria:

1. position in the sentence;
2. indices of grammaticalization manifest within the category;
3. word order : movement towards the beginning of the sentence;
4. word categories: modalities have “verbal meaning”, and therefore tend to become similar to verbs. Thus we also have a negative particle that undergoes conjugation, *laysa*.

According to the Arab grammarians, the prototypical predicate is the verb, and the meaning expressed by the *nawāsiḥ* is a verbal meaning; resemblance in meaning is demonstrated by means of paraphrases: *'inna* is paraphrased by *'u'akkidu*, “I assert”, “I confirm”; verbal meaning: *'inna* means *ṭabata 'indī ḥādā al-ḥadīṭ*, “this statement has become certain for me”;

5. asymmetry in the use of persons in conjugation considered as a function of grammaticalization: specifically those verbs which are included by Arab grammarians in the category of *ẓanna* (“to consider”);

6. the use of the impersonal passive form (ar. *mağhūl* - passive voice): *yustaḥsan* (“it is considered good/correct”), as equivalent of *min al-mustaḥsan* (“(it is) considered good/correct”), *min al-muttafaq ‘alayhi* (“(it is) agreed upon”) etc.;

7. negation is treated as modality in modal expressions:

8. *lā šakka* “there is no doubt”, *lā budda* “it is necessary”, *mā zāla* m. for expressing continuity, lit.: “not to cease”.

A number of remarks I made in various other works, concerning modalities and their role in discourse, originated in noticing certain parallelisms in this regard between Arabic and Romanian. I am not referring to similar tendencies in Arabic and Romanian, as well as other languages, to place modalizers at the beginning of the sentence, as a result of their function – that of indicating „how the statement should be interpreted”: certain, doubtful, valid in the past or in the present, known to all or just to some etc.

Beyond these general tendencies, I was interested from the outset in the resemblance between the semantic origins of some modalities in Arabic and Romanian – specifically in the case of Arabic *min* and Romanian *de*, in contexts such as these:

min al muftaraḍ este de presupus (it is to be supposed)

The frequency of this type of modalization can be yet another proof of the connection between modalization and quantification, which logicians have been claiming for a while now. The connection is also proven by the relatively late grammaticalization of both systems, in Arabic, Romanian and other languages (see also Angheliescu, 2004).

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RENDITIONS OF THE ARABIC MODALITY *KĀDA* IN MORISCO TRANSLATIONS OF THE QUR'AN¹

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Abstract: In the present paper we look into the different ways in which one of the Arabic modalities of proximity, *viz. kāda*, is rendered in Hispanic Qur'anic translations ranging from the 16th century and up to the early 17th one. The analysis is thus based on an assortment of jewels² from the Mudejar-Morisco cultural heritage, a corpus of manuscript texts that offer a valuable testimony to the Islamic *hiero*-variety of Romance in the context of an Islamic *hiero-Sprachbund*, as postulated by Casassas (2010: 368-396).

We follow in our analysis the classification of Arabic modalities provided by Nadia Anghelescu (1999: 130-134) and we look into the different mechanisms used by the Morisco translators in order to transpose Arabic structures into the Romance vernacular. We also include a revisited version of the calque taxonomy put forth by Soha-Abboud (2000: 141-148), by taking into account the semic analysis of some peculiar Romance structures that exhibit a marked Arabic influence.

Keywords: *Aljamiado*, *Morisco*, *Qur'an*, *calque*, *hiero-Sprachbund*, *seme*

1. Introduction

The *Aljamiado* literature was produced by a cryptic Islamic community – the Moriscos, which nominally converted to Christianity in Castile (1502) and Aragon (1526) but continued to practice their Islamic faith in secrecy (Boase 2002: 21-22; López-Morillas 1999: 278) – and it comprises texts dated back between the mid-15th century and up to the first decades of the 17th one (Galmés de Fuentes 2009: 111).

As noted by López-Morillas (1994: 17), the term *aljamiado* is derived from *aljamía*, whose origin goes back to the Arabic word *ʿağamiyya(t)*, meaning “foreign, non-Arab” (Wehr 1976: 594). In the beginning, the word was meant to designate Andalusí Romance (*i.e.* Mozarabic), to judge from the numerous references in the glossaries of Ibn Buklārīš: *wa-yuʿrafu bi-l-ʿağamiyyati...* (“It is known in *ʿağamiyya* as...”) (Villaverde Amieva 716-719). Then, in modern Spanish, the term acquired almost the opposite

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² Being the sole codex known to contain a complete translation of the Qur'anic texts that survived from the Mudejar and Morisco era until the present day, Ms. 235 of Biblioteca de Castilla-La-Mancha was designated on several occasions as a ‘jewel’ due to its literary and linguistic importance. See, for example, the studies of Cotto Andino and Fernández Martín (2001), López-Morillas (2011), and Ayerbe Betrán (2012).

meaning: it is used to designate the Romance variety written in Arabic alphabet (López-Morillas 1994: 17).

The Aljamiado-Morisco literature can thus be seen as a quite original effort on the part of the Moriscos in order to adapt to the new realities (Bernabé Pons 2009), as a “final attempt, full of beauty, of a cultural elite in its struggle for survival” (Belinchón, Carretero 2009).

López-Morillas (2006: 255-256) highlights Moriscos’ original effort of translating the Qur’an, given that the role of the sacred book in the Islamic universe would be so central, that its parallel in the Christian thought would be not the Bible, but the figure of Jesus himself. A fatwa dated back to 1120, during the Mudéjar era, serves as proof in this regard: we can read how a punishment was decreed for a man that dared to recite the 12th surah in Romance. López-Morillas’ words (2011: 83) are worth mentioning here: “[...] in Islam, [...] the Qur’an is regarded as a revealed book, eternal and uncreated, pronounced by God Himself. The impossibility to reproduce its qualities in a language other than Arabic led [...] to the view that any translation would be a mere interpretation of the text.”

To conclude, we’d like to remember the words of Ansón Calvo (1988: 33), that sum up the tragedy of the Moriscos:

The 1609-1610 Morisco exodus was the last drop of a human hemorrhage, which had begun in the past Medieval times, it had subsequently rebelled during the glacial moments of the great Christian conquests, it then had its share of loss throughout the 16th century, and it finally culminated into the painful demographic and economic disaster of the expulsion decreed by Philip III of Spain.

2. Status quæstionis

In the seventies, Kontzi (1978: 315-336) put forth the first classification of Morisco lexical calques, into categories such as: calques based on the root’s meaning (“calcos de significado de la raíz”), calques of meaning linked to a syntactic structure (“calcos de significado asociados a una construcción sintáctica”), calques of pattern (“calcos de esquema”) and calques of lexical coincidence (“calcos de coincidencia léxica”). Galmés de Fuentes followed the very same taxonomy when mentioning the lexical calques in Moriscos’ language (2009: 116), whereas Abboud-Hagggar enriched it with one more category: that of semantic calques based on the interpretation of the term (“calcos semánticos de acepción”) (1997: 62-76; 2000: 142-146). By the same token, Montero Muñoz takes as a starting point Kontzi’s taxonomy, although she only employs two categories: that of semantic calques – comprising the calques based on the root’s meaning, the calques of meaning linked to syntactic structure and possibly the calques of lexical coincidence (although she doesn’t explicitly mention it) and that of derivative calques (*viz.* Kontzi’s calques of pattern). However, Montero Muñoz leaves aside Abboud-Hagggar’s category, although she cites her work.

Nonetheless, it is not always easy to distinguish between a category and another, as we have already noted in a previous work (2015: 179). One example in this regard is the

one of the term “caçar” (meaning *hunting* and *fishing*) regarded by Galmés de Fuentes as a calque based on the meaning of the root *ṣ-y-d*, that is an Arabic influence based on the term’s polysemy (2009: 116). On the other hand, Abboud-Hagggar mentions the term “caçante” in her PhD Thesis – directed by Galmés de Fuentes – as a reflex of the homonymy of the Arabic term and readily identifies it as a calque of lexical coincidence (1997: 72).

Although we approached the subject on a different occasion (2015: 179-180), by dividing the calques into two main categories, *viz.* those based on the Romance word that translates the basic meaning of the root and those based on the interpretation of the Arabic term, the matter at hand calls for a revision, as it still poses difficulties to any specialist in Aljamiado who attempts a linguistic study on the Morisco literature.

3. Methodology

We selected the passages relevant for the present work, then we analyzed them in the light of Pearson chi-square statistic and phi coefficient.

For the sake of brevity, we dispensed with the use of a complicated transcription system. We explain below the system used:

Vowels:

1. *fatha*: *a*
2. *fatha* + *ʿalif*: *e* in Romance terms, *ā* in the Arabic ones
3. *kasra*: *i*
4. *kasra* + *yāʿ*: *ī*
5. *ḍamma*: *o* or *u* in Romance terms (in accordance with the modern orthography); *u* in the Arabic ones
6. *ḍamma* + *wāw*: *o* or *u* in Romance terms (in accordance with the modern orthography); *ū* in the Arabic ones
7. *sukūn*: . (for sequences that don’t have vowels, we show the lack of vowel by employing the period)

Consonants:

8. *hamza*: ʿ
9. *bāʿ*: *b* or *v* in Romance terms (in accordance with the modern orthography); *b* in the Arabic ones
10. *bāʿ* + *tašdīd*: *p* in Romance terms; *bb* in the Arabic ones
11. *tāʿ*: *t*
12. *tāʿ*: *ṭ* in Arabic terms
13. *ǧīm*: *j* or *ǧ* (in few instances) in Romance terms; *ǧ* in the Arabic ones
14. *ǧīm* + *tašdīd*: *ch* in Romance terms; *ǧǧ* in the Arabic ones
15. *ḥāʿ*: *ḥ*

16. *ḥā'*: *ḥ*
17. *dāl*: *d*
18. *dāl*: *d* in Romance words; *ḍ* in the Arabic ones
19. *rā'*: *r*
20. *rā'* + *tašdīd*: *rr*
21. *zāy*: *z*
22. *sīn*: *ç* in Romance words; *s* in the Arabic ones
23. *sīn*: *s* in Romance words (in a host of instances – *š*, meant to highlight the “xexeo” phenomenon³); *š* in the Arabic ones
24. *sīn* + *tašdīd*: *x* in Romance words; *šš* in the Arabic ones
25. *šād*: *š*
26. *dād*: *ḍ*
27. *tā'*: *t*
28. *zā'*: *z*
29. *ʿayn*: *ʿ*
30. *ḡayn*: *g* in Romance words; *ḡ* in the Arabic ones
31. *fā'*: *f*
32. *qāf*: *q*
33. *kāf*: *c* in Romance words before *a, o, u* and *qu* before *e* and *i*; *k* in the Arabic ones
34. *lām*: *l*
35. *lām* + *tašdīd*: *ll* in Romance words; *l-l* in the Arabic ones
36. *mīm*: *m*
37. *nūn*: *n*
38. *nūn* + *tašdīd*: *ñ* in Romance words; *nn* in the Arabic ones
39. *hā'*: *h*
40. *wāw*: *w* or *u* (semivowel) in Romance words; *w* in the Arabic ones
41. *yā'*: *y* or *i* (semivowel) in Romance words; *y* in the Arabic ones
42. *ç* in ms. T 235: *t*
43. *ḥ* in ms. T 235: *ḥ*
44. *çç* in ms. T 235: *š*
45. *ḍḍ* in ms. T 235: *ḍ*
46. *tt* in ms. T 235: *t*
47. *@* in ms. T 235: *ʿ*

4. Morisco lexical calques revisited

In this section we offer a revisited version of Kontzi and Abboud-Haggar’s taxonomy of linguistic calques, in the light of François Rastier’s interpretive semantics (2005: 61-68).

Before we proceed, some remarks need to be made on the notions with which we will operate, as follows: by **morpheme** we understand a minimal linguistic sign, whose

³ This phenomenon refers to Morisco’s articulation of the voiceless apico-alveolar sibilant in a pre-palatal manner, i.e. as [š] (García Aranda, 2006: 24).

signified would be a **sememe**. A sememe is further divided into features of content, named **semes**, which can be generic or specific.

A **generic seme** indicates that the sememe belongs to a semantic paradigm (i.e. semantic class). The generic semes of a sememe make up its **claseme**, **taxemes** being the minimal classes where sememes are interdefined. Therefore it follows, to our understanding, that the Arabic word roots operate as clasemes, and generally, as taxemes.

Contrariwise, a **specific seme** distinguishes a sememe from its counterparts belonging to the same semantic paradigm. The specific semes of a sememe make up its **semanteme**.

Finally, a **lexia** is a functional unit with at least two morphemes (a “word”).

Hence, we offer the following classification of Moriscos’ lexical calques:

4.1. Lexical calques based on the Arabic taxeme

This category is meant to include the calques based on the root’s meaning and the derivative ones, in accordance with Kontzi and Abboud-Haggar’s terminology. By means of this procedure, a Romance word acquires new meanings, under the influence of the Arabic language (Galmés de Fuentes 2009: 116).

The calques based on the root’s meaning are the result of a process traditionally viewed as being based on the Romance word that translates the simplest derived term of a given Arabic root. The Romance word acquires through this process the meaning of all the other terms derived from the same root (Galmés de Fuentes 2009: 116).

We regard it as a process in which the translator parts from the meaning of the taxeme, the group of generic semes that configures the root’s semantic field. He thus chooses the lexia that has the minimum number of specific semes in addition to the taxeme and uses its direct Romance counterpart in order to translate all the other terms derived from the very same root.

For example, (*d*)*espartir* translates the Arabic root *f-r-q* (taxeme //to separate//), hence both verbs *faraqa* (“to separate”) and *farraqa* (“to distinguish something from another thing”) (Abboud-Haggar 1997: 67).

- (1) T 235 [f. 59r] (V, 25)/[...] Pues **esparte** entre nós y entre las compañías desobedientes.
- (2) T 235 [f. 31r] (II, 136)/[...] Que no **despartimos** entre ninguno d-ellos, y nosotros a Él somos muçlimes.

The second group within the calques based on the taxeme is that of the derivate calques (Montero Muñoz 1994: 20; 2011: 125) – named ‘calques of pattern’ by Kontzi (1978: 315-336), Abboud-Haggar (1997: 69; 2000: 142-146) and Galmés de Fuentes (2009: 116). In this case, the Arabic language triggers a derivative process in Romance, by which a new term is formed, based on the Romance word that translates the Arabic taxeme. Therefore, the word *ensanteçer*, of Morisco stock, translates the Arabic verb

qaddasa (“to worship”). This calque is based on the translation of *qudus*, whose meaning is that of “holiness” (Wehr 1976: 747):

- (3) T 235 [f. 2v] ^(II, 30)/[...] dixerón: «¿Aquí lanças en ella quien afollará en ella y vertirá las sangres, y nosotros te ataçbihamos con tu loor y te **ensanteçemos?**» [...]

4.2. Lexical calques based on the Arabic semes

This category refers to the calques based on the interpretation of the Arabic term, according to Abboud-Haggar’s terminology. This includes descriptive terms, resulted from calquing one of the meanings from the explanation of the Arabic term. From a lexical point of view, such terms may or may not directly relate to the Arabic term which they translate (Abboud-Haggar 1997: 74-75).

However, from our point of view such a definition seems ambiguous. Why would a certain word be a calque based on the interpretation of the Arabic term and not a mere derivative calque? Such difficulties call for the revision of the above-mentioned category. In our opinion, such a calque parts from a seme or a group of semes of the Arabic sememe. They might be generic semes, and this would explain the lexical link between the Arabic term and the Romance one, or they might equally be part of the semanteme, and this accounts for the lack of a lexical link of any sort between the original term and the translation.

For example, the term *paçentante* (“the one that grazes”) is such a calque, a word meant to render the Arabic word *sā'ibatin*, which means “free, unrestrained” (Wehr 1976: 446). In the context of the Qur’anic text it refers however to the camels that were allowed to graze freely in the name of a pagan idol. Hence, the Morisco translator parted from the seme /graze/ when he translated the term as *paçentante*:

- (4) T 235 [f. 65v]^(V, 103)/No puso Allah albahires [...] ni **paçentantes** { - las paçentantes quiere dezir que rrobaban lo que les pareçía de sus algos, y no las debedaban del agua ni del pasto, y eran camellas } [...]

This category can further be divided into two groups: on one hand, the one of semantic calques, when an existing Romance term acquires new meanings under the influence of the Arabic language; the term in question may sometimes be linked to a certain syntactic structure calqued from Arabic (Abboud-Haggar 1997: 74-75; 2002: 143-146).

On the other hand, we encounter derivative calques, *viz.* a new Romance word is created, under the influence of the Arabic language. This is the case of the term mentioned above at example no. 4.

According to Abboud-Haggar, such a calque has a peculiar nature among the Morisco calques, as it is difficult to decipher its meaning when the reader is unaware of the original text (Abboud-Haggar 2000: 143).

4.3. Lexical calques based on the Arabic lexia

We include in this category the calques of lexical coincidence according to the terminology of Kontzi. In this case, the Arabic lexia (the signifier) is used to render two or more sememes (the signified of the linguistic sign). Under the influence of the Arabic language, the Romance term that renders one of the sememes acquires the meaning of the other sememe as well, and therefore the homonymy of the Arabic term is transposed into Romance (Galmés de Fuentes 2009: 116). Such is the case of *amanecer*, which translates into Romance the meanings of *ʿaṣbaḥa*: “to be in the morning” and by extension “to become” (Wehr, 1976: 500):

- (5) T 235 [f. 217v] ^(XXVIII, 10)/Y **amaneçió** el corazón de la madre de Muçe [vazío], que no pensaba sino en Muçe que sería descubierta y que se sabría que era su hijo. [...]

5. *Cuydar*: a Morisco rendition of Arabic *kāda*

Modalities are “expressions which introduce further qualifications to a given sentence, the whole then becoming a different sentence.” (Angelescu 1999: 130) It is well known that among the Arab grammarians, the class of *an-nawāsiḥ* is further divided into sub-classes known as *ʾaḥawāt* (i.e. ‘sisters’) (Angelescu 1999: 130).

One of these sub-classes are the so-called *ʾafʿāl al-muqāraba* (lit. ‘verbs of being near’ viz. verbs of ‘proximation and commencement’), among which is *kāda* (lit. ‘almost to do’ or in the negative form – ‘hardly do something’) (Al-ʿAwāwida 2011: 5; As-Safi 2001: 163; Carter 1981: 209).

Morisco translators opt for an interesting translation in this case – via the verb *cuydar*, the etymology of which goes back to the Latin term *cogitare* (lit. ‘think’). The word maintains its original meaning throughout the Middle Age and during the Renaissance era (Corominas 1984, vol. 2: 284-285). And indeed, we find this to be the case in the manuscripts at hand, as the word is used to render into Romance a host of Arabic roots related to the concept of ‘thought’, such as *ḥ-s-b*, *z-n-n* or *h-m-m*:

- (6) *wa-lā yaḥsabanna*: T 235 [f. 38r] ^(III, 178)/Y **no cuydan** aquellos que descreen que eslargaremos aellos el bien para sus personas; [...]
- (7) *fa-zanna*: T 235 [f. 184r] ^(XXI, 87)/Yunuz, el del pez, fuese muy enojado y **cuydó** que no seríamos poderosos sobr-él de castigarlo.
- (8) *la-hammat*: T 235 [f. 50v] ^(IV, 113)/[...] **cuydará** vna compañia de ellos hazerte desyerrar. [...]

Nonetheless, we encounter the same verb as a rendition of the root *k-w-d*:

- (9) T 235 [f. 322r] ^(LXVII, 7-8)/Y quando son lançados en chehannam oyen a ella bramidos y ella bulliendo / que **cuyda** carpirse de saña /contra los enemigos/. [...]
- (10) RESC/25 [ff. 28r-28v] ^(LXVII, 7-8)/Y quando los lançarán en-ella oyen d-ella rechiflos y ella que brama / que **cuyda** despedaçarse de saña [...]

Moreover, in the only complete Morisco Qur'an that survived until the present day, we encounter seventy-four sequences when the verb *cuydar* had been used. We can clearly see that the majority of them are used in order to translate the above-mentioned root. We get the following contingency table:

	Other roots ⁴	Roots <i>h-m-m</i> , <i>ḥ-s-b</i> , <i>z-n-n</i> and <i>k-w-d</i>	Total
<i>Cuydar</i>	10	64	74
Other Romance translations	149	59	208
Total	159	123	282

Pearson chi-square statistic test gives the result $\chi^2 = 74,97$, which means that the data is reliable (there is a probability of less than 1 in 1000 for the opposite to happen), whereas coefficient $\varphi = 0,52$ clearly proves our hypothesis right.

Thus, Moriscos undoubtedly chose the verb *cuydar* in order to render the Arabic modality of proximity *kāda* into Romance. Besides the phonetic similarity bore by the two verbs, such an option seems to have been motivated by a calque based on the sememes of 'kāda'. From our perspective, Moriscos understood the word 'kāda' as /intending to do something/ = /think/ + /want/. And in the case of *cuydar*, they based the calque on the sememe /think/. As such, they used this rendition even for inanimate entities, as in the examples below:

- (11) T 235 [f. 1v] ^(II, 20)/Y **cuyda** el rrelámpago arrebatat sus vistas, y toda ora que alumbra a ellos, andan en él; y quando escureçe sobr-ellos, quedan sin vista. Y si quisiese Al·lah, quitarles yá sus oýdos y sus vistas, que Al·lah es sobre toda cosa poderoso.
- (12) RESC/51 [f. 7v] ^(II, 20)/**Cuyda** el rrelámpago arrebatat sus vistas [...]
- (13) T 235 [f. 275v] ^(XLII, 4)/**Cuydan** los çielos partirse de temor de Quien es sobr-ellos, y los almalaques ataçbihan con la loor de tu Señor y demandan perdón para quien es en la tierra /de los creyentes/. Ello es que Al·lah es el Perdonador, Piadoso.
- (14) RESC/18 [ff. 18r-18v] ^(XLII, 4)/**Cuydan** los çielos carpirse por miedo // de lo qu-es sobr-ellos, i los almalaques ataçbihan con la loor de su Señor i demandan perdón para quien es en la tierra de los creyentes. Y-eso es que Al·lah es Perdonador, Piadoso.

Finally, such a hypothesis is further supported by instances when Moriscos opted for a different translation, viz. *querer*. This is because they parted from the sememe /want/, to judge from instances such as:

- (15) BNM 4963 [f. 45r] ^(LXVII, 7-8)/Quando serán lançados los descreídos en ġahannam, oyen d-ella grandes cridos, y-ella bramando / que **se quiere** espedaçar de saña sobre los enemigos de Al·lah Ta'ālā [...].

⁴ Included here are the roots *c-ğ-l*, *f-r-t*, *ğ-f-l*, *s-c-y*, *d-r-y* and *b-t-t*.

- (16) RESC/39 [h. 134v] ^(LXVII, 7-8)/Cuando lančan los descreyentes en ġahannam oyen d-ella grandes gritos, y-ella bramando / que **se quiere** espedaçar de saña sobre los enemigos de Al-lah.
- (17) BNCF [p. 120] ^(LXVII, 7-8)/Cuando son lançados en-el fuego, los descreyentes oyen los grandes cridos i ġahannama bramando, / que **se quiere** espedaçar de saña sobre los enemigos de Al-lah. [...]

6. Conclusions

As shown in this paper, Moriscos translated *kāda* – one of the Arabic modalities of proximity –, by the means of lexical calques. Hence, they employed two Romance verbs, viz. *cuydar* and *querer* calquing the semes /think/ and /want/, respectively. However, *cuydar* was by far the most used one, perhaps due to its strong phonetic resemblance to the original Arabic verb.

Interestingly enough, this calque is found in various Morisco manuscripts, which seems to account for the fact that, contrary to Abboud-Haggar's opinion, the lexical calques based on the Arabic semes were not obscure to the point of being unintelligible to the readers who were not familiarized with the original text, but they seem to have been quite spread in the language of the Moriscos, being one of the numerous Arabic traces that pervaded this variety of Romance with its strong Semitic 'flavour'.

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AGENT AND SPEAKER-ORIENTED MODALITY IN THE ARABIC DIALECT OF BENGHAZI (LIBYA)

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Abstract: The present work analyses the category of agent and speaker-oriented modality in the Arabic dialect of Benghazi (Libya), a variety that was until recent years dramatically understudied, despite its enormous interest. The denominations agent-oriented and speaker-oriented modality have been borrowed by Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) and Bybee & Fleischman (1995) and represent an evolution of the categories of deontic and dynamic modality first introduced by Palmer (2001, first published in 1986). The categories under analysis are those of obligation, necessity, ability, root possibility, permission, desire, optative and hortative. Paths of evolutions and intersections between different classes are outlined whenever possible (e.g. desire and necessity, permissive and causative) and the work aims at describing the system of modals in the dialect of Benghazi within the wider context of Libyan and Maghrebi varieties.

Keywords: dialectology, linguistics, Libyan Arabic, Benghazi, modality, deontic, agent-oriented.

1. Introduction

The present paper will analyse the two categories of agent-oriented and speaker-oriented modality in the Arabic dialect of Benghazi (Libya).¹ Following Bybee & Fleischman (1995), modality is here seen as "...the semantic domain pertaining to elements of meaning that languages express." The shared element between the variety of semantic nuances that modality encompasses is, according to the two scholars, "...the addition of a supplement or overlay of meaning to the most neutral semantic value of the proposition of an utterance, namely factual and declarative."² Within the broader context of modalities, deontic modality refers to the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents and, as a consequence, to the categories of permission and obligation. For the reasons given by Bybee and Fleischman, the traditional definitions of deontic and dynamic³ modality will be replaced with the more convenient "agent-oriented" and "speaker-oriented".

Agent-oriented modality encompasses all modal meanings that predicate conditions on an agent with regard to the completion of an action referred to by the main predicate, e.g. obligation, desire, ability, permission and root possibility...Markers of directives, such as imperatives, optatives or permissives, which represent speech acts through which a speaker attempts to move an addressee to action, are called **speaker-oriented**.⁴

¹ Hencefort BA.

² Bybee & Fleischman 1995: 2.

³ Palmer 2001: 9-10.

⁴ Bybee & Fleischman 1995: 6.

The Arabic spoken in Benghazi can be described as a Maghrebi dialect of the Bedouin type, belonging to the Sulaymi dialectal group and characterised by markedly conservative morphological and syntactical traits. It represented, until not many decades ago, a dramatically understudied variety, whose only descriptions dated back to the Sixties. In 1984, a grammatical description of Eastern Libyan Arabic was published by Jonathan Owens, while Benkato (2014) recently provided us with a fine description of the dialect. Although the collections of texts currently available have been consulted, my data are primarily based on personal research. My four informants, two males and two females, were all born in Benghazi from families who had been living in the town for at least one more generation, to avoid possible influences from other dialects in the context of primary socialisation. They were first recorded while speaking about various topics of common interest and subsequently submitted a questionnaire largely (but not exclusively) based on Palmer (2001). The research took place in the towns of Palermo and Perugia, where the four informants were residing.⁵ The proviso stated by Palmer (1995) will also be adopted here: the nature of our research material does not allow us to trace a neat and complete system (there might be other forms the informants did not think about), but it will at least provide the most natural forms.⁶

2. Agent-oriented modality

As said above, agent-oriented modality “...reports the existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate.”⁷ Agent-oriented modality, however, is not only interested in reporting internal and external conditions, but also in creating them. In those cases, the speaker is creating an obligation or granting a permission to another speaker. These uses are labelled, therefore, as “subjective”⁸, and often result in directives, i.e. speech acts suggesting, imposing or forbidding a determined course of action. In our survey of agent-oriented modality, then, no further distinction will be made between utterances *reporting* internal and external conditions (agent-oriented) and utterances *creating* them (subjective).

2.1 Obligation

2.1.1 Obligation to

Obligation, usually divided into strong and weak obligation, reports the existence of (or creates) external, usually social conditions compelling a morally responsible agent to perform (or to refrain from performing) an action.⁹ In this context, lexical items pertaining to the root $\sqrt{l-z-m}$ are by far the most common choice, while the other verb

⁵ Two of them were university students, the fourth was one of the informants' wife. Their age ranged from 28 to 42.

⁶ Palmer 1995: 458.

⁷ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 177.

⁸ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 179.

⁹ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 177.

whose different phonetic realisations are usually employed in North African dialects, *xəšš* *ixəšš*, is limited to Western Maghrebi dialects and never occurs either in Libya or in Tunisia.¹⁰ In BA, thus, the modal verb *lizam yilzim* is employed in the impersonal active participle *lāzim* “necessary”, “compulsory”, followed by a verb in the prefixal conjugation. e.g.:

1. *lāzim* ^ʔ*ddīr* *əl=wāžib* *gab^ʔl mā taṭlaʃ* (father to son)
obligatory 2.do.M.SG DEF=homework before that 2.go.out.M.SG
You must do your homework before going out
2. *lāzim* *tʃaddi* *ḥatta u kān mā ʃand=ak=š* *niyya*
obligatory 2.go.M.SG even and if NEG at=you.M.SG=NEG will
You must go even if you don't feel like going

Past obligations are expressed adding *kān* “it was” before the modal *lāzim*:

3. *lamma kənt* *tuʃəl kān* *lāzim* *narʒaʃ* *li=l=bē^yt* *gabəl*
when was.1.SG child was.3.M.SG obligatory 1.return.SG to=DEF=house before
əl=masā
DEF=evening
When I was a child I had to go back home before evening

If we compare the employment of the modal verb *lizam yilzim* in Benghazi and Tripoli,¹¹ the greatest difference lies in the fact that, in TA, a suffix pronoun coreferential with the subject of the main verb can be suffixed to the active participle *lāzəm* (*lāzəm-ni* “I must”).¹² This form never occurred in our data. Mion (2013) reports that, in the Arabic dialect of Tunis, the modal *lʒəm yəlzəm* can also be employed in the prefixal conjugation to express obligation (*qaddūr yəlzəm-u yəšri ʃiṣaʃ karhba ždīda* “Kaddour must buy a new car soon”).¹³ This form occurs in our data only to express need:

4. *yəlzim=ak* *šey?*
3.M.be.necessary.SG=you thing
Do you need anything?

Alternatively, obligation can be expressed by means of the adverb *ḡarūri* “necessary” followed by the full verb in the prefixal conjugation. Pereira (2010) glosses this adverb as expressing *la valeur de déontique* or *de besoin impérieux*.¹⁴ e.g.:

5. *ḡarūri* *bukra* *tkūn* *henā s=sāʃa* *tamānya*
necessary tomorrow 2.be.M.SG here DEF=hour eight
Tomorrow you must be here at eight o'clock

¹⁰ Mion 2013: 57. The verb *xəšš* *ixəšš* occurs in Tunisia to design “lack” or “want” of something.

¹¹ Henceforth TA.

¹² Pereira 2010: 477.

¹³ Mion 2013: 57.

¹⁴ Pereira 2010: 479.

6. $\dot{\text{q}}a\dot{\text{r}}\ddot{u}ri$ $d\dot{z}\ddot{i}=ni$ $bukra$
 necessary 2.come.SG=me tomorrow
 You must absolutely come and see me tomorrow

lāzim never occurs, in our data, with future-tense markers. The context in which *lāzim* has an obligation sense, in fact, can only refer to future contexts. That means that, while the form *kān lāzim* is attested, *ḥa=yikūn lāzim* “it will be necessary (i.e. you’ll have to)” is not. In all the occurrences in which such a future reference was clearly involved, a simple *lāzim* or a *ḥa-* future occurred.¹⁵ e.g.:

7. $\ddot{i}d\ddot{a}=k\ddot{a}n$ ma $z\ddot{a}l\ddot{e}t$ $t\ddot{a}m\dot{\text{t}}\ddot{e}r$ $\dot{\text{h}}a=nig\dot{\text{v}}\ddot{e}d$ $f\ddot{i}$ $l=\dot{\text{h}}\ddot{o}\dot{\text{s}}$
 if NEG stopped.3.F.SG 3.F.rain.SG FUT=1.stay.SG in DEF=house
 $\ddot{i}d\ddot{a}=k\ddot{a}n$ ma $z\ddot{a}l\ddot{e}t$ $t\ddot{a}m\dot{\text{t}}\ddot{e}r$ $l\ddot{a}zim$ $nig\dot{\text{v}}\ddot{e}d$ $f\ddot{i}$ $l=\dot{\text{h}}\ddot{o}\dot{\text{s}}$
 if NEG stopped.3.F.SG 3.F.rain.SG obligatory 1.stay.SG in DEF=house
 If it keeps raining, I will have to stay at home

The forms *lāzim* and *ḥaṣṣ* both express, with subtle semantic differences, strong obligation.¹⁶ BA doesn’t seem to have a standardised modal for weak obligation (English *should*). Instead, speakers employ different strategies to convey weak obligation. When asked to provide a suitable translation for the sentence “If you have five minutes, you should call Rim and see how she is”, for instance, one of our informants produced the following sentence:

8. $y\ddot{a}=r\ddot{e}^{\text{v}}t$ law $\dot{\text{v}}\ddot{e}nd=\dot{\text{a}}k$ $\dot{\text{h}}\ddot{a}t\ddot{t}a$ $xams$ $d\ddot{e}g\ddot{a}yg$ $kallim$
 I.wish if at=you.M.SG even five minutes IMP.call.M.SG
 $r\ddot{i}m$ $as\dot{\text{?}}al=\dot{\text{h}}a$ $k\ddot{i}f$ $\dot{\text{h}}\ddot{a}l=\dot{\text{e}}k$
 $r\ddot{i}m$ IMP.ask.M.SG=her how state=your.F.SG
 If you have five minutes, you should call Rim and see how she is.

In this case, no modal verb is employed at all, and the sense of the directive (imperative) is mitigated adding *yā=rē^vt* at the beginning of the sentence, transforming it in a sort of optative.

2.1.2 Obligation not to

The obligation not to do something (prohibition or interdiction) ranks amongst the categories featuring the highest grade of “irregularity” in most known languages. The irregularity can basically take two forms:

- a) A lack of one-to-one correlation between form and meaning;

¹⁵ On the status of the *ḥa-* future in Benghazi (probably borrowed from Egyptian Arabic), see Benkato 2014: 75.

¹⁶ Owens also mentions *lā budda*, literally “no escape (from)” (Owens 1984: 146). This expression, however, never occurred spontaneously in our data.

b) A gap in the paradigm, with the possibility of suppletive forms;¹⁷

An adverbial suppletive form is probably used in the affirmative form, since strong obligation is expressed with both *lāzim* “imperative, binding, obligatory” and *ḡarūri* “necessary, indispensable”. At the same time, a lack of one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning is surely attested in TA and possibly in Benghazi, although with less certainty. Pereira (2010), in fact, gives us the forms *mūš lāzim* and *mūš ḡarūri* to express formal interdiction or prohibition. e.g.:

9. Mūš lāzəm nʕəttəl bāš mā tʕūt=nī=š ət=ʕəyyāra¹⁸
 NEG obligatory 1.delay.M. PURP NEG 3.F.pass.SG=me=NEG DEF=airplane
 I must not be late in order not to miss the plane

In this case, like in the English *you mustn't*, while the modal is formally negated, the negation involves the propositional content of the utterance. In other words, given that *lāzəm* + verb = “obligation to”, we would expect that *mūš lāzəm* + verb = “lack of obligation to”. In fact, in this case, the meaning of the expression is rather “obligation not to”, while the hypothetical form **lāzim mā* + verb is ungrammatical. This lack of correspondence is not restricted to Libya. Cowell, for instance, reports the same with regard to Syrian Arabic (*mū lāzem təstaxef b-našāyeh wāldak* “You shouldn’t take your father’s advice lightly.”)¹⁹ The same structure is, however, also employed to express “lack of obligation to” (*mūš lāzəm nəmši mʕā-k* “I don’t have to come with you”).²⁰ In our data, we have 25 samples involving “obligation not to”, including strong (mustn’t) and weak (shouldn’t) obligation. The form *mūš lāzim* occurs only once:

10. mūš lāzim taʕlaʕ b=rūh=ak fi l=lēy1
 NEG compulsory 2.go.out.M.SG by=self=your in DEF=night
 You must not go out alone at night!

In 22 out of 25 occurrences, the informants simply provided negative imperative forms:

11. mā taʕlaʕū=š barra l=hōš li=ayy sabab mə l=asbāb
 NEG 2.go.out.M.PL=NEG outside DEF=house for=any reason among DEF=reasons
 You must not go out for any reason!
12. mā təhkū=š u l=mudarrəs gāʕəd yəhki
 NEG 2.chat.M.PL=NEG and DEF=teacher ACT.PART.stay.M.SG 3.M.speak.SG
 You must not speak while the teacher is talking!

¹⁷ Palmer 1995: 435 – 454.

¹⁸ Pereira 2010: 481. *ḡarūri* is employed in the same way.

¹⁹ Cowell 2005: 387.

²⁰ Pereira 2010: 482.

Palmer (1995) reports a similar situation, with imperatives for deontic obligation, with reference to Oromo (N. Kenya).²¹ In the remaining two sentences, the informant (always the same) resorted to the form *mamnūſ* “prohibited” + verb:

13. *mamnūſ taṭlaſ mə l=ḥōš lə=ſand əl=iṭnē^yn*
 prohibited 2.go.out.M.SG from DEF=house to=at DEF=Monday
 You must not go out until Monday

The status of *mūš lāzim* or *mūš ḡarūri*, thus, is not clear. It occurred once with the meaning “obligation not to”, but the most natural form is by far the negative imperative. After collecting the data, the form was explicitly elicited. Three out of four informants then specified that its meaning was only “not necessary” and not “necessary not”, producing, among the others, the following example:

14. *mūš ḡarūri tagra fi l=kūžīna agra fi*
 NEG necessary 2.study.M.SG in DEF=kitchen IMP.study.M.SG in
d=dār mtāſ=ak
 DEF=room GEN=your
 It's not necessary to study in the kitchen, study in your room!

The informant glossed the sample explaining that, in this case, studying in the kitchen is not an impossible option, which makes the use of *mūš ḡarūri* acceptable. It is clear that, even in this softened version, the modal tends towards a prohibition, which makes the evolution towards “necessary not” quite natural, even though not so widely spread in BA.

The negative imperatives and the two forms *mūš lāzim* and *mūš ḡarūri* usually express a strong obligation-not-to imposed by the speaker on the addressee. When the interdiction arouses out of the common rules of moral and social decency, other forms are also possible. These forms usually involve the negation of the verbs *žā ižī* “to come” and *šār išīr* “to become”:

15. *mā ižī=š / išīr=š ənn=ak enta*
 NEG 3.M.come.SG=NEG 3.M.become.SG=NEG that=you.M.SG you.M.SG
təḥki u l=mudarrəs gāſəd yəḥki
 2.speak.M.SG and DEF=teacher ACT.PART.stay.M.SG 3.M.speak.SG
 You shouldn't chat while the teacher is speaking

2.2 Necessity

“Necessity reports the existence of physical conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate action”.²² Also in this case, a subjective use of necessity modalities is quite

²¹ Palmer 1995: 458.

²² Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 177

common, resulting in a “softer” kind of deontic obligation imposed by the speaker on his collocutor.

The modal *lizam yilzim*, always in the active participle form, is commonly employed also to express necessity:

16. muḥammad lāzim tʃaddi tʃūf duktūr
muḥammad necessary 2.go.SG 2.see.M.SG doctor
Muḥammad, you need to see a doctor
17. al=mālya mtāʃ=ak hāḍi mmaṣxa lāzim tənḡsil
DEF=shirt GEN=you this.F dirty necessary PASS.3.F.wash.SG
This shirt of yours is dirty, it needs washing

Although less commonly, the form *ḡarūri* also occurs:

18. ḡarūri tāxəḍ əd=dəwā kəll lēʃla
necessary 2.take.M.SG DEF=medicine every night
You need to take your medicine every night

The lack of necessity is expressed by means of the already mentioned form *mūšlāzim*:

19. mūš lāzim tsāʃəd=ni
NEG necessary 2.help.M.SG=me
I don't need you to help me

Assuming that this is the original meaning of the expression (there is a one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning), it is not impossible that the prohibitive meaning evolved out of a polite “not necessary”.

Alternative ways to express a lack of necessity include the form *mā fī-š dāʃi* “there is no reason”:

20. law əl=ḡarara mʃat mā fī=š dāʃi timʃi li=d=duktūr
if DEF=fever went.3.F.SG NEG in=NEG reason 2.go.SG to=DEF=doctor
If the fever decrease, you won't need to see a doctor

Two other active participles commonly found to express necessity (and lack thereof) are *məḡtāž* “needing” and *məstaḡagg* “needing”. These forms may be followed by a noun preceded by the preposition *li* or by a clause:

21. mūš mustaḡaggīn l=xadamāt=ak
NEG ACT.PART.need.M.PL of=services=your.M
We don't need your help!
22. hūwa məḡtāž ʃalāḡ isāʃd=a
he ACT.PART.need.M.SG ʃalāḡ 3.M.help.SG=him
He needs ʃalāḡ to help him

When followed by a clause, they may also employ a complementiser:²³

23. mūš məḥtāžīn inna hūwa yisāʕəd=na
 NEG ACT.PART.need.M.PL that he 3.M.help.SG=us
 We don't need him to help us

The same roots also occur, although probably less frequently, in the prefixal and suffixal conjugation:

24. šīnū təstahagg li=flūs?
 What 2.need.M.SG of=money?
 Do you need money?
 25. Lamma stahaggē^yt əl=kəm mā lgīt=kəm=š
 when needed.1.SG DEF=you.M.PL NEG found.1.SG=you.M.PL=NEG
 When I needed you I didn't find you

In TA, the same verb appears in the prefixal and suffixal conjugation, as well as in the active participle, without the *li-* particle: *məsthəgg flūs?* “Do you need money?”, *āməs ḥtāžt=ək lākən mā=lgēt=ək=š* “Yesterday I needed you but I didn't find you.”²⁴

As previously noted, Mion (2013) reports the usage of the verb *xašš ixušš* (employed to express obligation in Moroccan dialects) to express “want/lack of” in the Arabic dialect of Tunis.²⁵ The root never occurs in BA, which conveys the same sense by means of the active participle *nāgiš*, also meaning “to lack/want”:

26. enta šin nāgš=ak?
 you.M.SG what ACT.PART.lack.M.SG=you.M.SG
 What do you need?
 27. ibrāhīm nāgš=a šweyya dakā
 ibrāhīm ACT.PART.lack.M.SG=him a.little intelligence
 Ibrāhīm lacks a little brain.

2.3 Ability

“Ability reports the existence of internal enabling conditions in the agent with respect to the predicate action.”²⁶ In BA, the most employed verb is by far *gidar yagdar/yigdir*²⁷ “to have the power to”:

²³ Palmer reports an interesting parallel in Modern Greek. Palmer 1995: 460.

²⁴ Pereira 2010: 493.

²⁵ Mion 2013: 58.

²⁶ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca: 177.

²⁷ Both forms occur in our data.

28. nagdar nšīl ət=tawla hādi b=rūh=i
 1.can.SG 1.move.SG DEF=table this.F by=self=my
 I can move this table by myself
29. mā tigdir=š ʔddīr hāda kill=a b=rūh=ak
 NEG 2.can.M.SG=NEG 2.do.M.SG this.M all=him by=self=your
 You can't do all this by yourself

In negative sentences, a negative copula + active participle can also be used:

30. mā=nī=š gādər naṭlaṣ, əl=bāb msakkər
 NEG=I=NEG ACT.PART.can.M.SG 1.exit.SG DEF=door closed
 I can't exit, the door is closed

Like some languages (Lisu, French, Italian), BA distinguishes between “mental” and “physical” ability. The former concerns those activities that require a skill that is usually learned (e.g. speaking a language, swimming, riding a motorcycle). In this case, BA employs the verb *ṣaraf yaṣraf* “to know” (even though some rare occurrences of *gidar yagdar/yigdir* can actually be found):

31. naṣraf naṣūm kwēʔs
 1.know.SG 1.swim.SG well
 I can swim well
32. lamma kənt ṣḡayra mā kənt=ʔš naṣraf
 when was.1.SG little.F NEG was.1.SG=NEF 1.know.SG
 nsūg əl=bišklēṭṭa
 1.ride.SG DEF=bicycle
 When I was a child I wasn't able to ride a bicycle

2.3.1 Root possibility

“Ability generalizes to root possibility, which reports on general enabling conditions and is not restricted to the internal condition of ability, but also reports on general external conditions, such as social or physical ability.”²⁸ In BA, the verb *gidar yagdar/yigdir* serves to express both ability and root possibility, while the employment of *ṣaraf yaṣraf*, expressing mental skills, is restricted to ability. e.g.:

33. mā=ṣā=š nəgdər nətnaffəs hāmi wāžəd (physical)
 not.anymore 1.can.SG 1.breathe.SG hot very
 I can't breathe, it's too hot
34. mā gdert=š naṭlaṣ li=anna əl=bāb ʔmsakkaṣ (physical)
 NEG could.1.SG=NEG 1.exit.SG because DEF=door closed
 I couldn't go out because the door is closed

²⁸ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 178.

35. mā g³darna=š nənhu šəgəl=na li=anna žət=na nās
 NEG could.1.PL=NEG 1.finish.PL job=our because came.3.F.SG=us people
 wāžda
 much.F
 We couldn't finish our job because a lot of people arrived!

2.3.2 Permission

Permission, according to Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994), evolved out of root possibility, since it also included “social enabling conditions”.²⁹ In BA, two verbs are usually employed to express permission and the request thereof: *gidar yagdar/yigdir* (no surprise, since this is the verb used for root possibility) and *yimkin*, often employed in the active participial form *mumkin*³⁰. The former is by far the most common option, while the latter is markedly more formal and possibly influenced by MSA:

36. nigdir n xušš?
 1.can.SG 1.enter.SG
 Can I come in?
37. mumkin n xušš?
 possible 1.come.SG
 Can I come in?
38. mumkin nzi m fā=k bukra?
 Possible 1.come.SG with=you tomorrow
 Can I come with you tomorrow?
39. amta nagdər n faddi n əfəb?
 When 1.can.SG 1.go.SG 1.play.SG
 When can I go to play?
40. lākin umm=I gālət=l=i tagdər t faddi t əfəb
 but mother=my said.3.F.SG=to=me 2.can.M.SG 2.go.M.SG 2.play.M.SG
 But mom said I could go to play!
41. məħamməd mā tagdər=š ddaxxən žawwa hanā
 muħammad NEG 2.can.M.SG=NEG 2.smoke.M.SG inside here
 Muħammad, you can't smoke in here

2.3.2.1 Permissive and causative: the verb *xalla ixalli*

In BA, like in most known dialects, the verb *xalla ixalli* “to let” has two different shades of meaning: “to let somebody do something” and “to make somebody do something”. It expresses, in other words, both permissive and causative modality:

²⁹ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 193.

³⁰ For this verb, no perfect form is attested, to the best of my knowledge, in BA.

42. gabəl ət=tō^wra bāt=i kān yixalli fī=ya naṭlaʕ
 before DEF=revolution father=my was.3.M.SG 3.M.let.SG in=me 1.exit.SG
 b=rūḥ=i bass baʕd ət=tawra lā?
 by=self=my just after DEF=revolution no
 Before the Revolution my father used to let me go outside on my own, after the
 Revolution he doesn't anymore
43. mā xallū=nī=š nxušš
 NEG let.3.M.PL=me=NEG 1.enter.SG
 They didn't allow me to enter
44. šin əlli xallā=k ddīr hikki?
 What that made.3.M.SG=you 2.do.M.SG this.way
 What made you do this?

Since the original, non-modal meaning of the verb is “to leave”, it is extremely probable that the causative sense developed, with a semantic extension, out of the permissive one. This verb in BA does not appear in its reduced (and grammaticalized) form *xal* or *xa*, attested in both Tripoli³¹ and Tunis.³²

2.4 Desire

“Desire reports the existence of internal volitional conditions in the agent with respect to the predicate action.”³³ Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca correctly point out that, in many cases, necessity and desire are in a diachronic relation, since the former often evolves into the latter. With regard to the Arabic speaking world, a case in point is the Egyptian modal *ʕāwəz*, active participle of a verb, *ʕawiza*, originally meaning “to be in want or need (of something)”³⁴. In BA, a relation between the two senses exists, but it seems to have followed the opposite path of evolution.

BA, like all Libyan Bedouin varieties, employs the verb *bbā yibbī* to express desire.³⁵ The verb probably derives from **baġā yabġī*, meaning “to seek, desire, covet, seek to attain”.³⁶ The form features a progressive assimilation that spread throughout Libya, even though a poetical text collected by Ph. Marçais during the Fifties of the

³¹ Marie-Aimée Germanos and Christophe Pereira (2013), speech given at the 10th Conference of Aida, 10-13 November 2014, Qatar University, Doha.

³² Giuliano Mion, personal communication.

³³ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 178.

³⁴ The Egyptian form *ʕāz yifūz* has both the meanings of “to want”, “to desire” and “to require”, “to need” (Badawi & Hinds: 609).

³⁵ The sedentary variety spoken by the Jews of Tripoli, the only one so far documented, had instead *ħabbyħabb*. Yoda 2005: 298.

³⁶ Pereira, in his excellent grammar of the Arabic dialect of Tripoli, hypothesizes that the verb may actually derive from the ancient root $\sqrt{?}$ -b-y. He also quotes Hans Stumme and Sumikazu Yoda, who both suggest a third possibility, i.e. that of a double origin: from $\sqrt{?}$ -b-y for the perfect and from \sqrt{b} -ġ-y for the imperfect. Pereira 2010: 140-142. The third hypothesis would also justify the presence of an unreduced *yabġi* in the poetical text collected by Ph. Marçais in Fezzan, which should otherwise be dismissed as a borrowing from CA or as a different verb altogether.

Twentieth century still has *yəbgi* “he wants”.³⁷ Etymologically related items are also employed in Moroccan dialects, both in the suffixal conjugation *bga*³⁸ and (although not as frequently) in the prefixal *ka-yəbgi*.³⁹

In BA, the verb *bba yibbi* can occur in the suffixal conjugation, but only in negative constructions of the type *mā-bā-š* (e.g. *mā-bā-š yūlaʕ* “It wouldn’t turn on”).⁴⁰ The verb that follows is invariably in the prefixal conjugation, and the construction *yibbi* + obj. pronoun + verb is quite common:

45. nibbī=k ʔdži mʕā=ya
1.want.SG=you 2.come.SG with=me
I want you to come with me
46. mā nibbī=kəm=š tigʕədu bi=rwāh=kəm fi
NEG 1.want.SG=you.M.PL=NEG 2.stay.M.PL by=selves=your.M.PL in
l=ħōš
DEF=house
I don’t want you to stay alone at home
47. kān mā tibbū=š ʔdžū xallū=kəm fi l=ħōš
if NEG 2.want.M.PL=NEG 2.come.M.PL IMP.leave=you.M.PL in DEF=house
If you don’t want to go, stay at home

Absence of desire can be expressed, other than by negating the verb *bba yibbi*, also with the expression *mā=ʕand=ī=š niyya* “I don’t feel like (literally “I don’t have intention”)” followed by a verb in the prefixal conjugation:⁴¹

48. gabʔl mā kān=š ʕand=həm niyya yəxʔdmu mʕā=na
before NEG was.3.M.SG=NEG at=them.M intention 3.work.M.PL with=us
They didn’t want to work with us before

Another expression, particularly employed by younger speakers, is *māʕand=ižaww*, literally “I don’t have weather”:

49. nənganni mā ʕand=i žaww naʕlaʕ / li=ʕ=ʕaləʕ
asseverative NEG at=me weather 1.go.out.SG / for=DEF=going.out
I’m not in the mood for going out

Expressions containing the element *xāʕar* “idea, thought”, described by Pereira and occurring in TA to express “absence of desire” (*mā=xāʕarī=š* “I don’t feel like”)⁴² occurred spontaneously only in interrogative sentences:

³⁷ Ph. Marçais 2001: 100.

³⁸ Harrell 2004: 182.

³⁹ Dominique Caubet, personal communication. The prefixal form *ka-nəbgi* is used both as a full verb (*ka-nəbgi-k* “I love you”) and as a modal (*ka-nəbgi ndir* “I want to do”).

⁴⁰ Benkato 2014: 78.

⁴¹ The expression occasionally occurs in affirmative sentences too.

⁴² Pereira 2010: 492.

50. xāṭṭr=ak taṭlaṣ mṣā=ya l=yō^wm?
 idea=your.M 2.go.out.M.SG with=me DEF=day
 Do you feel like going out with me today?

2.4.1 Desire, necessity and future

As said before, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca pointed out that diachronic relations often exist between necessity and desire, since the former evolved into the latter in many languages.⁴³ The relation, however, may also take other forms. The BA modal verb for desire, *bba yibbi*, does not etymologically have a sense of necessity, yet necessity is one of the senses in which it is employed nowadays:

51. al=ẓarḥ mtāṣ=ək hāḍa yibbi xyāṭa
 DEF=wound GEN=your this.M 3.M.want.SG stitches
 This wound of yours needs some stitches
52. əd=dibāš hāḍa yibbi ḡasəl
 DEF=cloth this.M 3.M.want.SG washing
 This shirt needs washing

The development of desire modals into necessity ones is spread, apart from Libya, also in Levantine (*bədd-o* employed for both deontic and epistemic necessity) and Egyptian Arabic (where, as said before, the sense of necessity is etymologically anterior to that of desire).⁴⁴ The main difference between the Mashreqi and the Libyan usage is that in Egyptian and Syrian the active participle *ṣāwiz* and the pseudo-verb *bidd-* can both be followed by a verb in the prefixal conjugation (e.g. *il-ṣarabiyya ṣawz-a tityisil* “The car needs to be washed”, *bidd-u(h) yikūn yiṣraf inglīzi* “He has to know English”), while this is not possible in BA:

53. əd=dibāš hāḍa yibbi ḡasəl
 DEF=cloth this.M 3.M.want.SG washing
 These clothes need washing
54. al=mālya mtāṣ=ak hāḍi mmaṣxa lāzim tənḡsil
 DEF=shirt GEN=your.M.SG this.F dirty obligatory PASS.3.F.wash.SG
 This shirt of yours is dirty, it needs washing
55. *al=mālya mtāṣ=ak hāḍi mmaṣxa tibbi tənḡsil

Of the three preceding sentences, only the first two are grammatical (and actually occur in our data). The third, when elicited, was unanimously rejected by our informants as ungrammatical. BA, thus, holds an interesting position between Mashreqi and Maghrebi varieties. In Egyptian and Levantine dialects, in fact, the (pseudo-)verb expressing desire can also:

⁴³ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 178.

⁴⁴ Vanhove, Miller & Caubet 2009: 353.

- a) express necessity;
- b) be followed by both a noun and a verb.

In BA, only the first option a) is true, while *yibbi* + verb (b) is reserved to the expression of actual desire or imminent future. The dialect of Tunis⁴⁵ and Moroccan varieties⁴⁶ in general, on the other hand, do not commonly employ their respective verbs expressing desire (*ḥabb yḥabb* and *bġa yəbġi*) in contexts where necessity is involved. Subtle nuances of meaning are probably at work here, which calls for a more thorough study.

Another path of development observed in many languages leads from desire to willingness and/or future. In BA, the full verb *yibbi* is commonly employed to express a near future:⁴⁷

56. nibbī nimrəḏ
 1.want.SG 1.get.sick.SG
 I'm about to get sick

According to Benkato (2014), this verb seems on the path towards grammaticalization, since it is reduced, in fast speech, to *yib-* and *ibi-*.⁴⁸ Other Libyan varieties, TA, Misrata (MA)⁴⁹ and Fezzanese Arabic (FA)⁵⁰, seem to have gone further and feature a stable *b-/bi-* preverb marker to express a future of intention.⁵¹ The origin of the preverbal marker is highly disputed, given its presence in a huge number of Arabic dialects (while the use of *yibbi/yəbbi* is restricted to Libya)⁵². Even with regard to the Egyptian and Syrian case, Brustad (2000) is not probably wrong in suggesting the possibility of two different (and independent) origins.⁵³ If we limit the scope of our analysis to the Libyan case, thus, the development of a future (of intention) from a modal verb denoting desire would represent a textbook example of the evolution described by Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca.⁵⁴

⁴⁵ Giuliano Mion, personal communication.

⁴⁶ Dominique Caubet, personal communication.

⁴⁷ Benkato 2014: 75.

⁴⁸ Benkato 2014: 75.

⁴⁹ D'Anna, forthcoming.

⁵⁰ Caubet 2004: 77.

⁵¹ A step towards the grammaticalization of *yibbi* into a future marker might be represented by its employment in expressions denoting willingness, as in the English commissives (*I'll help you*). Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 178.

⁵² Again, *yibbi* is the form attested in Benghazi (Benkato 2014: 75), while *yəbbi* is the variant heard in Tripoli. (Pereira 2010: 488).

⁵³ Brustad 2000: 253.

⁵⁴ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 254-258.

2.5. Willingness

As correctly observed by Benkato (2014), BA doesn't have a set of grammaticalized preverbal markers, with the partial exception of *ħa-*, which doesn't seem an original feature of the dialect, but rather an Egyptian loan. Willingness, consequently, has no stable marker. Speakers simply use a verb in the prefixal conjugation or resort to the preverb *ħa-*:

57. *ħa=ndīr* *əš=šəǧl* *hāda* *makān=ək*
 FUT=1.do.SG DEF=work t his.M place=your
 I'll do this work for you
58. *nūṣad=kəm* *anā* *ndīr=a*
 1.promise.SG=you.M.PL I 1.do.SG=him
 I promise you I'll do it

3. Speaker-oriented modality

As previously said, "...speaker-oriented modalities do not report the existence of conditions on the agent, but rather allow the speaker to impose such conditions on the addressee."⁵⁵ In section 2., modals expressing obligation to, obligation not to and permission were analysed independently of their agent or speaker-oriented direction. This section will thus complete our survey by briefly mentioning some additional classes of speaker-oriented modality. We refer the reader to Owens (1984) for a thorough description of imperative in Eastern Libyan Arabic.

3.1 Optative

Optative modality reports "the wish or hope of the speaker expressed in a main clause."⁵⁶ In BA, wishes are mostly expressed by employing *yā rē^yt* "if only" at the beginning of the sentence, followed by a verb in the prefixal or in the suffixal conjugation (for counterfactual wishes).⁵⁷ A bound pronoun, coreferential with the subject of the sentence, is usually (but not necessarily) suffixed to the optative *yā rē^yt*:

59. *yā* *rē^yt* *nanžah!*
 oh if.only 1.succed.SG
 I wish I would pass (the exam)!

⁵⁵ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 179.

⁵⁶ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 179.

⁵⁷ Pereira does not report a counterfactual use of *yā rē^yt* in TA (Pereira 2010: 443).

60. yā rē^yt=a mā radd=š li=libya yā rē^yt=a
 oh if.only=him NEG returned.3.M.SG=NEG to=Libya oh if.only=him
 gaʕəd mʕā=na!
 stayed.3.M.SG with=us
 If only he hadn't gone back to Libya, if only he had stayed with us!

With counterfactual optative sentences, a stronger sense of disappointment can be conveyed adding (*ʕalē^y=k*) *ʒaww g^llāg* “What a discomfoting weather!”, (*ʕalē^y=k*) *ʒaww šē^yn* “What a bad weather!” or (*ti-*)*zaf*t “Tar!” (ruder and usually restricted to younger speakers) before *yā rē^yt*:

61. ʕalē^y=k ʒaww šē^yn yā rē^yt=ni ʕaraft=a mən gab^ʔ!
 on=you.SG weather ugly oh if.only=me knew.1.M.SG=him from before
 Damn, if only I had known about that before!

Alternatively, wishes can be expressed by means of the adverb *gē^yr* (also employed in TA)⁵⁸, which represents a closer translation of the English “if only”:

62. ti=gē^yr nḥagg=a bəss wa=llāh nwarrī=h!⁵⁹
 if.only 1.see.SG=him just by=God 1.show.SG=him
 If only I saw him I would show him!

3.2 Hortative

In hortative modality, “the speaker is encouraging or inciting someone to action.”⁶⁰ Since the real imperative can only be second person,⁶¹ hortatives usually allow the speaker to address injunctions to first or third person addressees. First-person hortatives include a verb in the prefixal conjugations, often preceded by the interjections *hayya* or *ya!llāh*, both roughly meaning “Come on!”:

63. hayya nʕaddu li=l=bḥar!
 come.on 1.go.PL to=DEF=sea
 Let's go to the seaside!
64. ya!llāh šabāb nrowḥu!
 come.on guys 1.go.back.PL
 Let's go back guys!

⁵⁸ Pereira 2010: 443.

⁵⁹ For an analysis of the different meanings of the particle *ti-* in Tunisian Arabic, see Mion 2014: 279-289.

⁶⁰ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 179.

⁶¹ Palmer 2001: 81.

When the hortative is ideally addressed to a third person collocutor, on the other hand, BA employs the imperative form of *xalla ixalli* “to let” + a suffix pronoun coreferential with the verb in the third person (singular or plural), as in the following examples:

65. xallī=ha timši waḥād=ha!
 IMP.let.SG=her 3.F.go.SG alone=her
 Let her go alone!
66. yibbu yiṛowḥu? xaḷāš xallī=həm iṣaddu!
 3.M.want.PL 3.M.return.PL? enough IMP.let.SG=them.M 3.M.go.PL
 Do they want to go back? Fine, let them go!

The forms employed, here, do not show any significant difference from TA, as described by Pereira (2010).⁶²

Negative hortatives addressed to a first person plural, of the type “Let’s stop...!”, feature two alternative realizations:

- a) The imperative *fikk* “Free!” + suffix pronoun + *min* + noun;
- b) The active participles *ādd* “enough” + suffix pronoun *-na* + noun;

The bound pronoun suffixed to *fikk* is usually a first person (singular or plural), while *sādd* can be used with all persons (*sādd-ək*, *sādd-kəm* etc.). e.g.:

67. fikk=na mə t=tašfīt xallī=na nagru!
 IMP.free.SG=us from DEF=playing IMP.let.SG=us 1.read.PL
 Stop playing, let’s study!
68. sādd=na giṛāya xallī=na naṭlaeu!
 enough=us studying IMP.let.SG=us 1.go.out.PL
 Enough studying, let’s go out!

The system, here, substantially differs from TA, which doesn’t seem to have *sādd* and employs, instead, *yāser* “enough” + suff. pronoun + *min* + noun (the suffix pronoun is optional).⁶³

4. Concluding remarks

The different elements that constitute the system of agent and speaker-oriented modality in BA derive from a vast range of lexical and grammatical sources. In some cases, existing verbs evolved into modals, as is the case with the form *lāzim*. In other instances, adverbs acquired the same function, as is the case with *ḡarūri*.

As happens in many languages, obligation is the most “irregular” modal class. In BA, obligation to is primarily expressed using *lāzim* + verb, but obligation not to is very

⁶² Pereira 2010: 439-440.

⁶³ Pereira 2010: 442.

often expressed by means of negative imperatives. The hypothetical **lāzim mā* + verb is ungrammatical, while the form *mūš lāzim* + verb, attested in TA, occurred only once in our data and was rejected as having a different meaning by three out of four informants. More studies are surely needed in this field. Modals of obligation and necessity, moreover, clearly define BA as an Eastern Maghrebi variety, since lexical elements pertaining to the root $\sqrt{x-s-s}$, widely spread in Western North African varieties, never occur, not even with the meaning of “to lack” featured in the Tunisian *xasš ixuṣṣ*.

The modal of desire (*bba yibbi*), finally, can also be employed to express necessity, a trait that seems to set apart Libyan varieties from other Maghrebi ones and that is, on the contrary, quite common in Mashreqi dialects. The hypothesis of an evolution of *yibbi* into the Libyan preverbal marker *bi-*, according to a path (desire → willingness → future) described in many languages, is surely interesting but needs more research, given the presence of the same preverb in a number of dialects in which *bba yibbi* is not attested.

With regard to ability and permission, the verb *gidar yagdar/yigdir* is probably the most widely employed in Arabic dialects, while *ṣaraf yaṣrāf* is limited to abilities involving mental skills. The employment of a single verb (*xalla ixalli*) to express both permissive (“to allow someone to do something”) and causative modality (“to make someone do something”), on the other hand, occurs in all the dialectal varieties we were able to check. The evolution of verbs (or particles) into modals, finally, led some of them to assume an invariable form, calling for the suffixation of bound pronouns coreferential with the subject of the utterance (e.g. *fikk-na*), even though such a process seems more common in TA (*lāzm-ək, yāsr-ək*) than in Benghazi. BA, from this perspective, would reaffirm its more conservative nature within the panorama of Libyan dialects.

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THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE MODAL PARTICLES IN SOUTH IRAQI ARABIC

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Abstract: Modal particles are noninflected lexical categories which express the mood of the speaker towards a specific proposition. It is cross-linguistically well established that just few languages make use of modal particles. Among others, Diewald (2013) separates between two classes of modal particles, the peripheral and the core class. It seems that the spoken South Iraqi Arabic (henceforth in this paper SIA) has the peripheral class of modal particles. The peripherality of such modal particles is a result of the overlaps of such particles with other lexical categories in this dialect. This paper will show how these peripheral modal particles are always interchangeable with other lexical categories, which makes their meaning elusive in this dialect. Based on source materials and informants from the region of the *gilit* dialects, the structural nature and the meaning of some prevalent peripheral modal particles will take priority in this study.

Keywords: *Iraqi Arabic; gilit-dialects; politeness particle; narrative particle; particle serialization; feministic particle.*

Theoretical Background and previous research

Over decades, the population in southern Iraq has been excluded from social, economic, cultural, and political life, a fact which has a significant effect on the marginalization of their spoken dialects. Therefore, the southern dialectal diversity has been neglected far too often by cross-dialectal studies inside and outside the country.

The grand challenge will be then the shortage of linguistic data which may help to revive this deliberately forgotten dialect heritage. Nothing else remains to be done to overcome the data collection challenges than to conduct face-to-face interviews and questioning of the indigenous people.

So far no research has been devoted to the modal particles in spoken SIA, and their structural and functional characteristics have therefore not been investigated at all. The aim of this paper will not be the discussion of the challenges that the southern dialects are facing but to provide an analysis of the structural and functional features of the modal particles used in this dialectal area.

What class of modal particles is there in SIA?

It is worth mentioning that spoken SIA has no real modal particles, but only those which are still under the process of grammaticalization. Some peripheral modal particles such as *hīč*, *dā*, *gēr*, *hā*, *yā*, *čā*, and *mū* have been so far observed. As shown in the examples below, the members of this peripheral class of modal particles have homophones with

other lexical categories such as demonstrative pronouns, intensifiers, interrogatives, negative markers, interjection etc.:

hīč

The particle *hīč* can be used as a demonstrative pronoun:

- 1) *hīč rāḥ.*
DEM goPST.1SG.M.
“He went this way.”

dā

The particle *dā* seems to be interchangeable with the present tense morpheme *dā* of Baghdadi Arabic. As has been frequently argued (Erwin 2004: 338–9), the particle *dā* is one of the striking characteristics of the prestigious Baghdadi Arabic:

- 2) *dā 'aktib risālah*
TNS writePRS.1SG. letter
“I am writing a letter.”

ġēr

The modal particle *ġēr* is widely used in southern dialectal area and is amenable to be confused with the negative marker *ġēr*:

- 3) *hāda ġēr šī*
DEM NEG thing.
“That is something else.”

hā

Depending on its context, the particle *hā* can be used as an interrogative pronoun:

- 4) *hā?*
INT
“Really?”

or as an interjection with a cautionary content. As is mostly the case, the particle *hā* must be repeatedly uttered when it is used in a cautionary sense:

- 5) *hā hā hā...!*
INTER INTER INTER...!
“Caution!”

yā

The same holds true for the particle *yā* which can be used as an interrogative pronoun:

- 6) *yā* 'ali
INT Ali?
“Which Ali (do you mean)?”

or as a vocative particle:

- 7) *yā* *Allāh!*
VOC Allah!
“O Allah!”

čā

čā is a stereotype for the southern *gilit* dialects. As shown in the following example, this particle has a homophone with the particle *čā* which precedes interrogatives:

- 8) *čā* *abū-k* *wēn*
PTCL father-2SG.M. WHQ
“Where is your father?”

mū

mū is a widely used negative morpheme in all Iraqi Arabic dialects (Abu Haidar 2002):

- 9) *lā* *mū* *hāda*
NEG NEG DEM
“No, it is not this.”

To sum up, the above-mentioned data suggest that the peripheral modal particles of SIA have obvious overlaps with other lexical categories, a fact which will be taken in consideration in further discussion and analysis of the structural and functional features of the modal particles of spoken SIA.

The structural characteristics of the peripheral modal particles in SIA

The peripheral modal particles of SIA are characterized by a set of homogeneous structural features. The most noteworthy feature of these particles is that their word ordering seems to be restricted to the sentence initial positions, i. e. they always precede the finite verb in declarative sentences despite the flexible word order of SIA. The following are examples:

- 10) *hīč mā arīd arūh*
MP NEG want: PRS.1SG go: PRS.1SG.
“MP I do not want to go.”
- 11) *dā rūh hassa*
MP go: PRS.3SG now
“MP Go now!”
- 12) *ġēr darab aḥū-h*
MP hit: PST.3SG. brother-3SG.M.
“MP He hit his brother.”
- 13) *hā hāda aḥū-ī*
MP DEM brother-1SG.
“MP This is my brother.”
- 14) *yā mā adri*
MP NEG know: PRS.1SG.
“MP I do not know.”
- 15) *čā arūh anām aḥsan*
MP go: PRS.1SG sleep: PRS.1SG better
“MP It is better (for me) to go to sleep.”
- 16) *mū ānī riḥit il-bārḥa*
MP 1SG. go: PST.1SG. DET-yesterday
“MP I went yesterday.”

Another essential structural characteristic of the peripheral modal particles in SIA is what one could call *modal particle serialization*, where more than one peripheral modal particle appears strictly adjacent to each other. Depending on the communicative situation of the speaker, this particle serialization can actually be extended to include two, three, or four particles in a sentence:

- 17) *čā ġēr darab aḥū-h il-bārḥa*
MP MP hit: PST.3SG brother-3SG.M DET-yesterday
“MP MP He hit his brother yesterday.”
- 18) *hā čā ġēr darab aḥū-h il-bārḥa*
MP MP MP hit: PST.3SG brother-3SG.M. DET-yesterday
“MP MP MP He hit his brother yesterday.”
- 19) *yā hā čā ġēr darab aḥū-h il-bārḥa*
MP MP MP MP hit: PST.3SG brother-3SG.M. DET-yesterday
“MP MP MP MP He hit his brother yesterday.”

In some cases this modal particle serialization can be interrupted by the intervening of other lexical categories between these particles (such as adverbs, pronouns etc.); however, the particles occupy the same structural position, i.e. they appear sentence-initially, no matter how many elements intervene between them. In the following example the intervening modal particles are indicated by brackets:

- 20) *yā hā čā hūwa il-bārḥa b-il-līl (ġēr)*
 MP MP MP 3SG.M DET-yesterday PREP-DET- night MP
ḍarab aḥū-h
 hit: PST.3SG brother-3SG.M
 “MP MP MP He MP hit his brother yesterday.”

Specifically mentionable is the fact that the word orderings of these sentence-initial modal particles cannot be flexible in the prefield, because it seems that some of these modal particles take positional precedence over others. In example (20), the particles to the left have scope on the particles to the right (*yā* over *hā*, *hā* over *čā*, and *čā* over *ġēr*). Accordingly, one cannot freely scramble these peripheral modal particles in the sentence-initial position, i. e. they are hierarchically frozen.

However, putting these modal particles in other word orderings, such as the preceding of the particle *čā* over *yā* might change their functional class, because there will be a so called *fresh intonation contour*, which causes a break between the scrambled particles *čā* and *yā*:

- 21) **(čā) hā *(yā) hūwa il-bārḥa bi-l-līl ġēr*
 MP MP MP 3SG.M DET-yesterday PREP-DET-night MP
ḍarab aḥū-h
 hit: PST.3SG brother-3SG.M.
 “MP MP MP He MP hit his brother yesterday.”

In addition, the intervening of other lexical categories between the modal particles is restricted to the slots more to the right; that is to say, the further left a modal particle appears, the more structurally stable it is. The following are examples:

- 22) *yā hā čā hūwa il-bārḥa bi-l-līl (ġēr)*
 MP MP MP 3SG.M DET-yesterday PREP-DET-night MP
ḍarab aḥū-h
 hit: PST.3SG brother-3SG.M.
 “MP MP MP He MP hit his brother yesterday.”

- 23) *yā hā hūwa il-bārḥa bi-l-līl (čā) (ġēr)*
 MP MP 3SGM DET-yesterday PREP-DET-night MP (MP)
ḍarab aḥū-h
 hit: PST.3SG brother-3SG.M.
 “MP MP He MP MP hit his brother yesterday.”

Another is the fact that none of these modal particles can have a constituent value, i.e. they occur solely as parts of immediate constituents. That might be a result of these modal particles being polyfunctional in nature, and their function might therefore depend on context and distribution. In the following examples, the peripheral modal particles are meaningless:

- 24) **hīč.*
 25) **da.*
 26) **ġēr.*
 27) **hā.*

- 28) **jā*.
 29) **čā*.
 30) **mū*

Moreover, none of these particles but *hīč* can be used as an answer to a question:

- 31) a. *līš il-bārḥa mā iğīt*
 WHQ DET-yesterday NEG come: PST. 2SG.M.
 “Why did not you come yesterday?”
 b. *hīč*.
 MP
 “Just because.”

The appearance of *hīč* in (31b) as an answering particle to the question in example (31a) does not necessarily mean that it is autosemantic. In other words, *hīč* is not rich in meaning by itself, but its meaning is only understood from the previously uttered sentence.

It is, furthermore, a characteristic feature of such peripheral modal particles that they cannot be negated. In the following examples the negation particle *mā* cannot precede any of the modal particles:

- 32) *yā čā hūwa il-bārḥa bi-l-līl mā iğe*.
 MP MP 3SG DET-yesterday PREP-DET-night NEG come: PST.3SG.
 “MP MP He did not come yesterday.”

- 33) **yā mā čā hūwa il-bārḥa b-il-līl iğe*.
 MP NEG MP 3SG yesterday PREP-DET-night come: 3SG
 “MP He did not MP come yesterday.”

- 34) **mā yā čā hūwa il-bārḥa b-il-līl iğe*.
 NEG. MP MP 3SG DET-yesterday PREP-DET-night come: PST.3SG
 “He did not MP MP come yesterday.”

It follows from the foregoing that the frozen structural position and the tendency towards serialization are the most important structural features of the peripheral modal particles of the spoken SIA.

The meaning and function of the modal particles in spoken SIA

The study of the meaning of the modal particles in general has been recently the focus of linguists far and wide (Bross 2012, Diewald 2007, 2013, Weydt 2001, 1993, Weydt & Hentschel 1983, among many others). As has been indicated in the examples above, the identification of the functional class of the modal particles in SIA depends primarily on context and structural position. In the following, I will try to describe in detail the meaning and function of some selected modal particles in the *gilit* dialect area of SIA.

ġēr

Let us start with the particle *ġēr*. In the following example the particle *ġēr* has two different meanings: the former *ġēr* is a modal particle which is restricted to exclamatory sentences and expresses emotions, the latter one, in contrast, functions as a negative marker:

- 35) *ġēr iġe w ġāli-na ġēr šī*
 MP come: PST.3SG and say: PST.3SG-3PL NEG something
 “MP He came and told us something else.”

Moreover, it must be noted that the modal particle at the left periphery does not change the truth value of the above mentioned sentence, but rather it graduates certain properties on the communicative level. That is, because all modal particles in SIA do not refer to a specific constituent but to the whole sentence. On the contrary, the particle *ġēr* to the right has a totally different function, so that its reference scope does not go beyond the constituent’s boundary, i. e. it refers solely to the constituent *šī*.

yā

Of particular interest is the modal particle *yā*, which seems to be communicatively restricted to the women’s speech style; therefore, I prefer to call it *feministic modal particle*. An example is given below:

- 36) *yā mā iġa-u*
 MP NEG come: PST.-3PL.
 “MP They did not come.”

There are some other feministic modal particles scattered over the Iraqi Arabic dialect areas such as the particle *aza* and the newly coined emotional particle *šhām*, among others. These modal particles can be alternatively used besides the feministic modal particle *yā*:

- 37) *aza hāda šbī*
 MP DEM WHQ
 “MP What is wrong with him?”
- 38) *šhām hāda līš ġirb-ū*
 MP DEM WHQ hit: PST-3SG.M.
 “MP Why did they hit him?”

dā

As previously indicated, the particle *dā* can be assigned to different functional classes with different meanings. Besides its use as a tense morpheme in spoken Baghdadi Arabic, *dā* can be used as a *politeness modal particle*.

It is a characteristic of the modal particle *dā* that it can only be used in sentences expressing an order to avoid the impoliteness that might be caused by the impolite sounding imperatives in Iraqi Arabic. The latter imperative sentence below sounds politer than the former one, it encourages the hearer to act positively and takes his satisfaction into account.

41) *rūḥ!*
go: PRS.M.
“Go!”

42) *dā rūḥ!*
MP go: PRS.M.
“MP Go!”

In issuing such orders, an imperative sentence consists in the majority of cases only of the modal particle *dā* plus a verb, but another lexical category such as tense particle can precede or follow the imperative verb; as always the added modal particle *dā* precedes the verb.

43) *dā rūḥ* *hassa!* or 44) *hassa dā rūḥ!*
MP go: go: PRS.M. now now MP go: PRS.M.
“MP Go now!” “Now MP go!”

hīč

As has been previously clearly shown the particle *hīč* is a multifunctional one, it can namely occur as an answering particle, modal particle, or as a demonstrative pronoun. In modal particle function, *hīč* marks a proposition in which the speaker does not want to give more explanation about the topic. The following is a dialog in which the function of *hīč* as a modal particle is differentiated from its other functions:

44) A: *tigdar* *'tgul-ī* *līš* *mā* *riḥit*
can: PRS.2SG. say: PRS.M.-1SG. WHQ NEG go:PST.M.

il-bārḥa *li-l-madrasa*
DET-yesterday PREP-DET- school

“Could you tell me why you did not go to school yesterday?”

B: *hīč.*

PTCL

“Just because.”

A: *ānī hīč ṭālib miṭl-ak mā šāyif* *ib-šarāḥa.*
1SG. DEM student like-3SG.M. NEG see: PRS.1SG.M. PREP-frankness

“Frankly, I did not see a student like you in my life.”

B: *hīč mā arīd* *arūḥ* *li-l-madrasa.*

MP NEG want: PRS.1SG. go: PRS.1SG PREP-DET-school

“MP I do not want to go to the school.”

cā

This particle is a deeply rooted one in the history of the *gilit* dialects, and it has actually been an identifying symbol for the whole population in this region. Functionally, the modal particle

cā occurs in communicative situations where the speaker is willing to add more explanation or to express his intention towards certain circumstances. In the following example the speaker indicates what the reason for her leaving is:

- 45) *cā ānī arīd arūḥ li-l-bīt li'an ta'abit*
 MP 1SG want: PRS.1SG. go: PRS.1SG PREP-DET-house CONJ tired
 "I want to go home because I am tired."

hā

In the majority of cases the modal particle *hā* marks the beginning of a narrative. The following passage is an example:

- 46) *hā ānī agūlak šini il-qīṣṣa il-ḡahāl min cānau yli'būn ilbārḥa it'arikau binathum, u ba'dēn šarat il muškilah u umhum iḡatnah lil bēt itsib u tiḡlaṭ bes ilhamdulilah mā šar ši u riḡa'na ḥabāyib.*

I will tell you the story, while the children were playing yesterday, they quarreled, and this then led to a problem, and their Mom came to our home, she abused, but anyway everything is okay, and we are now friends again.

In the following example, the modal particle *hā* can also be used to introduce topics or to highlight an information:

- 47) *hā ānī arūḥ li-l-bēt hassa*
 MP 1SG go: PRS.M. PREP-DET-house now
 "I am going home now."

As these instances clearly show, the most important feature of the modal particle *hā* is that it is functionally used to be the onset of a narrative. Moreover, the particle *hā* actually occurs only one time in a narrative or in a sentence, no matter whether the speaker is a participant on the narrative or not.

Conclusion

On the basis of the presented data, it can be concluded that the peripheral modal particles in spoken SIA are basically not autosemantic in nature, as they have heterosemes in other word classes. They, furthermore, share certain functional and distributional characteristics, by which they can be identified from the other word classes. On communicative level, they fulfill a variety of functions with various meanings relevant to the speaker's mood.

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THE NOTION OF MODALITY IN ARABIC LINGUISTICS: THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract: The article traces formation of the notion of modality in Arabic linguistics (from medieval Arabic modal theories within logic to modern linguistic views) and the problem of scientific research approaches to this category. It is shown that difficulties in Arabic modal studies, related to different approaches to the definition of modality, become more complex because of searching of an appropriate Arabic term for this category.

Keywords: *modality; medieval Arabic logic; Arabic linguistics; modal attitudes; means of modal expression.*

It has to be recognized that there is considerable interest in the subject of modality as a valid linguistic universal (Palmer 2001: 1). But an exploration of the category of modality is determined by the diversity of the scientific approaches in linguistics to its research aspects which are connected particularly with logic, taking into account the methodology and terminology of this science (Tkachuk 2003: 14). The only clearly established fact is the connection between the modality and the speaker's identity, his attitude to the content of communication unit, but such a definition makes the most extensive, generalized, abstract approach to this category, leaving the types, form and other essential features of the modality (which are necessary for further studies) outside scientific knowledge (Batsevych 2010: 190). In this article I tried to reveal the origin and development of modality as the research notion in Arabic linguistics.

1. Origin: medieval Arabic logic

Historically, the category of 'modality' (from Latin *modus* 'mode'), which characterized the attitudes between subject and predicate in the premiss, was formulated in classical logic – Aristotle's logical theory (Nika 2009: 34). Aristotle in "Prior Analytics" distinguished three types of premisses, considering their modal characteristics: 1) 'premiss stating that something is' (assertoric premiss); 2) 'premiss stating that something must be' (apodictic premiss); 3) 'premiss stating that something may be' (problematic premiss) (Aristotle n.d.; Nika 2009: 34).

Given that medieval Arabic culture had been influenced by translations of Greek works by Galen, Hippocrates, Ptolemy, Euclid and in particular Aristotle (Filshtinskiy 1985: 266, 280), it can be assumed that Aristotle's idea of modality was used in Arabic

logic¹. Thus, the contemporary Arab scientist Ġirār Ġahāmī indicates the Arabic term *ġiha* as an equivalent of the Latin and French terms ‘modus’ and ‘mode’, respectively, based on the study of logical theory in the ‘Summary of “On Interpretation” by Aristotle’ (*Talḥīṣu kitābi ‘Aristūṭālīs fī-l-‘Ibārati*) by ‘Ibn Rušd (1126-1198) (Ġahāmī 1992: 315). Ġirār Ġahāmī notes that ‘Ibn Rušd’s *ġiha* is the ‘word that indicates the quality of existence of the predicate related to the subject [...] and has two types: necessary [...] and possible’ (*‘al-lafẓatu-l-latī tadullu ‘alā kayfiyyati wuġūdi-l-maḥmūli li-l-mawḍū‘i [...] ‘aġnāsu ‘alfāzi-l-ġihati ġihatāni: ‘ihdā-humā-ḍ-ḍarūriyyu [...] wa-t-tāniyatu-l-mumkinu*) (Ġahāmī 1992: 197). The necessary type of *ġiha* is divided into ‘obligatory’ (*wāġib*) and ‘impossible’ (*mumtani*) subspecies, and therefore the necessary type of *ġiha* indicates either the ‘necessarily being’ (*ḍarūriyyu-l-wuġūdi*) or the ‘necessarily not being’ (*ḍarūriyyu-l-‘adamī*), i.e. impossibility; instead, the possible type of *ġiha* only indicates that there is something ‘probable’ (*muḥtamal*) (‘Ibn Rušd 1978: 145). It is also said that there are two types of *ġiha* because its meanings have to correspond to ‘reality’ (*mawġūd*) which is dual: either ‘potential’ (*bi-l-quwwati*) or ‘real’ (*bi-l-fi‘li*); thus, the necessary type of *ġiha* is real and the possible type of *ġiha* is potential, e.g. *‘al-‘insānu wāġibun² ‘an yakūna ḥayawānan ‘aw mumkinun³ ‘an yakūna faylasūfan* ‘The man *must* be an animal or *may* be a philosopher’ (‘Ibn Rušd 1978: 145-147).

This definition of *ġiha* in ‘Ibn Rušd’s logical theory (Ġahāmī 1992: 197) coincides with the interpretation of the object of Aristotle’s modal logic which reveals the nature of attitudes between subject and predicate in the premiss through examining the logical operators (i.e. modalities) that are commonly stating necessity or possibility of being or action and indicating the way (i.e. mode) of understanding the premiss (FES 1983: 381; Getmanova 1995: 276; NFE 2010: 593). Thus, the notion of *ġiha* is the Arabic terminological equivalent of the category of modality in Aristotle’s logic.

Ġiha as ‘modality’ was also represented in the works of other commentators of Aristotle’s logic, including: ‘al-Fārābī (872-950), ‘Ibn Sīnā (980-1037), ‘as-Sāwī (d. 12th century) (‘Ibn Rušd 1978: 146-147; Michot 2007: 107).

In the commentary on Aristotle’s “On Interpretation” (*‘Al-‘Ibāratu*) ‘al-Fārābī defines ‘modality’ (*ġiha*) as the ‘word’ (*lafẓa*) which is connected with the predicate of the premiss and indicates the ‘quality of existence’ (*kayfiyyatu-l-wuġūdi*) of this predicate related to the subject; in particular, there are such modal words as: *mumkin* ‘possible’, *ḍarūrī* ‘necessary’, *muḥtamal* ‘probable’, *mumtani* ‘impossible’, *wāġib* ‘obligatory’, *qabīḥ* ‘disgusting’, *ġamīl* ‘beautiful’, *yanbaġī* ‘to be necessary’, *yaġibu* ‘to be obligatory’, *yuḥtamalu* ‘to be probable’, *yumkinu* ‘to be possible’, *yamtani‘u* ‘to be impossible’, etc. (‘Al-Fārābī 1976: 42).

In the work “On Interpretation” (*‘Al-‘Ibāratu*) ‘Ibn Sīnā, as well as ‘al-Fārābī and ‘Ibn Rušd, says that ‘modality’ (*ġiha*) is a ‘word’ (*lafẓ*) indicating ‘attitude’ (*nisba*) of the predicate towards the subject; this attitude is measured by the categories of ‘necessity or

¹ In fact, medieval Arabic and Islamic logic were formed under the influence of ancient Greek philosophy (Filshtinskiy 1985: 266, 280).

² The word *wāġibun* ‘must’ indicates the ‘necessary type’ (*‘al-ġinsu-ḍ-ḍarūriyyu*) of ‘modality’ (*ġiha*), i.e. *‘al-ġihatu-ḍ-ḍarūriyyatu* ‘necessary modality’.

³ The word *mumkinun* ‘may’ indicates the ‘possible type’ (*‘al-ġinsu-l-mumkinu*) of ‘modality’ (*ġiha*), i.e. *‘al-ġihatu-l-mumkinatu* ‘possible modality’.

unnecessity' (*nisbatu ɗarūratin 'aw lā ɗarūratin*) which indicate 'assurance' (*ta'akkud*) and 'possibility' (*ǧawāz*), respectively (as cited in 'Ibn Rušd 1978: 146). Moreover, 'Ibn Sīnā's "Salvation in Logic and Theology" (*'An-Naǧātu fī-l-manṭiqi wa-l-'ilāhiyyāti*) and "Sources of Wisdom" (*'Uyūnu-l-ḥikmati*), as also 'as-Sāwī's "Nasiri Observations in the Science of Logic" (*'Al-Baṣā'iru-n-naṣīriyyatu fī 'ilmi-l-manṭiqi*), represent the classification of modality divided into three types, coinciding in general with 'Ibn Rušd's modal theory: 1) 'obligatory' (*wāǧib*) modality indicating the 'permanence of being' (*dawāmu-l-wuǧūdi*), e.g. *yaǧību 'an yakūna-l-'insānu ḥayawānan* 'The man *must be* an animal'; 2) 'impossible' (*mumtani'*) modality indicating the 'permanence of not being' (*dawāmu-l-'adami*), e.g. *yamtani'u 'an yakūna-l-'insānu ḥaǧaran* 'The man *can not be* a stone'; 3) 'possible' (*mumkin*) modality indicating the 'impermanence of being and not being' (*lā dawāmu wuǧūdin wa lā 'adamin*), e.g. *yumkinu 'an yakūna-l-'insānu kātiban* 'The man *may be* a writer' ('As-Sāwī 1993: 110; 'Ibn Sīnā n.d.: 6; 'Ibn Sīnā 1980: 5).

It can be summarized that the medieval Muslim logicians, whose research interests include Arabic modality as *ǧiha*, point to a 'word' (*lafza*) as the indicator of 'quality attitudes' (*kayfiyya*) between subject and predicate in the premiss. At the same time it can be noted that the modal logic of medieval Islamic scholars followed the general approach to the bipolar classification of Arabic quality attitudes, dividing them into 'real' (*bi-l-fi'li*) (obligatory and impossible or necessary attitudes) and 'potential' (*bi-l-quwwati*) (possible attitude). Thus, the definition of modality, based on Arabic logic's notion of *ǧiha*, coincides with the appropriate interpretation of classical logic outlined by Aristotle who describes this category as indicating the character of objective attitudes between subject and predicate of the premiss and determining the degree of reliability of the proposition expressed by speaker's utterance (Nika 2009: 36).

In approximately the 19th century Aristotle's modality was transferred by Western grammarians to the field of language, based on philosophical works of Christian Wolff and Immanuel Kant, indicating the modality as a category of verbal mood; consequently, the assertoric, apodictic and problematic premisses were associated with the mood grammemes of reality, possibility and necessity (Jespersen 1958: 319; Nika 2009: 36). However, according to Shahir El-Hassan (El-Hassan 1990/1400: 166) and Wided Boudemagh (Boudemagh n.d.), Arab grammarians in general haven't used modality until the end of the 20th century, because medieval Arabic linguistics initially only appeared to carry out practical, religious problems – codification and standardization of the Qur'ān; although there was a gradual withdrawal of linguistic studies from these problems, the connection with theology was not completely lost (Rybalkin 2003: 91-92; Versteegh 1997: 53-57). For this reason it can only be said that there are some elements of a theory of modality in the works by classical Arabic grammarians (Angheliescu 2003: 130-131) who could have in mind an implicit theory of modalities when they spoke about the lexical-syntactical category of 'modifying words' (*nawāsiḥ*), e.g. *'inna wa 'aḥawātu-hā, kāna wa 'aḥawātu-hā, 'af'ālu-l-muqārabati, 'af'ālu-t-taḥwīli* (Firanescu 2008: 234-235). Unlike medieval Muslim logicians' definition of 'modality' (*ǧiha*) referring to the semantics of modal attitudes in the premiss, the old Arab grammarians formally analysed the class of modifying words (defining the role of all these elements as consisting in changing the inflections of other words) and therefore, from a semantic point of view, it is clear that not only the lexical-syntactical means of the category *nawāsiḥ* are able to

express the modality (Angheliescu 2003: 130-131; Firanesco 2008: 234-235). As a result, it is an obvious fact that there is a lack of unified framework for classification and selection of means that may be considered modal in the medieval Arabic grammar (Firanesco 2008: 234-235).

2. Development: modern Arabic linguistics

In modern Arabic linguistics the word *ḡiha* as the category of modality, which is also supplemented by another word, *waḡh*, derived from the same root (Al-Tamimi n.d.), is used to refer to the speaker's attitudes towards an utterance ('Al-Ḥabāša 2008: 86; Rübül 2003: 265) and provided with English (*modality*) and French (*modalité*) translation equivalents ('Al-Mutawakkil 1985: 161; Al-Tamimi n.d.; Rübül 2003: 265).

However, on the one hand, contemporary Arab pragmatics scholar Mas'ūd Ṣaḥrāwī uses the word *ḡiha* as the terminological equivalent of 'maxim of manner' (*musallamatu-l-ḡihati*) in H. Paul Grice's theory of 'cooperative principle' (*mabda'u-t-ta'āwuni*) in communication (Ṣaḥrāwī 2005: 33-34). Moreover, following Sayf 'ad-Dīn Daḡfūs and Muḥammad 'aš-Ṣaybānī, the same category of 'maxim of manner' is translated as *qā'idatu-l-kayfi* with English (*maxime of manner*) and French (*maxime de manière*) equivalents (Rübül 2003: 270). On the other hand, because of the previously mentioned absence of modality as a category in the medieval Arabic grammar, in 1990 Shahir El-Hassan created his own term, *mawqifiyya*, with the English term *modality* as an equivalent (El-Hassan 1990/1400: 161). In 2010 Wided Boudemagh borrowed El-Hassan's term for the contrastive study of English, French and Arabic modalities (Boudemagh n.d.), while in 1985 Arab pragmatics scholar 'Aḥmad 'al-Mutawakkil used the word *ḡiha* to refer to the category of modality, provided with an appropriate English equivalent ('Al-Mutawakkil 1985: 161). Hence, it can be assumed that modern Arabic linguistics continues searching for a terminological equivalent of the category of modality despite the medieval tradition of using the word *ḡiha* to denote logical modality (Zayed n.d.); consequently, *ḡiha* is not the only term that may indicate modality in modern Arabic linguistics.

Thus, 'al-Ḥāḡḡ Mūsā Tālīt defines *ḡiha* only as a category of aspect and refers to the modality indicated by the word *mawqif* (Tālīt n.d.). Emphasizing the subjective nature of modality, 'al-Ḥāḡḡ Mūsā Tālīt borrows the definition of this category from the "Dictionary of Linguistic Terms. English-Arabic" by Ramzi Baalbaki, who says that *mawqif* 'expresses the speaker's or the author's attitude and point of view towards the utterance' ('at-ta'bīru 'an mawqifi-hi [li-l-mutakallimi 'awi-l-kātibi] wa wiḡhati-nazari-hi tuḡāha-l-ḡabari-l-laḡī yuḡbiru 'an-hu) (as cited in Tālīt n.d.). Along with that, 'modality' (*mawqif*) may be expressed by 'verb form' (*ṣiḡatu-l-fi'li*) and various 'grammatical particles' (*'adawātun naḡwiyyatun*), which are used in particular for:

- 1) 'confirmation of the utterance' (*ta'kīdu-l-ḡabari*), e.g. particle *'inna* ('*inna-hu qādirun 'an yunfiḡa 'azmata-hu* '[Truly] he is able to execute his decision'), combination of particles *wa / inna / la-* (*wa inna-hu la-qādirun 'an yunfiḡa 'azmata-hu* 'Truly, he is able to execute his decision'), particle *qad* with perfect

- verb form (*qad ḡā'a qādirun 'an yunfiḍa 'azmata-hu* 'He who is able to execute his decision has already come');
- 2) 'negation of the utterance' (*naḡyū-l-ḡabari*), e.g. particle *lā* with imperfect verb form (*lā 'adkuru hādā-š-šāri'a* 'I do not remember this street'), particle *lam* with imperfect jussive verb form (*lam 'adkur hādā-š-šāri'a* 'I did not remember this street');
 - 3) indication of 'doubt' (*šakk*), 'probability' (*'iḡtimāl*) and 'request' (*raḡā*'), e.g. particle *la'alla* (*la'alla-ka kunta wāḡiman* 'Perhaps you were wrong'), particle *qad* with imperfect verb form (*qad takūnu wāḡiman* 'Perhaps you are wrong') (Tālīḡ n.d.).

In the "French-English-Arabic Dictionary of Linguistic Terms" (*Mu'ḡamu-l-muštalaḡāti-l-'alsuniyyati: faransī-'inklīzī-'arabī*) another researcher, Mubārak Mubārak, uses the word *mašrūḡiyya* to denote modality, provided with English (*modality*) and French (*modalité*) translation equivalents (Mubārak 1995: 183). Mubārak Mubārak gives the following definition of *mašrūḡiyya*: 'the speaker's or the author's mode which he uses to express his attitude' (*'aḡ-ḡarīqatu-l-laḡī ya'tamidu-hā-l-mutakallimu 'awi-l-kātibu fī-ta'bīri 'an mawḡifī-hi*) (Mubārak 1995: 183).

However, focusing on the subjective, anthropocentric nature of modality (i.e. speaker's attitude) (Mubārak 1995: 183), Mubārak's definition of *mašrūḡiyya* does not coincide with the interpretation of modality in other lexicographic sources ('Al-Ba'albakī 1995: 436; Muḡtar 'Umar 2008: 2407; QM n.d.) which refer to *ḡiḡa* interpreted within logic as an 'attitude of the subject towards the predicate, concerning necessity, possibility or impossibility' (*nisbatu-l-mawḡū'i 'ilā-l-maḡmūli min ḡayḡu-ḡ-ḡarūrati 'awi-l-'imkāni 'awi-l-'imtinā'i*) (Muḡtar 'Umar 2008: 2407; QM n.d.).

It should be noted that Arabic modality, provided with the English equivalent (*modality*), may still be denoted as: *šakl* (Soffer n.d.), *kayḡiyya* ('Al-Ḥāfiḡ n.d.), *namat* (Alharbi n.d.; KSLTP 2009), *šakliyya / šīḡiyya / ḡarīqa* (Turkey n.d.), etc.

At the same time Western influence on the definition of modality occasionally appears in the use of transliterated terms *'al-mūdalāyī* and *'al-mūdal* with the appropriate English equivalent (Al-Mulhim n.d.; MḡĠ'AM n.d.), indicating again the ambiguity of Arab philologists in modern approaches to this notion.

In particular, Šābir 'al-Ḥabāša borrows the subjectively oriented definition of 'modality' (*ḡiḡa*) from the Arabic translation of monograph "Pragmatics Today: A New Science about Communication" (*'At-Tadāwuliyyatu-l-yawma: 'ilmun ḡadīdun fī-t-tawāšuli*)⁴ by Anne Reboul and Jacques Moeschler ('Al-Ḥabāša 2008: 86; Rübūl 2003: 265). Thus, 'al-Ḥabāša's modality is a semantic-pragmatic category which indicates an 'attitude expressed by the speaker towards a content of his speech (i.e. proposition)' (*'al-mawḡifu-l-laḡī yattaḡidu-hu-l-qā'ilu min muḡtawā kalāmi-hi ('al-ḡukmi)*) and has such meanings as: 1) 'modality related to possibility' (*ḡihatun muta'alliqatun bi-l-'imkāni*), e.g. *kataba zayd qiššatan / yumkinu 'an yaktuba zayd qiššatan* 'Zayd wrote a story / It is possible that Zayd writes a story'; 2) 'modality related to necessity' (*ḡihatun muta'alliqatun bi-l-wuḡūbi*), e.g. *rāsala zayd 'abaway-hi / yaḡibu 'an yurāsila zayd*

⁴ Translated from French by Sayf 'ad-Dīn Daḡfūs and Muḡammad 'aš-Šaybānī, edited by Laḡīf Zayḡūnī (Rübūl 2003: 3).

'*abaway-hi* 'Zayd corresponded with his parents' / 'Zayd must correspond with his parents'; 3) 'modality related to duration' (*ḡihatun muta'alliqatun bi-z-zamani*), e.g. *zayd yuḥibbu laylā / kāna zayd yuḥibbu laylā* 'Zayd loves Layla' / 'Zayd was loving Layla' ('Al-Ḥabāša 2008: 86). Šābir 'al-Ḥabāša keeps on borrowing Reboul's and Moeschler's ideas when he maintains that modality can be expressed in various ways; in particular, there are lexical means to express possibility, e.g. verbs (*yumkinu, yutamalu*) and particles with their combinations (*qad, rubba-mā*) ('Al-Ḥabāša 2008: 86; Rübül 2003: 265).

Laying emphasis on the semantic-pragmatic definition of modality, 'al-Ḥabāša's theory coincides with the ideas of 'al-Ḥāḡḡ Mūsā Ṭālīt and Mubārak Mubārak about treating this category as an indicator of the different semantic types of speaker's subjective attitudes in communication ('Al-Ḥabāša 2008: 86; Mubārak 1995: 183; Ṭālīt n.d.).

Another linguist, Shahir El-Hassan, borrows the modal theory from F. R. Palmer, the member of London school of functional linguistics, and deals with two semantic-functional types of modality: 1) epistemic modality construed as relating to the utterances which involve judgments on possibility or likelihood, and expressed, for example, by such means as: derivatives of the root *m / k / n* (*yumkinu / mina-l-mumkini* 'it is possible') or *ḥ / m / l* (*yuḥtamalu / mina-l-muḥtamali* 'it is possible'), particle *qad* 'may' with a following verb form of nonpast tense and combination of particles *rubba-mā* 'may'; 2) deontic modality pertaining to the use of language to express undertaking (e.g. particle *lan* 'shall not' and particle of emphasis *la* 'shall' followed sometimes by particle of futurity *sawfa*), permission (e.g. *bi-wus 'i-hi 'an / bi-'imkāni-hi 'an / yumkinu-hu 'an / la-hu 'an* 'he can / may', *lā 'asmaḥu la-hu 'an* 'he may not') and obligation / necessity (e.g. *'alay-hi 'an / yaḡibu ('alay-hi) 'an* 'he must', *yanbaḡī 'an* 'should / ought to', *lā yatawaḡḡabu 'alay-hi 'an* 'he need not / he don't have to') (El-Hassan 1990/1400: 151-164).

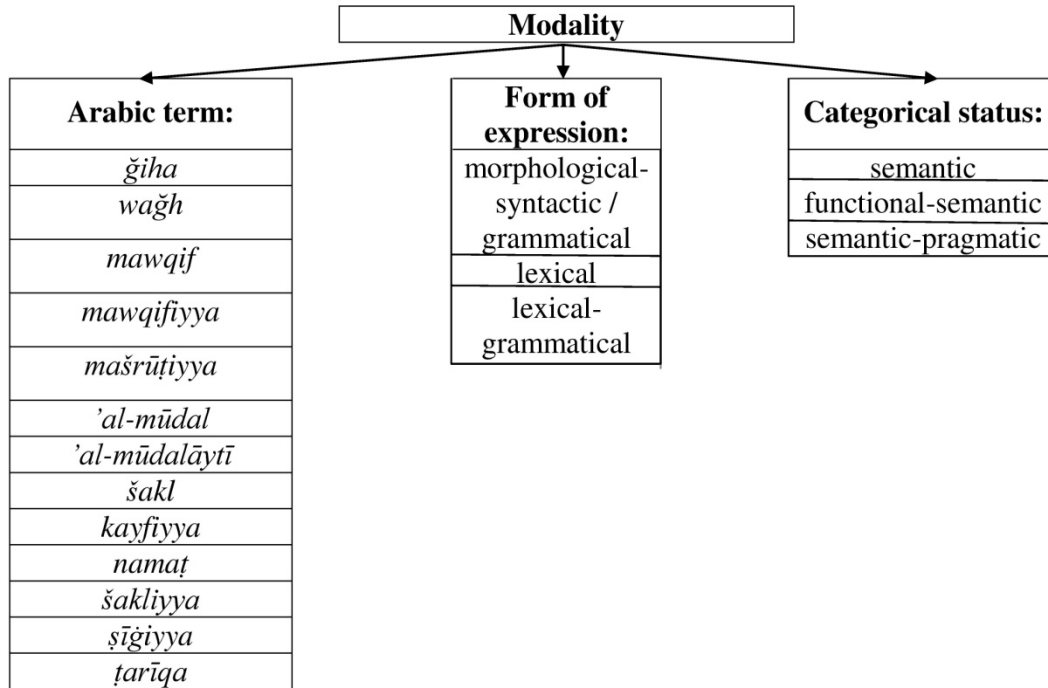
Thus, according to Shahir El-Hassan (and Wided Boudemagh who borrows his ideas), Arabic modality can be expressed by lexical and grammatical means such as a modal element (which is realized as a verb or a particle) followed by an embedded sentence which is usually introduced by *'an* or *'anna* (e.g. *yumkinu 'an / 'anna + S* – where *S* stands for the embedded sentence) (Boudemagh n.d.; El-Hassan 1990/1400: 164-165).

However, Kamal Gatt'a Nasir Al-Tamimi considers modality as a semantic category (with three basic meanings: certainty, possibility and probability) expressed by numerous lexical items, verbal and nonverbal (Al-Tamimi n.d.). For example, the probability meaning of modality refers to the use of verb (*yuraḡḡaḥu* 'it is probable'), prepositional phrase (*mina-l-'arḡaḥi* 'probably') and nominal construction (*'aḡlabu-z-zanni* 'most probably') (Al-Tamimi n.d.). Therefore, unlike Shahir El-Hassan, Kamal Gatt'a Nasir Al-Tamimi does not indicate the lexical-grammatical relationship of modal verbs, phrases and constructions with the following clause after the particle *'an* or *'anna*.

Yasser Salim Hilal Al Mukhaini shares Al-Tamimi's idea about a wide variety of modal lexical means in Arabic and defines modality as a semantic category which is often studied by rhetoricians and semanticists within the field known as '*ilmu-l-ma'ānī* 'science of meanings' (Al Mukhaini n.d.).

The generalized overview of some linguistic interpretations for the study of Arabic modality can be displayed in the following table:

Research interpretations of the modality as a category in Arabic linguistics



3. Conclusion

Thus, the divergence of the notion *ḡiha* from the modal interpretation of its essence through the prism of the speaker's attitudes (Šahrāwī 2005: 33-34) and the attempts to introduce a new Arabic term for the category of modality (*waḡh*, *mawqifiyya*, *mašrūṭiyya*, *mawqif*, etc.) in addition to the transliterated words *'al-mūdalāytī* and *'al-mūdal* (Al-Mulhim n.d.; MṬĠ'AM n.d.) show efforts of Arab researchers to shift from the medieval modal logic to the new linguistic tendencies of Arabic modal studies based on the theories of Western linguists (e.g. F. R. Palmer, Anne Reboul and Jacques Moeschler) and accompanied by searching for an appropriate Arabic term (e.g. *ḡiha* as commonly used by medieval Muslim logicians) to describe the notion of modality.

Hence, there is an ambiguity in the allocation of Arabic means of modal expression, which may be morphological-syntactic / grammatical (verb forms with different particles (Tālīṭ n.d.)), lexical (verbs with corresponding semantics, prepositional phrases, nominal constructions, particles and their combinations (Al Mukhaini n.d.; Al-Tamimi n.d.; 'Al-Ḥabāša 2008)), lexical-grammatical (modal verbs / particles in the construction of embedded sentence (Boudemagh n.d.; El-Hassan 1990/1400)), etc. Similarly, there is an ambiguity in the views of Arab researchers towards the categorical status of modality as a semantic (Al Mukhaini n.d.; Al-Tamimi n.d.), functional-semantic (Boudemagh n.d.; El-Hassan 1990/1400), semantic-pragmatic category ('Al-Ḥabāša 2008; Mubarak 1995; Tālīṭ n.d.), etc.

At the same time, if we consider the traditional separation of modality into objective and subjective types (Batsevych 2010: 190-191), it can be noted that, in general, medieval Arabic logic points to the definition of modality as an indicator of attitudes between the predicate and the subject towards validity, necessity and possibility (objective modality as a component of predication which expresses the attitudes of utterance towards objective reality); however, modern Arabic linguistics prefers the anthropocentric, functional-communicative, pragmatic analysis of the speaker's various relationships to the content of his speech (subjective modality as a number of the speaker's different attitudes towards the content of the utterance).

Consequently, each researcher approaches Arabic modality in his own way, still searching for an appropriate Arabic term for this category and setting the new aspects of its definition.

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MODALITIES IN CONTEMPORARY MEDIA ARABIC BETWEEN THE GRAMMATICALIZED AND THE LEXICAL CLASSES

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Abstract. The aim of this paper is to examine the elements of linguistic expression (lexical items, circumlocutions, grammatical morphemes, syntactical features) that can be used with a modal function in present day journalistic writing in Arabic. We have chosen for this purpose to look at two opinion articles penned by contemporary Arab journalists, seeking to assess, beyond the different means and devices used to convey their subjectivity analyzed in and for themselves, whether there are any detectable common patterns in treating modality. This inquiry allowed us to conclude, albeit tentatively, that the type of modal marker used in a certain case is dependent upon a series of factors, chief among which is the position of the proposition subjected to modalization within the text: the introductory paragraphs of the articles appear to exhibit a rather limited readiness on the authors' part to mark modality in a direct, explicit manner – the presuppositions leading to this choice not being necessarily the same – while subsequent paragraphs show a gradual increase in the explicitness of modal marking; this transition expectedly requires the use of devices of different types for each of the stages, and in reviewing these different types the distinction between modal markers that are more prone to grammaticalization and those belonging to the lexical class (inasmuch as a clear distinction can be made between the two classes, given the specificities of Literary Arabic in this respect) becomes relevant.

Keywords: *modalities, modal marker, epistemic, axiological, dynamic, hedging, rhetoric, figurative speech, litotes, grammaticalization.*

The experience of reading texts published by contemporary Arab media outlets makes it possible for those interested in the way Literary Arabic lends itself as a means of communication in this kind of environment to come across a whole array of tendencies, developments, more or less recent trends and phenomena in both form and content. Out of the genres which are to be found in such media, falling broadly within the categories of either the expository or the argumentative text types, we have chosen to examine, in order to identify phenomena and developments pertaining to modalities, a genre of journalistic texts that is most representative for the latter – opinion articles – based on the expectation that, although the presence of modals is far from being restricted to argumentative texts, it is, we think, legitimately expected from them to exhibit a great deal of modal semantic charge, inasmuch as they are, within the sphere of journalistic writing, the texts whose authors are expected to “express themselves” the most, that is, not only to frame a certain informational content with their own opinions and positions concerning it, but also to give precedence to these opinions and positions, to reduce, oftentimes, the non-modal content to the status of a mere prop for the highlighting of their evaluation of it or, in other words, to shape their discourse in a way that makes, in some cases, its dictum a background for its modus. The present inquiry aims at detecting possible specific traits of these texts that can reveal some of the ways in which the existing and potential

modalizing resources of contemporary Literary Arabic are put to use or actualized in an environment that can be deemed particularly favorable for such a process, with a strong interest for the assessment of the distribution of these resources between the classes of the grammatical or the grammaticalized constituents of the discourse, on the one hand, and of lexical items, on the other, and also of some of the ways in which they coexist, interact or even compete.

We have chosen to evaluate the treatment of modality in the texts we will subject to our inquiry by giving precedence to semantics over linguistic expression, which means that we have not set out to look for specific markers already registered in the literature on modalities in Arabic or for other, similar ones, believing that such an approach would precondition the results of the inquiry. This preeminence given to meaning over form stems from the fact that looking for distinctive formal features of a certain class of words or expressions can come quite close, or even become identical, to looking for grammaticalized items or for signs of these items undergoing a process of grammaticalization¹, and literary Arabic does not seem particularly well suited for such a restrictive take on the matter, given its morphological stability, which imposes some limits on the range of the process and, moreover, often prevents those items that seem to have entered a path towards grammaticalization from completely and unequivocally fulfilling the formal criteria that would allow one to include them unreservedly in the category of grammaticalized items². All this leads, in turn, to the assumption that the class of grammaticalized modal markers does not, in all likelihood, encompass all possible elements of linguistic expression that could fulfill this function in literary Arabic. We have, therefore, read these texts being open to the possibility of finding modal meaning expressed through a very diverse set of devices and, with this expectation in mind, we first sought to see whether there is a modal meaning to be perceived when reading a certain textual unit and what that meaning may be, and only afterwards focused our attention on identifying the way modality is conveyed in that particular context and also within the wider context provided by the text as a whole. The classification of modalities we have taken as a starting point is the one endorsed by Angheliescu – who divides them into epistemic, alethic, deontic, evaluative/axiological, boulomaic and temporal, offering examples of markers in Literary Arabic for each one of them (Angheliescu 1999: 131-134; 2000: 304, 309-313) – even though we are not expecting to find all these types in the very limited samples we are dealing with (at the same time, being fully aware of the existence of many a way to classify this remarkably fluid

¹ This readiness to detect modality even in the absence of a correspondence with the category of a formally defined class of markers can coexist with the centrality afforded to grammaticalization in defining modality - see, for instance, the stance adopted on this issue by Frank R. Palmer, who states, on the one hand, that “modality could [...] be defined as the grammaticalization of speakers’ (subjective) attitudes and opinions” (Palmer 1986: 16) and, on the other, that “there are good reasons for handling factual statements together with opinions and judgements; it can be argued that both are subjective, representing the speaker’s point of view” (Palmer 1986: 18).

² We have already addressed this point when, discussing Claude Hagège’s criteria for assessing grammaticalization (Hagège 1993: 195-203) and their revision by Angheliescu (2000: 96-98), we expressed the opinion that grammaticalization should be approached with rather modest expectations as far as Literary Arabic is concerned and that the semantic criteria of grammaticalization are more likely to be fulfilled than their formal counterparts (Pietrăreanu 2011: 409-412).

semantic domain, we will be ready to take heed of the existence of types which might not be in accordance with this partition, if they prove to be useful in accounting for certain phenomena). The same author's criteria for evaluating the grammaticalization of modal markers in literary Arabic (Angheliescu 1999: 134-142; 2000: 313-320) has been adopted as a basis for our attempt to draw a distinction between the two aforementioned classes and observe their distribution and interaction.

The first article we will be looking at, titled "Al-[°]almāniyyūna wa-ḥuṣūmuhum" ("Secularists and their adversaries" - 'Aḥmad Baydūn, *Al-Quds al-[°]arabī*, 31.01.2015), is a plea for secularists not to back down from their political agenda, to uphold the entirety of the principles making up their ideology in their confrontations, in the public arena, with those who oppose them or those whom they try to convince. We will examine some of the sentences occurring in this article, grouping them so that the different modal devices resorted to highlight each other and provide us with an overall image of their mechanisms, while maintaining, as much as possible, their actual succession in the article, so as to highlight the connection between what we think may function as modal operators and the unfolding of the argumentation put forth by the author. The introductory paragraph of the article, where the evolutions that have triggered the reflections on the subject are mentioned, has a perceivably more modally neutral tone, as the argumentative momentum of the text is not yet fully built up. However, even this part of the text appears not to be totally void of modal meaning, as one can observe by looking at the following sentence:

- (1) *wa-nağidu bayna 'aydīnā muḥāwalatan 'islāmiyyatan li-l-istīlā'i 'alā hādā l-mabda'i tastaḥiqqu 'an naqifa 'indahā* ("we find before us an Islamist attempt at taking over this principle (i.e. the principle of the "civil state" – *ad-dawla al-madaniyya*) which deserves that we stop at it").

One of the constituents of this sentence that can be taken from the onset as a modal marker is the verb *tastaḥiqqu* ("(it) deserves"), whose semantic charge enables it to function as a deontic marker, but it is not without relevance in this context that it does have a propensity for being positively connotated, so that it can also be taken as having an axiological dimension (making it possible for it to reflect a modal merger, depending on whether there is a propositional content that can be identified as falling under its impact – and in this particular case there is one, indirectly expressed by the phrase *muḥāwalatan 'islāmiyyatan li-l-istīlā'i 'alā hādā l-mabda'i* – "an Islamist attempt at taking over this principle", which anticipates following statements and positions the author wishes to refute), as it can be inferred by looking, for instance, at some of the meanings ascribed to it in Wehr's dictionary ("to be entitled", "to have a claim", "to deserve, merit", "to be worthy (of)"). It is, of course, possible to assume that in this context its meaning is connotatively neutral (in which case it is possible to envisage other renderings listed by Wehr – "to require, demand, necessitate"), and that it can be treated as strictly deontic. There is also another lexical item that appears not to be connotatively neutral – the verbal noun *istīlā'* ("taking over"), that has, on the basis of the hostile and aggressive attitude generally associated with taking over, seizing, capturing something (cf. Wehr 1980: 1100 for these and other possible renderings of the verb *istawlā*), the potential of acquiring a negative connotation which, in this context and given the author's stance on the matters

discussed as it emerges from the article as a whole and as it is foreboded by its very first lines, seems to be actualized. This connotation, if we admit to it being actualized, also becomes relevant from an axiological point of view, which in turn makes it necessary to look at the way in which it might interact with *tastahiqqu*. We could, by ascribing to *tastahiqqu* solely the function of a deontic marker, limit ourselves to assuming that they act on different plans, although we think that the preferable approach should take into account the axiological dimension of *tastahiqqu* as well, so that they be taken as having an interaction leading to one out of two possible outcomes: either *istīlā'* modifies *tastahiqqu* by making it discard its positive connotation, which would be virtually tantamount to the first assumption, whereby *tastahiqqu* acts as a strictly deontic marker, or the modification incurred by this verb does not amount to the elimination of its otherwise predominantly positive connotation, but rather to its subversion, making it signal an admittedly subtle, barely detectable irony that does, however, play its part in enhancing the overall disapproving tone of the statement, and thus keeping it relevant on the axiological level.

As for the formula *nağidu bayna 'aydīnā* (“we find before us”), it appears at first glance to fulfill a merely deictic function, but it acquires a more complex role once we associate it with another formula, occurring within the second paragraph of the article, with which it shares two characteristics - the presence of a verb of perception and of a first person plural marker:

- (2) *nudriku 'īdan 'anna d-dawlata l-'islāmiyyata šay'un wa-d-dawlata d-dīniyyata šay'un 'āḥaru muḥtalifun 'anhā ġiddan* (“so we (can) notice that the Islamic state is one thing and the religious state is another thing, very different from it”).

The verb *nudriku* in this context, especially as it is modified by the adverbial *'īdan*, an obvious argumentative marker, can be considered an argumentative marker as well, a mere device by which the argument is carried on and a conclusion is framed, but it is worth looking into the possibility of also detecting, both in this case and in the case of *nağidu bayna 'aydīnā*, a modal function. Gunvor Mejdell points, in a recent study dealing with cases of mistranslation between Arabic and English involving modal markers, to cases when modally marked statements are to be interpreted in connection with a communicational strategy labeled as “hedging”, “mitigation” or “attenuation”, which consists in formulating one’s statement so as to alleviate its impact upon the receiver (Mejdell 2011: 336). The focus of her study in this point is academic discourse, seen as a particularly favorable environment for the usage of expressions of epistemic modality meant to downplay the speaker’s commitment to the truth value of his statements in an effort on his part to show objectivity. As far as (2) is concerned, it can be noticed that the usage of the verb of perception can, indeed, be taken as a mark of academic discourse and can be deemed a proof of the author’s intention of mimicking this discourse type, although it does not seem to necessarily work as a hedge as overtly and explicitly as other possible markers. Its hedging function seems to be exerted in a rather indirect manner, by reproducing the formulaic automatism of a discourse fit for a classroom-like environment or for a setting typical for a presentation performed in front of a live audience, possibly within an academic institution. It is in the light of this assumption that one can approach the use of the first person plural pronominal and verbal forms, as well

as the complex preposition in the prepositional phrase *bayna 'aydīnā* (“before us”), with its spatializing effect, in (1): these devices can be taken as marks of a discourse whereby the author’s virtual audience is spoken to as if they were physically present before him during his presentation, so that he, in his turn, can engage them through formulas meant to actualize before them, as quasi-physical realities present before their eyes or in their midst, the content he shares with them. This type of discourse is used to generate an aura of objectivity, of limited personal involvement in the content the author shares with his audience, and it is this air of detachment coupled with a certain authoritativeness, currently associated with the position of a lecturing individual, which lends itself to being used as a device meant to confer credibility on his position, acting more or less along the lines of a modal hedge.

The next passage, whose direct connection with the question of modality and modal markers is, to some extent, open to debate, exhibits yet another instance of irony, one that comes in quite close proximity to the one signaled in (1):

- (3) *hādā wa-lā yansā 'abū fihrin taḍkīranā bi-'anna hādīhi d-dawlata llatī yumattilu l-tizāmuhā š-šarī'ata ḍamāna šar'īyyatihā l-wahīda laysat bi-d-dawlati l-almāniyyati* (“furthermore, Abu Fihr does not forget to remind us that this state, whose adherence to religious law represents the sole warranty of its legitimacy, is not the secular state”).

The verb *nasiya* is included in an expression (*lā yansā 'abū fihrin taḍkīranā* – “Abu Fihr does not forget to remind us”) which, if interpreted based on its literal meaning, can be seen here as signifying a positive attitude towards the person whose position the author is describing (by stating about someone that he “does not forget” to mention something, without there being any apparent reason for an actual concern about the possibility of him forgetting it, it is rather obvious that, within a positive or even neutral context, this remark can be viewed as a praise highlighting his good memory, his thoroughness, his attention to detail, his concern for keeping his interlocutors well informed etc.); given the generally unfavorable attitude towards the opinions of the person, it is clear that this is an unfavorable remark, and that his thoroughness or attention to detail are not being praised here. This is a rather mild, not particularly salient irony, just as the one present in (1), and its modal interpretation seems rather tenuous (unless we take the dependent clause *bi-'anna hādīhi d-dawlata*...as expressing the propositional content subjected to modalization and consider that the author expresses this dislike for it by showing himself annoyed at Abu Fihr’s insistence in pointing to yet another element of his vision the author finds objectionable). However, irrespective of whether a modal meaning is to be found here, this expression is relevant in that it does show that there is something of a pattern in the author’s resorting to irony and, moreover, even if one chooses to restrict this expression’s semantic scope to irony, it can still be given credit for contributing, even collaterally, to the outline of the author’s take on the content he is sharing with his readers.

The following paragraph exhibits what can formally be described as a sample of the rhetorical figure known as hypophora, whereby the author of the discourse both asks a question and provides the answer for it, a figure which is generally interpreted as being

directed at preventing, within the flow of an argumentative discourse, an objection that the speaker anticipates could be raised by the audience and preemptively answers it:

- (4) *mā llaḏī tafqīduhu hāḏīhi d-dawlatu bi-ftiqādiḥā ṣ-ṣifata l-^calmāniyyata? lā yaṣ^cubu ^calaynā 'an nudrika 'anna l-musāwāta bayna l-muwāṭinīna hiya ra'su mā yuḏaḥḥā bihi hāhunā* (“what is it that this state loses by not being secular? It is not difficult for us to notice that the equality between citizens is the most important thing being sacrificed here”).

In this particular case, by looking at the actual content of this segment and its interaction with its context, it can be surmised that we are not necessarily dealing with the prevention of a dissenting opinion. It is rather an attempt to build up momentum for the introduction of the idea the author aims to emphasize. Beyond the interpretation of the hypophora, however, the importance of this paragraph consists in its exhibiting communicational strategies that are consistent with those contained within the previously discussed passages, while signaling, at the same time, a certain elevation in tone that draws attention to previously used devices and possibly places them in a new light. First of all, there is the hypophora itself, which reflects a similar interest in using devices borrowed from an oral style of communication, in engaging the readers as if they were the audience of an oral presentation (only this time, it seems, the author is willing to upscale the intensity of his virtual interaction with his public, adopting a more emotionally charged tone). Secondly, there is the adverb of place *hāhunā*, whose presence reinforces the tendency to spatialize the topic of discussion, also reflected by the prepositional phrase *bayna 'ayḏīnā* in (1) (again, one can connect the presence of the particle *hā* with a slightly increased emphasis in the deictic means used to engage the “public”). Thirdly, the first person plural pronoun in *lā yaṣ^cubu ^calaynā* (“it is not difficult for us”) is used to the same effect already noticed in (1) and (2). It is also important to address the fact that *'adraka* is connected here to a litotes, as this makes it quite clear that this verb of perception is integrated in an expression functioning as an epistemic modal marker by signifying the author’s position towards the truth value of his statement (given that litotes in itself is ambivalent – it can be used either to emphasize or to mitigate a statement whose opposite is formally negated – we can rely on the other features of this passage that suggest a more overt involvement of the author in sustaining his message and assume that the litotes is used here for emphasis, which means that the effect of this figure here is to signal that the author ascribes a high degree of truth value to his statement). Another important point is the very use of the verb *'adraka* in an unequivocally modal expression, because this usage opens the door to the possibility to assume that the verbs of perception used in the previously discussed passages could be invested with a modal function as well, and thus that they could be understood as signifying by themselves, in a direct manner, the author’s (less strongly asserted) upholding of the truth value of the statements they introduce (in connection with this supposition, one can also take into consideration that the indicative imperfective form of *'adraka* in (2) could be modally

charged, conveying a meaning that could be rendered in English by means of the verb *can*)³.

The gradual increase of the emphasis on epistemic modalization becomes even more conspicuous in the next sentence:

- (5) *‘alā ‘anna l-ḥurriyyata llatī yabdū ḡiyābuhā sāṭī‘an ‘an ‘ālamī ‘abī fīhrīni ḡ-dihniyyi ‘innamā hiya tilka llatī taḥtallu mawqī‘a r-rakīzati min taṣawwuri l-‘almāniyyati wa-hiya ḥurriyyatu ḡ-damīri* (“it is just that the freedom whose absence from Abu Fīhr’s mental world seems glaring[ly clear] is the one that holds the most important position in the way secularism is conceived of, namely the freedom of conscience”).

Here, the verb *badā* in the relative clause *allatī yabdū ḡiyābuhā sāṭī‘an...* (“whose absence seems glaring[ly clear]...”), which has an otherwise obvious potential for being used as a hedging device, is obviously not used in this capacity, given the nominal predicate it governs (*sāṭī‘* – “radiant”, “bright”, “manifest”, “obvious”) – this is a clear turning point in the gradual escalation of the disapproving tone of the article. The syntax of the formula does not allow for a clear cut formal demarcation between modal marker and propositional content, but this distinction can be done semantically – the information being epistemically modalized is the fact that freedom of conscience is absent from Abu Fīhr’s mental world. It is also possible, however, to detect a hint of axiological modalization, especially if we take into account the author’s mention of this freedom lying at the center of secularism, which can only be taken as aiming to underline the gravity of Abu Fīhr’s stance and thus signal the author’s dim view of it (the segment signifying this bit of information is also syntactically inserted in the sentence, and also in the form of a relative clause, just like the one containing the epistemically relevant elements pointed to earlier, in a way that could very well justify the blending in of its meaning with the propositional content as a whole, but one cannot simply brush aside its modal significance; moreover, this very insertion, at the formal level, of modally relevant segments within those signifying propositional content, in a way that makes them barely distinguishable on mere formal grounds, the ambivalence of a particular segment in this respect even if we appraise it on semantic grounds, all this is, we think, a deliberate choice reflecting a coherent strategy followed by the author in dealing with modal marking).

With the following passages (which, based on their common characteristics as far as marking modality is concerned, we have chosen to group together) we reach the peak of the explicitness of modal marking, coupled with the climax of the author’s vehemence in condemning the strategy of appeasement followed by those who seek to make

³ This possibility is envisaged by Mejdell, who also points to the unmarked indicative in Literary Arabic having been treated in earlier works, when signifying modal meanings (expressible in English by means of a wider range of auxiliaries than those that seem to correspond to the indicative here – *can*, *will*, *may*, *would*, *should*), based on connections with other grammatical categories (tense, aspect), and states that she “came to suspect that certain contexts seem to especially favour such modal rendering”, concentrating on the presence of such cases in “(rhetorical) questions, academic hedging, and conventions of constitutions and diplomatic texts” (Mejdell 2011: 334-341).

themselves accepted by those elements of the political spectrum embracing an Islamist agenda:

- (6) *fa-hal yuğdī 'anšāra l-^calmāniyyati fi muğtama^cātinā llatī yağlibu ^calayhā l-'islāmu šay'an 'an yuqaddimū taḍḥiyātin tatanāwalu l-maḍmūna 'aw 'uḥrā taqtaširu ^calā š-šakli wa-ḥasbu fa-yarfa^cū maṭalan rāyata l-ḥukmi l-madaniyyi 'iwaḍan ^can rāyatin 'uḥrā yarawnahā 'asadda stinfāran li-l-ḥuṣūmati hiya rāyatu l-^calmāniyyati?* (“is it / could it be of any use to the partisans of secularism in our societies, which are dominated by Islam, to offer sacrifices affecting the content or other ones confining themselves just to the form, and raise for instance the banner of civil rule instead of another banner they consider more prone to stir up adversity, which is the banner of secularism?”).
- (7) *wa-'ilā 'ayyi madan yumkinuhumu l-muḍiyyu fī takyīfi l-^calmāniyyati 'aw fi talṭīfihā 'idā hum šā'ū l-'ibqā'a ^calā l-ğawhari?* (“to what extent can they advance in adapting secularism or mitigating it if they want to safeguard the essence?”).
- (8) *wa-hal yuğdī raššu ba^cḍi s-sukkari ^calā l-luqmati l-murrati wa-ka-'annamā yurādu tahrību niḗāmin li-l-ḥukmi bi-rummatihi yarfuḍuhu l-mustahdafūna bihi?* (“is it / could it be helpful to sprinkle some sugar on the bitter morsel as if the goal were to smuggle in a whole system of government rejected by those targeted by it?”).
- (9) *wa-hal yašihḥu, mina l-ğihati l-'uḥrā, 'an yuḍaḥḥā bi-mabda'i s-siyādati š-šā^cbiyyati wa-huwa ḍ-ḍāminu li-ḥurriyyati l-muwāṭinīna wa-li-l-musāwāti baynahum?* (“is it / could it be right, on the other hand, to sacrifice the principle of popular sovereignty, given that it is the warrant for the citizens' freedom and the equality between them?”).
- (10) *wa-hal yastaqīmu 'an yunkara ^calā hāḍihi s-siyādati mawqī'uhā bi-mā hiya mašdaru t-tašrī'i?* (“is it / could it be correct for this sovereignty to be denied its place as the source of legislation?”).
- (11) *wa-hal yunkaru 'anna ḥurriyyata ḍ-ḍamīri, wa-hiya l-muqaddamatu bayna l-ḥurriyyāti, mūrītatun li-ṣunūfin šattā mina t-tanawwu^ci sawā'an 'a-wuğida t-ta^caddudu l-maḍhabiiyyu fī l-muğtama^ci 'am lam yūğad?* (“can it be denied that freedom of conscience, being at the forefront among [all the other] freedoms, generates different kinds of diversity, whether confessional plurality is extant in the society or not?”).
- (12) *wa-'idā kāna yata^cayyanu ^calā d-dawlati l-^calmāniyyati 'an taḥmiya l-maḍāhiba wa-'an taḍmana lahā ḥurriyyata š-šā^cā'iri fī ḥudūdi n-niḗāmi l-^cāmmi fa-hal yu^ctabaru mašrū'an 'an yuğāza li-t-tawā'ifi ḍammu l-'afrādi ḍamman ḥukmiyyan [...] 'ilā ḡama^cātin lā yarğabūna fī l-intimā'i 'ilayhā?* (“if it is incumbent upon the secular state to protect religious denominations and to guarantee them the freedom of worship within the limits of the general system, is it / can it be deemed

legitimate for sects to be allowed to legally join individuals [...] to groups they do not want to belong to?”).

The most poignant feature shared by all these passages is, as we have mentioned earlier, the highest degree of explicitness reached by modal marking within the text. From a rhetorical point of view, one has to remark the part played by rhetorical questions, whose interpretation in this context is quite obvious – those of them that are introduced by the interrogative particle *hal* are to be interpreted as emphasized negations, and this is the main device that marks the heightened tone of the rebuke addressed by the author to those willing to compromise at the expense of what he considers to be true secularism. This increase in the author’s vehemence goes hand in hand with a series of choices concerning the treatment of modal markers that converge towards moving away from the cautiousness prevailing over the treatment of modality in the first paragraphs of the article. If we look at the way modality is marked in the first set of passages, we can see that there are, on the one hand, instances where segments that do have a part to play in signifying modality are interwoven with the clauses signifying prepositional content (in the form of relative clauses, as in (1) and (5)) and can even be deemed barely distinguishable semantically from the proposition subjected to modalization (as the relative clause in (5)), and there are, on the other hand, cases of segments that are formally detached, generally functioning as matrix, or subordinating, clauses and thus coming closer to the formal characteristics one expects to find in modal markers, but whose modal meaning is vaguely outlined, relying heavily on context and interpretation, the lexical units that they are made of not being necessarily associated, in general, with the modal meaning they seem to convey (such as the verbs of perception used in (1), (2) and (4), the verb *nasiya* (“to forget”) in (3) etc.). The situation seems markedly different when turning to these last passages: from the syntactical point of view, modal markers are “disentangled” from the segments conveying the prepositional content, functioning as matrix clauses for the clauses being subjected to modalization; modal meaning is mostly conveyed through single lexical items, generally able to function as axiological modal markers even outside this particular context (the verbs *’ağdā* (“to be of use”) in (6) and (8), *ṣahḥa* (“to be correct/right/admissible”) in (9) and *istaqāma* (“to be right/correct”) in (10), all in the imperfective form), alongside a moderately periphrastic expression in (12) (*yu’tabarū mašrū’an* – “it is considered legitimate”). There is also another point by which this last group of sentences is distinguishable from the first one – this time, the syntactic contexts provided by these sentences are such that the probability of the indicative form of the verbs functioning as modal markers being itself invested with modal meaning (expressible in English, most likely, by means of the present and perfect forms of the auxiliary modal *can*) is much higher than in the case of (2) – it is highly likely that this applies to (6), (8), (9), (10) and (11), and there is almost no doubt that it does to (12).

The contrast with the previous lot of passages becomes less stark once we look at (7), where the verb *’amkana* (“to be possible”) can be taken as a marker signifying dynamic modality, but, based on the context provided by the other interrogative sentences, and taking into account the presence of at least one lexical unit, the verbal noun *talḥīf* (“mitigating”, “tempering”, “toning down”), that can, within the broader context of the author’s statements, be ascribed a negative connotation and hence acquire a

role in signifying axiological modality, the modal meaning actually conveyed by the sentence can be safely assumed to be in harmony with that of the other, contiguous sentences (using dynamic markers within expressions used for axiological modalization is also, and even more conspicuously, present in (14) and (15), and it will be more extensively treated in addressing these samples). There are also, even within this lot, instances where elements that can qualify as conveyors of propositional content have their part to play in conveying modally relevant meaning as well: we have already mentioned the case of the verbal noun *taltīf* in (7), to which one can add the expression *raššu baʿḍi s-sukkari ʿalā l-luqmati l-murrati* (“the sprinkling of some sugar on the bitter morsel”) in (8), which, while perfectly integrated syntactically and semantically in the clause subjected to modalization, by virtue of its obvious negative connotation is also called to play an integral part in expressing the negative view held by the author towards the very content it conveys along with the rest of the clause. A similar role can be attributed to the circumstantial clause *wa-huwa ḍ-ḍāminu li-ḥurriyyati l-muwāṭinīna wali-l-musāwāti baynahum* (“given that it is the warrant for the citizens’ freedom and the equality between them”) in (9), which seems close to the second relative clause in (5) by the way it provides content meant to contribute to enhance the axiological modalization of the sentence. All this does not, however, nullify the fact that examples (6) to (12) are the climax of the rising disapproving tone in the author’s discourse, manifested by means provided by rhetoric (rhetorical questions together with the anaphora obtained by the repetition of the interrogative particle *hal*) and by a use of modal markers that leaves behind the cautiousness and restraint displayed at the beginning of the article.

We will now turn our attention towards an article whose introductory paragraph exhibits the use of a modally relevant device whose investigation makes it possible to further highlight some connections with the field of rhetoric. In the collective perception of classical rhetorical practices, the *exordium ex abrupto*, since what may have been the most famous instance of its usage in Cicero’s first *Catilinarian Oration* (*Quo usque tandem abutere...*), is generally perceived as marking a high degree of commotion, an overflow of emotions which, overwhelming the speaker, prevent him from gradually introducing the audience to the subject, having him instead diving right into it, as a mark of an emotional state which, ideally, should contaminate the audience⁴. A similar rhetorical device is also to be found at the beginning of this text (the article “Anā maʿa Baššār al-ʿAsad!” – “I am with Baššār al-ʿAsad!” by Muḥammad Krīšān, *Al-Quds al-ʿarabī*, 10.20.2015), but the effect its author seeks to obtain by using it is seemingly quite different from that of *exordia ex abrupto* in classical rhetoric: here, the author does begin his article in an “abrupt” manner, but not in a burst of indignation, opting instead for putting forth what seem to be the bare facts (or, to be more precise, statements or stances) he is about to comment, following a more than sketchy introduction of their originators, in an apparent bid to minimize his own intervention, to limit himself to laying out the

⁴ In one of the references to the *First Catilinarian* and its *exordium*, this oration is described as a “crisis speech” and the tempestuous tone of its introduction is spoken about in these suggestive terms: “the opening is delivered in such a high, emotional style that one can almost see the nervous consul still noticeably shaken from having escaped an assassination attack” (Cape Jr. 2002: 143-144).

information before the reader as if to let him make up his own mind about the information he is receiving:

- (13) *al-'awwalu min filasfīna wa-t-tānī min tūnisa, kilāhumā šihāfiyyun wa-kilāhumā šadīqun 'aw... hākaḏā yuftaraḏu. yaqūlu l-'awwalu "laysa muhimman 'an yubīda baššār al-'asad ša' bahu bi-l-kāmili, al-muhimmu 'an yabqā huwa wa-ma'ahu šu'latu l-muqāwamati ḏidda 'isrā'īla", 'ammā t-tānī, fa-kalāmuhu 'ahwanu bi-kaḏīrin 'iḏ yaqūlu "'anā ma'a l-'asad, 'ahyānan yaḡibu fī laḡzatini ttiḡāḏu qarārīn... 'immā 'an taḡtāra s-sayyi'a ma'a ba'ḏi l-'amali fī 'an yataḡayyara l-ḡālu wa-'immā 'an taḡtāra l-'aswa'a wa-tarā bi-'aynayka l-inḡiyāra* ("the first one is from Palestine and the second is from Tunisia, both of them are journalists and both of them are friends or... so it is assumed. The former says: 'it is not important if Baššār al-'Asad completely exterminates his people, the important thing is that he be left standing and with him the torch of the resistance against Israel'; as for the latter, his speech is much milder, as he says: 'I am with al-'Asad, sometimes it is necessary to make a decision on the spot... either you choose the bad, with some hope that the situation may change, or you choose the worse and witness the collapse with your own eyes'").

In this introductory paragraph the only elements that can be ascribed an explicit modal quality are the sentence *'aw... hākaḏā yuftaraḏu* ("or... so it is assumed"), which can be interpreted as representing the merger of two modalities – first, there is the epistemic modality, emerging from the interpretation of the sentence as signaling the author's doubt about the two journalists really being his friends, which coexists with an axiological meaning, since his doubt about their friendship is a way of conveying his disapproval of their positions. The second modally, more precisely axiologically, charged element is the elative *'ahwan* ("less serious", "milder"), by means of which we are provided with a scale of the gravity of the two journalists' statements, whereby the author lets us know that the first of them embraces a worse, more condemnable view than the second. Besides these elements, there is a perceivably conscious effort on the part of the author to "take a step back", to let the sheer facts come to the forefront and take central stage. The title itself seems to play an integral part in this strategy, since it anticipates, in a condensed manner, the technique resorted to in the first paragraph, by containing, formulated as direct speech, the position adopted by those whom the author wishes to expose and criticize (it is important to notice that punctuation is also used here to enhance the effect of the title – the exclamation point is meant to reinforce the effectiveness with which the bluntness, the unapologetic attitude of those lying on the receiving end of the author's rebuke is conveyed). These choices are to be treated in close connection with the tendency, already pointed to when discussing the previous opinion article, to minimize the occurrence of expressions having the potential of functioning as explicit modal markers in certain places within the text. The first and most obvious explanation for this strategy is one that can be applied whenever such a practice is met with: the persuasiveness of the text, the compelling nature of its message must be deemed to not necessarily be directly proportional to the conspicuousness of modal markers, therefore the author must have, perhaps deliberately, reduced their presence to the minimum. The reticence manifested towards using too obvious modal markers when there is clearly a position whose

conveyance could involve their use in greater proportions is generally to be correlated with certain expectations the author might have concerning his readership, namely that they would respond better if his own subjective take on the matter at hand was less poignantly marked with the usual associated modals, and in this respect one can see how this supposition can call to mind, one more time, what usually falls within the scope of hedging. This particular case, however, presents us with a rather specific profile, which does not allow it to very neatly fit within the confines of what is generally understood by this notion. If “hedging is considered a characteristic of academic writing and discourse, and is seen as lending an air of careful argumentation and objectivity, adding to the convincingness of the text” (Mejdell 2011: 337), which means that the prototypical case of hedging would entail using epistemic modals meant to mitigate the degree of certainty with which a statement is made, one can easily see that the present situation would barely meet the criteria for being classified as such, since it does not entail downplaying the author’s commitment to the truth value of his statements as much as a rather scarce use of modal markers of any kind. All this leaves us with only one feature shared with hedging – crafting one’s speech while anticipating a certain reaction from the receiver and treating modality in a way meant to maximize the favorability of the receiver’s response. The correct assessment of this anticipation can be done by establishing a profile of the readership the author expects to come in contact with, in this case the readers of the *Al-Quds al-‘arabī* newspaper – it would have to be a very narrowly targeted profiling, because their response to a title and an introduction conceived in this manner depends on one question only: whether they are favorable or unfavorable towards Baššār al-‘Asad and the current Syrian regime, and by reading the newspaper’s opinion articles during the last few years one can easily draw the conclusion that its editorial line is generally unfavorable towards the Syrian president and those forces and entities which support him, therefore its journalists most likely expect their articles to have acquired by now a public whose majority is made up of like-minded readers. This assumption favors a very different explanation from the one provided for modal hedging – instead of avoiding an exceedingly assertive attitude that might hurt his credibility, the author, in this first stage of his encounter with the reader, does not provide the modal content (or rather reduces it to the minimum), only because he is confident that the mere exposition of the facts is bound to elicit a negative reaction from the reader who, as a result, will supply by himself the modal content, which will thus be all the more powerful and effective (the straightforwardness of the title’s message, enhanced by its punctuation, suggests the possibility of an effort to emphasize, in such a situation, the content itself, as a compensation for the scarcity of explicit modal markers; at the same time, one cannot rule out, in the specific case of the title, the possibility that the author may have used a first person pronoun in order to “trick” the public into thinking, for a moment, that the title actually reflects his own position and thus stir their interest in reading it – if this were the case, however, the presupposition he acts upon would be the same: it would be their dislike of Baššār al-‘Asad and their familiarity with the newspaper’s editorial line that would compel them to check if the editorialist actually supports him).

This restraint in using modal markers is bound to be limited by the genre’s constraints (it is not possible to have an opinion article made up exclusively of a collage of bare reported facts and sayings), and these markers do, indeed, appear once we go

beyond the introduction, as we can see at the beginning of the immediately following paragraph:

- (14) *'ammā l-filasīniyyu, wa-huwa laysa l-waḥīda min hādā r-ray'i bayna qawmihi, famina ṣ-ṣa'bi ḡiddan, ḥattā lā yuqāla ṣay'un 'āḥaru, fahmu kayfa yumkinu li-man ḍā'a waṭanuhu bi-l-kāmili, wa-huwa min manāṭiqi 1948, wa-yarā mā yaḥ'aluhu l-iḥtilālu l-'isrā'īliyyu bi-'iḥwānihi fī ḍ-ḍiffati wa-l-qiṭā'i, wa-yastaḡītu bi-l-'arabi wa-l-'ālamī kullīhi li-naḡdatihi, 'an lā yarā ḡaḍāḍatan fī 'an yaltafīta 'ilā ḡārihi s-sūriyyi, wa-huwa man lam yaqṣur mā'ahu yawman wa-nakbatuhu qad takūnu 'akbara min nakbatīhi 'aṣlan, li-yaqūla lahu: 'isma' 'anā mā'a baṣṣār wa-law 'abāḍakum ḡamī'an'!!* (“as for the Palestinian, who is not the only one holding this opinion among his people, it is very difficult - not to say something else - to understand how it is possible for someone whose homeland is completely gone, since he is from the 1948 regions, [who] sees what the Israeli occupation does to his brothers in the [West] Bank and the [Gaza] Strip and calls the Arabs and the whole world for help, not to find it objectionable to turn to his Syrian neighbor, who has never been at fault towards him and whose catastrophe may be greater than his anyway, in order to tell him: ‘listen, I am with Baṣṣār even if he were to exterminate you all’!!”).

This paragraph begins with a formula containing two expressions that can generally function as modal markers - *mina ṣ-ṣa'bi ḡiddan* (“(it is) very difficult”) and *yumkinu* (“it is possible”), which can be viewed as marking dynamic or, more precisely, circumstantial modality⁵, assuming that the author really points to there being objective conditions that make it difficult (for him and his audience) to understand the position embraced by his Palestinian journalist friend and that make it difficult for him to adopt the position he did (cf. Palmer 1986: 76-77). This reading, however, relies on isolating the most salient modal markers, whereas the paragraph as a whole is clearly modally marked, but it is not the dynamic modality that emerges when reading it, because we are still dealing with an axiologically marked text, one whose central purpose is still to convey the author’s strong condemnation for a certain position and the arguments supporting it. If we are to look for

⁵ The expression *min aṣ-ṣa'bi* is listed by Angheliescu (along with the verb *yaṣ'ub*) among the markers of evaluative / axiological modality (Angheliescu 2000: 312; cf. Angheliescu 2000: 304); it seemed to us more appropriate in this context, however, to resort to a different type of modality, namely the one labeled as “dynamic” (which is not included in the classification adopted and exemplified by Angheliescu) because it appears that the treatment of modality in this passage (as well as in (15)) relies on a mechanism that is very close, if not identical, to the one governing the functioning of figurative speech, or more precisely metaphor, whereby at the level of linguistic expression one resorts to the means provided by a certain type of modality to signify a meaning pertaining to a different modality (in this case, this formal-semantic duo would be dynamic-axiological); there are also arguments detectable at the formal level that suggest that this expression is to be understood as partaking in the making up of a dynamic modal marker – if we take into account the presence of hedging, the segment *mina ṣ-ṣa'bi ḡiddan, ḥattā lā yuqāla ṣay'un 'āḥaru* can be equated with *lā yumkinu*; another argument in favor of assuming that the formal devices resorted to here fall within the realm of dynamic modality, whereas axiological modality is to be looked for at the semantic level, is that, out of these two types, dynamic modality is better fitted for mimicking objectivity, or at least for formally distancing oneself from one’s own subjectivity, as it seems that this is what the author seeks to accomplish.

a segment of the paragraph that can qualify as an axiological modal marker conveying the author's disapproval for the informational content he is presenting us with, we can find it in the same place where the two previously noticed apparently dynamic markers could be found, with the sole difference that this time the segment is wider, having a more periphrastic nature and thus encompassing them both - *mina ṣ-ṣa^cbi ḡiddan, ḥattā lā yuqāla ṣay'un 'āḥaru, fahmu kayfa yumkinu...* ("it is very difficult - not to say something else - to understand how it is possible..."). Once we associate this whole segment with a modal meaning, the first aspect worth noticing is the strong presence of lexical items which generally have no intrinsic connection with axiological modality (in fact, none of them taken separately has such a connection). And yet this is precisely what they convey, and there is a rather clear formal clue, besides an interpretation based on pure semantics, that this is the case: the parenthetical clause *ḥattā lā yuqāla ṣay'un 'āḥaru* ("not to say something else", lit. "lest something else be said")⁶, inserted after the predicate *mina ṣ-ṣa^cbi ḡiddan*, is used as a hedging marker, so as to suggest that the adjective *ṣa^cb*, already modified by the adverbial *ḡiddan* with the result of placing it high on the intensity gradation scale, could be topped by an even stronger epithet that the author, however, chooses to refrain from using; if this were a mere dynamic modal marker, resorting to hedging would make little to no sense – why would there be any need to show restraint in further intensifying a meaning expressed by such an adjective, if it were not for the fact that the hedging is, in fact, operated upon an axiological modal meaning and, thus, meant to prove the author's willingness to curb his own subjectivity? In this case we can ask ourselves about the nature of the relationship between the axiological modality semantically present in the discourse and the presence of dynamic modal markers at the formal level: it is not an ambiguity, since this is not a case where otherwise ambiguous modal markers are disambiguated by context, nor does it seem to be a merger, since there are two dynamic modal markers encompassed by a formula functioning as an axiological marker (instead of there being one marker lending itself to be understood as simultaneously signifying two modalities – cf. Coates 1983: 16,17); the most plausible solution is to resort again to the tools of rhetoric and stay within the confines of the periphrastic nature of the structure pointed to earlier – we are, in fact, dealing with a circumlocution, whose function in this context is quite obviously hedging, for it is clearly in the author's intention to avoid using a current and obvious axiological marker. At the same time, if we are to take a more profound look at the mechanism applied to this effect, a certain closeness to a relationship between form and content reminiscent of metaphor is

⁶ This clause most likely represents a syntactic calque from European languages (either English or French could have been the source); one possible explanation meant to identify the structure governing it is to assume that there is an underlying performative verb; the passive voice of its verb seems to add a further complication, given that the underlying performative verb would necessarily be in the first person, active voice form, yet this is only a mild inconvenience which can be easily explained away by taking this passive form as yet another device meant to efface the author's own subjectivity (**'aqūlu 'innahu mina ṣ-ṣa^cbi ḡiddan, ḥattā lā yuqāla ṣay'un 'āḥaru (=ḥattā lā 'aqūla ṣay'an 'āḥara), fahmu [...]* – "I say that it is very difficult, lest something else be said (=lest I say something else), to understand [...]""); for a lengthy and in depth discussion about this type of clauses and other structures fulfilling similar roles in Arabic and also in French and English, together with an extensive review of their analysis according to the Arab linguistic tradition and different modern Western linguistic schools of thought, see Larcher 2014: 291-316).

also to be noticed – it cannot be without significance that dynamic markers have a more readily discernible formal presence, whereas at the semantic level, although dynamic modality cannot be totally excluded, the ultimate modality which the author seeks to convey is axiological.

As for the informational content modalized by this circumlocution, it exhibits the same features that emerged when looking into the first paragraph's modal devices: it is framed in a way meant to elicit the readership's strongest negative reaction, thus becoming itself a de facto modal device (there is also the expression *'an lā yarā ḡaḡāḡatan fī...* (lit. "that he see not something objectionable in..."), which can be taken as an explicit axiological marker in this context) and, moreover, the Palestinian journalist's position is again abridged in the form of direct speech, addressed this time to a generic Syrian counterpart, with the same intention of highlighting his brazenness, on top of his morally unsustainable position.

The third and last paragraph of this article which we will be discussing contains the same explicit modal markers repeated verbatim (barring what seems to be a misprint), and its overall syntactic structure closely resembles the one of the previous paragraph:

- (15) *'ammā t-tūnisīyyu, wa-huwa l-'āḡaru laysa l-waḡīda min ḡaḡā r-ray'i hunāka, fa-mina ṣ-ṣa^cbi ḡiddan, ḡattā lā yuqāla ṣay'un 'āḡaru, kayfa (sic) yumkinu lahu 'an yaftaḡira bi-'annahu 'anḡaza tawratan 'aḡaḡat bi-ḡākimin mustabiddin wa-lā yarā ḡaḡāḡatan 'an yu^clinahā ṣarīḡatan 'annahu ma^ca baššār al-'asad allaḡī yahūnu 'amāmahu baṡṡu 'ayyi ḡākimin 'arabiyyin 'āḡara* ("as for the Tunisian, who is also not the only one there holding this opinion, it is very difficult – not to say something else – [to understand] how it is possible for him to proud himself upon having accomplished a revolution that overthrew a despotic ruler and not find it objectionable to proclaim it openly that he is with Baššār al-'Asad, before whom the violence of any other Arab leader is negligible").

This paragraph closely mirrors, in a partial syntactic parallelism, the internal structure of the previous one, by containing in the same positions the segments functioning as explicit modal markers: *mina ṣ-ṣa^cbi ḡiddan, ḡattā lā yuqāla ṣay'un 'āḡaru, [fahmu] kayfa yumkinu lahu...* and *'an... lā yarā ḡaḡāḡatan* (with a slight difference involving the subordination of the second expression). This rhetorical device lends the text a certain degree of emphasis which impacts exactly upon its modal meaning, highlighting, by repetition, precisely those formulas invested with a modal function. This repetition and symmetry contributes decisively to an increase in the explicitness of the text's modal marking, the initially rather implicit disapproving tone of the author becoming more and more overt, by means of marks whose function is actualized in close connection with different rhetorical devices.

Going now back to the matter of distinguishing between grammaticalized and lexical modal markers in these two texts, one has to acknowledge that a first step in operating this classification would be to separate the grammaticalized items (which, as we have already noticed, we should expect to be partially rather than fully grammaticalized) from all the other devices used to convey modal meanings, since it has already become apparent that lexical items are but a part of the elements or features of linguistic expression that can qualify as modal markers or be modally relevant in one way or

another. Out of the characteristics deemed by Angheliescu to bear witness to modal markers being grammaticalized, there are some that can be applied for operating such a distinction in this context: modal markers have a tendency to occur in an initial position within a sentence, before the clauses expressing the propositional content, as verbs, particles, and, especially in contemporary Literary Arabic, as prepositional phrases using *min* with a partitive meaning (Angheliescu 2000: 313-314, 317); if modal markers are finite verbs, there is an asymmetry in the occurrence of personal forms – it is highly likely that these verbs occur in the first person singular or in the third person singular, this last form being used as an impersonal (Angheliescu 2000: 315,316); modal verbs can occur quite often in the passive voice, also as impersonals (Angheliescu 2000: 317).

When looking at the modal markers of the first article with these criteria in mind, we can see how the partition of the samples into two broad groups, which had already emerged when we assessed the degree of explicitness of modal marking, can be maintained: in samples (1) to (5), the first criterion, namely the occurrence of the modal marker before the clause it modalizes, is fulfilled in (1), (2), (3) and (4), but the semantic charge of the items in question is not particularly conducive to their functioning as modal markers by themselves (this seems to be the case especially in (3), where the irony involving the verb *nasiya* is the farthest from unequivocally function as a modal marker); as for (5), both segments that can be ascribed a modal function are formulated as relative clauses, one of them being barely distinguishable, even semantically, from the segment delivering the propositional content; the second criterion is only partially met – there are first person verbs in (1), (2) and (4), but, because of the communicational strategy embraced by the author, the plural substitutes the singular; the situation is unmistakably different when looking at the second group - ((6) to (12)): all easily recognizable modal verbs come before the propositional content they modalize, and they are either in the third person singular ((6), (7), (8), (9) and (10)) or in the passive voice ((11) and (12)).

If we look at the lexical items invested, alone or within certain complex structures, with a modal function in these samples (understanding them to be those that outside these particular contexts would not function as modals), we can see that they acquire this role in close connection with different other factors: a certain register of oral communication in (1), (2) and (4), proneness to positive connotation coupled with irony in (1), irony in (3), negative connotation of a circumlocution in (8) and context-dependent negative connotation of a lexical item in (7) and subordinate clauses that convey meanings acquiring, based on their context, a positive connotation – a relative and a circumstantial in (5) and circumstantials in (9) and (11). As for the distribution of these items between the two groups, it can be noticed that, while they are not absent from the second one, they are more heavily present in the first.

A similar partition can be operated when dealing with the passages extracted from the second article, this time the differences in modal marking being noticeable between (13), on the one side, and (14) and (15) on the other: in the case of (13), the most remarkable feature is the ability to convey a certain modal meaning by relying mainly on the propositional content itself, based on a presupposition about the targeted readership; one of the segments that can be ascribed a modal function in (13) is a passive verb, thus fulfilling one of the aforementioned grammaticalization criteria, but it comes after the clause it modalizes; the other two passages, by contrast, exhibit modal markers that come

before the clauses modalized by them (the only reason why they do not occupy an absolute initial position is the syntactic constraint associated with the use of the topicalizing particle *'ammā*); these passages also exhibit a formal compliance of some of their markers with other criteria (we can isolate a prepositional phrase with partitive *min* and a verb in the third person singular) but the weight of this compliance is somewhat reduced by the fact that these markers are involved in conveying a modal meaning different from the one they are usually associated with based on their literal meaning. A general and rather predictable observation concerning the presence of lexical items taking part in the conveyance of modal meaning can be made about both this article and the previous one – the chances of finding modally relevant lexical resources are directly proportional with the length of the segments functioning as modal markers.

We have stated at the beginning of our paper that we were embarking upon this investigation expecting to deal with texts where the purely informational, non-modal content is reduced to a mere 'prop' for the highlighting of the authors' positions and ideas. It is, after all, only too normal for the reader of an opinion article to approach it not so much for information as for hearing a voice meant to guide him in interpreting the events or, more often than not, to comfort him in his convictions, and for the author of such an article to meet this expectation by giving prominence to opinions and positions at the expense of sheer facts. Our expectation was, in a way, confirmed in more ways than one – not only is propositional content used as a prop for the expression of the author's subjectivity, but it can, by itself, convey modal meaning, in accordance with Palmer's suppositions (see Note 1). The distribution of grammaticalized and lexical modal markers within these texts is also revealing in that it confirms the fact that, even within the confines of the rather limited extent that the process of grammaticalization can reach in Literary Arabic, such a process does, nevertheless, involve modal markers and has consequences bearing on the authors' stylistic choices and communicational strategies.

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QUELQUES REMARQUES AUTOUR DE L'EXPRESSION DE LA MODALITÉ « POUVOIR » EN ARABE CONTEMPORAIN

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Abstract. This paper examines the different modes of expression of deontic and epistemic modality in contemporary Arabic. There are many verbs that support these modalities. What is exactly their distribution in the language ? This corpus-based study shows that certain verbs are reserved for the expression of deontic modality (to allow, to permit), others to epistemic modality (judging that it is possible to do something). Comparing the use of *amkana / yumkinu* and *istaṭā'a / yastaṭī'u*, we find that the distinction between these verbs is not semantic but rather pragmatic, one more oriented towards the expression of possibility than the other. Finally, semantic and pragmatic distribution of different modality markers will be schematically tabulated, according to an argumentative axis ranging from the negation of possible to the possible.

Keywords: *modality, possibility, deontic, epistemic, Arabic linguistics, pragmatics, corpus-based studies, contemporary Arabic.*

La question des modalités en langue est tout à la fois cruciale et complexe. Cruciale, parce qu'il s'agit d'un point fondamental dans l'expression de la pensée humaine ; complexe car comme le dit si bien Coquet, « il serait hasardeux de penser que logiciens et linguistes savent très exactement de quoi ils parlent lorsqu'ils utilisent dans leurs travaux la catégorie des modalités » (Coquet 1976 : 64). Ainsi, « la notion de modalité paraît à la fois indispensable et chargée d'ambiguïté » (Monte 2011 : 85). Traditionnellement, le concept de modalité oppose le *modus* au *dictum*, l'attitude du locuteur vis-à-vis du contenu propositionnel qu'il énonce. Il existe de nombreuses typologies des modalités établies selon les valeurs qu'elles apportent au contenu énoncé, dont les principales sont les modalités déontiques (jugement porté sur le *dictum* en fonction d'un code axiologique menant à l'obligation, l'interdiction ou la permission) et les modalités épistémiques (évaluation personnelle des probabilités de réalisation du *dictum*)¹.

Dans les faits, quand on explore les valeurs modales contenues dans les verbes, on dépasse naturellement le cadre purement syntaxique de la phrase pour y étudier les marques du discours, le point de vue du locuteur sur le contenu de son énoncé et les éventuelles traces du point de vue de l'interlocuteur. C'est pourquoi, dans la perspective que nous adoptons dans le présent article, il nous faudra prêter attention au contexte autant qu'à l'énoncé lui-même.

En français, les principaux verbes modaux (pouvoir, vouloir, devoir et falloir) ne sont pas toujours utilisés pour indiquer la même modalité. Ainsi, le verbe « pouvoir » peut à la fois marquer la possibilité (modalité épistémique) comme dans :

¹ Sur ces questions de typologie et du couple « modalité / modalisation », nous renvoyons à Monte 2011.

(1) Il peut convenir (= il peut *potentiellement* convenir, *il se peut qu'il* convienne).

mais aussi la permission (modalité déontique) comme dans :

(2) Tu peux sortir (= tu as *l'autorisation* de sortir).

Dans de nombreux énoncés, c'est le contexte qui va déterminer le type de modalité. Une phrase comme :

(3) Tu peux aller voir ce film.

peut être interprétée en termes de possibilité (« tu peux aller voir ce film à *la séance de 18h ou à celle de 20h* » où « tu peux » signifie « *tu as la possibilité* ») ou de permission (« tu peux aller voir ce film, *il n'est pas violent* » où « tu peux » signifie « *je t'autorise à* »).

On peut faire le même constat avec le verbe « devoir », qui peut marquer soit une obligation (modalité déontique), comme dans l'énoncé suivant :

(4) Il doit aller chez le médecin.

soit une supposition ou probabilité (modalité épistémique) :

(5) Il doit être tard.

Encore une fois, une phrase comme :

(6) Il doit rentrer.

peut revêtir les deux valeurs : « il doit rentrer à *20h au plus tard* » (où « il doit » signifie « *il a l'obligation de* ») ou bien « il doit rentrer *vers 20h, ce soir* » (où « il doit » signifie « *je suppose* »).

Les verbes « vouloir » et « falloir » sont moins sujets à interprétation, le premier marquant la volonté (dans le sens de désirer qu'un fait se réalise)², le second l'obligation.

Si l'on compare avec l'arabe, on peut tout de suite faire plusieurs constatations car le découpage sémantique opéré par les verbes modaux est différent d'une langue à l'autre :

- il n'y a pas d'ambiguïté pour le verbe *arāda / yurīdu*³ (et ses synonymes) : ils expriment la volonté mais jamais l'obligation ou la permission.

- pour l'obligation, on recourt le plus souvent à des tournures impersonnelles

² En français toutefois, « vouloir » peut signifier l'obligation ou la permission (« je veux bien que vous... » = *je permets que*), mais les emplois sont assez rares pour que nous les écartions et considérions « vouloir » comme un verbe à part parmi les verbes modaux, portant uniquement une valeur épistémique (le locuteur souhaite que le fait se réalise).

³ Nous désignerons les verbes tantôt par leur accompli, tantôt par leur inaccompli.

variées : *yajibu an, yanbaġī an, min al-lāzim an, etc.*

- en revanche, deux verbes essentiellement entrent en concurrence pour exprimer l'idée de « pouvoir » dans les deux valeurs modales de possibilité et de permission : *istaṭā'a* et *amkana* (employé en tournure impersonnelle). On peut donc naturellement se demander s'il y a une distribution sémantique entre ces deux verbes ou s'ils sont interchangeables : y a-t-il une différence sémantique systématique entre *istaṭā'a* et *amkana* en arabe contemporain, l'un marquant la modalité déontique (permission), l'autre plutôt la modalité épistémique (possibilité, probabilité, capacité) ? Ces deux verbes seront l'objet d'une étude contrastive, tout comme certaines tournures liées à l'expression du possible⁴.

Notons qu'en plus de posséder des verbes qui lexicalisent les différentes modalités, la langue arabe offre la possibilité de recourir à des tournures idiomatiques (comme *min al-muḥtamal an* = « il est probable que »), à des particules (*rubbamā* = « peut-être ») ou encore à des outils syntaxiques (*qad* suivi d'un verbe à l'inaccompli ou encore le verbe *yakūnu* pour exprimer le possible)⁵. Là encore, on peut se demander s'il existe une échelle argumentative entre les expressions lexicalisées et les expressions syntaxiques et si le recours à certains lexèmes modaux (comme la particule *rubbamā*) peut être considéré comme un double marquage modal de l'énoncé.

En réalité, partant de l'étude d'un corpus⁶, on peut se demander s'il est pertinent de reprendre les catégories modales préétablies (déontique vs épistémique) et s'il ne conviendrait pas mieux de partir des énoncés pour proposer une typologie. À la lecture de textes arabes, l'on constate que de multiples moyens d'expression sont utilisés pour exprimer cette seule modalité du « pouvoir », mais la polysémie du français n'est certainement pas celle de l'arabe : si en français le verbe « pouvoir » revêt à la fois une valeur de permission et une valeur de capacité à accomplir une action, il semble qu'en arabe la distinction soit davantage lexicalisée. On aurait recours aux verbes *istaṭā'a* et *amkana* pour exprimer une capacité et à des verbes comme *yajūz* ou *samaḥa* pour une autorisation. Il convient maintenant d'observer ce qu'il en est dans les textes. Nous choisissons donc de présenter différentes remarques autour de l'expression de la modalité du pouvoir en arabe contemporain, à partir d'exemples concrets tirés du corpus.

⁴ La modalité aléthique du possible, au sens de la logique classique aristotélicienne, s'oppose au nécessaire, à l'impossible et au contingent. Il s'agit du niveau « supérieur » à celui qui nous intéresse ici : qu'un fait soit possible, quelle qu'en soit la raison (axiologique ou motivée par un raisonnement propre au locuteur). Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que l'expression des modalités varie d'une langue à l'autre. De ce fait, le chercheur doit prendre garde à la polysémie des verbes modaux en français qui peuvent biaiser l'étude de l'arabe. C'est notamment le cas pour le verbe « pouvoir ».

⁵ Cf. Pinon 2012 (inédit), 2015 (Arabica).

⁶ Il s'agit ici d'un corpus numérique d'arabe contemporain d'1,5 million de mots, regroupant des textes produits entre 2002 et 2011 provenant de 7 pays arabes (Maroc, Tunisie, Égypte, Liban, Syrie, Arabie Saoudite et Yémen) et ressortissant à 3 genres (blogs, presse, littérature).

1. Le « pouvoir déontique » : (ne pas) être autorisé, permettre

1. 1. Le verbe *yajūz*

Dans notre corpus, ce verbe apparaît peu fréquemment : sur les 68 occurrences que nous relevons, 18 proviennent des blogs, 23 de la presse et 27 de la littérature. La répartition générique est donc plutôt homogène et ne présente pas de spécificités. Ce n'est pas le cas de la répartition diatopique où l'écart est notable entre les emplois dans des textes marocains (2 occurrences seulement) et dans des textes syriens (17 occurrences) ou libanais (19 occurrences).

Deux remarques s'imposent quant à l'emploi de ce verbe : tout d'abord, le paradigme de conjugaison est restreint à la troisième personne : 66 emplois de *yajūz* et deux emplois de *tajūz* qui apparaissent tous deux dans un contexte religieux⁷ :

(7) *Fa-l-ṣalāt lā tajūzu bi-dūn ṭahāra.*

Il ne convient pas de prier sans être en état de purification rituelle (mot-à-mot : la prière n'est pas autorisée sans purification).

Ce fait est à mettre en lien avec le contexte d'apparition du verbe, essentiellement religieux ou politique. Il est tout à fait logique de trouver la tournure impersonnelle de la troisième personne pour un verbe exprimant une autorisation « absolue », légale (que la loi soit de nature divine ou humaine). Les exemples provenant de contextes autres que religieux ou légal sont plus rares⁸ :

(8) *Lā yajūz an tadḥula hākaḏā 'indamā yakūnu 'indī zabā'in.*

Tu ne peux pas rentrer comme ça quand j'ai des clients (= tu ne dois pas, tu n'es pas autorisé).

Plus intéressant encore, le fait que ce verbe ne se trouve employé qu'à la forme négative, ou presque : il ne s'agit donc pas d'une permission, mais d'une interdiction.

Tableau 1

Répartition des emplois négatifs du verbe *yajūz* par genre

	<i>yajūz</i>	<i>lā yajūz</i>	% de forme négative
Blogs	3	15	83 %
Littérature	9 dont 5 rhétoriques*	18	67 %
Presse	11 articles de loi 1 rhétorique*	11	48 %
Total	24	44	65 %

Les emplois du verbe à la forme positive sont majoritairement des textes de loi. Il s'agit sinon bien souvent d'emplois rhétoriques qui sont implicitement négatifs⁹ :

⁷ Source : blog libanais *Al-ḏilāl al-wārifa* (<http://zilalwarefa.net/>).

⁸ Source : *Al-Ṭaqs al-azraq* (chap. 3), roman du syrien Muḥyeddīn Maḥmūd.

⁹ Source : nouvelle *Junūn al-irtiyāb*, du yéménite Ibrāhīm Ishāq.

- (9) *Hal yajūz an yujarjira l-ibn abā-hu fī l-maḥākīm ?*
 Se peut-il qu'un fils traîne son père devant les tribunaux ?

1. 2. Le verbe *yasmaḥ*

Le verbe *yasmaḥ* semble être réservé aux autorisations qui émanent des individus, non des lois ou de Dieu¹⁰ : ceci explique que l'intégralité du paradigme de conjugaison figure dans notre corpus, tant au niveau des formes de conjugaison (accompli, inaccompli, impératif, actif et passif) que des personnes, toutes représentées sauf celles du féminin pluriel. Notre corpus comprend 291 occurrences de ce verbe, avec une sur-représentation dans les blogs et une sous-représentation dans la presse. Contrairement au verbe *yajūz*, l'emploi de la forme négative ne prédomine pas et *yasmaḥ* est davantage utilisé pour permettre que pour interdire, là où *yajūz* était davantage utilisé pour ne pas autoriser.

Tableau 2

Répartition des emplois négatifs du verbe <i>yasmaḥ</i> par genre			
	<i>samaḥa / yasmaḥ</i>	<i>lā / lan / lam yasmaḥ</i>	% de forme négative
Blogs	81	38	32 %
Littérature	62	39	39 %
Presse	41	30	42 %
Total	184	107	37 %

Dans l'exemple suivant¹¹, le verbe apparaît à la forme positive et à la forme négative, mais dans une structure de double négation qui signifie logiquement l'affirmation :

- (10) - *lā qānūn yasmaḥ bi-qatl al-luṣūṣ...*
Fa-qāṭa 'tu-hu muntaṣiran :
 - *wa-lā qānūn lā yasmaḥ la-nā bi-dabḥ al-ḥumlān al-laḍīda.*
 - Aucune loi ne nous autorise à tuer les voleurs...
 Je le coupai, triomphant :
 - Et il n'y a aucune loi qui ne nous autorise pas à abattre de délicieux agneaux.

Le verbe *yasmaḥ* est aussi souvent utilisé à l'impératif dans le sens d' « excuser » ou dans des expressions comme dans l'exemple suivant¹² :

- (11) *in samaḥta lī bi-stiḥdām ḥādā l-ta 'bīr*
 Si tu me permets l'expression

¹⁰À l'exception de l'expression « *lā samaḥa Allāh* » présente 7 fois dans la presse, 6 fois dans les blogs et 2 fois en littérature.

¹¹ Source : nouvelle *I'tirāfāt sajm̄n hārib* du saoudien Ḥasan Cheikh.

¹² Source : nouvelle *Sā'at al-ḡafla* du libanais Muḥammad Mūsā.

On voit donc qu'en arabe contemporain, le pouvoir déontique (permission, interdiction) est surtout pris en charge par les verbes *yajūz* et *yasmah*, le premier plus souvent employé à la forme négative pour exprimer l'interdiction, le second plus à même de supporter à la fois l'interdiction et la permission, avec une prédilection pour ce dernier sens¹³.

2. Le « pouvoir épistémique » : juger avoir la possibilité de faire quelque chose

Les deux verbes les plus couramment utilisés pour exprimer la possibilité pour un état ou une action de se réaliser, d'après le locuteur, sont *amkana* et *istaṭā'a*. L'étude des textes nous permet-elle de déceler une différence sémantique entre les deux verbes ?

2. 1. Les emplois de *istaṭā'a* / *yastaṭī'*, *mustaṭā'*, *istiṭā'a*

Ce verbe est très courant : on en compte 1113 occurrences dans notre corpus (1067 verbales et 46 nominales : 13 occurrences du participe *mustaṭā'* et 33 du *maṣdar istiṭā'a*). Selon les genres, ce verbe est plus ou moins utilisé aux formes positive et négative à part égale. On peut donc imaginer que *istaṭā'a* / *yastaṭī'* exprime, de manière relativement « neutre », l'avis du locuteur sur la possibilité que l'action envisagée dans l'énoncé se réalise. Quand on utilise ce verbe, l'action peut, d'après le locuteur, soit se réaliser (auquel cas il utilise la forme affirmative), soit ne pas se réaliser (emploi de la forme négative).

Tableau 3

Répartition des emplois négatifs du verbe *yastaṭī'* par genre

	<i>istaṭā' / yastaṭī'</i>	<i>lā / lan / lam yastaṭī[i]</i>	% de forme négative
Blogs	336	236	41 %
Littérature	190	215	53 %
Presse	89	47	35 %
Total	615	498	45 %

Le participe passif *mustaṭā'* revient fréquemment dans l'expression « dans la mesure du possible / des capacités » (*bi-/li-qadr al-mustaṭā'*) qui apparaît 8 fois dans les blogs, 5 fois dans la littérature et une fois dans la presse. Ce participe intervient toujours en contexte positif, sauf dans l'exemple suivant¹⁴ :

¹³ Serait-il permis ici de parler d'anthropolinguistique ou d'ethnolinguistique, en considérant la place qu'une religion comme l'islam peut prendre dans le champ du possible ? En effet, la loi divine balise la capacité à agir de l'homme par des interdits (d'où le suremploi de *yajūz* à la forme négative) et laisse l'homme exercer son propre jugement pour ce qu'il s'autorise à faire dans ce champ du possible balisé.

¹⁴ Source : Roman de l'égyptien Achraf Al-Sibaḡ, *Yanāyr*, chap. 1.

- (12) *ğayr al-mustaṭā‘ ‘inda n-nās mustaṭā‘ ‘inda l-Lāh.*
Ce qui est impossible pour l’homme est possible pour Dieu.

Ce verbe peut aussi marquer la capacité (ou l’incapacité) physique à réaliser une action. Voici un exemple d’occurrence du verbe *yastaṭī‘* parmi tant d’autres¹⁵ :

- (13) *taṭālu ‘alay-hi al-ḍikrayāt ḥattā lā yakād yastaṭī‘ al-julūs waḥīdan dūna an yaḏhara ḥayālu-hā amāma-hu.*
Les souvenirs l’assaillent au point qu’il ne puisse presque pas s’asseoir seul sans qu’apparaisse devant lui son fantôme.

2. 2. Les emplois de *yumkin*, *mumkin*, *imkān*

Pour le seul emploi de l’inaccompli *yumkin*¹⁶, nous comptons 1344 occurrences dans notre corpus (2 fois plus dans les blogs que dans la presse et la littérature). Il est intéressant de noter que l’unique négation employée est « *lā* », à l’exception de 3 emplois de « *lam* » (dont deux en contexte conditionnel). Il semble que ceci peut être mis en lien avec la valeur sémantique accordée au verbe *amkana* / *yumkinu* : en effet, de tous les verbes observés, c’est celui qui est le moins employé à la forme négative. De ce fait, il marque plus encore la possibilité que les autres et, tout naturellement, s’ancre davantage dans un contexte présent et inaccompli que passé ou futur.

Tableau 4

Répartition des emplois négatifs du verbe *yumkin* par genre

	<i>yumkin</i>	<i>lā yumkin</i>	% de forme négative
Blogs	506	158	24 %
Littérature	242	99	29 %
Presse	246	93	27 %
Total	994	350	26 %

Le seul emploi assertif de *yumkin* après la négation *lam* provient d’un blog¹⁷ où l’on peut relever une autre expression de la possibilité avec l’emploi du participe passif *maqdūr* :

- (14) *iḍā kāna bi-maḥdūri-nā l-yawm an nataḥaddaṭ, bi-ba‘d mā lam yumkinnā an naqūla-hu bi-l-ams, fa-hal hādā li-anna miqaṣṣ al-raḳīb fī ḡafwa mu‘aqqata, am anna saḳf al-kalām aṣbaḥa murtafi‘an al-yawm wa-lan yanḥafiḍ marra uḥrā, ilā l-ḥaḍīḍ rubbamā, fī waqt lāḥiq, su‘āl muḥimm, mā l-laḍī sa-yaquṣṣu-hu miqaṣṣ al-raḳīb fī l-ḡad mim-mā naqūlu-hu l-yawm, wa-min-nā naḥnu ṣaḥṣiyyan ?*

¹⁵ Source : Nouvelle *al-Dākira* de la saoudienne Jumānā Lāḥim.

¹⁶ Pour des raisons pratiques de recherche, nous n’avons observé que les formes verbales de l’inaccompli dans la présente recherche.

¹⁷ Source : billet intitulé « interrogations » (*as’ila*) tiré d’un blog tunisien (<http://fatmaarabicca.blogspot.com/>).

S'il est en notre pouvoir aujourd'hui de parler de quelques sujets qu'il n'était pas possible d'aborder hier, est-ce que cela est dû aux ciseaux du censeur qui fait une sieste provisoire, ou est-ce que le seuil de parole s'est élevé aujourd'hui pour ne plus redescendre à un niveau des plus bas peut-être, plus tard, c'est une question importante, qu'est-ce que coupera la censure demain de ce que nous disons aujourd'hui et de ce que nous sommes, personnellement ?

Quant à l'emploi du participe actif *mumkin*, il apparaît 133 fois dans les blogs (les occurrences sont suivies de *an* ou figurent en structure asyndétique ; seulement 6 occurrences apparaissent en contexte négatif : *lam ya'ud / lam yakun / min ġayr al-mumkin*) ; 45 fois en littérature, avec des occurrences uniquement positives ; 26 dans la presse (2 occurrences seulement en contexte négatif : *ġayr al-mumkin*). L'expression *fī / bi- asra' / aqrab waqt mumkin* revient 10 fois dans la presse, 2 fois dans la littérature et 1 fois dans les blogs. À noter qu'aucun « *laysa min al-mumkin* » ne figure dans le corpus.

Voici un exemple de tournure asyndétique où l'empreinte du discours oral est patente¹⁸ :

- (15) *Wa-l-duwal al-'arabiyya ġā'iba aw mumkin taqūl muġayyaba tamāman'an hādā l-majāl.*

Les États arabes sont absents, ou tu peux même dire totalement occultés de ce domaine.

L'emploi du *maṣdar imkān* est relativement courant : on en dénombre 56 occurrences dans les blogs (dont seulement 5 en contexte négatif : *lam yakun / lan yakūna / lam ya'ud bi-/fī imkān...*), 44 en littérature (dont 9 en contexte négatif : *lam ya'ud / laysa bi-/fī / lam yakun / bi-'adam*) et 33 dans la presse (dont 7 en contexte négatif : *lā yakūn fī / lam yakun / mā 'āda/lam ya'ud / 'adam imkān*). L'expression *qadr al-imkān* revient 11 fois dans les blogs, 6 fois dans la presse et 3 fois dans la littérature.

Il faut noter que pour le participe *mumkin* et le *maṣdar imkān*, on tombe largement sous les 10% de forme négative, ce qui corrobore la valeur sémantique de « possible » attachée au verbe *yumkin* et à ses dérivés nominaux.

2. 3. Quelle distinction entre *yumkin* et *yastaftī* ?

L'étude des contextes d'apparition des verbes permet de dire que tous deux sont employés pour exprimer la possibilité épistémique. Sémantiquement, il n'y aurait donc pas de nuance fondamentale, ce qui explique que l'on puisse trouver les deux verbes employés comme synonymes dans la même phrase¹⁹ :

¹⁸ Source : billet écrit par Ṭāriq'Uwaydān le 15 avril 2011, intitulé "Le gain sur Internet" (*al-riḥ min al-intirnit*) et publié dans un blog (<http://ahmed-theloststar.maktoobblog.com/>).

¹⁹ Source de l'exemple 16 : roman du marocain Idris Wuld al-Qābila « Un labyrinthe d'attente » (*Matāhat intiḏār*), premier tome, chap. 8. Source de l'exemple 17 : billet intitulé « Le DemoCamp saoudien », publié le 10 mars 2009 sur un blog saoudien à l'adresse www.swalfy.com/mss/

- (16) *wuḍi 'a l-jarīḥ 'alā sarīr, ḥaḍara l-ṭabīb wa-l-mumarriḍīn [sic] wa-l-musā 'idīn [sic] wa-šara 'a l-jamī 'fī inqāḍi-hi ḥasaba l-**imkān wa-l-mustaṭā** '.*
 On déposa le blessé sur un lit, le médecin, les infirmiers et les aides-soignants présents se mirent ensemble à essayer de le sauver, dans la mesure du possible.
- (17) *in lam tastaṭī ' al-ḥuḍūr šaḥṣiyyan fa-bi-**imkāni-ka mutāba** 'at al-ḥadaṭ mubāšaratan bi-da 'm siskū.*
 Si tu ne peux pas être personnellement présent, tu peux suivre l'événement par le biais de Cisco.

Si *yastaṭī '* et *yumkin* sont souvent interchangeables, il semble en revanche au niveau de l'expression que *yastaṭī '* accepte plus facilement la forme négative que *yumkin*, qui serait donc davantage orienté vers la possibilité que l'action se réalise et moins employé pour signifier qu'une action ne peut pas se réaliser. On note aussi que les formes nominales (*mašdar* ou participes) supportent moins la négation que la forme verbale. Autrement dit, argumentativement parlant, *yastaṭī '* aurait un large prisme allant de la négation du possible au possible, alors que *yumkin* serait davantage orienté vers le possible.

3. Proposition de schématisation de l'expression du pouvoir en arabe contemporain

Dans le présent article, l'étude de deux éléments importants manque pour permettre de proposer un tableau complet de l'expression du pouvoir : il s'agit d'une part de l'expression du « pouvoir pratique » (avoir la capacité de faire quelque chose, réussir à faire quelque chose), souvent prise en charge par les verbes *tamakkana* ou *qadara* ; d'autre part, il conviendrait de rajouter à la liste des moyens dont dispose la langue arabe pour exprimer le possible un certain nombre d'outils comme l'emploi de *rubbamā*, de *qad* ou encore de *yakūn* (les trois pouvant d'ailleurs figurer de manière composée).

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'étude des verbes *yajūz*, *yasmaḥ*, *yastaṭī '* et *yumkin* représente un premier pas dans la description des différents modes d'expression du possible. L'observation de la répartition entre les formes positives et négatives permet de proposer la répartition suivante sur une échelle allant de l'impossible au possible :

← impossible		possible →	
impossible car interdit <i>lā yajūz / yasmaḥ</i>	selon une loi (divine ou humaine)	possible car permis <i>yajūz / yasmaḥ</i>	
impossible d'après le locuteur (théorique) <i>lā yastaṭī ' / yumkin</i> <i>lā yakūn</i>	selon le locuteur (théorique)	possible d'après le locuteur (théorique) <i>yastaṭī ' / yumkin</i> (<i>qad / rubbamā</i>) <i>yakūn</i>	
impossible d'après le locuteur (pratique) <i>lā yatamakkan / lā yaqdur</i>	selon le locuteur (pratique)	possible d'après le locuteur (pratique) <i>yatamakkan / yaqdur</i>	

Ainsi, la principale différence qui apparaît dans l'expression de la modalité du possible entre le français et l'arabe réside dans la multiplicité des verbes et des outils présente en arabe pour exprimer cette modalité, ce qui amène à une distinction lexicalisée entre les différents types de « pouvoir » (déontique, épistémique, pratique). L'étude plus détaillée des occurrences permet de fournir une première échelle argumentative qu'il conviendrait d'affiner en observant d'autres verbes et expressions présents en arabe contemporain ainsi qu'en analysant finement l'emploi des outils comme *qad* et *yakūn*. Selon cette échelle, il apparaît que *yajūz* et *yasmaḥ* s'opposent à *istaṭā'* et *yumkin*, les premiers employés pour exprimer la permission, les seconds davantage pour la possibilité ou la capacité ; *lā yajūz* et *lā yastaṭī'* étant préférentiellement utilisés pour la négation de ces « pouvoir » au profit de *yasmaḥ* et *yumkin* à la forme positive.

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LĀ BUDDA : DESCRIPTION SYSTÉMIQUE ET CRITÈRES SYNTAXIQUES DE DÉTERMINATION DES VALEURS DE MODALITÉ DU *DEVOIR* EN ARABE ÉCRIT CONTEMPORAIN

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Abstract. Among other expressions indicating the obligation is the existential clause *lā budda* in Arabic. Literally “no way out [to]”, it is often translated into French by “nulle échappatoire [à] (it is necessary [that])” or by the verb *devoir*, and in English by a verb like *have to* or by a modal operator like *must*. In French, *devoir* traditionally belongs at least to two distinct types of linguistic modalities, the latter being understood in a broad sense as the attitude of the speaker relatively to the propositional content of his statement, and in a restricted and Aristotelian sense as what lies within the realm of possibility and necessity and their negations as to the status of truth of the stated thing. The two types of modality which *devoir* expresses are traditionally distinguished between *radical* (also said *deontic*) and *epistemic*, to what some authors add the *alethic* modality. This article aims, within the framework of linguistic modalities in the narrow sense and from a linguistics both contrastive (confronting on one hand that of Arabic and on the other mainly that of French but also that of English) and empirical (based on a written corpus of contemporary written Arabic, journalistic and literary), to show how *lā budda* expresses what French linguistics designates, within the epistemic modality, as the *logical probability*. More precisely, this article linguistically assesses the conditions of employment of this existential clause in the sense of alethic, epistemic or deontic *devoir*. It will then be shown that, compared to French or English, Arabic seems to allow more simply, on syntactical bases, to distinguish deontic and epistemic uses of *lā budda* as well as some of its alethic uses.

Keywords: *modality, modus, dictum, de dicto, de re, necessity of being, necessity of making be, alethic, deontic, epistemic, devoir, lā budda, didactics.*

Cet article *doit* traiter des modalités linguistiques en arabe. Reste à déterminer quelle est ici la valeur du verbe *devoir*. C'est à cette question que je tenterai de répondre pour l'une des expressions arabes correspondant au *devoir* français, à savoir *lā budda*. Pour ce faire, je partirai d'une recherche empirique fondée sur un corpus d'arabe écrit contemporain, à la fois journalistique et littéraire¹. L'objet de cet article sera de déterminer si une régularité syntaxique se dégage des emplois de *lā budda* sous l'angle

¹ Pour cette étude, je me suis servi concernant le corpus d'arabe de presse de l'outil *arabiCorpus* (<http://arabicorpus.byu.edu/search.php>) que l'on doit notamment à Dilworth Parkinson, outil qui permet d'identifier n'importe quel mot sur une large échelle, et ce dans différents registres (presse, littérature, etc.). Concernant les journaux, il s'agit de *Hayāt* (1996 et 1997), *Ahrām* (1999), *Ġad* (2001 et 2002), *Tağdīd* (2002), *Waṭan* (2002), *Maṣrī al-Yawm* (2010) et *Ṭawra* (sans mention de date). Concernant le corpus littéraire, il s'agit en premier lieu du roman de Mounif, *Les Fins*, traduit en français par Éric Gautier (Mounif 2004) et de *Lā 'aḥada yanām fī al-'Iskandariyya* ('Abd al-Magīd 2011). Par ailleurs, cette étude n'est qu'en synchronie et ne traite donc que de l'état moderne, voire contemporain de l'arabe écrit dit standard. Une étude diachronique pourrait permettre de vérifier si dans un état plus ancien de la langue ce qu'on observe en arabe contemporain était déjà vrai ou s'il s'agit au contraire d'un développement récent de la langue, développement qui peut alors être soit endogène soit exogène (influence éventuelle d'autres langues comme les langues européennes au premier chef desquelles l'anglais et le français).

des modalités et, si oui, d'en expliquer les raisons. Considérons pour cela deux premiers exemples :

- (1) *lā budda 'anna mağd al-dīn ḥaṣīya min tarammul 'aḥawāti-hi 'idā māta riğāluhum, lākin kāna lā budda li-'aḥād 'an yamna 'a ḥurūğa-humā* – 'Abd al-Magid 2011 : 30
 « Magdeddine **avait dû avoir peur** que ses sœurs ne deviennent veuves si mourraient leurs hommes, mais quelqu'un **devait empêcher** leur sortie à tous les deux »
- (2) *al-mas'ala tata'allaqu bi-ğawhar al-hadağ al-'arabī wa-huwa taḥqīq al-salām. taḥqīq al-salām lā budda 'anna-hu sa-ya'ḥuđu waqtan, lā budda 'an yašhada "ṭala'āt wa-nazalāt" wa-ma 'āsī wa-irtiyāhan* – Ḥayāt 1996
 « La question est liée au cœur du dessein arabe qui est la réalisation de la paix. La réalisation de la paix **devrait prendre** du temps, **doit voir** “des hauts et des bas”, des drames et des apaisements »

Littéralement « nulle échappatoire [à] », *lā budda*, phrase existentielle, est souvent rendu en français par le verbe *devoir* (et en anglais par le verbe *have to* ou l'opérateur modal *must*). Cette phrase existentielle, formée de la négation générique *lā* suivie d'un nom inflexible en *a* sans *nunation* (*budd*), est le plus souvent décrite comme exprimant l'obligation. Or, tout comme le verbe *devoir* français ou ses équivalents anglais *must* et *have to*, *lā budda* semble correspondre, on vient de le voir avec (1) et (2), à trois types d'effets de sens distincts, la *probabilité* (1a), l'*obligation* (1b), et la *nécessité* (2a et b) et donc, puisque c'est ce dont il est question, à trois types de modalités.

Devoir, qualifié pour le français de verbe polysémique (au même titre que *pouvoir* par exemple), est en effet doté d'un noyau sous-déterminé indiquant la “nécessité abstraite” (cf. Vetters 2004 : 658), et c'est cette sous-détermination du noyau sémantique qui explique la pluralité d'effets de sens contextuels qu'il peut revêtir. Ainsi, en français, l'énoncé (α) :

(α) *Pierre doit écrire une lettre*

peut avoir, en fonction du contexte d'énonciation, au moins deux interprétations (β) et (γ) :

(β) *Pierre a l'obligation d'écrire une lettre (le directeur le lui a ordonné)*

(γ) *Pierre écrit / écrira probablement une lettre (mais je ne fais que conjecturer)*²

À ces deux valeurs, il faut toutefois en ajouter une, celle ayant un effet de sens relevant de la *nécessité logique* avec l'interprétation (δ) :

(δ) *Pierre est nécessairement en train d'écrire une lettre / Pierre écrira nécessairement une lettre (fait qui découle logiquement d'un autre)*

² Cf. Huot 1974 et Sueur 1979. Il s'agit là des deux valeurs traditionnellement attribuées à *devoir*.

On aura alors reconnu les trois types de modalités logiques ³, respectivement *déontique* ⁴, *épistémique* ⁵ et la première d'entre elles, la modalité *aléthique* ⁶.

À cet égard, l'arabe semble doté des mêmes propriétés sémantiques que le français, ainsi que le montreront les exemples suivants tirés du roman *al-Nihāyāt* d'Abdul Rahman Mounif traduit par Éric Gautier :

- (3) *'idā ẓalilta bi-hādā al-šakl fa-sawfa natruku-ka wa-namšī, wa-'anta ta'rifu ma'nā 'an yabqā al-'insān waḥīdan ma'a mayyit : lā budda 'an yuġanna 'aw 'an yamūta miṭla-hu* – Mounif 2004 : 427
« – Si tu continues comme ça, [...] on va te laisser, on va s'en aller ! Et tu sais ce que ça veut dire pour un homme de se retrouver seul avec un mort : soit il devient fou, soit il meurt lui aussi ! » (Mounif 2004, trad. Gautier : 426)
= *taqtaḍī al-ẓurūf 'an yuġanna* « [Si tout se passe comme attendu,] les circonstances impliquent qu'il devienne fou » = « il **doit** nécessairement/logiquement devenir fou ou il **doit** nécessairement/logiquement mourir » (aléthique)
- (4) *wa-qālat 'ummī "'inna 'aynan 'ašābat-nī wa-lā budda 'an taf'ala šay'an min 'aġl tard hādīhi al-'ayn al-šarīra*” – Mounif 2004 : 415-417
« – Le mauvais œil t'a frappé, ajouta ma mère, tu **dois** faire quelque chose pour le chasser » (mot à mot « ma mère ajouta que le mauvais œil m'avait frappé... » Mounif 2004, trad. Gautier : 414)
= *yaġibu 'an taf'ala šay'an* « Il faut *obligatoirement* que tu fasses quelque chose » (déontique)
- (5) – *yaġibu 'an nattaġiha 'ilā al-nāḥiya al-yusrā, li-'anna-nī 'arā nasran, lastu muta'akkidan tamāman, wa-lākin ra'aytu nasran yaḥūmu, wa-mā dāma hādā al-ṭayr ya'lū wa-yanqadḍu bi-hādīhi al-ṭarīqa fa-lā budda 'anna hunāka ša'yan !* – Mounif 2004 : 259
« Il faut se diriger vers la gauche... J'aperçois un vautour qui tourne... À le voir s'élever et piquer de cette manière, il **doit** y avoir quelque chose là-bas ! » (Mounif 2004, trad. Gautier : 258)
= *yuḥtamalu 'an yakūna hunāka* = « On fait l'hypothèse qu'il se trouve là-bas quelque chose » (épistémique)

³ Ce faisant, je distingue ici entre “obligation” et “nécessité”, classées par Sueur (1979) sous l'étiquette de modalité *radicale* (cf. *infra*). Je n'entrevois par contre pas de distinction entre “obligation” et “auto-obligation” (sur ce dernier point, cf. Veters 2004).

⁴ Du grec δέον, δέοντος (*déon, déontos*, « devoir, ce qu'il faut, ce qu'il convient »).

⁵ Du grec ancien ἐπιστήμη (*epistēmē*, « science »), épistémique qualifiant donc des modes d'expression liée à la certitude ou la supposition du locuteur quant à la réalisation du procès décrit par le verbe principal (cf. Ducrot et Schaeffer 1995 : 704).

⁶ Du grec ancien ἀλήθεια (*alētheia*, « vérité »), ces modalités sont aussi dites aristotéliennes, puisqu'elles trouvent leur origine dans *de Interpretatione* (chap. 12 et 13) et *Premiers Analytiques* où Aristote (m. 322 av. J.C.) dit que « toute prémisses pose soit une attribution pure, soit une attribution nécessaire, soit une attribution contingente » (I, 3 et 13 ; I, 8-22) (cf. Nef 1976 : 28).

- (6) *qāla muqbil bi-tiqa* : – ‘*assāf māta qabl al-kalb, lā budda ’anna ba’d al-tuyūr, rubba-mā hāda al-nasr ’aw gayra-hu, ’aḥassat wa-’arafat bi-dālika, wa-ḡā’at li-ta’ḥuḍa naṣība-hā min-hu* – Mounif 2004 : 261
 « Assaf est mort avant le chien, a affirmé Mugbil catégoriquement. Des oiseaux, peut-être ce vautour, **ont dû** le sentir et sont accourus pour prendre leur part » (Mounif 2004, trad. Gautier : 260)
 = *yuḥtamalu ’an ’aḥassat* = « On fait l’hypothèse qu’ils ont senti » (épistémique)

On le voit, d’un point de vue sémantique, et à l’instar du *devoir* français, les exemples (1) à (6) offrent des contextes relativement clairs qui permettent de voir trois valeurs bien distinctes de *lā budda*. Dans les cas (1b) et (4), il s’agit d’exprimer une *obligation* (*wuḡūb*), dans le cas (2a et b) et (3) une *nécessité logique* (*iqtidā’*), tandis que dans (1a), (5) et (6) il s’agit d’exprimer une *probabilité* (*iḥtimāl*), quelque chose dont l’énonciateur n’est pas pleinement sûr, quelque chose qu’il ne fait que conjecturer (pour preuve dans (5) *lastu muta’akkidan tamāman* « je ne suis pas sûr » et dans (6) *rubba-mā* « peut-être »).

Or, à y regarder de plus près d’un point de vue syntaxique cette fois, la situation semble contrastive entre les deux langues, et c’est ce qui est particulièrement intéressant. En français, on l’a vu avec l’exemple (α), à une seule et même syntaxe de surface correspondent au moins deux effets de sens distincts (β) et (γ). En arabe au contraire, il semble que nous puissions opposer *lā budda ’an* à *lā budda ’anna*. Faut-il alors faire pour l’arabe le pari d’une non-synonymie syntaxique et corrélativement celui de l’existence d’un système ? Si cette régularité est avérée, comment l’expliquer ?

Avant de passer à l’analyse du fonctionnement de *lā budda*⁷ à proprement parler, je présenterai tout d’abord ci-dessous quelques remarques générales concernant les modalités et leur traitement en linguistique. Je poursuivrai ensuite par montrer le traitement général de *lā budda* dans les grammaires récentes de l’arabe moderne ainsi que dans les quelques études qui peuvent en traiter incidemment. À partir d’un corpus d’arabe de presse contemporaine, je tenterai enfin de répondre aux dernières questions soulevées, à savoir celle de l’existence d’un système syntaxique discriminant en arabe et à quoi ce système, linguistiquement, correspond.

Traitant des modalités dont il va désormais être question, cette étude relève donc principalement de la sémantique. Elle cherche aussi d’un point de vue didactique et pédagogique, par une description systémique en parallèle à celle proprement linguistique, à répondre à un besoin : décrire le système arabe d’un point de vue sémantique en abordant des questions qui *devraient* être traitées dans les grammaires de l’arabe.

⁷ À l’exclusion d’autres expressions arabes équivalentes à *devoir*. Par ailleurs, je ne traiterai pas de *lā budda* dans le champ duquel se trouve le verbe opérateur *kāna-yakūn* - auquel je réserve une autre étude.

1. Remarques générales

1. 1. Les modalités

Chez les logiciens, on distingue classiquement entre modalités aléthiques (*nécessaire, possible, contingent, impossible*), épistémiques (*probable, certain, contestable, exclu*), déontiques (*obligatoire, permis, interdit, facultatif*) et existentielles (cf. von Wright 1951). Parlant de modalités en linguistique, d'autres y ajoutent les modalités temporelles, axiologiques, érotétiques, bouliques (cf. Le Querler 2004 : 644–645).

Cet article, comme l'indique son titre, est essentiellement consacré aux modalités des linguistes et non à celles des philosophes ou des logiciens. Dans le domaine linguistique dont il est question ici, il convient tout d'abord de distinguer entre "modalité d'énonciation" et "modalité d'énoncé". La première s'exerce sur l'interlocuteur en modalisant le rapport entre le sujet énonciateur et un autre sujet (cf. Le Querler 1996 : 63) ; elle se subdivise en modalités assertive, interrogative et injonctive. La seconde s'exerce sur le contenu de l'énoncé et modalise le rapport entre le sujet énonciateur et le contenu de son énoncé (cf. Le Querler 1996 : 63) ; elle se subdivise en modalités logiques (elles-mêmes distinguées en aléthique, déontique et épistémique), appréciatives et affectives (axiologique et non axiologique) (cf. tableau *infra*). Comme le dit Nølke (1993 : 143), « si les modalités d'énonciation portent sur le dire, les modalités d'énoncé portent sur le dit ». Au sein de la modalité d'énoncé dont il sera question ici, il convient donc de distinguer entre "modalité" au sens large, définie comme « l'attitude du locuteur par rapport au contenu propositionnel de son énoncé » (Le Querler 1996 : 14) et "modalité" au sens restreint, aristotélien, issu de *de Interpretatione* (chap. 12 et 13). Dans ce dernier cas, il s'agit « uniquement de ce qui, au niveau sémantique, correspond au domaine du possible, du nécessaire et de leurs négations » (Larreya 2000 : 177), c'est-à-dire de la modalité aléthique.

En linguistique, notamment à la suite de Hofmann 1976 (plus récemment Larreya 2000 : 178 et Larreya 2004 : 734), on distingue traditionnellement entre modalité radicale et modalité épistémique. La première correspond au domaine de l'*action*, la seconde au domaine de la *connaissance*, c'est-à-dire du savoir ou de la croyance de savoir qu'a le locuteur quant à la vérité du contenu propositionnel de son énoncé. Cette dichotomie, dont il va être question à présent, semblerait néanmoins devoir laisser place à une trichotomie en réintégrant la modalité aléthique selon la proposition de Kronning 1996.

Radicale est un terme issu de la tradition linguistique anglo-saxonne sous lequel on peut distinguer, en fonction de la qualité morale ou physique de la contrainte (*devoir*) ou de la possibilité (*pouvoir*), une modalité déontique d'une part et une modalité physique de l'autre (cf. Larreya 2004 : 734). *Déontique* n'y a alors qu'un sens restreint. Dans la tradition linguistique française, *déontique* est au contraire plus large, et correspond alors *grosso modo* à la notion de modalité radicale. J'emploierai pour ma part, sans distinguer de niveau moral ou physique, *déontique* dans le seul sens recouvrant, pour le verbe *devoir*, la notion d'obligation et non celle de nécessité logique⁸. Concernant cette

⁸ Qu'il est possible d'opposer à partir d'un critère d'agentivité humaine pour la première, non-humaine pour la seconde (cf. Sueur 1979 : 98–99 et Sueur 1983 : 166). Sous la plume de ce dernier, *obligation* correspond donc à *déontique* comme sous-catégorie de radicale et *nécessité* à *physique* sous le même

dernière, je parlerai de modalité aléthique⁹, comme dans « l'examen *doit* absolument avoir lieu demain, il n'est pas question qu'il soit reporté » (Le Querler 1996 : 54) ou « tous les hommes *doivent* mourir » (cf. Kronning 1996 : 94).

La modalité épistémique, elle, « consiste à attribuer à une proposition [...] une valeur de vérité (VRAI, FAUX, PROBABLE, POSSIBLE, etc.). [...] La modalité épistémique se subdivise en deux sous-domaines : la modalité problématique (ou modalité des degrés de probabilité, dite aussi épistémique prototypique, Larreya 2001 : 114, note 12) et la modalité implicative » (Larreya 2004 : 734–735, cf. aussi Le Querler 2004 : 647)¹⁰. Cette dernière dichotomie correspond à une définition étroite de la modalité épistémique où la distinction est faite entre “problématique” et “implicative” sur la base respectivement de l'exclusion ou de l'inclusion de ce que Larreya nomme la “futurité”, définie comme désignant, « dans le domaine du groupe verbal, la référence à un événement (a) situé dans l'avenir et (b) présenté comme certain » (Larreya 2000 : 179, note 7)¹¹. Dans cette perspective, la modalité implicative « établit une relation d'implication entre deux propositions » (Larreya 2004 : 735).

rapport.

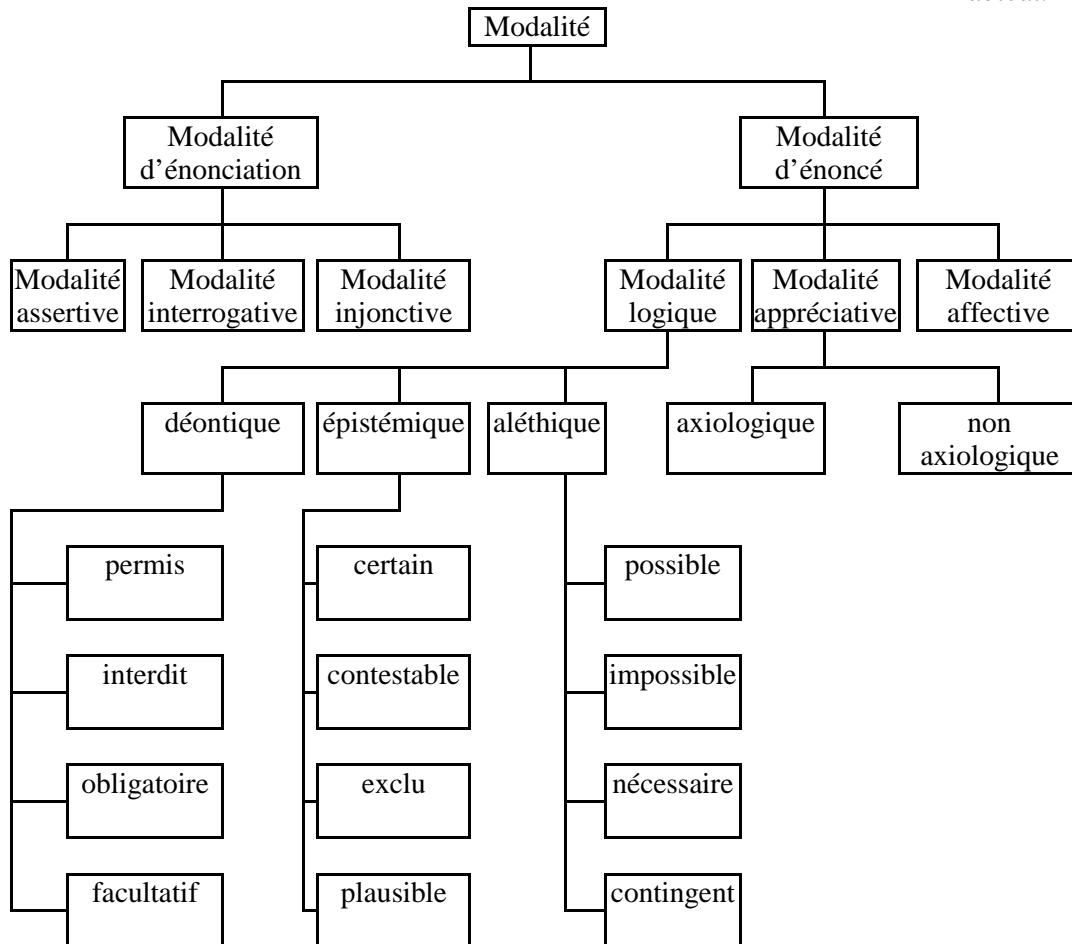
⁹ Même si cette appellation de modalités aléthiques, dans le cas d'Aristote, a été rejetée « parce qu'elle laisse entendre que ce sont les seules modalités qui peuvent avoir une valeur de vérité. [...] Un autre nom leur a été donné par la suite, moins contesté : celui de modalités ontiques » (Le Querler 2004 : 644).

¹⁰ Cette sous-division implicative est introduite par Larreya 1982.

¹¹ Je reviendrai plus loin sur ce concept de futurité appliqué à *lā budda* en arabe écrit contemporain.

Le tableau suivant propose une classification des modalités inspirée de Meunier 1974 et Darrault 1976 :

Tableau 1



1. 2. Les modalités de *devoir*

La tradition linguistique française, sur la base de la dichotomie déontique / épistémique, se contente généralement d'attribuer à *devoir* l'une de ces deux valeurs (cf. notamment Huot 1974, Sueur 1975, Sueur 1979 et Tasmowski 1980)¹². Toutefois, à partir des distinctions présentées plus haut (Larreya, Le Querler), il semble heuristiquement probant

¹²Pour une liste des critères syntaxiques qui permettent de distinguer les effets de sens déontiques de ceux épistémiques (au sens large), cf. Sueur 1979 : 109–110, et parmi ceux-ci l'interrogation et la pronominalisation par un pronom neutre "le" (cf. aussi Rooryck 1989 : 193, Veters et Barbet 2006 : 204). Cette pronominalisation est par ailleurs liée à la modalité du faire dont il sera question plus bas (cf. Veters 2012 : 36).

de substituer à la présentation bipartite une classification tripartite : faire de la modalité implicative une modalité de même niveau que la modalité déontique et que la modalité épistémique de sens restreint (i.e. problématique)¹³. Cette tripartition correspond à celle de Larreya 1984¹⁴ et n'est pas sans rappeler celle de Kronning 1996 qui distingue entre modalités déontique, épistémique et aléthique (définie au sens large)¹⁵. Pour le dire rapidement, aléthique marque alors une relation de nécessité logique entre deux propositions, indiquant une conclusion logique de type nécessaire¹⁶.

Pour la suite de mon propos, j'adopterai la tripartition de Kronning et verrai comment celle-ci peut s'appliquer à l'arabe. Nous aurons donc respectivement *devoir_D*, *devoir_E* et *devoir_A*¹⁷. Par rapport au temps de référence de l'énoncé (qui peut être celui de l'énonciation), le procès modalisé par *devoir_D* peut être antérieur (β 1), concomitant (β 2) ou postérieur (β 3) ; celui de *devoir_E* antérieur (γ 1) ou concomitant (γ 2), celui de *devoir_A* uniquement postérieur (δ)¹⁸ :

- (β 1) Il a été muté l'an dernier. Il *a dû déménager* (= il a été contraint de déménager)
Je *devais* le faire (= j'étais contraint de le faire)
- (β 2) Tu as un devoir sur table demain. Tu *dois réviser* tes leçons (= tu es contraint de réviser)
- (β 3) Demain nous sommes le 8 mai. Tu *devras défiler* (= tu seras contraint de défiler)
- (γ 1) Je ne le vois plus dans le quartier. Il *a dû déménager* (= tout m'indique qu'il a déménagé)
- (γ 2) Il est 8h. Il *doit* [être en train de] partir au travail (= tout m'indique qu'il part au travail)
- (δ a) Shimon Peres [...] est arrivé hier à Paris. Il *doit/devrait s'entretenir* ce matin à l'Élysée avec le président François Mitterrand¹⁹ (= si tout se passe comme prévu,

¹³ J'en profite pour noter que tout énoncé est en fait épistémique, en ce sens que l'alternative du locuteur est simple : soit il « se présente comme sachant que le procès a eu lieu ou a lieu en ce moment » (Foullioux 2003 : 111) soit il se présente comme ne sachant pas. Dans l'usage qu'en fait la tradition linguistique, *épistémique* ne correspond donc qu'au second terme de cette alternative et plus exactement à ce qui vient d'être nommé *problématique* qui peut dès lors être qualifié d'épistémique prototypique (cf. Larreya 2001 : 114, note 12).

¹⁴ Qui s'exprime à partir de la linguistique de l'anglais. Cet auteur présente depuis une double dichotomie *déontique* vs *épistémique* et sous ce dernier *problématique* vs *implicative*. J'espère montrer grâce à l'arabe que la tripartition des valeurs modales de *devoir* (Larreya 1984 et Kronning) est plus adéquate que le dernier modèle doublement bipartite envisagé par Larreya d'une part, Le Querler d'autre part, la valeur *implicative* (*aléthique*) se trouvant à la fois sous *épistémique* et sous *déontique*.

¹⁵ La valeur aléthique est définie chez cet auteur de manière plus large que celle des logiciens. Il parle notamment d'élargissement aléthique (cf. Kronning 2001b : 69).

¹⁶ Terminologiquement, chez Kronning, *déontique* est à comprendre au sens large comme son équivalent anglo-saxon *radicale* ; *épistémique* correspond au sous-type *problématique* de Larreya et Le Querler ; *aléthique* au sous-type *implicative*, et est donc en rapport avec la *futurité*, c'est-à-dire avec l'idée de *prospéction* (cf. Gosselin 1999 : 47, note 32), c'est-à-dire de *postériorité* ou de *décalage temporel* (cf. *infra*).

¹⁷ Qui sera considéré ici à la fois comme l'équivalent du *devoir_I* (modalité implicative) de Larreya et Le Querler et du *devoir_T* (modalité temporelle) de Foullioux 2003 : 111 qui relie justement ce terme à l'aléthique de Kronning.

¹⁸ Mis à part les énoncés universels analytiques comme *tous les hommes doivent mourir* (cf. Kronning 1996, Kronning 2001a et Kronning 2001b).

¹⁹ Exemple repris de Kronning 2001b : 74.

- il s'entretiendra)
(δb) Plus tard aujourd'hui, ils *devaient*²⁰ *se rendre* à Addis-Abeba²¹ (= tout s'est passé de telle sorte qu'ils se sont rendus)

Enfin, du *devoir*_E qui exprime donc la probabilité, c'est-à-dire de ce que l'énonciation sait ou croit savoir quant à la vérité du contenu propositionnel, je ne traiterai pas de l'identité ou de l'origine évidentielle que je considère comme acquise²². Je me contenterai dans le cadre restreint de cet article de rappeler que *devoir*_E désigne une « opération mentale complexe de création d'information » (Dendale 1994 : 27) au cours de laquelle le locuteur 1. génère ou active une série de prémisses (majeures et mineures) en fonction de la situation extra-linguistique donnée ; 2. infère de ces prémisses une ou plusieurs conclusions virtuelles et 3. évalue ces conclusions pour les rejeter toutes à l'exclusion d'une seule qu'il (se) présente comme étant la seule valable, la seule *probable*²³.

2. État de la question dans les grammaires et études contemporaines de l'arabe moderne

2. 1. Les grammaires

Neyreneuf et al-Hakkak classent *lā budda* dans l'expression de l'obligation (conjointement à *lā mafarra*, *lā mandūḥata* et *lā manāṣa*) avec la forme syntaxique suivante : *lā budda la-hu min {an yaḥ'ala/maṣdar}*. L'exemple qu'ils donnent est le suivant : *lā budda la-nā min 'an nata'allama al-'arabiyya* (« nous devons apprendre l'arabe ») (cf. Neyreneuf et Al-Hakkak 1996 : 253) où la valeur de modalité de cette phrase existentielle est clairement déontique²⁴ (puisque paraphrasable en arabe par

²⁰ Je n'entreverrai pas ici la valeur contrefactuelle du type *il devait venir, mais il ne l'a pas fait*.

²¹ <http://www.un.org/apps/newsFr/storyF.asp?NewsID=31275#.VUxh-hfbnho>

²² Le conditionnel épistémique (journalistique, dit aussi d'altérité énonciative, cf. *infra*) et *devoir*_E ne relèveraient pas à proprement parler et uniquement de la *modalité épistémique*, mais de la *médiation épistémique*, c'est-à-dire de l'évidentialité. Je me contente de renvoyer sur la question de l'évidentialité en rapport avec *devoir* à Dendale 1994, Dendale et De Mulder 1996, Dendale 1998, Dendale 1999, Dendale 2000, Dendale 2001a, Larreya 2000 (notamment : 180), et Kronning 2004.

²³ L'idée d'une conclusion unique se retrouve déjà chez Sueur 1979 : 108–109 et Sueur 1983 : 181 ainsi que chez Tasmowski et Dendale 1994 : 54. C'est là ce qui distingue profondément *devoir*_E (plusieurs conclusions inférées non-équivalentes) de *pouvoir*_E (plusieurs conclusions inférées équivalentes) et de *futur*_E (une seule conclusion inférée) (cf. Dendale 1994 : 34, Tasmowski et Dendale 1998 et Dendale 2001a).

²⁴ C'est du reste la seule *présentation* qui prévaut ailleurs, cf. Badawi *et al.* 2004 : 294, 466, 596–597 ; Buckley 2004 : 700 ; Schulz *et al.* 2008 : 98, Imbert 2008 : 173 ; Sawaie 2014 : 98. Chez Caspari-Wright *lā budda* est dit synonyme de *lā mahāḥata*, traduit en anglais par « *most certainly* ; lit., *there is no avoiding of it* » (Wright 1996 : I, 289c), soit « *très certainement* ; lit. *on ne peut éviter de...* ». Il semble donc que ce « *très certainement* » n'équivaille pas exactement à une obligation de type déontique, même si la paraphrase littérale y revient. D'autres enfin n'évoquent pas *lā budda*. C'est le cas notamment de Holes 2004, Ryding 2005, et Corriente 2006. Si la *présentation* de *lā budda* est la même, cette phrase existentielle étant montré comme déontique, certaines traductions (notamment Badawi *et al.* 2004 : 597, Buckley 2004 : 700) sont, elles, épistémiques même si le terme n'est pas écrit et même si *lā budda* n'est pas décrit comme pouvant revêtir ce sens. Une seule exception,

yağibu 'an nata 'allama et non par **taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an nata 'allama* ou **yuḥtamalu 'an nata 'allama*).

Dans cette grammaire, on trouve pourtant au moins à deux reprises le verbe *devoir*_E. C'est notamment le cas à la section suivante intitulée « Expression de la probabilité » où il est la traduction de deux structures arabes différentes. Il s'agit d'une part de *rubba-mā waṣala 'abū-hu al-yawm* (« son père doit être arrivé aujourd'hui ») et d'autre part de *qad takūnu fī al-maktabati* (« elle doit être dans la bibliothèque ») (cf. Neyreneuf et Al-Hakkak 1996 : 255)²⁵.

Cela appelle plusieurs commentaires. D'une part, l'exemple en *rubba-mā* aurait certainement été mieux traduit par « peut-être son père est-il arrivé aujourd'hui ». D'autre part, les auteurs présentent la structure *qad + yaḥ'alu*²⁶ en la traduisant de deux manières différentes. La seconde ainsi que nous l'avons vu par recours au *devoir*_E, mais la première par un futur qui pourrait être dit épistémique, *qad yaṣilu 'abū-hu al-yawm* étant traduit « son père arrivera peut-être aujourd'hui ». Enfin, le fait est que les structures en *qad + yaḥ'alu* sont semble-t-il mieux décrites comme les équivalents français du conditionnel d'altérité énonciative²⁷, c'est-à-dire par les formes en *-RAIS* du français où l'énonciateur marque son attitude par rapport au contenu propositionnel qu'il transmet en présentant cette information comme 1. *incertaine*, 2. *empruntée* à une source qu'il n'identifie pas

remarquable, est celle d'El-Ayoubi *et al.* Ils notent que *lā budda* signifie bien “es gibt keinen Ausweg”, “es muß sein” (El-Ayoubi *et al.* 2010 : II, 326), indiquant donc que le verbe *müssen*, à l'instar de son équivalent français *devoir*, est ambigu entre déontique et épistémique. Ils indiquent néanmoins que « Die mit *lā budda* [...] gebildeten Wendungen weisen zwei Konstruktionsweisen mit unterschiedlichen Beteutungen auf : a) mit infinitivischer Ergänzung als Ausdruck des ‘Müssens’ ; b) mit einem durch den Subjunktor *'anna* untergeordneten Nominalsatz, wodurch die Beurteilung eines Sachverhalts als notwendigerweise so und nicht anders hingestellt wird » (El-Ayoubi *et al.* 2010 : II, 326). Dans ce second cas, les auteurs sont plus explicites, parlant d'un effet de sens de *certitude* (*Gewißheit*) ce qui relie ce sens à la modalité épistémique, même si les termes *déontique* ou *épistémique* ne sont pas employés : « Wenn zu *lā budda* ein durch den Subjunktor *'anna* eingeführter, eine Sachverhaltsfeststellung beinhaltender Nominalsatz als Prädikat tritt, drückt *lā budda* die Gewißheit aus, daß diese Feststellung so und nicht anders sein muß : *lā budda 'anna* “es muß unbedingt so sein, daß...”, “es kann nicht anders sein, als daß...” » (El-Ayoubi *et al.* 2010 : II, 329).

²⁵ Kouloughli présente la même structure avec une traduction quelque peu différente : *qad ya 'ī ḡadan* « il se peut qu'il vienne demain » (Kouloughli 1994 : 178). Ce faisant, il offre une traduction se situant du côté du *possible* et non du *probable*. Il n'est pas le seul à interpréter de même manière cette structure. C'est ainsi le cas de *qad + yaḥ'alu* rendu par « peut-être » comme dans *qad yaktubu* traduit « perhaps, he will write » (Schulz *et al.* 2008 : 82) et « quizás escriba alguna vez » (Corriente 2006 : 149). Pour d'autres, *qad + yaḥ'alu* indique l'incertitude, situant là encore le tour du côté du *possible* et non du *probable* : « *qad + imperfect indicative expresses uncertainty* (“might”, “may”) » (Buckley 2004 : 552).

²⁶ Pour éviter certaines confusions, dues en grande partie à la dénomination usuelle en français des formes verbales de l'arabe en “accompli” et “inaccompli”, dénominations qui dénotent des valeurs aspectuelles et cachent alors les distinctions à faire entre les catégories de temps, d'aspect, de mode et de modalité (cf. Larcher 2012), j'emploie ici pour désigner les formes verbales de l'arabe d'un point de vue strictement morphologique les termes *fa'ala* et *yaḥ'alu*.

²⁷ Sur cette dénomination que l'on doit à Haillet 1998 (cf. aussi Haillet 2001, Haillet 2002, Haillet 2009, Haillet 2014), et concurrente avec d'autres pour indiquer ce que par commodité il est aussi possible de nommer “conditionnel journalistique”, je renvoie en plus de cet auteur à Korzen et Nölke 1990; Dendale 1993, Dendale 2001b, Abouda 2001, Coltier et Dendale 2004, Bres 2010, Kronning 2002 et Kronning 2012.

comme sûre et 3. *non-assumée, non-prise en charge* par lui. En conséquence, les traductions des deux phrases auraient mieux été les suivantes : «son père arriverait aujourd’hui» et «elle serait dans la bibliothèque».

2. 2. Les études

Il y a théoriquement plus de chances de voir traitées les catégories de modalités dans les études que dans les grammaires. Toutefois, la question a semble-t-il jusqu’à présent peu intéressé les chercheurs s’exprimant sur l’arabe²⁸. Quant à *lā budda* qui nous occupe, ceux qui en parlent sont encore moins nombreux. Cette phrase existentielle est classée dans la modalité aléthique (*lā budda ‘anna*) et déontique (*lā budda ‘an*) mais pas épistémique (cf. Anghelescu 2004 : 372–373).²⁹ Il peut aussi être inclus dans la modalité épistémique tout en lui conservant son statut déontique. C’est le cas d’une thèse récente (cf. Moshref 2012 : 122 et ssq.) où l’auteur reconnaît que «in example 172, the modals *lāzim/lā budda* mean strong obligation, while in example 173, they mean a high degree of certainty» (Moshref 2012 : 125)³⁰. Il en va de même ailleurs où *lā budda* est traduit par *must* ou *have to* avec à chaque fois deux lectures, déontique et épistémique (al-Qinai 2008 : 45)³¹.

Si le double statut déontique et épistémique de *lā budda* semble donc être reconnu, rien n’est dit d’une éventuelle troisième valeur, et surtout rien ne vient expliquer la différence entre ces deux *lā budda*-s ou même si une différence peut être faite. Dès lors, sommes-nous en face d’un cas d’homonymie (*lā budda ‘an* = *lā budda ‘anna*) et en même temps de polysémie comme c’est le cas de *devoir* en français ? Par ailleurs, rien ne permet à l’apprenant de savoir quels équivalents arabes choisir pour rendre l’une ou l’autre des nuances comprises dans *devoir*. C’est donc aussi à cette question légitime qu’il s’agit désormais de répondre³².

3. Corpus journalistique et première impression

Dans les exemples (1) à (6) *lā budda* semble bien devoir recevoir tantôt une interprétation de type épistémique et probabiliste (le *probable* étant intermédiaire entre le *possible* et le

²⁸ Citons néanmoins Larcher 2012 [2003] : 141–145, Larcher 2007 et Pinon 2013 : 314–317, dont l’objet porte sur le verbe opérateur *kāna–yakūnu*.

²⁹ Il sera du reste montré que notre collègue, même si elle n’en disait pas plus, entrevoyait bien les choses lorsqu’elle distinguait *lā budda ‘an* de *lā budda ‘anna*.

³⁰ Les deux exemples qu’il cite sont respectivement *lā budda ‘an yaḏhaba* et *lā budda ‘anna-hu qad ḏahaba* (Moshref 2012 : 126). Malheureusement, rien de plus n’en est dit.

³¹ Cet auteur donne par ailleurs seulement deux exemples déontiques en *lā budda ‘an yaḏ‘ala* et en *lā budda min + maṣḏar* (al-Qinai 2008 : 47 et 48). Enfin, on ne trouve rien de plus chez al-Tamimi s. d. et Qanber Ali s. d.

³² Pour une même attitude didactique et pédagogique concernant le traitement de *devoir* en français et danois, cf. Kjærsgaard 2003 : 96.

*certain*³³), tantôt une interprétation relevant clairement du domaine déontique et de l'obligation, tantôt enfin une interprétation de type aléthique liée à la nécessité logique. Il en va de même avec les exemples (7) à (10) où les effets de sens ne laissent pas de doute, (7) et (8) étant manifestement déontiques (ici obligation morale), (9) clairement épistémique, et (10) recevant sans peine une interprétation aléthique, ce que les paraphrases indiquent :

- (7) *lā budda 'an nusağğila li-l-sayyida liyā rābīn 'anna-hā istatā'at 'an tatalaffaza bi-ibāra yumkinu 'an yufhama min-hā – bi-šay' min al-ğahd – 'anna-hā tu'arīdu binā' mustawtana "hārḥūmā" fī ġabal 'abū ġanīm – Ḥayāt 1997*
 « Nous **devons enregistrer** au compte de Madame Léa Rabin qu'elle a été capable de proférer une expression dont on peut comprendre de sa part – avec un peu d'effort – qu'elle s'oppose à la construction de la colonie "Har 'Homa" sur la colline d'Abou Ghanim »
 = *yağibu / *yuḥtamalu / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an nusağilla* « Il faut que nous enregistrons *obligatoirement / *probablement / *nécessairement* », « quelque chose exige [*qu'on pense] que nous enregistrons »³⁴ (déontique)
- (8) *na'tabiru 'anna al-ğīl al-qādim lā budda 'an yamtalika furšata-hu huwa al-'āḥar, wa-lā budda la-hu min 'an ya tša ḥayāt 'aqrab 'ilā al-ṭabī'iyā – Ğad 01*
 « Nous considérons que la prochaine génération **doit être** maître de son moment à son tour, et qu'elle **doit vivre** une vie plus proche de la vie naturelle »
 = *yağibu / *yuḥtamalu / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an yamtalika* « Il faut *obligatoirement / *probablement / *nécessairement* qu'elle soit », « quelque chose exige [*qu'on pense] que la prochaine génération soit maître » (déontique)
- (9) *wa-l-ra'īs ḥusnī mubārak al-laḍī ḥāwala 'an yusā'ida fī 'iḥār ra'īs al-ḥukūma al-'isrā'īliyya bi-maḥzar man yurīdu 'an yukammila al-masīra al-silmiyya, fataḥaddaṭa 'an-hu bi-'iğābiyya ba'd liqā'i-himā al-'aḥīr, lā budda 'anna-hu yudriku al-'āna 'anna kull al-wu'ūd al-latī 'a'ṭā-hā nitāniyāhū fī al-liqā' lam takun siwā wu'ūd kāḍiba lā tastahdifu siwā kasb al-waqt [...] – Ḥayāt 1996*
 « Le président Hosni Moubarak, qui a essayé d'aider à montrer le chef du gouvernement israélien sous l'apparence de quelqu'un souhaitant parachever le processus de paix, et qui en conséquence avait parlé de lui de manière positive après leur dernière rencontre, **doit désormais saisir** que toutes les promesses que lui a faites Netanyahu durant la rencontre n'étaient que des promesses

³³ Cf. l'opposition, sur le plan sémantique, de *possible* à *certain* (Horn 1972) et le caractère intermédiaire de *probable* dans ce couple (Geerts et Melis 1976 : 113, note 13).

³⁴ Comme l'indique Larreya à qui j'emprunte cette paraphrase, dans celle-ci, « la proposition qui figure entre crochets est une proposition "flottante" : elle est absente dans le cas d'un emploi radical du verbe de modalité, et c'est seulement lorsque le verbe est utilisé avec une valeur épistémique qu'elle intervient dans le sens de l'énoncé – et elle intervient alors sous la forme d'un non-dit » (Larreya 2003 : 174). Aussi, même s'il est parfois difficile de décider de la présence ou de l'absence d'une telle proposition, les énoncés de ce type demeurant alors ambigus (cf. Larreya 2003 : 174 et Larreya 2004 : 735–736), lorsque sa présence est requise (i.e. si son absence débouche sur une paraphrase inadmissible d'un point de vue sémantique), c'est que l'énoncé n'admet pas de lecture déontique, ce que montre assez bien (9). Dans le cas de (7) et (8), sa présence est au contraire impropre, indiquant alors l'identité déontique de l'énoncé.

- mensongères qui ne visaient qu'à gagner du temps [...]»
 = **yağibu / yuḥtamalu / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an yudrika* « On fait l'hypothèse qu'il saisit/est en train de saisir *obligatoirement / probablement (+ sans doute + certainement)³⁵ / *nécessairement », « *il faut qu'il saisisse », « quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] qu'il saisit » (épistémique)
- (10) *wa-lā budda 'an tatba 'a ziyārat al-wafd al-'arabī li-sūriya ziyārāt wa-itṭiṣalāt 'alā mustawā al-waṭan al-'arabī kulli-hi* – Ḥayāt 1997
 « Et **doivent suivre** la visite de la délégation arabe en Syrie des visites et des communications au niveau de la patrie arabe dans son ensemble »
 = **yağibu / *yuḥtamalu / taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an tatba 'a* « [Si tout se passe comme prévu,] les circonstances exigent qu'elles doivent suivre *obligatoirement / probablement / nécessairement », « quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] qu'elles suivent » (aléthique)

Dans (7), le locuteur-en-tant-que-tel est en même temps locuteur en tant qu'être du monde. Dans le contexte d'énonciation qui est le sien, il ne peut donc que savoir qu'il enregistre effectivement. Dans (9) au contraire, il s'agit de conjecturer sur le caractère vrai du verbe modalisé. Dans (10) enfin, il s'agit d'indiquer qu'après cette première visite, d'autres devraient logiquement suivre...

N'est-il pas possible de distinguer, sur des bases syntaxiques et non seulement contextuelles, les trois valeurs exprimées par *lā budda* ci-dessus ? Considérons quelques autres exemples :

- (11) *lā budda min 'an nataḍakkara 'anna 'asās al-ḥayāt al-masīḥiyya huwa al-ṭā'a wa-l-tawāḍu' 'alā ḥasab qawl al-sayyid al-masīḥ* – Ġad 01
 « Nous **devons nous souvenir** que le principe de la vie chrétienne est l'obéissance et l'humilité selon le dire du Christ »
 = *yağibu / *yuḥtamalu / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an nataḍakkara* « Il faut que nous nous souvenions *obligatoirement / probablement / nécessairement* », « quelque chose exige [*qu'on pense] que nous nous souvenions » (déontique)
- (12) *lā budda 'anna farānsuwā brūn qad qara 'a hādīhi al-fikra fī kitāb "al-tārīḥ wa-l-wa'y al-ṭabaqī" wa-saḥaba-hā 'alā mawḍū'i-hi huwa* – Ḥayāt 1997
 « François Brune **doit bien avoir lu/a bien dû lire**³⁶ cette idée dans l'ouvrage "Histoire et la conscience de classe"³⁷ et l'avoir tirée vers son sujet à lui »³⁸
 = **yağibu / yuḥtamalu / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an [qad] qara 'a* « On fait l'hypothèse

³⁵ Indique une gradation montante sur l'échelle de probabilité. Suite à un affaiblissement, *sans doute* est devenu ambigu en français, signifiant justement l'existence d'un doute, et a été renforcé par *sans aucun doute*. C'est ce qui explique sa place entre *probable* et *certain*.

³⁶ Sur la différence entre *doit avoir fait* (i.e. verbe modal_{temps simple} + infinitif_{composé}) et *a dû faire* (i.e. verbe modal_{temps composé} + infinitif_{simple}), hors contexte, le premier semble devoir être compris comme essentiellement épistémique, le second comme passible des deux lectures, épistémique et déontique (ex. *ils ont dû faire amende honorable* vs *ils doivent avoir fait amende honorable*). Cela rejoint au moins en partie la position de Le Querler sur cette question (cf. Kjærsgaard 2003 : 92, note 2).

³⁷ *Geschichte und Klassenbewußte* (1923) de George Lukács (1885 – 1971).

³⁸ À propos de Brune, François. 1997. *Les médias pensent comme moi*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

qu'il a lu *obligatoirement / probablement (+ sans doute + certainement) / *nécessairement», «*il faut qu'il ait lu», «quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] qu'il a lu» (épistémique)

- (13) *iṭṭala 'tu fi ṣahīfat "al-ḥayāt" fi 'adadi-hā raqam [...] 'alā al-ḥalqa al-ḥāmisa min dikrayāt al-marḥūm yāsīn al-ḥāfiz, wa-qad warada fi-hā ismī fi siyāq ḥabar lā ṣiḥḥata la-hu 'iṭlāqan. wa-'idā lam yakun qā'il ḥādā al-ḥabar qad iḥtalaqa-hu iḥtilāqan, fa-lā budda min 'anna-hu ḥalaṭa baynī wa-bayn 'insān 'āḥar laysa min ṭab'ī wa-lā 'āṣa fi bī'atī, wa-lā yantamī 'ilā al-wasaṭ al-laḍī 'antamī 'ilay-hi – Ḥayāt 1997*

«J'ai pris connaissance dans le journal "al-Ḥayāt" dans son numéro [...] du cinquième épisode des mémoires de feu Yāsīn al-Ḥāfiz, dans lequel se trouvait mentionné mon nom dans un contexte d'information sans aucune forme d'exactitude. Si celui qui a rapporté cette nouvelle ne l'a pas complètement inventée, alors il **doit m'avoir confondu/a dû me confondre** avec un autre que moi qui n'a pas mon caractère, n'a pas vécu dans mon milieu, ni n'appartient au milieu auquel j'appartiens»

= **yaḡibu / yuḥtamalu / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an ḥalaṭa* «On fait l'hypothèse qu'il m'a confondu *obligatoirement / probablement (+ sans doute + certainement) / *nécessairement», «*il faut qu'il m'ait confondu», «quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] qu'il m'a confondu» (épistémique)

Enfin, deux autres exemples montrant cette fois-ci des *maṣdar*-s (noms verbaux) et non des formes verbales *stricto sensu* dans le champ de *lā budda* :

- (14) *i'tiqād ba'd al-nās 'anna-hu lā budda min ḡasl al-farḡ qabl kull wuḍū' – Facebook*³⁹

«Un croyance de certaines personnes est que le vagin **doit être lavé** avant chaque ablution»

= *yaḡibu / *yuḥtamalu / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an yuḡsala* «Il faut qu'il soit lavé *obligatoirement* / *probablement / *nécessairement», «quelque chose exige [*qu'on pense] qu'il soit lavé» (déontique)

- (15) *wa-lā budda li-ḥukūmāt duwal al-minṭaqa min ittibā' siyāsāt taṣḥīḥ iqtisādīyya wāḍiḥa – Ḥayāt 1997*

«Les gouvernements des États de la région **doivent suivre** des politiques de redressement économique claires»

= *yaḡibu / *yuḥtamalu / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an tatba'a* «Il faut qu'ils suivent *obligatoirement* / *probablement / *nécessairement», «quelque chose exige [*qu'on pense] qu'ils suivent» (déontique)

L'exemple (11), dont la syntaxe est semblable à celle de (1b), (2b), (3), (4), (7), (8) et (10)⁴⁰, à savoir *lā budda (la-hu) (min) 'an + yaf'ala*, relève de la modalité non épistémique (aléthique ou déontique). *A contrario*, les exemples (12) et (13), dont la

³⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/wodhou2/posts/506986366026554>

⁴⁰ Ainsi qu'aux premiers exemples respectifs de al-Qinai 2008 : 47 et Moshref 2012 : 126.

syntaxe est identique à celle de (1a), (2a), (5), (6) et (9)⁴¹, à savoir *lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + fa'ala/yaf'alu*, ressortissent à la modalité épistémique. Enfin, les exemples (14) et (15), de forme *lā budda (la-hu) min + maṣdar* relèvent encore de la modalité déontique. En résumé, il semblerait que *lā budda (la-hu) {(min) 'an + yaf'ala/min + maṣdar}*, c'est-à-dire *in fine {lā budda 'an + procès verbal}*, exprime la modalité non épistémique tandis que *lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + fa'ala/yaf'alu*, c'est-à-dire *{lā budda 'anna + phrase nominale}*, exprimerait au contraire la modalité épistémique (cf. tableau suivant). Comment comprendre que la syntaxe de l'arabe distingue ainsi entre les modalités exprimées par *lā budda*, ce qui n'est pas, on l'a vu avec (β), (γ) et (δ), le cas en français ?

Tableau 2

	Valeur de modalité
<i>lā budda 'an</i>	non épistémique (aléthique ou déontique)
<i>lā budda 'anna</i>	épistémique

4. Différences syntaxiques entre *lā budda 'an* et *lā budda 'anna*

Pour montrer la différence existant entre *lā budda 'an* et *lā budda 'anna*⁴², commençons par observer le résultat des transformations temporelles faites à partir de ces deux structures⁴³. On en profitera par ailleurs pour noter les différences d'effets de sens produits.

4.1. Approche transformationnelle de *lā budda 'an*

Observons en premier lieu le comportement de la structure *lā budda 'an*. On a vu avec les exemples (2b), (3), (4), (7), (8), (10) et (11) comment cette structure s'exprimait au présent. Au passé, un premier exemple a été vu en (1b). Poursuivons ici par les exemples (16) à (18) pour le passé et (19) pour le futur :

- (16) *haykal : kāna lā budda min muḥākamāt mubārak siyāsiyyan fa-huwa yumattilu dawlat fasād wa-laysa fasād dawla* – Kayhan 2014⁴⁴
 « Heikal : on **devait juger** Moubarak politiquement, car il représente un État de corruption et non une corruption d'État »

⁴¹ Ainsi qu'au second exemple de Moshref 2012 : 126.

⁴² Pour chacune des deux structures la particule de coordination *wa-* peut être insérée après *lā budda* sans changement de statut de modalité : *lā budda (wa-) 'an* et *lā budda (wa-) 'anna*.

⁴³ Il faut donc ici comprendre *temps*, ambigu dans la terminologie grammaticale du français, comme celui de la temporalité, c'est-à-dire le temps chronologique situé par rapport au moment de l'énonciation, équivalent de *time* en anglais et de *Zeit* en allemand, et non comme le temps verbal, c'est-à-dire le temps de la conjugaison, ce que Damourette et Pichon 1936 nomment "tiroir verbal" et équivalent de *tense* en anglais et *Tempus* en allemand.

⁴⁴ <http://kayhan.ir/ar/news/11967/>

= *kāna yağibu* / **yuhtamalu* / **taqtaḍi al-zurūf 'an yuhākama* « Il fallait qu'on le juge *obligatoirement* / **probablement* / **nécessairement* », « quelque chose exigeait [*qu'on pense] qu'on le juge » (déontique)

Dans cet exemple, le contexte temporel (*yumattilu* au présent) indique que l'équivalent français *devait* a bien un sens déontique et non aléthique du futur (cf. Kronning 1996 : 18 et Kronning 2001b : 78)⁴⁵.

- (17) *wa-kāna lā budda 'an tatimma al-intihābāt mah-mā takun al-zurūf wa-l-natā'ig, fa-ğūrğ būs yurīdu 'an yu'azziza mawqifa-hu ba'd intihābi-hi li-fatra tāniya 'amām al-'amrīkiyyīn* – Ġad 02

« Les élections **devaient se tenir** quelles que soient les circonstances et les résultats, George Bush voulant renforcer sa position après son élection pour un second mandat devant les Américains »

= *kāna *yağibu* / **yuhtamalu* / *taqtaḍi al-zurūf 'an tatimma* « [Si tout se passait correctement,] les circonstances exigeaient qu'elles se tiennent **obligatoirement* / **probablement* / *nécessairement* », « *il fallait qu'elles se tiennent », « quelque chose exigeait [*qu'on pense] qu'elles se tiennent » (aléthique)

- (18) *wa-bi-l-tab' 'anna 'aqliyyat al-mīlīsiyyāt hiya didd 'aqliyyat al-dawla wa-mu'assasāt al-dawla, wa-kāna lā budda 'an yaḥsula mā ḥašala 'āğilan 'am 'āğilan fī daw' fašal al-dawla li-'asbāb kaṭīra fī tağāwuz al-mīlīsiyyāt min ġiha, wa-fī daw' ḥawf 'ašhāb al-mīlīsiyyāt min al-inšihār fī lan fī mašrū' al-dawla, al-laḍī huwa al-damāna al-wahīda li-mustaqbali-him wa-mustaqbal 'awlādi-him wa-'abnā' tā'ifati-him min ġiha 'uḥrā* – Ḥayāt 1997

« Naturellement, l'état d'esprit des milices va à l'encontre de l'état d'esprit de l'État et des institutions de l'État, et **devait arriver** tôt ou tard ce qui est arrivé à la lumière de l'échec de l'État, pour de nombreuses raisons, à dépasser les milices d'une part, et à la lumière de la peur des chefs des milices de fusionner réellement dans le projet de l'État, qui est la seule assurance pour leur avenir et celui de leurs enfants et fils de leur communauté d'autre part »

= *kāna *yağibu* / **yuhtamalu* / *taqtaḍi al-zurūf 'an yaḥsula* « [Si tout se passait comme prévu,] les circonstances exigeaient que cela arrive **obligatoirement* / *nécessairement* / **probablement* », « *il fallait qu'il arrive », « quelque chose exigeait [*qu'on pense] qu'il arrive » (aléthique)

Il s'agit ici d'un aléthique du futur au sens de Kronning où *devait* indique un irrévocable du passé historique, marqué par la forme *fa'ala* de *ḥašala* (« s'être produit »).

- (19) *wa-hunāka dawr ittihād al-kura min ḥilāl lā'ihat al-'uqūbāt wa-l-latī ṭabata 'anna al-'uqūbāt al-māliyya lā takfī, wa-lā budda min 'i'ādat al-nažar wa-l-'awda 'ilā 'uqūbāt naql al-mubārayāt wa-'iqāmati-hā dūn ġumhūr, wa-'iḍā zāda al-šāğab*

⁴⁵ Comme dans « Simon-Henri, né en 1765, qui, après avoir été officier de Poitou, **devait émigrer** contre la volonté paternelle » (Décote, Georges. 1984. *L'itinéraire de Jacques Cazotte, 1719-1792 : de la fiction littéraire au mysticisme politique*, Paris : Droz, 109) où *devait* a le sens d'un futur du passé historique et où il s'agit donc d'un irrévocable du passé (je reprends l'expression à Bres 2012 : 1723).

'an al-ḥadd sa-yakūnu lā budda min ḥaḍf al-niqāt – Tawra 2005 ⁴⁶

« Et il y a le rôle de l'union du foot par le biais du mémorandum des sanctions dont il a été établi que les sanctions financières ne suffisaient pas, et qu'on devait revoir et revenir aux sanctions de report des matches en les faisant se tenir sans public, et si le désordre augmente au-delà de la limite, on **devra supprimer** les points »
 = sa-yakūnu min al-wāḡib / *sa-yuḥtamalu / *sa-taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an tuḥḍafa al-niqāt « Il faudra que les points soient *obligatoirement* / **nécessairement* / **probablement* supprimés », « quelque chose exigera [**qu'on pense*] que les points soient supprimés » (déontique)

Nous obtenons donc pour *lā budda 'an* le système suivant :

- passé : *kāna* *lā budda (la-hu) {(min) 'an + yaḥ'ala/min + maṣḍar}*
- présent : *lā budda (la-hu) {(min) 'an + yaḥ'ala/min + maṣḍar}*
- futur : *sa-yakūnu* *lā budda (la-hu) {(min) 'an + yaḥ'ala/min + maṣḍar}* ⁴⁷

4. 2. Approche transformationnelle de *lā budda 'anna*

Observons désormais le comportement de la structure *lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + fa'ala/yaḥ'alu*. On a vu avec les exemples (1a), (6), (12) et (13) comment cette structure s'exprimait au passé, avec l'exemple (9) comment elle s'exprimait au présent, et avec l'exemple (2a) comment elle s'exprimait au futur. Voici (20) et (21) pour d'autres structures du passé et (22) pour le futur :

- (20) *gayr 'anna-nī 'a 'ūdu 'ilā nitāniyāhū al-laḍī bada'tu bi-hi, fa-huwa tazawwaḡa ṭalāt marrāt, wa-'aṣiqa marrāt kaṭīra iḥṭaḍa fī ba'ḍi-hā. wa-lā budda 'anna-hu kāna yaqūlu li-kull wāḥida 'inna-hu yuḥibbu-hā [...] wa-'arḡaḥ 'anna nitāniyāhū min dūn qalb, wa-hāḍā laysa sayyi'an, li-'anna-hu, 'alā al-'aqall, lan yamūta bi-maraḍ al-qalb – Ḥayāt 1996*

« Si ce n'est que je reviens à Netanyahu avec qui j'ai commencé. Il s'est marié à trois fois et a aimé à de nombreuses reprises, à quelques unes desquelles il s'est déshonoré. Il **devait dire** à chacune d'entre elles qu'il l'aimait [...] Le plus

⁴⁶ Il s'agit du seul exemple trouvé en *sa-yakūnu lā budda* dans *arabiCorpus*.

⁴⁷ Par ailleurs, la négation de cette construction s'obtient par la négation du verbe dans le champ de 'an, soit *lā budda 'an lā* (a) ou *lā budda 'allā* (b) : (a) *al-fannān huwa : ṣawt al-muḡtama' al-laḍī yuṣawwiru 'aḥzāna-hu wa-'ālāma-hu wa-'afrāḥa-hu wa-'aḥlāma-hu... fa-lā budda 'an lā na'mida 'ilā taḥṭīmi-hi, wa-talwīt sum 'ati-hi – Ḥayāt 1996* = « L'artiste est la voix de la société qui dépeint ses tristesses et ses douleurs, ses joies et ses rêves... Nous **ne devons donc pas opter** pour sa destruction et le salissement de sa réputation » et (b) *'inda al-taḥawwul min maḡāl 'amal 'ilā 'āḡar muḥṭalif lā budda 'an tataqabbala 'anna-ka qad taqillu daraḡa 'aw daraḡatayn 'an maṣṣibi-ka al-waṣīfī al-hālī, 'aw qad tabda'u min al-bidāya fa-l-'insān lā budda 'allā yatakabbara 'alā 'ayy waḍ' yatawāḡadu fī-hi wa-'an yataqabbala al-waḍ' al-ḥālī – Maṣrī 2010* = « Au moment du passage d'un domaine de travail à un autre différent, tu dois accepter que tu puisses descendre d'un ou deux échelons par rapport à ton emploi actuel, ou que tu puisses commencer du début, car l'homme **ne doit pas éprouver** d'orgueil face à quelque position dans laquelle il se trouve, et doit accepter la situation actuelle ».

probable est que Netanyahou est sans cœur, et cela n'est pas un mal, puisque, au moins, il ne mourra pas d'une maladie cardiovasculaire »

= **yağibu* / *yuhtamalu* / **taqtađī al-zurūf 'an kāna yaqūlu* « On fait l'hypothèse qu'il disait **obligatoirement* / *probablement* (+ *sans doute* + *certainement*) / **nécessairement* » = « *il fallait qu'il dise », « quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] qu'il disait » (épistémique)

Ici, *al-'arğah* (« le plus probable ») appuie la lecture épistémique.

- (21) *kuntu 'asīru fī al-ğānib al-'āḥar ḥīn ra'aytu dālika al-rīš, fa-qultu li-nafsī "hādā al-rīš yumkinu 'an 'ašna'a min-hu wisāda" wa-li-hādā iltaqattu-hā min al-'arđ, ḥīna 'iđin bi-l-đabt, kāna al-qiss – wa-lā budda 'anna-hu kāna qad ḥarağa 'ilā al-šāri' yabḥatu 'an dağāğa – qad ra'ā-nī wa-šāḥa "qabađtu 'alay-ka mulabbasan bi-l-ğarīma yā rāmūn ! 'anta tasriqu dağāği ?" – Ḥayāt 1997*

« Je passais de l'autre côté lorsque j'ai vu ces plumes. Je me suis alors dit "ces plumes, je pourrais en faire un oreiller", et pour cela je les ai ramassées par terre au moment-même où le prêtre – qui **devait être déjà sorti** dans la rue à la recherche d'une poule – m'avait bel et bien vu et s'est écrié "je t'ai attrapé en train de commettre un crime Ramon ! Tu voles mes poules ?" »

= **yağibu* / *yuhtamalu* / **taqtađī al-zurūf 'an kāna qad ḥarağa* « On fait l'hypothèse qu'il était déjà **obligatoirement* / *probablement* (+ *sans doute* + *certainement*) / **nécessairement* sorti », « *il fallait qu'il soit sorti », « quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] qu'il était déjà sorti » (épistémique)

- (22) *man lam yasbuq la-hu 'an ḥāda tağribat iqtiḥām 'ālam "al-ğuwīda" zā'iran wa-muṭṭali'an, ka-mā ġarā ma'a mağmū'at 'i lāmiyyīn 'awwal min 'ams fī ziyārati-him li-markaz 'iṣlāḥ wa-ta'hīl al-ğuwīda nisā', lā budda 'anna-hu sa-yağhalu tafāšīl kaṭīra 'an hādā al-'ālam, wa-'asrāri-hi, wa-tafāšīl al-ḥayāt dāḥil ġudrān al-siğn – Ğad 01*

« Quiconque n'a pas déjà plongé dans l'expérience d'affronter le monde de "al-Ğuwīda"⁴⁸ en tant que visiteur et initié, comme cela a eu lieu avec des groupes de médias avant-hier lors de leur visite au centre de redressement et de formation de "al-Ğuwīda-femmes", **doit/devrait ignorer** de nombreux détails à propos de ce monde, de ses secrets et des détails de la vie à l'intérieur des murs de la prison »

= **yağibu* / **yuhtamalu* / *taqtađī al-zurūf 'an yağhala* « [Si tout se passe comme prévu,] les circonstances impliquent qu'il ignore/ignorera **obligatoirement* / *nécessairement* / **probablement* », « *il faudra qu'il ignore », « quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] qu'il ignorera » (aléthique)

Nous obtenons donc pour *lā budda 'anna* le système suivant⁴⁹:

- passé : *lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + fa'ala*
 lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + qad fa'ala

⁴⁸ Prison de réinsertion pour femmes en Jordanie.

⁴⁹ Aucun *kāna lā budda 'anna-hu ni sa-yakūnu lā budda 'anna-hu* n'a été relevé dans *arabiCorpus* ou ailleurs. Par ailleurs aucune négation de ce type de structure ne semble exister.

	<i>lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + kāna yaḥ'alu</i>
- présent :	<i>lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + yaḥ'alu</i>
- futur :	<i>lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + sa-yaḥ'alu</i>

5. La syntaxe de *lā budda* : reflet des oppositions logiques ?

Dans le cas du français, la syntaxe de surface de *devoir* est insuffisante pour distinguer ses effets de sens, ainsi que le montrait (α). Au contraire, l'arabe présente deux systèmes syntaxiques distincts pour *lā budda*, équivalent de *devoir*. Toutefois, ces deux systèmes expriment trois valeurs modales distinctes : *aléthique* [(2a et b), (3), (10), (17), (18), (22)], *épistémique* [(1a), (5), (6), (9), (12), (13), (20), (21)] et *déontique* [(1b), (4), (7), (8), (11), (14) à (16), (19)]. La question qui se pose est dès lors la suivante : la syntaxe de l'arabe peut-elle permettre de départir entre les différentes valeurs de *lā budda* ?

5. 1. L'opposition de *dicto* vs de *re*

Comme on vient de le voir, les deux structures syntaxiques sont assez différentes. Concernant celle de *lā budda 'an*, sa temporalisation place l'ensemble de la structure dans le champ de l'opérateur *kāna-sa-yakūnu*⁵⁰. *A contrario*, pour celle de *lā budda 'anna*, la temporalisation s'opère de manière interne, ne concernant que le verbe du procès et non *lā budda (min) 'anna-hu* qui se retrouve alors à la fois extérieur et antérieur à cette temporalisation. Dit autrement, quand on a *lā budda 'an*, on temporalise le *modus*, et lorsqu'on a *lā budda 'anna*, on temporalise le *dictum*.

On distingue en effet depuis le Moyen-Âge entre *dictum*, c'est-à-dire le contenu de l'assertion, et *modus*, c'est-à-dire la modalité de l'assertion. Charles Bally leur a accordé une place importante, le *dictum* étant la « représentation reçue par les sens, la mémoire ou l'imagination » et le *modus* « l'opération psychique du sujet pensant » (Bally 1965 : 36). Corrélatrice de cette dichotomie, celle qui distingue entre modalité *de dicto* et *de re*⁵¹. La première est celle où le *modus* affecte l'ensemble du propos (le *dictum* fait tout entier l'objet du *modus*, e.g. « *il est nécessaire que* la Terre soit ronde »). La seconde est celle où le *modus* vient interrompre le *dictum* et ne porte que sur le prédicat (e.g. « la Terre est *nécessairement* ronde »). Dit autrement, il s'agit d'une différence de portée modale⁵².

Cette distinction *de re* / *de dicto* peut-elle s'appliquer au cas de *lā budda* en arabe ?

⁵⁰ Il est même possible de trouver une structure comme *qad yakūnu lā budda min intifāda* (Ḥayāt 1997) de sens « on devrait se révolter » mais pas de *yakūnu lā budda*.

⁵¹ Cette distinction faite par Saint Thomas d'Aquin entre modalité *de dicto* et modalité *de re* est en fait déjà présente chez Abélard (1079 – 1142) à propos de qui Rousseau dit : « On voit bien que la typologie des propositions modales s'appuie uniquement sur le critère de la position de la modalité dans la proposition » (Rousseau 2003 : 613). Voir aussi Le Querler 1996 : 45–46.

⁵² Cf. Le Querler qui distingue entre portée *intra-prédicative* (i.e. *de re*) et portée *extra-prédicative* (i.e. *de dicto*) (Le Querler 2001 : 23 et sq. et Le Querler 2004 : 644) et chez qui la première portée est clairement radicale, la seconde nettement épistémique (au sens large).

Comparons sous cet angle les exemples (23) à (25) de syntaxe *lā budda 'anna* et (26) à (27) de syntaxe *lā budda 'an* :

- (23) *wa-lā budda 'anna al-qāri' yaḍkuru min al-'uḡniyya* – Hayāt 1997
 « Et le lecteur **doit se souvenir** dans la chanson de : ...⁵³ »
 = **yaḡibu / yuḥtamalu / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an yaḍkura* « On fait l'hypothèse qu'il se souvient **obligatoirement / probablement* (+ sans doute + certainement) / **nécessairement* », « *il faut qu'il se souvienne », « quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] que le lecteur se souvient » (épistémique)
- (24) *rā 'iḡat al-fam ḡāla 'araḍiyya 'am maraḍiyya ? lā budda 'anna 'aḡadan mā ša 'ara bi-ṭa 'm sayyi' fī fami-hi 'aw 'anna 'aḡaddan mā 'aḡbara-hu 'an rā 'iḡat fami-hi ...* – Tawra
 « Odeur de la bouche : un état occasionnel ou bien maladif ? Chacun **doit avoir ressenti/a dû ressentir** un mauvais goût dans sa bouche ou quelqu'un **doit l'avoir informé/a dû l'informer** de l'odeur de sa bouche... »
 = **yaḡibu / yuḥtamalu / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an ša 'ara* « On fait l'hypothèse que chacun a ressenti **obligatoirement / probablement* (+ sans doute + certainement) / **nécessairement* », « *il fallait qu'il ressente », « quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] que chacun a ressenti » (épistémique)
- (25) *yabdū 'anna-hum sa-yuḍīfūna kull šay' ilā qawā'imi-him al-latī taḡma 'u wa-tuṣanniḡu al-turāt al-taḡāfi. lā budda 'anna-hum sa-yuḍīfūna al-ittiḡāḡāt al-ra 'isiyya fī mūsīqā al-dīskū, luḡat kuttāb al-riyāda fī 'iṣrīniyyāt al-qarn al-māḍī wa-'ašyā' 'uḡrā lā tantahī* – Tawra 2007
 « Il semble qu'ils vont ajouter toute chose à leurs listes qui rassemblent et classent le patrimoine culturel. Ils **devraient ajouter** les principaux courants de la musique disco, la langue des chroniqueurs sportifs dans les années vingt du siècle passé et d'autres choses sans fin »
 = **yaḡibu / *yuḥtamalu / taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an yuḍīfū* « [Si tout se passe comme prévu,] les circonstances impliquent qu'ils ajouteront **obligatoirement / *probablement / nécessairement* » (aléthique)
- (26) *al-nabīḡ al-laḡī yasīlu faḡq ṣadaḡ al-'asnān lā budda 'an yuṣraba bi-ṣamt fī masā' min masā'āt al-ḡarīf* – Hayāt 1997
 « Le vin qui coule sur l'email des dents **doit être bu** en silence un soir d'automne »⁵⁴
 = *yaḡibu / *yuḥtamalu / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an yuṣraba* « Il faut qu'il soit bu *obligatoirement / *probablement / *nécessairement* », « quelque chose exige [**qu'on pense*] qu'il soit bu » (déontique)
- (27) *fa-l-'iṭār al-fāḡir li-l-ḡumḡuriyya al-sūfiyātiyya kāna lā budda 'an yamtali'a : fa-ḡad kāna li-kull ḡumḡuriyya ḡizbu-hā al-šuyū'ī "al-qawmī", wa-ḡihāzu-hā al-'idārī, wa-maḡlis wuzarā'ī-hā, wa-ra'īs dawlati-hā, wa-'akādīmiyatu-hā li-l-'ulūm, faḡḡlan 'an luḡati-hā al-qawmiyya. wa-mal' hāḡiḡi al-'aḡḡiza kāna yataḡallabu taṭwīr bīrūḡrātiyya wa-intiliḡansiyya ma'an* – Hayāt 1997

⁵³ Suivent les paroles d'une chanson populaire dont le texte analyse et remémore les paroles.

⁵⁴ Traduction d'un poème du japonais Wakayama Boukousoy (1885 – 1928).

« Le cadre vide de la république soviétique **devait être comblé** : chaque république avait son parti communiste “national”, son appareil administratif, son conseil des ministres, son président d’État, son académie des sciences, en plus de sa langue nationale. Et combler ces appareils requérait le développement conjoint d’une bureaucratie et d’une intelligentsia »
= *kāna *yağibu / *yuḥtamalu / taqtaḍī al-zurūf ’an yamtali’a* « [Tout s’étant passé normalement,] les circonstances ont exigé qu’il soit comblé **obligatoirement / *probablement* (+ *sans doute + certainement*) / *nécessairement* » = « *il fallait qu’il soit comblé », « quelque chose exigeait [*qu’on pense] qu’il soit comblé » (aléthique)

On le constate, dans tous les cas le *modus lā budda* demeure invariablement placé avant le *dictum*, ce qui relève donc d’une modalité *de dicto*. Il semble donc qu’il faille dépasser l’opposition *de dicto* vs *de re*, et en considérer une autre moins restreinte, d’autant que la valeur aléthique se retrouve aussi bien dans l’une que l’autre syntaxe.

5. 2. L’opposition *nécessité d’être* vs *nécessité de faire être*

Kronning propose une autre dichotomie, qui recoupe en partie celle que nous venons de voir. Il s’agit d’une bipartition entre *nécessité d’être* vs *nécessité de faire être* où la modalité s’applique respectivement au sujet de la proposition ou au procès verbal. Cette dichotomie recoupe celle de *épistémique / radicale*⁵⁵. Dans cette perspective, *lā budda ’anna* en tant que *modus* porte sur un thème nominal tandis que *lā budda ’an* porte, lui, sur un procès verbal⁵⁶. Selon cette lecture, *lā budda ’an* désignerait donc ce que Kronning nomme la modalité déontique et *lā budda ’anna* signifierait alors la modalité non déontique, c’est-à-dire les modalités aléthique et épistémique. Observons les exemples (28) et (29) correspondant à une modalité de *nécessité d’être* et (30) et (31) correspondant à celle de *nécessité de faire être* :

- (28) *wa-lā budda ’anna al-sukkān yufakkirūna al-’āna fī hall ’alā ṭarīqat al-ṣārūḥ al-muḍādd li-l-ṣawārīḥ al-muḍādda li-l-ṣawārīḥ* – Ḥayāt 1997
« Les habitants **doivent** désormais **réfléchir** à une solution comme un missile contre les missiles anti-missiles »
= **yağibu / yuḥtamalu / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf ’an yufakkira* « On fait l’hypothèse qu’ils réfléchissent/sont en train de réfléchir **obligatoirement / probablement* (+ *sans doute + certainement*) / **nécessairement* », « *il faut qu’ils réfléchissent », « quelque chose exige [qu’on pense] qu’ils réfléchissent » (épistémique)

⁵⁵ Veters le redit lui-même à la lecture de Kronning : « les effets de sens appelés radicaux par la tradition relèvent de la modalité du faire. Les effets de sens “éventualité” et “sporadicité” relèvent de la modalité de l’être » (Veters 2004 : 662–663). Par ailleurs, la modalité de la *nécessité d’être* de Kronning correspond en partie à ce que Dendale nomme modalité *évidentio-modale* (Dendale 1999) ou *épistémologique* (Dendale 2000 : 159).

⁵⁶ Et c’est du reste une nouvelle fois pourquoi je ne traite pas ici de *lā budda ’an yakūna*.

- (29) *lā budda 'anna-nī nīmtu sā'a wa-niṣfan 'aw sā'atayn min dūn ḥulm, 'id 'aḍkuru 'anna-nī istaqayztu rubba-mā ba'da sā'a min muntaṣaf al-layl bi-sabab ḡalaba fī al-šāri', wa-fī wus 'ī 'an 'ataḍakkara 'anna-nī lam 'aḥlum* – Ḥayāt 1997
 «Je **dois avoir dormi/j'ai dû dormir** une heure et demie ou deux sans rêver, puisque je me souviens que je me suis réveillé peut-être à une heure du matin en raison d'un vacarme dans la rue, et que je pouvais me souvenir que je n'avais pas rêvé»
 = *yaḡibu / yuḥtamaru / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an nīmtu « On fait l'hypothèse que j'ai dormi *obligatoirement* / *probablement* (+ sans doute + certainement) / *nécessairement* », « il fallait que j'ai dormi », « quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] que j'ai dormi » (épistémique)
- (30) *wa-lā budda 'an yataḥassana al-taswīq fī al-sa'ūdiyya wa-l-ḥalīḡ bi-istiḥdām istiḥlā'āt al-ra'y wa-qawā'id al-ma'lūmāt wa-taḥsīn ṭuruq naql al-baḍā'i' wa-l-ḥadamāt* – Ḥayāt 1997
 «La commercialisation en Arabie saoudite et dans le Golfe **doit s'améliorer** par l'utilisation des sondages d'opinion, des bases d'informations et l'amélioration des voies de transport des biens et des services»
 = yaḡibu / yuḥtamaru / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an yataḥassana « Il faut qu'elle s'améliore *obligatoirement* / *probablement* / *nécessairement* », « quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] qu'elle s'améliore » (déontique)
- (31) *la-qad naḡat 'ifrīqiyā, nisbiyyan, min al-isti'mār 'ilā ḥīn maḡī' al-'urūbiyyīn 'ilay-hā. fa-kāna lā budda min 'an tuḥayyi'a 'urūbā nafsa-hā 'awwalan, wa-tu'idda mā yakfī-hā min al-ḡuyūš bi-faḍl taqaddumi-hā al-tiknūlūḡī, ḥattā tatamakkana min al-taqaddum naḥw 'arāḍī ḥāḍihi al-qārra* – Ġad 02
 «L'Afrique a été sauvée, relativement, de la colonisation jusqu'au moment de la venue à elle des Européens. L'Europe **devait** en effet **se préparer** elle-même en premier, et équiper ce qui lui suffirait en termes d'armées à la faveur de son avancée technologique, afin d'être en capacité d'avancer en direction des terres de ce continent»
 = kāna yaḡibu / yuḥtamaru / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an tuḥayyi'a « Il fallait qu'elle se prépare *obligatoirement* / *probablement* / *nécessairement* », « quelque chose exigeait [qu'on pense] qu'elle se prépare » (déontique)

On s'en souviendra (cf. *supra* 3), nous avons repéré les identités suivantes : *lā budda 'an* = non épistémique (aléthique ou déontique) et *lā budda 'anna* = épistémique. Ici, les identités semblent être les suivantes : *lā budda 'an* = déontique et *lā budda 'anna* = non déontique (aléthique ou épistémique), ce qui donne le tableau suivant :

Tableau 3

	Valeur de modalité
<i>lā budda 'an</i>	déontique
<i>lā budda 'anna</i>	non déontique (aléthique ou épistémique)

Tout serait parfait n'était ce dernier exemple :

- (32) *kāna lā budda 'an yuṣakkila* “*mahraḡān al-qāhira al-duwalī li-l-masraḡ al-taḡrībī*” *fī dawrati-hi al-tāmina ḡawwan min al-ḡamāsa wa-rubba-mā min al-tanāfus fī 'awsāt al-ḡaraka al-masraḡiyya al-ḡadīda wa-l-šābba fī miṣr [...]* *wa-kāna 'alā al-masraḡ al-miṣrī 'an yantaḡira al-dawra al-tāmina li-yaḡuza 'alā ḡā'izat 'afḡal muḡriḡ* – Ḥayāt 1996

Le « Festival international du Caire pour le théâtre expérimental » dans sa huitième édition **devait constituer** une atmosphère d'exaltation et peut-être de rivalité dans les milieux du nouveau mouvement théâtral de la jeunesse en Égypte [...] et le théâtre égyptien a dû attendre la huitième édition pour obtenir la récompense du meilleur metteur en scène »

= *kāna *yaḡibu / *yuḡtamalu / taḡtaḡī al-zurūf 'an* « [Tout s'étant passé normalement,] les circonstances ont exigé qu'il constitue **obligatoirement / *probablement / nécessairement et logiquement* une atmosphère » (aléthique)

Le fait est que ce dernier exemple, équivalent de (3) et (10) et strictement de (17), (18) et (27), est un futur aléthique du passé dans le cadre d'un récit au passé. Or il ressortit à la syntaxe de *lā budda 'an* que la simple dichotomie **nécessité d'être** vs **nécessité de faire être** désignerait pourtant comme une modalité déontique.

La bipartition de Kronning recoupe (au moins en partie), on l'aura compris, la dichotomie médiévale *de dicto/de re*⁵⁷. Mais même si dans une perspective syntaxique en surface, elle semble plus exacte que la première, *lā budda 'anna* étant lié à la **nécessité d'être** et *lā budda 'an* à la **nécessité de faire être**, et donc si cette distinction permet, sur des critères syntaxiques, de faire aisément le départ en arabe entre *lā budda_D* et *lā budda_E*, le fait est que cette bipartition demeure *de facto* impuissante à expliquer le troisième effet de sens, aléthique, montré ici en (32)⁵⁸.

5. 3. L'opposition *posteriorité* vs *non-posteriorité*

Par définition, et nous venons de le voir à plusieurs reprises, les approches uniquement dichotomiques sont impuissantes à rendre compte de la troisième valeur du *devoir*, celle que Kronning nomme aléthique. Or cette valeur en arabe semble malgré tout être elle-même syntaxiquement conditionnée. Prenons pour le montrer, en plus des exemples (3), (10), (17), (18), (22), (25), (27) et (32), les deux exemples (33) et (34) :

- (33) *la'alla ra'īs maḡlis al-nuwwāb m. 'abd al-hādī al-maḡālī huwa al-waḡīd min rumūz al-maḡlis al-sābiq al-laḡī yaḡraḡu maṣrū'an siyāsīyyan ḡadīdan, fa-huwa yaṣtariku ma'a 'āḡarīn, min-hum ra'īs al-wuzarā' al-sābiq fāyiz al-ḡarāwina bi-maṣrū' "al-tayyār al-waḡanī al-'urdunī", wa-lā budda 'anna-hu sa-yaḡḡubu 'ilay-*

⁵⁷ Cf. Kronning 1996 : 78–80 ainsi que le tableau 2 de Vettters 2004 : 663.

⁵⁸ La même remarque peut être faite au sujet de (30) qui accepte aussi une lecture aléthique de sens "doit/devrait (logiquement) s'améliorer par...".

hi 'a 'dā' kutlati-hi fī mağlis al-nuwwāb – Ġad 01

« Il se peut que le président du parlement M. 'Abd al-Hādī al-Mağālī⁵⁹ soit le seul des symboles de l'assemblée précédente à soumettre un projet politique nouveau puisqu'il participe avec d'autres, parmi eux l'ancien premier ministre, Fayez Tarawneh⁶⁰, au projet "le courant national jordanien", et il **devrait attirer** vers lui les membres de son bloc au parlement »⁶¹

= **yağibu* / **yuhtamalu* / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an yağḍuba* « [Si tout se passe normalement,] les circonstances impliqueront qu'il attirera **obligatoirement* / **probablement* / *nécessairement* et *logiquement* », « *il faudra qu'il attire », « quelque chose exige [*qu'on pense] qu'il attirera nécessairement » (aléthique)

- (34) *al-'udwān al-'askarī 'ihdā tarğamāt hāḍihi al-siyāsa. hal 'a 'tat al-'amaliyya al-filasṭīniyya 'isrā'īl ḍarī'a li-ziyādat ḥiddat al-'udwān ? bi-l-ta'kīd. lākin ġiyāb al-manṭiq fī 'af'āl 'isrā'īl kāna lā budda 'an yu'addiya 'ilā ḍayā' al-manṭiq 'inda man yu'ānūna al-ğaṭrasa al-'isrā'īliyya – Ġad 2011*

« L'oppression militaire est l'une des traductions de cette politique. Est-ce que l'opération palestinienne a donné à Israël un prétexte pour augmenter la virulence de l'oppression ? Certainement. Mais l'absence de logique dans les agissements d'Israël **devait conduire** à la perte de logique de ceux qui souffrent de l'insolence israélienne »

= *kāna *yağibu* / **yuhtamalu* / *taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an yu'addiya* « [Tout s'est passé de telle sorte que] les circonstances ont **obligatoirement* / **probablement* / *nécessairement* et *logiquement* conduit à », « *il faudra qu'il attire », « *quelque chose exige [*qu'on pense] que cela allait nécessairement conduire à » (aléthique)

Ces deux derniers exemples relèvent pour le premier d'une *nécessité d'être* et pour le second d'une *nécessité de faire être*. Cela n'empêche en rien qu'ils expriment tous deux la modalité aléthique alors que le second ne devrait, selon cette dichotomie, exprimer que le déontique... : on observe en effet que l'arabe semble proposer trois syntaxes différentes pour cette valeur aléthique : celle en *lā budda (min) 'anna-hu sa-yaf'alu* (correspondant à *doit_A /devrait_A*⁶²) [(22), (25) et (33)], celle en *kāna lā budda (la-hu) {(min) 'an yaf'ala/min + maṣdar}* (correspondant à *devait_A*) [(17), (18), (27), (32) et (34)], mais aussi celle en *lā budda (la-hu) {(min) 'an yaf'ala/min + maṣdar}* [(3) et (10)].

⁵⁹Président de l'Assemblée de Jordanie.

⁶⁰Ancien premier ministre jordanien (du 20/08/1998 au 04/03/1999 et du 02/05/2012 au 11/10/2012).

⁶¹Sur la justification de l'identification de ce *devrait* au *devoir_A* et sur les différences entre *devoir_E* et *devoir_A*, voir notamment Kronning 2001b : 75–76. Voir aussi Rooryck 1989 : 194, Dendale 1994, Tasmowski et Dendale 1994, Haillet 1995 : 207, Kronning 1996 : 140, Dendale 1999 : 16, et 16–18, Dendale 2000 : 166. Sur l'effet de sens de ce conditionnel en rapport avec une relation hypothétique de type évidentiel, cf. Picoche 1988 : 415, Kronning 1996 : 240, Dendale 1999 : 167, Kronning 2001a : 253, Larreya 2004 : 752–754. Sur son inscription temporelle : « La modalité exprimée par *devoir* aléthique au conditionnel [...] est une *modalité distale* (Sweetser 1990), car l'inscription de cette modalité dans la relation hypothétique *R* la distance du *hic et nunc* énonciatif » (Kronning 2001a : 253). Enfin, sur la nature des prémisses induites par *devoir_E* et *devoir_A*, cf. Dendale 1999 : 21, Kronning 2001a : 257 et Kronning 2001b : 76.

⁶²Plus exactement à *doit_{A-FUT} /devrait_{A-FUT}*, c'est-à-dire à la fois aléthique et auxiliaire du futur (cf. Kronning 1996, Kronning 2001a et Kronning 2001b).

Or, toute la thèse de Kronning 1996, est justement d'établir, à partir de la bipartition primaire dont il a été question, une tripartition du domaine des modalités. Concernant *devoir*, ce dernier possède ainsi trois significations : « la *signification déontique* (« obligation ») [correspond à] une *nécessité de faire être véridicible* ; [...] la *signification aléthique* (« nécessité ») [correspond à] une *nécessité d'être véridicible* ; [...] la *signification épistémique* (« probabilité ») [correspond à] une *nécessité de faire être non véridicible mais montrable* » (Kronning 1996 : 26–27 et Kronning 2001b).

Si la valeur aléthique de Kronning se répartit ainsi sur deux syntaxes distinctes, c'est qu'à la dichotomie primordiale *nécessité d'être* vs *nécessité de faire être*, qui distingue grossièrement entre espace épistémique et espace déontique, s'en rajoute une autre, plus fine, pour distinguer l'espace aléthique des deux autres. Cela signifie que la valeur primordiale de *lā budda*_A, plus que celle de la *nécessité d'être* ou *de faire être*, est en fait définie par le dénominateur commun des deux syntaxes en jeu. Ce dénominateur commun n'est autre que la véridiction, puisque « *devoir*_D et *devoir*_A sont véridicibles et non montrables, alors que *devoir*_E est montrable et non véridicible » (Kronning 1996 : 41, 52, 63).

Ce critère de véridiction (i.e. dire de quelque chose qu'il est vrai ou faux) implique une vérification effective qui est, elle, nécessairement *différée, a posteriori*, et qui exclut donc pour cela même *devoir*_E. Cela rejoint la futurité telle qu'introduite par Larreya pour qui elle représente « dans le domaine du groupe verbal, la référence à un événement (a) situé dans l'avenir et (b) présenté comme certain » (Larreya 2000 : 179, note 7). Cette futurité est exclue du domaine de ce qu'il nomme la modalité problématique, c'est-à-dire de la modalité épistémique telle que j'emploie ce terme ici. Ces deux principes semblent donc se rejoindre pour former un critère d'exclusion de *devoir*_E : la *postériorité* du procès modalisé par rapport au moment de l'énonciation.

Kronning ne dit pas autre chose concernant le *devoir* français, lui qui note qu'au-delà des énoncés universels analytiques, ce qu'il nomme aléthique comprend surtout « des énoncés où le procès modalisé est postérieur au moment de l'énonciation t_0 [...] à la différence du procès modalisé par *devoir* épistémique qui n'est pas, en principe, postérieur à t_0 , mais coïncide avec t_0 [...], ou est antérieur à ce moment » (Kronning 2001a : 255)⁶³.

Il ne faudrait alors pas énoncer des relations d'identité syntaxe/modalité, mais des relations contraires et d'exclusion syntaxe/modalité, où *nécessité d'être*, i.e. *lā budda*

⁶³ « Lorsque *devoir* marque la modalité épistémique, il fonctionne comme un opérateur propositionnel (modalité *de dicto* non véridicible), automatiquement indexé sur le moment de l'énonciation. [...] En revanche, s'il prend une valeur prospective, il nous paraît fonctionner comme un méta-prédicat (modalité *de dicto* véridicible) » (Gosselin 1999 : 46–47) où l'on reconnaît sous *prospectif* l'*aléthique* de Kronning. C'est ce qui explique pourquoi « les interprétations [épistémiques sont] plus naturelles lorsque *devoir* et *pouvoir* sont suivis de *être en train de* » (Sueur 1979 : 113, note 17, voir aussi Sueur 1979 : 108–109 et Sueur 1983). C'est par ailleurs ce qui explique que « *devoir* épistémique* est déféctif et ne s'emploie pas au futur » (Rooryck 1989 : 194). *Ceci concerne aussi l'aléthique car pour Rooryck, « épistémique » = « non déontique », or « non déontique » = « épistémique ET aléthique » au sens de Kronning. C'est pourquoi dans le cadre aléthique il n'y a pas **devra*, mais uniquement *doit*_{A-FUT}/*devrait*_{A-FUT}/*fera* nécessairement.

'anna, désigne une modalité non déontique et où *nécessité de faire être*, i.e. *lā budda 'an*, désigne une modalité non épistémique. Sous cette première dichotomie, il s'agit alors de distinguer si le procès modalisé (le *dictum*) se trouve postérieur ou non par rapport au moment de l'énonciation, et si c'est le cas, alors la modalité est non épistémique. Je propose donc de croiser les deux tableaux précédents (cf. *supra* 3 et 5. 2) en ne conservant que les relations d'identité contraire liant syntaxe à modalité et de coupler ce premier critère syntaxique à celui du temps du verbe modalisé pour la détermination des valeurs de *lā budda*. Cela donne le tableau suivant :

Tableau 4

	Valeur de modalité
<i>lā budda 'an</i>	non épistémique (aléthique ou déontique)
<i>lā budda 'anna</i>	non déontique (aléthique ou épistémique)
postériorité du verbe modalisé	non épistémique

5. 3. 1. *lā budda 'anna* et la *nécessité d'être* entre *lā budda_A* et *lā budda_E*

Ce critère de *postériorité* trouve une expression dans la syntaxe de surface de *lā budda 'anna*. Dans le cas de *lā budda 'anna-hu sa-yaf'alu*, le *dictum* est posé au futur (*sa-yaf'alu*) : *lā budda 'anna* ne pouvant être déontique (critère syntaxique) et ne pouvant être épistémique (critère de postériorité), on a donc *lā budda_A* de valeur prospective. C'est ainsi la syntaxe qui, sur le critère de postériorité, permet de distinguer sous la syntaxe *lā budda 'anna* entre *lā budda_E* et *lā budda_A*. Le premier, épistémique, est notamment exemplifié par (9) et (28), qui indiquent clairement par *al-'āna* (« maintenant ») le caractère non postérieur du procès modalisé par le *modus*, de même que par (35) et (36) qui suivent. Le second, aléthique, en plus de (22), (25) et (33), sera exemplifié par (37) et (38) qui présentent tous un *dictum* dont le procès verbal est au futur en *sa-yaf'alu* :

- (35) *li-dālika tašuqqu fikrat al-tamdīd li-l-mağlis al-lubnānī al-hālī tarīqa-hā, wa-lā budda 'anna-hā talqā ta'yīdan min al-nuwwāb al-hāliyyīn* – Hayāt 1996
 « Pour cela l'idée d'un prolongement au Parlement libanais actuel fait son chemin, et elle **doit rencontrer** un soutien parmi les députés actuels »
 = **yağibu / yuhtamalu / *taqtađi al-zurūf 'an talqā* « On fait l'hypothèse qu'elle rencontre **obligatoirement / probablement* (+ sans doute + certainement) / **nécessairement* », « *il faut qu'elle rencontre », « quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] qu'elle rencontre » (épistémique)
- (36) *lā budda 'anna al-lađīn tasābaqū li-l-difā 'an al-ğundī al-'urdunī 'ahmad al-daqaṃisa al-lađī qatala sab' fatayāt 'isrā 'iliyyāt fī al-bāqūra fī 'ađār (māris) al-māđī, yaš'urūna al-yawm bi-l-ħağal 'aw bi-l-ħarağ fī 'aqall taqđir, ba'da-mā tabayyana, bi-'iqrār hay'at al-difā 'an-hu fī al-qađiyya wa-šahādat al-ħubarā' al-nafsiyyīn al-mustaqaillīn, 'anna al-rağul, al-lađī i'tabarū-hu "baṭalan" 'alā mā*

'aqdama 'alay-hi, kāna yu'ālaḡu min 'amrāq nafsīyya munḡu 'ām 1989 wa-yu'ānī iḡṡirāban fī al-šaḡsiyya yaḡ'alu-hu, taḡt zurūf mu'ayyana, ḡayr mudrik li-māhiyyat 'af'āli-hi wa-natā'iḡi-hā 'alay-hi wa-'alā man ḡawla-hu – Ḥayāt 1997

«Ceux qui se sont bousculés pour la défense du soldat jordanien 'Aḡmad al-Daḡāmisa qui a tué sept jeunes filles israéliennes al-Bāḡūra (Naharayim) en mars dernier **doivent ressentir** aujourd'hui de la honte ou de la gêne à tout le moins, après qu'il s'est avéré, suite à la déclaration de son organe de défense dans l'affaire et au certificat des experts psychiatres indépendants, que l'homme, qu'on avait considéré comme un "héros" d'après ce qu'on avait avancé sur lui, était soigné pour des maladies psychiatriques depuis 1989 et souffrait de troubles de la personnalité qui le rendaient, sous conditions particulières, inconscient de la teneur de ses actes et de leurs résultats pour lui et ceux qui l'entouraient »

= *yaḡibu / yuḡtamalu / *taḡtaḡī al-zurūf 'an yaḡ'urū « On fait l'hypothèse qu'ils ressentent *obligatoirement / probablement (+ sans doute + certainement) / *nécessairement », « *il faut qu'ils ressentent », « quelque chose exige [qu'on pense] qu'ils ressentent » (épistémique)

(35) présente l'adjectif « actuel » tandis que (36) montre le circonstant temporel « aujourd'hui », et tous deux ont pour forme verbale modalisée un verbe au présent contrairement à (37) et (38) où ce dernier est au futur :

(37) 'inna mā yaḡsilu-nī 'an natā'iḡ ḡāḡiḡi al-marḡala min al-taḡāwuḡ yaḡfa'u bī 'ilā al-taḡā'ul wa-huwa ḡaḡiqī, wa-lā budda 'anna-hu sa-yaḡsilu lāḡiḡan dawr lubnān al-laḡī sa-yud'ā mubāḡaratan 'ilā al-taḡāwuḡ – Ḥayāt 1996

«Ce qui me parvient des résultats de cette phase de la négociation me pousse à l'optimisme, et il est réel. Le tour du Liban **devrait arriver** prochainement, qui sera convié immédiatement à la négociation »

= *yaḡibu / *yuḡtamalu / taḡtaḡī al-zurūf 'an ya'ḡuḡa «[Si tout se passe normalement,] les circonstances exigeront qu'il arrivera *obligatoirement / *probablement / nécessairement et logiquement », « *il faudra qu'il arrive », « quelque chose exige [*qu'on pense] qu'il arrivera nécessairement » (aléthique)

(38) fa-'iḡā tamakkana ḡāḡā al-maklūm min muḡāwamat al-ḡuzn, fa-lā budda 'anna-hu sa-yatamakkanu min muḡāwamat al-laḡīn saraḡū al-naḡr min waḡani-hi – Ḥayāt 1996

«Aussi, si ce blessé est capable de résister à la tristesse, alors il **devrait être capable** de résister à ceux qui ont volé la victoire à sa patrie »

= *yaḡibu / *yuḡtamalu / taḡtaḡī al-zurūf 'an « Si tout se passe normalement, les circonstances exigeront qu'il sera *obligatoirement / *probablement capable / nécessairement et logiquement », « *il faudra qu'il soit capable », « quelque chose exige [*qu'on pense] qu'il sera nécessairement capable » (aléthique)

5. 3. 2. *lā budda* 'an et la nécessité de faire être entre *lā budda*_A et *lā budda*_D

Par contre, la distinction, sous *lā budda* (*la-hu*) {(min) 'an + *yaf'ala/min* + *mašdar*} entre *lā budda*_D et *lā budda*_A est moins évidente. Il se trouve en effet que dans le cas de *lā budda* 'an, le *dictum* est invariablement au subjonctif. Or, le subjonctif ayant une valeur de non-actualisé, il s'agit d'un non-présent, ce qui n'implique néanmoins pas de manière nécessaire que l'on ait affaire à *lā budda*_A. Il faut donc reconnaître ici un cas d'ambiguïté de système : une même syntaxe *lā budda* (*la-hu*) {(min) 'an + *yaf'ala/min* + *mašdar*} peut indifféremment signaler une modalité déontique, comme dans le cas des exemples (4), (7), (8) (11), (14) à (16), (19), (30) et (31) ou bien une modalité aléthique, comme dans le cas des exemples (2b), (3), (10) (17), (18), (27), (32) et (34) ainsi que (39) et (40) qui suivent :

- (39) *wa-ṣaḥīḥ 'anna al-iḥtilāṭ al-ġinsī lam ya'ḥud qaṭṭ ṣaklan mašrū'an min ḥilāl al-zawāğ bayn al-bīd wa-l-sūd, wa-lākin naẓaran 'ilā 'anna tafawwuq al-'irq al-'abyaḍ kāna yutarğimu 'an nafsī-hi ġinsiyyan bi-taḥakkum ṣahwat al-rağul al-'abyaḍ bi-ğasad al-mar'a al-sawdā', fa-qaḍ kāna lā budda 'an yarā al-nūr ġīl min al-'awlād al-lāsar' iyyīn al-laḍīn ġaḍḍaw ṣufūf "al-ḥilāsiyyīn" – Ḥayāt 1996*
 « Il est vrai que le brassage racial n'a jamais pris de forme légale par le biais du mariage entre les Blancs et les Noirs, mais en raison du fait que la prédominance de l'ethnie blanche se traduisait sexuellement par la domination du désir de l'homme blanc du corps de la femme noire, **devait bel et bien voir** le jour une génération d'enfants illégitimes qui alimentèrent les rangs des "métis" »
 = **yağibu / *yuḥtamalu / taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an yarā* « [Tout s'étant passé comme prévu,] les circonstances ont exigé qu'il voie **obligatoirement / *probablement / nécessairement* et *logiquement* le jour », « *il fallait qu'il voie le jour », « quelque chose exigeait [*qu'on pense] qu'il voie nécessairement le jour » (aléthique)
- (40) *wa-kāna lā budda 'an yaḥsala 'arafāt, li-'anna-hu qāla bi-wuğūd ḥiyārāt ladā al-filasīniyyīn faqaṭ 'alā ṣa'īd al-taḥkīr al-taktīkī wa-laysa al-istrātiğī – Ḥayāt 1996*
 « Arafāt **devait échouer** puisqu'il avait posé l'existence de choix pour les Palestiniens uniquement sous l'angle tactique et non stratégique »
 = **yağibu / *yuḥtamalu / taqtaḍī al-zurūf 'an* « [Tout s'étant passé normalement,] les circonstances ont exigé qu'il échoue **obligatoirement / *probablement* capable / *nécessairement* et *logiquement* », « *il fallait qu'il échoue », « quelque chose exigeait [*qu'on pense] qu'il échoue nécessairement » (aléthique)

6. Conclusion

La syntaxe de l'arabe semble indiquer que la modalité aléthique, montrée par *lā budda*, est à la fois intermédiaire et sousjacent aux deux autres valeurs que sont les modalités déontique d'une part, épistémique d'autre part⁶⁴. Pour ces raisons, toute approche purement dichotomique est exclue pour rendre compte de la pluralité d'effets de sens de *lā budda*, et préférence est alors donnée aux classifications tripartites de Kronning, Le

⁶⁴ Veters 2004 insiste lui aussi sur ce caractère intermédiaire.

Querler et Larreya 1984. Cependant, cette modalité aléthique ne bénéficiant pas en arabe d'une syntaxe propre qui la distingue des deux autres, puisqu'elle se partage entre l'une et l'autre, serait plus à entrevoir comme une sous-catégorie des deux autres.

Il semble donc possible en arabe contemporain écrit, sur la base du fonctionnement syntaxique de *lā budda* qui illustre non pas l'opposition médiévale *de dicto* vs *de re* mais celle entre *nécessité d'être* vs *nécessité de faire être*, de prédire les valeurs de modalité épistémique ou déontique qu'il exprime, ce qui n'est pas le cas du français où *devoir*, dont la syntaxe de surface est insuffisante pour faire le départ entre ses différents effets de sens, exprime aussi bien, hors contexte, le *devoir_A*, le *devoir_D* ou le *devoir_E*. La *nécessité d'être* indique une modalité non déontique, tandis que la *nécessité de faire être* indique, elle, une modalité non épistémique. Concernant la première modalité, non déontique, le départ entre aléthique et épistémique se fait sur l'identité syntaxique du verbe du *dictum* : au futur, il s'agit de *devoir_A*, sinon il s'agit de *devoir_E*. Concernant la seconde modalité, non épistémique, le départ entre aléthique et déontique est plus difficile à faire : la distinction entre *devoir_A* et *devoir_D* n'est que contextuelle et non réglée syntaxiquement.

Nous parvenons alors à ce tableau des distributions modales de *lā budda* en arabe écrit contemporain :

Tableau 5

passé	<i>lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + qad fa'ala</i>	non déontique	épistémique	a dû _E faire/doit _E
	<i>lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + fa'ala</i>			avoir fait
	<i>lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + kāna yaf'alu</i>			a dû _E faire/doit _E
présent	<i>lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + yaf'alu</i>		avoir fait	
	<i>lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + sa-yaf'alu</i>		devait _E faire	
futur	<i>lā budda (min) 'anna-hu + sa-yaf'alu</i>		aléthique	doit _E faire
			doit _A /devrait _A	
			faire	

passé	<i>kāna lā budda (la-hu) {(min) 'an + yaf'ala/min + maṣdar}</i>	non épistémique	aléthique ou déontique	devait _A (FUT HIST)
présent	<i>lā budda (la-hu) {(min) 'an + yaf'ala//min + maṣdar}</i>			faire ou
futur	<i>sa-yakūnu lā budda (la-hu) {(min) 'an + yaf'ala//min + maṣdar}</i>			devrait _D /a dû _D faire
				doit _D faire/doit _A
				faire
				devra _D
				faire/devrait _A
				faire ? ⁶⁵

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SOME SET EXPRESSIONS RENDERING A SPEAKER'S ATTITUDE TO THE UTTERANCE IN THE EGYPTIAN ARABIC DIALECT

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Abstract: The present paper deals with of grammatical means expressing the speaker's attitude to the utterance, in particular, set expressions. The analysis has been carried out on the basis of the Egyptian Arabic dialect.

Verbs *ba'a-yib'a-ib'a*, *'ām*, *'āl*, particles *ma*, *a-*, *wara*, *'uddām*, pronoun *huwa* are discussed, in particular, their modal semantics is studied, in which meanings unknown to literary Arabic are identified; a formal analysis is offered.

Keywords: *Egyptian, dialect, literary Arabic, set expressions, modal.*

There are a number of individual ways to express a speaker's attitude to the utterance (intonation, the so-called body language, etc.).

The present paper deals with grammatical means expressing the speaker's attitude to the utterance, in particular, set forms. Analysis has been carried out on the basis of the Egyptian Arabic dialect.

In this context, several specific verbs should be mentioned, which are known from the literary language, however, they have acquired new functions in the Egyptian Arabic dialect.¹

The verb ba'a

The verb *ba'a* (imperfect *yib'a* or *yub'a* < lit. *baqiya* – *yabqā*; in literary Arabic has the following meanings: “to remain, stay, continue to be; to keep up...”) in the Egyptian dialect is characterized by a wide field of usage. This is, so to say, one of the most “Egyptian” verbs, which is either a main or auxiliary verb, and sometimes is close to the particle or the interjection by its function.² Sometimes it denotes the speaker's attitude to the utterance.³ With such a function the perfect or imperfect forms of the verb *ba'a* are attested in various positions of a syntactic construction, which exerts certain influence on the modal semantics of this word. Sometimes it proves difficult to find a suitable word in the process of translation, due to which it may be omitted in the translation, but it should always be borne in mind that it still has a certain meaning, it gives the sentence a certain

¹ Some examples for the illustration are taken from fiction created in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, particularly: at-Tonsi 1992, Musharrafa 1991, also from: Elder 1927. Below the concrete source of the examples is not additionally specified.

² As the Egyptians say sometimes, if a person knows and can use all the meanings of the verb *ba'a*, he has a good command of Egyptian Arabic.

³ For functions of the given verb in Egyptian Arabic in more detail see Badawi, Hinds 1986: 722-723; Ejibadze 2012: 113-122.

modal shade, the speaker uses it in the given context with a certain intention, even though, absence of *ba'a* in the sentence may not change the essence of the sentence.

With the modal function *ba'a* or *yib'a/yuba* is not inflected, it does not have a subject (*resp.* it is impersonal). Its function is not that of a verb, but of a certain auxiliary word. From the syntactic point of view, it is not a part of the sentence.

***ba'a* at the beginning of a construction.**

ba'a is used at the beginning of a construction when the speaker wants to gain time, to think over an idea; this particle begins a reasoning the outcome of which is still unknown. Sometimes it can express the speaker's surprise. We can translate this word below as "well", "ahem":

- (1) *ba'a ē tinfa' al-kutub wa-l-garāyid?*
"ahem, what is the use of books and newspapers?"
- (2) *ba'a mafīš ḥāga kwayisa illa w-m'āha ḥamsīn muṣība*
"Well, ahem, nothing good will happen, if it is not followed by fifty troubles."
- (3) *ba'a ya ṣubḥāna l-lāh ma ti'rafīš tu'udi 'a-r-raṣīf w-tiz'a'i "qul yā ayyuhā l-laḡīna..."*
"Ahem, praise to Allah, can't you sit down on the pavement and shout: 'Say, O You, who...'"

***ba'a* in the middle and at the end of a construction.**

ba'a is used in the middle or at the end of a construction in the form of a logical conclusion, which proves the correctness of the utterance preceding *ba'a*. Serving as a certain logical conclusion, it expresses the finality of the speaker's decision. It may also stress that it is necessary to obey the speaker's desire. For example:

- (4) *uskut ba'a*
"Stop now!"
- (5) *'a'ad ba'a*
"Yes, he sat down, sat down, and that's it."
- (6) *nihāyatu ba'a*
"It is over, finished and that's it!"
- (7) *ḥallāna nirtāḥ ba'a*
"Now let us rest, let us have a rest!"
- (8) *u'udi ba'a w-itfarragi*
"Now sit down and watch."

***yib'a/yub'a* at the beginning of a construction.**

At the beginning of a syntactic construction, this word in the imperfect, invariable form denotes the same as "that is", "therefore" in some expressions. It gives a certain

qualification to the speaker's or another person's earlier utterance, provision, discussion, etc., identifies the fact of cause and effect:

- (9) *yib'a ehna 'alēna l- ḥa'*
 "So, that is/therefore, we have deserved it."
 (10) *yib'a yi'rafu yit'āmlu ma'a n-nās*
 "That is/therefore, they know how to behave with people."

ib'a.

ib'a is the imperative form of the verb *ba'a*. It is recorded with this form mostly at the beginning of a syntactic construction and only with the imperative forms of the main verb. In fact, in this form it has the same function, as is discussed in the preceding paragraph, however, in this case, its imperative form is caused by the imperative of the verb which follows it. In other words, at the beginning of a construction the functions of *yib'a/yub'a* and *ib'a* are in fact identical, but, if the main verb is in the imperative form, *ba'a* too is in the imperative, but in the invariable form, in the masculine gender, singular. Here, too, the speaker uses this word to express a logical conclusion derived from the previous conversation or a cause-and-effect relation with the earlier utterance, where the phrase including *ib'a* derives naturally, logically from the previous utterance, representing a logical conclusive continuation of the earlier statement:

- (11) *ib'a ta'āli ya sayyida bukra ya binti w-ana addīki nuṣṣa frank gadīd zay da*
 "So, come Sayda, my girl, tomorrow, and I will give you a new half franc like this."
 (12) *bus ib'a i'mili l-ḥagāt zay di min gēr ma a'ūllik*
 "So, do something like this without my saying."

The verb 'ām

In addition to the functions found in Literary Arabic, in the Egyptian Arabic the verb *'ām* < lit. *qām*^a can also occur with another function. When it appears in the invariable form at the beginning of a syntactic construction, it does not express the semantics of a specific action, but the fact of making a decision or a desire which can be related to some action of the first, second or third person (either an action having occurred in the past about which we learn at the moment of speaking, which is narrated about; or an expected action which should take place in future – cf. *ba'a*):

- (13) *'ām 'allu əs-sa'āti: 'awiz ē ya rāgil? 'ām 'allu əl-fallāḥ: ana muš 'awiz ḥāga bəs əl-ḥomār wi'if*
 "The watchmaker said there and then: What do you want, man? And he said (answered) there and then: I do not want anything, simply, the donkey became obstinate."
 (14) *'ām is'alu*
 "So ask him there and then, etc."

Sometimes, the meaning of this verb can be qualified as that of an interjection expressing the speaker's surprise, astonishment:

- (15) *'ām rama ʾs-sammā 'a min īdu*
 “(Can you imagine?) He threw away the headphone out of his hand there and then.”

In such examples, *'ām* does not represent a verb and the corresponding part of the sentence; it has the function of a certain interjection. That is why it is always presented in the form of perfect, masculine gender, singular, even when the main verb of the sentence is, for instance, in the Imperative (as in the example given above).

In a sentence *'ām* can be immediately followed by a verb (as in the above-mentioned examples) or the construction *'ām+verb* can be divided by another part of speech:

- (16) *'ām ʾs-sīḥ gēf-ʿēnu 'alafha wə-sār a 'war*
 “There and then heated (oil) hit him in the eye, scalded it, and he became one-eyed.”

In this case too it should also be taken into consideration that the construction is *'ām+verb*, but as is typical of Arabic in similar cases as well, the construction may be divided, for example, as the verb + verb construction in such cases: *kān al-walad yas'al, qa'ad al-walad yaqūl*, etc.

The verb *'āl*

The basic meaning of *'āl* < lit. *qāl*^a in Literary Arabic and Egyptian is well known: “to speak, say, tell”. This time, however, attention should be paid not to this meaning of this verb *'āl*, but also to another, quite widespread meaning in the dialect.

- (17) *tlā'ihum 'āl raḥrīn yifrišu t-tarabezāt b-fuwaṭ titḡasal kullə sitt ušhur w-yi'milu 'āl raḥrīn lista...*
 You will see, ___ they too lay a tablecloth on the table, which is washed (once) every six months, and they too make, ___, a list...
 (18) *a'ūm ʾs-sā'a ḥedāšar 'āl afattiš 'ala šoḡl*
 I used to get up at eleven o'clock, ___, I was looking for a job, etc..

In the gaps in the translation the verb *'āl* is implied. It is difficult to find an exact equivalent for it. Apparently, here too, this verb has the function of an interjection; it expresses the speaker's attitude to his (or perhaps someone else's) action or words; in particular, the speaker wishes to express his distrust and certain negative attitude, or to stress that he would not have acted in a similar way, he does not approve of such an action, or even mocks it. Accordingly, the above-given Arabic examples can be translated as follows:

Allegedly, they too lay a tablecloth on the table, which is washed (once) every six months, and they too make, according to their words, a list... (naturally, a tablecloth should not be washed once every six months, and laying such a tablecloth on the table cannot be a sign of order; their “list” – menu – in this context is also caricatured; See at-Tonsī 1992: 9).

I used to get up at eleven o'clock, as if, I was looking for a job (for those wishing to find a job it is late to get up at eleven o'clock, as the working day in Egypt begins at seven or eight o'clock).

On Some Meanings of the Particle *ma*

In addition to negation and relation, particle *ma* in Egyptian Arabic can also have other functions.

It should be noted that *ma* used separately in a negative sentence may denote the speaker's question, equal to the interrogative intonation (it should be borne in mind here that in this case we are not dealing with the interrogative function of *mā* known from the literary language: *mā hādā?*). That negative nature of the sentence is rendered exactly by *ma*, although it is not used here with the status of the negative particle, in addition to rendering a question. More exactly, in constructions of this type *ma* expresses not a real question, which requires specific (positive or negative) answers, but the so-called rhetorical question in which it is implied that what is not done by the second or third person must be done. Such sentences may be qualified as interrogative-exclamatory sentences.

(19) *ma tuḥḍur?*

"Why aren't you coming?! Why don't you come?!"

(20) *ma yišrab?*

"Why doesn't he drink?! / Why won't he drink?!"

When the particle *ma* is used together with a pronominal suffix or a personal pronoun, it imparts the modal meaning to the utterance.

If it is accompanied by a personal pronoun, it acquires the meaning which is close to tag questions. By using *ma* the speaker tries to argue additionally his statement, which is also accompanied by the nuance of mocking, talking down:

(21) *mahu biyihhibbak 'awi*

"But he loves you very much, doesn't he!"

(22) *mana 'ultalak*

"I told you, didn't I!"

Sometimes in similar constructions the particle *ma* is used together with a pronoun, in this case the speaker expresses satisfaction due to correctness of his earlier supposition, or mocking:

(23) *ma hwa l-mudīr rafaḍ*

"Didn't the director refuse? / The director refused, didn't he!"

(24) *ma hum rafaḍu*

"They refused, didn't they! etc."

On Some Stylistic Functions of Personal Pronouns

In Egyptian Arabic there is a syntactic construction in which the first member is the pronoun *huwa*, which does not agree in gender and number with the subject of the sentence. In such cases it has some stylistic function.⁴ These constructions express the speaker's annoyance caused by the action/utterance of the second or the third person, or sometimes an attempt to demonstrate by the speaker that he is right, to defend his position. But the pronoun *huwa* acquires this function only in interrogative-exclamatory sentences (and sometimes in interrogative sentences). Examples:

(25) *huwa ana bakallimak walla la'?!
“am I speaking to you or not?! “*

(26) *huwa enta sāmi 'ni ?/?!
“Can you hear me or not?/?!”*

(27) *huwa eḥna miš 'ulnālu?!
“Haven't we told him?!”*

One more construction is discussed in the work by Al-Tonsi and Al-Sawi (Al-Tonsi, Al-Sawi, II, 1990: 13). This construction too is made of a personal pronoun, which begins the sentence, but it agrees with the noun (i.e. it may occur in the feminine gender and the common form of plural). In particular, sentences of the following type are implied:

(28) *hēya d-diniya bitmaṭṭar?
“Can it really be raining?”*

(29) *hum əl-wəlād nāmu?
“Have the children really gone to sleep?”*

Such a construction, in which the pronoun at the beginning of the sentence is characterized by a tendency towards agreement, is semantically different from that described in the preceding paragraph. In the former the pronoun should be translated as “*really*”, whereas the sentence is interrogative. By this means the speaker expresses a question (in the combination with intonation).

a- together with a Personal Pronoun⁵

If a syntactic construction begins with the synthesis of particle *a-* and a personal pronoun, the resulting meaning is “*here*”, “*look*”! In this case, the pronoun agrees with the subject. The sentence type is exclamatory (The given particle can be related by its origin with the demonstrative particle *hā* of the literary language). E.g.:

(30) *aḥum gum
“Here they have come!”*

⁴ It seems that *huwa* covers everything that needs to be said in the sentence after it, thereby resembling to a certain extent the so-called *ḍamīru l-ḥadīṭi* of Literary Arabic. Sometimes this construction is called “verificational interrogative”, see: Salib 1992: 294.

⁵ This is not the particle *'a-*, which expresses a question in literary Arabic.

- (31) *ahu l-bāb 'uddāmak*
 "Here the door is in front of you (hu < huwa)!"
- (32) *ahi l-lēla get*
 "Here the night has fallen (hi < hiyya)!"

Sentences of this type are characterized by contracted forms of pronouns (e.g., *hi*, *hu*).

Sometimes together with the particle *a-*, *hu < huwa* does not agree with the subject, because in such cases it is not related to the subject (but to the following sentence entirely):

- (33) *ahu enta s-sabab*
 The reason for this are you. / Aren't you the reason for this?
- (34) *ahu enti elli 'amalti keda*
 You have done so. / Haven't you (yourself) done this?

Constructions resembling the above-mentioned ones are used to express: a) the speaker's attitude that what was expected has happened, or that the expectations have been met; b) a rhetorical question which shows the correctness of the speaker's utterance; mocking; desire to persuade someone of one's own correctness.

On Secondary Meanings of Some Particles and Adverbs

Wara, 'uddām: In the Egyptian dialect adverbs *wara* ("behind") and *'uddām* ("ahead, in front"), in addition to the primary meaning, also have another semantics. The first of them, in some cases, denotes the speaker's certain negative attitude towards a phenomenon, and the second – on the contrary, a positive one.⁶ For example:

- (35) *warā imtiḥān*
 (lit. "behind him is an exam"), "he has an exam" (to pass) (it is implied that passing an exam is linked with certain discomfort, therefore, the adverb *wara* "behind" is used;

but:

- (36) *'uddāmu ḥafla*
 (lit. "in front of him is a celebration"), "he has a celebration" (implying that a celebration is a positive event, that is why the adverb *'uddām* "ahead" is used.
- (37) *warā imtiḥān bassə 'uddāmu šahr*
 "He has an exam (to pass), but he also has a month ahead."

⁶ A. Al-Tonsi and L. Al-Sawi offer a slightly different qualification: "*quddām* indicates possibility in sense of giving the opportunity"... while "*wara* indicates obligation" (Al-Tonsi, Al-Sawi, I, 1990: 97).

In this example, both are present – *wara* and *'uddām*, and it is obvious when one and the other are used.

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THE DEHORTATIVE IN THE SPOKEN ARABICS OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

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Abstract. A few authors mention a hortative mood in Arabic, formed in a variety of manners, usually involving a pre-verbal element and an unmarked imperfective verb, sometimes thought of as the jussive or subjunctive. Not an imperative, the Arabic hortative may apply to all three persons. Its opposite, the dehortative, similarly not a prohibitive, also applies to all three persons, and it, too, is expressed in a variety of manners, all involving the unmarked imperfective verb and preverbal elements, often not negators but expressing an inherent negation. It may also be formed with reflexes of the negator *miš* preceding an unmarked imperfective verb. Such negation has been remarked in Egyptian Arabic in five types of constructions: in contrastive, metalinguistic, and rhetorical negation, in negations of progressive aspect, and in the dehortative. Not restricted to Egyptian Arabic, verbal negation with *miš/muš/mhūš* occurs in Levantine Arabics, Tunisian Arabic, and the closely related Maltese.

Keywords: *dehortative, eastern Mediterranean Arabic dialects, hortative, jussive, modality, negatives, prohibitive.*

1. Introduction

Spoken Arabic is said to exhibit three morphologically marked moods: the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative (El-Hassan 2008), other moods being expressed with the assistance of preverbal elements. In fact, some varieties of spoken Arabic distinguish only two morphologically marked moods, in those varieties, the indicative and subjunctive being morphologically identical. In the eastern Mediterranean varieties of Arabic that mark the indicative mood with a prefix *bi-* on the imperfective verb, however, its absence marks a range of moods. Somewhat contrary to the usual understanding in linguistics, the subjunctive and its related moods in those varieties are labelled “unmarked” as opposed to the indicative, which is “marked” with the *bi-* prefix (cf. Brustad 2000: 233–256; Cowell 2005: 343):¹

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--|--|
| (1) | a. | is-sagāyir
the-cigarettes | bi-ti-xrab
HAB-it/they-ruin(s) | biyūt
houses | ‘Cigarettes wreck homes’ (Egyptian Arabic) | |
| | b. | yi-xrab
it-ruin | bayt-ak
house-your | šū
how | ḥabb-ayt-ak
loved-I-you | ‘May your house be ruined; how I love(d) you!’ (Lebanese Arabic) |

¹ Unattributed examples are from my own data sources.

In (1b), the unmarked verb performs as an optative, giving God the option of bringing the house to ruin. A similar construction involving an unmarked verb and comprising statements that urge or encourage is the hortative. A few researchers into Arabic have mentioned a hortative mood (Mitchell & El-Hassan 1994: 12, 30–33, 67; Brustad 2000: 233, 236, 254; Woidich 2006a: 275, 326; and for Maltese, a peripheral dialect of Arabic Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 242). For Brustad (2000: 233), “the morphologically unmarked form of the imperfective serves as a subjunctive mood, with non-indicative, potential, hortative, or optative meaning,” some such constructions conveying “exhortatory meaning” (2000: 236). El-Hassan, too, views this as the role of the unmarked subjunctive, which “is appropriate for several semantico-pragmatic functions, including the speech acts of suggesting, exhorting, praying (or invoking the aid of God), and similar performative illocutions” (2008: 264). Clearly, here and when writing with Mitchell, El-Hassan views the hortative as a semantic or pragmatic function and not as constituting a mood in itself: “Jussive, which includes both ‘imperative’ and ‘subjunctive’, refers, like ‘indicative’, to the *mood* of a verb, that is, in principle to its linguistic form and not strictly to kinds of sentences” (Mitchell & El-Hassan 1994: 12, their emphasis).

Hortatives may be expressed in several manners in spoken Arabic, usually, but not necessarily, involving a pre-verbal element, with the main verb itself in the unmarked subjunctive. For the Egyptian Arabic of Cairo, Woidich (2006a: 326) illustrates the construction with a preverbal element in the form of the auxiliary verb *xalla/yixalli*, there taking the shape of an imperative (2a), in the sense of the exhortation ‘let’. Cowell (2005: 345) describes exhortation in Syrian Arabic (2b.) with a nonverbal element: “the particle *la-* is sometimes used before a main verb in the subjunctive to express an exhortation (‘let ...’)”:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|----------------------|-------------------|
| (2) | a. | xallī-na | ni-twaḍḍa | |
| | | let-us | we-perform.ablutions | |
| | | ‘Let us perform the ablutions [for prayer]’ | | (Egyptian Arabic) |
| | b. | la-ne-ržaʿ | la-masʿalat | əl-bēt |
| | | HORT-we-return | to-matter | the house |
| | | ‘Let’s return to the matter of the house’ | | (Syrian Arabic) |

Here a terminological matter intrudes: researchers use “hortative” and “exhortative” in slightly differing manners. Woidich reserves the term “hortative” for the 1st person singular, when “the speaker issues instructions and makes suggestions and recommendations to...himself” (2006a: 275),² applying “exhortative” to constructions involving the 1st person plural (2a). For Maltese, Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 242) apply the term “hortatory” to all three persons. Meanwhile, Mitchell & El-Hassan use “hortative ... in order to free for subsequent use elsewhere the term ‘jussive’” (1994:12). In their conception, “jussive for its part corresponds to two sets of Arabic forms, the imperative and the subjunctive” (ibid). Illustrating the hortative, Mitchell & El-Hassan (1994: 29–30) provide a perfectly matched pair, one with a preverbal element that

² *Der Sprecher erteilt Anweisungen und macht Vorschläge und Empfehlungen an ... sich selbst (hortativ).*

Badawi & Hinds label, “a particle lending emphasis to a suggestion or invitation” (1986: 809)³ (cf. example [9]) and the other, with a bare unmarked imperfective verb:⁴

- (3) a. ma ni-rga^ʕ li-l-mawḏū^ʕ da
 HORT we-return to-the-subject that
 ‘Let’s return to that topic’
 c. ni-rga^ʕ li-l-mawḏū^ʕ da
 we-return to-the-topic that
 ‘[Let] us return to that topic’ (Egyptian Arabic)

More of a prompt than a command, the hortative is, in fact, structurally and functionally distinct from the imperative. In differentiating them, while noting that the imperative is actually more a performative than a modal, de Haan (2006) writes:

With the modal verb, the command can come from other sources beside the speaker ... and be used on non-second persons ... Related to imperatives are jussives and hortatives. When the subject of a command is not the addressee, but someone not participating the speech situation (i.e., the 3rd person) or a group to which the speaker belongs (1st person), then we are dealing with jussives and hortatives (2006: 35–36).

Here, another terminological matter intrudes: the term “jussive” is particularly unfortunate in discussions of spoken Arabic for its close association with the Arabic of writing. Indeed, the term is somewhat misapplied to written Arabic grammar, too, where the apocopate form of the verb, which comprises the so-called “jussive”, also negates past time (the verb withal remaining in the imperfective), which has nothing to do with the usual understanding of its working in other languages.⁵ In Latin, from which the term derives, the jussive or “jussive subjunctive” denotes an exhortation or a command in the 2nd and 3rd persons. The same applying to the 1st person plural is called a “hortatory subjunctive” (Allen & Greenough 1903: 278).

Its conceptualization in Latin notwithstanding, in spoken Arabic, the hortative, usually expressing an exhortation analogous to the English ‘let me, us, him/her, them,’ may address all three persons, just as it may when negated as a dehortative, there in expressions analogous to the English ‘let me, us, him/her, them not’. What is more, in spoken Arabic, the hortative and dehortative express other degrees of urging, encouraging, discouraging, and dissuasion. Although both can also apply to the 2nd person, they remain distinct from the imperative and its negation, the prohibitive. It is these negations especially that shall interest us here.

³ This is to be distinguished from the negator *mā*. Mitchell & Hassan (1994: 33) contrast the hortative *mā* with that of the negator, saying that the negator *mā* is given greater stress, or as they say, “pronounced longer than the ‘hortative’ *mā*.”

⁴ They label this as either “hortative” or “desiderative” (1994: 12, 29). Yet, what is called the desiderative usually denotes an unrealizable wish: e.g., *yārēl-ni mā ruḥt* ‘would that I had not gone’ (cf. Brustad 2000: 236).

⁵ Cowell (2005: 343, fn) maintains that the jussive and subjunctive in written Arabic are, “not full-fledged grammatical categories at all, but only automatic syntactic alternants.”

2. The prohibitive

In the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS), van der Auwera & Lejeune (2013) present a map of prohibitive strategies in 495 languages, delineating four manners of forming the prohibitive, applying three of them to Mediterranean Arabics: a prohibitive formed of the 2nd person imperative negated with the same negator as that which negates the declarative sentence, which they call “normal imperative + normal negative” and we shall call Type I; a prohibitive formed of a verbal construction other than the second singular imperative, negated with the same strategy as that with which the indicative is negated (special imperative + normal negative – our Type II); and a Type III a prohibitive formed of a verbal construction other than the second singular imperative, employing a negation strategy not used with the indicative (special imperative + special negative), the final type represented by one Arabic variety on the map: Maltese. They apparently base their assignment on the presence of, “an archaic negative imperative form *la* instead of *ma* ... for example *la tistrax* ‘Thou shalt not steal’” (Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 27).⁶ Otherwise the Maltese prohibitive is formed with a post-positive *-š* alone (ibid), with no preverbal negator *mā*, or, for that matter, *lā* (6b).

They chart Palestinian Arabic as falling within Type I, that is, of the normal imperative + normal negative type, classifying another three spoken varieties of Arabic as Type II, the special imperative + normal negative type, those being the Moroccan, Egyptian, and northern Levantine dialects. Their source for their northern Levantine data is Mitchell & El-Hassan (1994), who, for their part, specify their Levantine citations as coming from Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine, in other words, all Levantine dialects of Arabic.

These classifications conceal a wide variability in negation techniques, such that most Arabic dialects of the Mediterranean could be subsumed under several types. For example, their sources for Moroccan Arabic, Caubet (1993: 162) and Marçais (1977: 275), both attest a prohibitive form with *lā-* with an optional enclitic *-š*, rather than the usual indicative negator, the circumfix *mā ... š*. That is, in its optionally forming the prohibitive with *lā-*, Moroccan is, like Maltese, at least partially a Type III:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| (4) | a. | ma | ti-mši-š | |
| | | not | you-go-NEG | |
| | b. | la | ti-mši-š | |
| | | not | you-go-NEG | (Moroccan Arabic: Caubet 1993: 162) |
| | c. | lā | t-rōḥ | |
| | | not | you-go | |
| | | ‘Don’t go’ | | (Moroccan Arabic: Marçais 1977: 275) |

For their part, Palestinian dialects form the imperative in exactly the same manner as any other Arabic variety, by removing the 2nd person marker /t-/ from the imperfective verb:

⁶ The {x} in Maltese orthography represents the sound [š].

- (5) a. šū b-ti-nsā yā zalame
 how HAB-you-forget O man
 ‘How you forget, Man!’
- b. insā yā zalame
 forget.m O man
 ‘Forget [it], Man!’
- (Palestinian Arabic)

What is more, they and other closely related dialects of the Levant may form their prohibitives with a post-positive *-š* alone, without either of the preposed negators *mā-* or *lā-*. They share this quality with Maltese, which as a matter of course forms its prohibitives with post-positive *-š* alone:⁷

- (6) a. Biex ma ti-nsie-x min hu
 so.that not you-forget-NEG who he
 ‘That you not forget who he is’ (Maltese)
- b. Ti-nsie-x li Ġesù wkoll i-bati
 you-forget-NEG that Jesus also he-suffers
 mi-l-loneliness b-ħal-ek u b-ħal-i
 from-the-loneliness PREP-self-your and PREP-self-my
 ‘Do not forget that Jesus also suffers from loneliness, as you and I do’ (Maltese)
- c. ħāwil inn-ak mā ti-nsā-š
 try that-you not you-forget-NEG
 ‘Try that you not forget’ (Jordanian Arabic)
- d. ti-nsā-š iš-šanṭa
 forget-NEG the-bag
 ‘Don’t forget the [your] bag’ (Jordanian Arabic)

Clearly, Palestinian dialects, which form their imperatives as all other Arabic varieties do, cannot be Type I prohibitive languages, those forming their prohibitives with the verbal construction of the second singular imperative negated in the same manner as the indicative. Instead, like the Moroccan, Egyptian, and Levantine dialects, they form their prohibitives with a verbal construction other than the second singular imperative, negated in the same manner as the indicative, making them, at least in part, Type II.

Beyond that, however, negation in Levantine dialects is extraordinarily variable. The northern dialects, that is, those from around Beirut and Damascus northwards, tend not to mark verbal negations with a post-positive *-š*. The dialects of the southern and highland Levant, however, usually do, either with a post-positive *-š* alone or pairing it with a preposed *mā* or *ʾa* (for discussion and other examples, see Khairallah 2014: 46 and references):

⁷ Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 237) state that Maltese has only two morphologically marked moods, the indicative and the imperative. Yet, because the Maltese prohibitive is distinct, it, too, may be considered a mood.

- (7) a. mā ti-ns-ī-š 'amīšt-ik
 not you-forget-f-NEG shirt-your.f
 b. 'a ti-ns-ī-š 'amīšt-ik
 not you-forget-f-NEG shirt-your.f
 c. ti-ns-ī-š 'amīšt-ik
 you-forget-f-NEG shirt-your.f
 'Don't forget your shirt' (Levantine Arabic)

Some Levantine varieties, notably those of the Syrian and Jordanian Ḥawrān, can form their prohibitive with the post-positive –š without a 2nd person prefix (Wilmsen 2014: 107–108):

- (8) a. kabbir-hā-š iktīr iš-šaġle miš mistāhle
 enlarge-her-NEG much the-thing not deserving
 'Don't blow the thing out of proportion; it's not worth it'
 c. šabbih-ī-š il-qiyāde bi-l-makdūs
 liken-f-NEG the-leadership PREP-the-pickled.eggplant
 'Don't compare the [party] leadership with pickles' (Ḥawrāni Arabic)

That is, some northern and southern Levantine dialects may also form the prohibitive with a verbal construction other than the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in the indicative, making them, in part at least, of a Type III.

3. The dehortative

In view of the variability in negation strategies as a whole in Arabic dialects, the WALs is understandably somewhat inexact in its classifications of strategies for forming the prohibitive in the Mediterranean varieties of Arabic. It is more helpful in determining the differences between imperatives, hortatives, and optatives:

Imperatives and hortatives both have to do with the expression of a wish of the speaker about a future state of affairs. In this respect they are like optatives, but in contrast to optatives, they convey an appeal to the addressee(s) to help make the future state of affairs true. In case the person in control of the desired state of affairs is the addressee or addressees, then we speak of an *imperative*. In any other case, we speak of a *hortative* (van der Auwera, Dobrushina, & Goussev 2013).

For its part, the optative, “expresses a wish of the speaker, but there is no appeal to the addressee to make it true” (ibid). Ammann & van der Auwera (2004: 296) make clear that they see the term “imperative” applying to the 2nd person and “hortative” to the 1st and 3rd, remarking upon the confusion of terminology in the literature:

The imperative is typically conceived of as being reserved for the second person(s) ... There are, however, categories which differ in meaning only with respect to the person(s) targeted by the appeal. These are referred to with many different labels in the literature, depending on the person(s) associated with them and the author's preference: “imperative”, “hortative”, “jussive”, “adhortative”, to name just the most important ones.

As we have seen, this sort of terminological ambiguity applies to Arabic precisely because the unmarked imperfective performs most of these functions (Brustad 2000: 233), usually, but not necessarily, augmented by preverbal elements. In that respect, the WALS is also confusing in its classification of the Arabic dialects within an imperative-hortative system. It distinguishes between two parameters that languages may exhibit, worth quoting at length:

The basic parameter is what we will call the formal homogeneity of the system ... [and] the maximality or minimality, of the homogeneity, defined in terms of homogeneity with the imperative second singular. As to the notion of homogeneity, two imperative-hortative forms will be called *homogeneous* if they are formed using the same kind of morphological or syntactic means ... If a language has a system with an imperative second person singular that is not formally homogeneous with any of the other forms, then the language will be said to have a “minimal system”. If, on the other hand, the second singular imperative is formally homogeneous with the other second persons, with the third persons, and with at least an inclusive first person plural, then the language will be said to have a “maximal system” (van der Auwera, Dobrushina & Goussev 2013).

Curiously, the WALS identifies Egyptian Arabic as exhibiting a system that is neither maximal nor minimal, while identifying northern Levantine as maximal. In explaining the former system, it specifies, “[a] language [that] has neither a maximal nor a minimal system...has suffixal second person imperatives. Third person hortatives have the same structure.” Meanwhile, in the latter, “all of the morphology is suffixal and none is fully dedicated, for the forms also have a subordinate subjunctive use” (ibid). As with their classifications of the prohibitive, the Mediterranean varieties of Arabic do not fit neatly into the WALS imperative-hortative system. The modal prefixes are critical, not the person suffixes. All varieties form their imperatives without the 2nd person prefix /t-/ but form a hortative with the unmarked imperfective, often preceded by a pre-verbal element; Egyptian Arabics are no different from the Levantine:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--|------------------|----|----------------|-------------------|
| (9) | xušš | fi-l-mawḏūʿ | ma | t-xušš | fi-l-mawḏūʿ |
| | enter | PREP-the-subject | | HORT you-enter | PREP-the-subject |
| | ‘Get to the point! [You must] get to the point!’ | | | | (Egyptian Arabic) |

Here, both the command and the exhortation apply to the same addressee. That is, the hortative may apply to the 2nd person.

Nevertheless, if the Arabic hortative is sometimes difficult to detect, its opposite, the dehortative, is clear and unambiguous because of its distinctive preverbal elements. What is more, it, too, may apply to the 2nd person, in what Mitchell & El-Hassan (1994:33) call “quasi-imperatives”. Indeed, one of these, “the particle *iyyā-*, regularly associated with pronominal suffixes, the latter co-referential with the subject of the following subjunctive verb” (ibid), can, in this context, apply only to the 2nd person. It is usually understood to be a marker of the accusative, but it performs other functions, including warning, a function recognized since the earliest writing about Arabic, where it is explicitly called ‘a particle of warning’ *ḥarf tanbīh* (Wilmsen 2013: 150–152). Another, derived from the verb *waʿā* ‘to take heed’, actually forms an imperative. Levantine Arabics can affix a 2nd person pronoun /-k/. Likewise with another: *išha(k)*,

which also derives from an imperative of the verb ‘to awaken’ (Cowell 2005: 351). Each expresses a stern warning:

- (10) a. iyyā-k ti-nsā il-yōm da
 beware-2 you-forget the-day DEM
 ‘Beware [= Don’t] you forget this day’ (Egyptian Arabic)
- b. iw’ā/ū’ā(-k) ti-nsā-ni
 take heed(-2) you-forget-me
 ‘Take heed [= Don’t] you forget me’ (Egyptian/Syro-Lebanese Arabic)
- c. iṣḥa(-k) ti-ğlaṭ ġaltit-i
 wake(-2) you-err error-my
 ‘Wake(you) [=Don’t] you make the mistake I made’ (Syrian Arabic)

Mitchell & El-Hassan point out that these elements are inherently negative, “to the exclusion of overtly negative elements” (1994: 33). Yet, another construction, functioning in an identical manner, utilizes the overtly negative element *miš/muš* in what Alqassas (2012: 22, 121, 127–134), writing about the phenomenon in the Irbid dialect of the Jordanian Ḥawrān, calls “cautioning”. The following comes from further south: a dialect of Amman, Jordan:

- (11) zakkir-ni ’abil ma t-rūḥ miš ti-nsā
 remind-me before that you-go not you-forget
 ‘Remind me before you go; [Mind] you not forget!’ (Jordanian Arabic)

As the example shows, a verb in the subjunctive usually follows, but a negated verb may also, as in the following from the Syrian Ḥawrān:⁸

- (12) bi-t-rūḥ-u wi bi-t-’amil-u ḥāl-kum mabsūt-īn
 HAB-you-go-pl and HAB-you-make-pl selves-your content-pl
 miš t-rūḥ-ū-š
 not you-go-pl-NEG
 ‘You’ll go, and you’ll act happy; [Mind] you not not go’ (Syrian Ḥawrāni Arabic)

The negation of verbs with *miš/muš* has largely attracted the attention of researchers writing about Egyptian Arabic (Brustad 2000: 302–306; Doss 2008), under the assumption that such negation, generally considered ungrammatical, is a recent innovation amongst younger speakers of Egyptian Arabic, with young women engaging in such negation more often than young men, the young men using it being of the upper classes, therefore of dubious authenticity and masculinity. Yet, recent work has shown that the phenomenon when taken in context, is grammatical when serving specific

⁸ Notice that here the verbal negation is with post-positive *-š* alone. Alqassas (2012: 128 & 131) adduces almost the same construction with both the preposed negator *mā* and the post-positive *-š*: *miš mā-t-rūḥ-iš*, NEG-2-go-NEG, which he renders as ‘you shouldn’t not go’ and ‘it is not for you not to go’ (= you should go).

functions (Håland 2011), is at least as old as the fifteenth century AD and probably as early as the 9th (Al-Sayyed & Wilmsen forthcoming; Wilmsen forthcoming), and that men and women appear to negate in this manner in about equal proportions (Håland 2011; Wilmsen forthcoming). What is more, far from being a phenomenon unique to Egyptian Arabic, negation of verbs with reflexes of *miš/muš* occurs in Arabic varieties of the eastern Mediterranean from Tunis (Hafedh 1992: 45; Belazi 1993: 61; McNeil 2012: 34–35, Wilmsen forthcoming) and Malta (Borg & Alexander-Azzopardi 1997: 92; Al-Sayyed & Wilmsen forthcoming; Wilmsen forthcoming) to the Levant. The uses of verbal negations with *miš/muš* are listed here briefly with examples. Håland (2011: 28–33) provides three:

I. Contrastive negation, in which “one negated and one positive fact stand in contrast to each other” (ibid p. 30):

- (13) miš b-a-kallim ‘alā l-fulūs b-a-kallim ‘ann-ik inti
 not HAB-I-speak PREP the-money HAB-I-speak PREP-you you
 ‘I’m not talking about money; I’m talking about you’ (Egyptian Arabic)

It is worthwhile noting that this is a line from a television serial (*‘alāqāt xāšša* ‘special relations’) scripted for and delivered by Egyptian actor Maged El Masri, who always plays the role of an Egyptian man’s man. There is nothing ungrammatical, foreign, or effeminate about the character or the line.

II. Metalinguistic negation, in which anything but the truth-value of an utterance is denied (for much more on this, see Mughazy 2003).

- (14) anā mūš n-šaḥḥaḥ nu-bšum bi-l-‘ašara
 I not I-sign I-put.a.thumbprint with-the-ten
 ‘I’m not signing; I’m giving my full endorsement’ (Tunisian Arabic)⁹

This, too, is a line from a television serial (*šayd ir-rīm* ‘gazelle hunting’), in which the speaker delivers the line while actually signing for receipt of goods. She is not denying that she is signing; to the contrary, she is signing whole-heartedly.

III. Rhetorical negation, posing a question, in which an entire sentence is negated in expectation of an affirmative reply:

- (15) miš bi-y-qūl-u alla yi-žīr-na min il-īda’āt issa aḏ-at
 not HAB-3-say-pl god he-protect-us from the-harm now came-it
 ‘Don’t they say, “God protect us from harm?” Now it’s come!’ (Hawrāni Arabic)

To Håland’s three, we may add two more:

⁹ Except where otherwise credited, Tunisian data are drawn from the Tunisian Arabic Corpus (<http://tunisiya.org>).

IV. Progressive negation, by which a distinction is made between the progressive and the habitual or ongoing aspect of an imperfective verb.

The distinction is manifest in Tunisian Arabic, which specifically negates an imperfective verb with *muš* when it expresses progressive aspect (Belazi 1993: 61):

- (16) a. ma yi-‘āwin-š ḥatta tarf
not he-helps-NEG even bit
‘He doesn’t help a bit’
b. muš yi-‘āwin ḥatta tarf
not he-helps even bit
‘He’s not helping at all’ (Tunisian Arabic)

So, too, is the preposition *fī*, when used as an object marker in Tunisian Arabic, itself an indication of progressivity, with which negation with a reflex of *muš* is obligatory (McNeil 2012: 34–35).

This also appears to apply when the active participle, which usually indicates the progressive, carries a meaning other than the root meaning of the verb (Al-Sayyed & Wilmsen forthcoming; Wilmsen forthcoming; Wilmsen 2014: 175). Even in the presence of the Tunisian Arabic object marker *fī* indicating progressivity, the participial effect comes into play, as in the following (Hafedh 1992: 45), in which the participle of the verb in question *qarā* ‘to read’ (*qāriya*) would mean ‘a reader’ or ‘has read’ not ‘reading’:

- (17) nawāl miš ta-qra fī ktāb
name NEG she-reads ACC book
‘Nawal is not reading a book’ (Tunisian Arabic)

The same thing appears in the Tunisian Arabic Corpus (tunisiya.org):

- (18) mhūš yu-qšud fī-k aw fī ayy ‘iḍw
not he-drives.at ACC-you or ACC any member
‘He’s not hinting at you or at any [forum] member’ (Tunisian Arabic)

Here, the participle *qāšid* would mean ‘intending/heading towards’ in its translocative sense.

Although obligatory negating with *muš* of the progressive marked with *fī* may be peculiar to Tunisian Arabic, the marking of objects with *fī* is not. Addressing the phenomenon in Egyptian Arabic, Woidich (2006b) defines object marking with *fī* as expressing a combination of telicity, durativity, progressivity, and personal engagement of the agent. Regardless, in Egyptian Arabic, the participial effect in negating imperfective verbs with *miš/muš* operates without the necessary intercession of an object marker *fī*. There, it appears that certain verbs attract such negation, for example, the verb *radd* ‘to answer’. Al-Sayyed & Wilmsen (forthcoming) propose that in examples (19) and (20) its imperfective form is negated with *miš* precisely because negating the participle *rādid*, which carries the meaning ‘growing in health’, risks listener

misconstrual – if only momentarily. Negated, *miš radda* may at first be understood to mean ‘one’s health is not improving.’ Hence negation of the imperfective with *miš*:

- (19) bi-y-kallim-ni ktīr miš b-a-rudd ‘alē-h
 HAB-he-talks-me much not HAB-I-answer PREP-him
 ‘He calls me a lot; I’m not answering him’ (Egyptian Arabic)

It is again worth mentioning that (19) is a scripted line from a television serial (*furṣa t̄āniya* ‘another chance’), this time delivered by actress Heidi Karam. Evidently, scriptwriters have no compunctions about placing such constructions in the mouths of their actors or actresses. Lest it be objected that the line in (19) is of a different sort than that in (13), perhaps penned as appropriate for women’s speech, consider the same construction “uttered” by a male in an Egyptian chatroom (from the small Egyptian Arabic subcorpus at <http://arabicorpus.byu.edu>):

- (20) ‘afal-it il-māsinjir wa miš bi-t-rudd ‘alā l-īmēlāt
 closed-she the-messenger and not HAB-she-answers PREP the-emails
 ‘She shut off Messenger, and she’s not answering emails’ (Egyptian Arabic)

Arguing against a gender bias, Håland (2011:50) finds in her data a ratio of female usage to male at about 1.3/1. Wilmsen, (forthcoming, fn. 19), with a smaller sample, finds a ratio of exactly 1/1.

V. The dehortative: negation of an imperfective verb with a reflex of *miš/muš/mhuš* intending to caution, dissuade, or discourage.

4. Discussion

We have seen examples of the dehortative in (11) and (12), both from Levantine dialects. These are distinguished by the absence of the indicative mood marker /bi-/ in the imperfective verb, with the verb being negated with *miš*. The same thing can appear in Egyptian Arabic. Doss (2008: 88) adduces several examples of unmarked imperfective verbs negated with *miš*. Unfortunately, with most of these she does not provide context, thereby rendering the interpretation of the utterances that she adduces difficult (Håland 2011: 80–81 makes the same observation). Doss interprets five of the seven imperfective verbs that she adduces as being imperatives (they would more properly be prohibitives). An earlier example (2008: 87) that Doss adduces as a clausal negation is a dehortative:

- (21) miš t-akl-i n-nahar-da wa a-gi bukra a-lā’i l-’akl
 not 2-eat-f the-day-DEM and I-come tomorrow I-find the-food
 zayy ma huwwa
 like which it (Egyptian Arabic)
 ‘[Mind] you not eat today and then I come tomorrow to find the food as is [uneaten]’

Doss glosses this as a prohibitive: ‘Don’t eat.’ But in the context in which her study was conducted, a hospital in Cairo, where she was, as she says, “attending the illness of a

family member” and where she “first observed the feature” (2008: 87), it seems that the utterance is an exhortation to the patient to eat well while recovering. Mughazy (2003: 1148 & 1156–1157) had already observed that such expressions must be accompanied by what he calls “contrastive intonation”. Håland reiterates this in discussing Doss’s work, remarking specifically, “we have no information about intonation used when the sentences were uttered” (2011: 80), and that if we had, we may have been able to interpret the utterances as comprising contrastive or metalinguistic negation. Yet, inasmuch as Doss interprets most of her examples as commands, we can suppose that they may, indeed, be dehortatives. This is exactly the manner in which such utterances are delivered in Levantine Arabic:

- (22) a. imm-ā ḥa-t-waṣṣl-ik? miš ti-mšī!
 mother-her FUT-she-brings-you not you-walk
 ‘Her mother will bring you [home]? [Mind] you not walk!’
- b. ti-nsā-š iš-šanṭa! miš ti-trik-hā fi-s-siyyāra!
 you-forget-NEG the-bag not you-leave-it in-the-automobile
 ‘Don’t forget your bag! [Mind] you not leave it in the car! (Jordanian Arabic)
- c. wayn-ak! šū bi-y-žāwb-ak tu-ḡrub-ni hā!
 where-you how HAB-he-answers-you you-ring-me (exclamation)
 miš ti-stannā la-ti-rža’!
 not you-wait that-you-return
 ‘Wait! However he answers you, call me! [Mind] you not wait until you return!’
- d. naqqi d-duyūk! miš ti-dbaḥ il-quruqtēn!
 choose the-roosters not you-slaughter the-hens
 ‘Choose the roosters! [Mind] you not slaughter the hens!’ (Ḥawrāni Arabic)

In these, a contrast is being made; nevertheless, the uttering of a dehortative does not depend upon a juxtaposed clause, but may be made in isolation of any surrounding conversation:

- (23) a. miš ti-‘abbī-l-i d-dinya binn
 not you-fill-for-me the-world coffee.grounds
 ‘[Mind] you not get coffee grounds everywhere’
- b. miš ti-xalliṣ-ī-l-i yyā-h
 not you-finish-f-for-me ACC-it
 ‘[Mind] you not use it up’ (Jordanian Arabic)

These cannot be placed into a discursive context because there was no discourse accompanying them. Nevertheless, their motivations are easily envisioned: in (23a), it is, ‘[I see that you are making coffee; mind] you not get coffee grounds everywhere’; in (23b), it is, ‘[Here is the tube of white paint that you wanted to borrow; mind] you not use it up.’ In this light, and in Doss’s (2008: 87–88) context of hospital goings on, the motivations for at least some of her attestations can be guessed at:

- (24) a. miš ti-rmī-hom
 not you-throw-them
 ‘[Take two of these every day; mind] you not throw them out’

- b. miš ti-nzil-i š-šugl 'alā tūl
 not you-go-f the-work PREP length
 '[Rest at home for a few days; mind] you not go to work right away.'
- c. miš ti-xāf-i
 not you-fear-f
 '[Do some light exercise daily; mind] you not be afraid' (Egyptian Arabic)

These, however, must remain guesses. Håland tries her hand at a few others, notably supposing that the single negation of an imperfective verb with *miš* that Doss does not subsume under her imperative rubric could easily be an instance of metalinguistic negation: "If, for instance, the sentence *miš bi-y-xallī-ha ti-štaḡl* 'he doesn't let her work' were followed by the rectification clause *da yi-šagga 'ha* 'he encourages her,' this would be a case of metalinguistic negation" (2011: 80–81). As for Doss's attestations of the negation of verbs in the past tense with *miš*, Håland opines that these could be instances of rhetorical negation, concluding, however, that we simply cannot know:

The sentence *miš istawa* "it didn't cook" could have been the rhetorical question "didn't it cook?" ... As the sentences are not given in their context, we cannot know whether they are followed by rectification clauses or whether they are preceded by an utterance which carries an implicata. Thus, it may be a possibility that some of these examples could have been cases of metalinguistic negation, in which the truth-functional material is not what is negated. They could also be cases of contrastive negation, in which the negated material stands in contrast to a positive fact (2011: 80).

Or, as we have seen, it is entirely plausible that some of them may have been dehortatives. The others, Doss's perfective verbs negated with *miš* (2008: 88), could have been, as Håland surmises, either instances of contrastive, metalinguistic, or rhetorical negation. Yet, true to form, in none of Doss's examples is the imperfective verb negated with *miš* accompanied by the /bi-/ prefix marker of the indicative. This is precisely what distinguishes the dehortative from other meanings when negating the imperfective verb with *miš*, such as those illustrated in the examples from Egyptian and Levantine Arabics in (13), (15), (19), and (20).

For their parts, neither Tunisian Arabic nor Maltese employ an overt marker of the indicative mood. But they do engage in all manners of verbal negation with reflexes of *miš* (in their cases, *mūš*) that we have seen here (Al-Sayyed & Wilmsen forthcoming). Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 92) provide two Maltese examples, as it happens, both in the perfective, without, however, identifying them as instances of contrastive negation:

- (25) a. mhux m-ghed-ti-le-k-x ti-ḡi imma xtaq-t
 not not-told-I-to-you-NEG you-come but wished-I
 ma ḡej-t-x
 not came-you-NEG
 'I didn't tell you not to come, but I wish you hadn't come'

- b. mhux ra-h imma semgħ-u
 not saw-him but heard-him
 ‘It was not the case that he saw him; but he heard him’ (Maltese)

Searching for the negation of imperfective verbs with *mhux* in the Korpus Malti (mlrs.research.um.edu), Al-Sayyed & Wilmsen (forthcoming) find that contrastive negation is common in the roughly 8,000 instances of such negations in a corpus of 124,727,981 words, and it is the most common of such negations in the much smaller (818,310 words) Tunisian Arabic Corpus (tunisya.org). Nevertheless, dehortatives do occur in both:

- (26) a. Jekk issa l-Ministru din irtira-ha j-għid li rtira-ha
 If now the-minister that withdrew-it he-say that withdrew-it
 imma mhux j-għid li jiena ivvint-ajt xi haga
 but not he-say that I invented-I some thing
 ‘If the Minister now withdrew it, let him say that he withdrew it; but [let] him not say that I invented something’ (Maltese)
- b. mūš yi-qūl-ū illi θamma hāža ism-hā istimrāriyya
 not 3-say-pl that there.is thing name-its continuation
 ‘[Let] them not say that there is something called continuity’ (Tunisian Arabic)

These examples and many instances of dehortative usage in the Korpus Malti are in the 3rd person, as such, fitting nicely into definitions of the hortative that other researchers have proposed. Yet Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 242) apply the term ‘hortatory’ to all three persons of the verb, and instances of the dehortative in the 2nd person do appear in the Korpus:

- (27) mhux ta-qta’ t-rid t-rid t-kun iżjed effiċjenti
 not you-cut you-wish you-want you-be more efficient
 t-rid ta-qta’ l-hala
 you-want you-cut the-waste (Maltese)
 ‘You [must] not cut as you wish; you need to be more efficient; you need to cut waste’

In most of these examples of dehortative usage, we have, after Mitchell & El-Hassan (1994: 33), been glossing the understood word of caution as the British ‘mind’, as in the famous expression written on the floors of the London Metro ‘Mind the gap.’ Yet a range of implied meanings can be envisioned, approximating the English ‘you/he/they should not,’ ‘let him/them not,’ or ‘you/he/they must not,’ the context (and intonation) indicating the severity of the exhortation.

5. Conclusion

The Tunisian Arabic corpus is small, such that it returned only one instance of the dehortative (26b) in the 3rd person. The much smaller Egyptian chatroom corpus (140,234 words) returned none. So, too, in about twenty-five hours of recordings of Syrian Ḥawrāni Arabic (Wilmsen 2014: 103), negation of imperfective verbs occurs only five times, four of them dehortatives in the 2nd person, of which three are adduced here: (12), (22c), and (22d), the fifth (15) being a rhetorical negation.¹⁰ Similarly, all of the dehortatives from Jordanian Arabics that we have seen have also been of the 2nd person. This does not mean that 2nd person dehortatives do not occur in Tunisian Arabic, that 3rd person dehortatives do not in Levantine Arabics, and that no dehortatives occur at all in Egyptian Arabic; it simply means that they have not appeared in the corpora. At least one of Doss's attestations from Egyptian Arabic is surely a dehortative of the 2nd person (21), with perhaps several others being the same. It seems plausible that if such dehortatives occur in the 2nd person, they would likely occur with the 3rd and, under the right circumstances, also the 1st.

Far from being ungrammatical or peculiar to a particular gender or subsection of society, verbal negations with reflexes of *mhūš/mūš/muš/miš* are instead meaningful productive strategies. That such negations do occur in a wide range of eastern Mediterranean varieties of Arabic indicates that verbal negation with *miš* is not a recent change in Egyptian Arabic, as Doss (2008: 89–91) specifically assumes. That it is a change from a more standard form of verbal negation cannot be in doubt, but that change must have occurred well before the 20th or 21st centuries. Such negation in Egyptian Arabic is attested almost as soon as grammars of the Egyptian dialects began to be written in the late 19th century (Vollers 1890: 34):

- (28) *muš* *yi-ʿraf*
 not he-knows
 ‘He doesn’t know’ (Egyptian Arabic)

The earliest attestation of *miš* negating an imperfective verb also comes from Egyptian Arabic, in a 15th-century letter composed in vernacular Arabic from the Cairo Genizah (Wagner 2010: 158):

- (29) *mš* *a-ršd* *ayš* *b-y-ʿml*
 not I-see what HAB-he-does
 ‘I do not see what he is doing’ (Egyptian Arabic)

An even earlier attestation of what may be *mhuš* negating an imperfective verb comes in an Egyptian Arabic text dating to the mid 11th century (Diem 2014: 32):

¹⁰ The fourth dehortative negation in the Ḥawrāni data may be seen in example (20a) of Al-Sayyed & Wilmsen (forthcoming).

- (30) mā-hū-šī y-šf
 not-it-NEG it-describe[d]
 ‘It is not describable’ (Egyptian Arabic)

This could be interpreted as *māhū šī y-šf* ‘it is not a thing to be described.’ Regardless, whether or not (30) is an instance of verbal negation with *miš*, the early age of the phenomenon can be deduced from its presence in Maltese. Speakers of Arabic first arrived on Malta in the late 9th or mid 11th century (Brincat 1995; 2008), becoming isolated from the mainland Arabophone world some two to four hundred years later. The Maltese language has consequently preserved features of the Arabic of the day. It is generally supposed that Arabic speakers came to Malta by way of what is now Tunisia, and the affinities between Maltese and Tunisian Arabic are obvious (Hammet 2012; Čeplö et al 2016). That the same manners of negation with reflexes of *mhūs/mūs/muš/miš* operate in varieties of the eastern Mediterranean, including Maltese, gives cause to suppose that they represent features present in the dialects of Arabic of the eastern Mediterranean at the time of or earlier than the entrance of Arabic speakers into Malta.

Missing amongst the Mediterranean Arabic varieties that we have examined here are those of Libya. At present, there is little that can be said about the possibility of verbal negation with reflexes of *mhūs/mūs/muš/miš* in them, field research in Libya, for now at least, likely being a risky undertaking after the 2011 collapse of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Considering that very few grammars of Libyan Arabic are available, and those that are do not treat this type of negation in detail, if they do at all, no conclusions can be reached about their falling within the isogloss, amounting to the demarcation of an eastern Mediterranean variety of Arabic. Nonetheless, Libyan Arabic does possess reflexes of *mhūs/mūs/muš/miš* in the form of *mawš*, *mōš*, *miš*, and *məš*, and Pereira (2008: 467), in his grammar of the dialect of Tripoli, does document an instance of contrastive negation with *məš*:

- (31) məš mā-yə-fhəm-š ḥne nə-tkəllmu b-sur‘a bəss
 not not-he-understands-NEG we we-speak PREP-speed just
 ‘It’s not that he doesn’t understand, we just speak quickly’

It is, therefore, tempting to suppose that other such negations with *miš* and its reflexes may occur in the Arabic dialects of Libya, as they do in the varieties of Arabic on either side of them.

With that, it remains to decide whether the prohibitive, hortative, and dehortative constitute moods of their own. It is worthwhile noting that any of the dehortative statements under scrutiny here may have been effected with a prohibitive. That they were not signals a difference in meaning. That a negator not usually involved in verbal negation marks that difference itself amounts to a morphological marking of the dehortative mood. Regardless, in the spoken Arabics of the eastern Mediterranean, and others besides, it is the subjunctive, sometimes appearing as an unmarked imperfective verb and sometimes accompanied by preverbal elements, that forms the basis of the other moods, including the dehortative. On the other hand, the characteristic prohibitive of Maltese (6b) and the optional forms of some Levantine Arabic dialects ([6d], [7b & c],

and [8]) must be reckoned as distinctive moods, unless, that is, prohibitives and, for that matter, imperatives, as performatives, should be treated “as distinct from modality proper” (de Haan 2006: 36).

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Corpora and electronic resources

- arabiCorpus (<http://arabicorpus.byu.edu>)
 Korpus Malti (<http://mlrs.research.um.edu.mt/index.php?page=1>)
 Tunisian Arabic Corpus (<http://tunisiya.org>)
 WALS (wals.info)

Abbreviations

HAB	a marker of habitual aspect, sometimes imparting imminent future aspect
HORT	the hortative mood
NEG	a marker of negation
PREP	a preposition
WALS	<i>World Atlas of Language Structures</i>
f	feminine
pl	plural
2	2nd person
3	3 rd person

II. STUDIA VARIA

الرمز اللغوي حسب نظرية الصورة الإجمالية للإشارة اللغوية¹

عبير حسين عبد ABEER HUSSEIN ABID

كلية اللغات جامعة بغداد / قسم اللغة الإسبانية

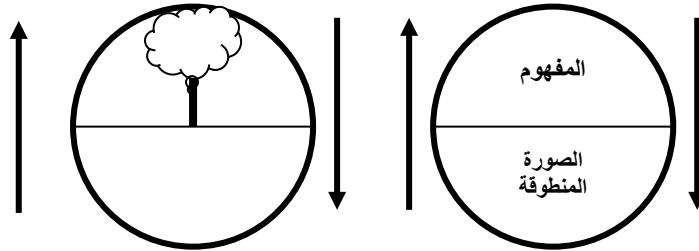
Abstract: The article discusses or addresses the linguistic sign according to the theory of "basic scheme of reference", which aims to develop a reference model of the meaning (the linguistic sign). In this 'linguistic model', it tries to highlight the central role of perceptual abilities, imagination, understanding and symbolization, and the holistic interaction of the four components simultaneously.

Keywords: The linguistic sign.

0. لقد ظهرت عدة نظريات حول الإشارة إلى المعنى منذ بداية الفلسفة الإغريقية وحتى يومنا هذا. سنحاول أن نعرض أعمدة التيارات والنظريات الغربية والعربية، ومن ثم نعرض نموذجنا للموضوع

1. العلامة اللغوية أو الرمز اللغوي في أبرز النظريات اللغوية:

اعتبر دي سوسير العلامة اللغوية كشيء ذي وجهين مكونين من الدال والمدلول ثم اقترح تبديل الكلمتين بالمفهوم والصورة المنطوقة. فشبه دي سوسير العلاقة بين عنصري الإشارة اللغوية بالورقة حيث يكون الفكر صفحتها والصوت ظهرها، وكما أننا لا نستطيع أن نقطع صفحتها دون أن نقطع ظهرها كذلك العلامة اللغوية لا يمكن أن نفصل الدال عن المدلول كما في الشكل الآتي²:



إن هذا التعريف للعلامة اللغوية ليس جديداً، فقد اعتبرت اللغة في التراث العربي، على أنها مجموعة من العلامات أو الدوال وقد عرفت الدلالة على أنها كون الشيء بحيث يلزم من العلم به العلم بشيء آخر الأول الدال والثاني المدلول³.

وقد أكد عبد القاهر الجرجاني (ت 471 هـ) على العلاقة الصميمة بين الدال والمدلول، بحيث لا يمكن أن يطلب المعنى وحده دون أن نستدعي اللفظ معه⁴. والدليل على ذلك أننا عندما نسمع لغة لا نعرفها، فإن الأذن تدرك منها فقط مجاميع من الأصوات تطول أو تقصر ويفصل بينها فترات من الصمت. لكن إذا كنا نفهم اللغة التي نستمع

¹ لمزيد من المعلومات انظر كتابنا: Hussein Abid (2008, 2011).

² Saussure (1945: 127-129).

³ التفتتاني (ت 793 هـ). (بدون تاريخ: 4)؛ يونس علي (1993: 71).

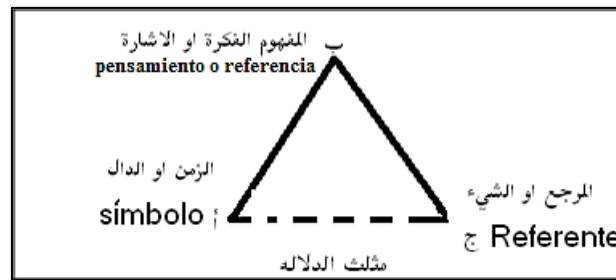
⁴ الجرجاني (ت 471 هـ). (1983: 49-50)؛ يونس علي (1993: 27).

إليها فإن هذه المجاميع من الأصوات تكون مرتبطة بصور ذهنية مع بعضها وتكون ما يسمى جملا في الاصطلاح اللغوي⁵.

يستخدم اللغويون الأمريكيان مصطلح رمز *symbol* بدلا من علامة. وهذه الكلمة في اللغة الفرنسية تكون مرتبطة أو ملتبسة بما يعرف بالايقون *icon* والتي تمثل علاقة غير اعتباطية بل طبيعية بين الدال والمدلول كما في كلمة ميزان التي تدل على العدالة - بالنسبة لنا وكما سنرى حسب طرحنا، إن استخدام *الميزان* رمزا للعدالة هو استخدام تصوري مجازي لمستوى فهمنا للصورة الذهنية الإجمالية لمعنى الميزان، المستوحاة من خبرتنا لهذه الصورة.

لذلك نجد أن دي سوسير رفض استخدام كلمة رمز على العلامة اللغوية مؤكدا: "لقد استخدم كلمة رمز للتعبير عن العلامة اللغوية، بشكل أدق ما نسميه بالدال لكن هناك عائق لقبوله، وبالذقة بسبب مبدئنا الأول - يشير إلى الاعتباطية - لأن الرمز يملك صفة أو ميزة بحيث لا تكون تماما اعتباطية. هناك علاقة مبدئية وطبيعية بين الدال والمدلول. إن رمز العدل هو الميزان لا يمكن الاستعاضة عنه بشيء آخر مثلا على سبيل المثال بعربة"⁶.

لقد تطورت ثنائية الدال والمدلول بعد دي سوسير مؤخرا في نظرية الإشارة، وخاصة في المثلث الدلالي الأساسي لأوجدن Ogden وريتشاردز Richards في كتابهما *The meaning of meaning* كما في الرسم التخطيطي الآتي:



استخدما أحرفا للإشارة إلى رؤوس المثلث فحسب هذين الكاتبين إن الشيء في العالم الخارجي (ج) وهو ما سمي به الشيء أو المرجع، يحدث فكرة أو إشارة (ب) في ذهن المتكلم وهذه الفكرة تكسب رمز (أ). إن العلاقة بين (أ) و(ج) ليست مباشرة لذلك أشير إليها في الرسم بخطوط متقطعة وغير متصلة، وهذا ما لا يحدث مع العلاتين بين (أ) و(ب) أو (ب) و(ج)، لأنهما تعتبران علاقتين أساسيتين، حيث أن الاسم أو الكلمة تمثل المفهوم وبنفس الوقت تشير إلى الشيء أو المرجع⁷. لقد اختلف اللغويون في تسمية زوايا المثلث (أ و ب و ج). فمثلا جوردينر Gordiner وأولمان Ulmann يسميان (أ) الاسم (name) وهي تمثل الكلمة المنطوقة والتي تتكون من سلسلة من الأصوات المترتبة ترتيبا معينا، و(ب) المعنى أو الدلالة (sense) وهو المعلومة التي ينقلها المتكلم إلى السامع، بدون الولوج في أي نظرية نفسية، و(ج) الشيء المقصود، (thing) والذي يُشار إليه ويُتكلم عنه⁸.

يرى أولمان أن اللغوي يجب أن يركز اهتمامه على الجانب الأيسر من المثلث أي العلاقة التي تربط (أ) مع (ب)، لكن أكد أيضا أنه "لا يهمننا هنا الترميز بصورة عامة بل تحديد معنى الكلمة" وأضاف "إن هذا لا يعني أننا ينبغي أن نقع مرة أخرى في مذهب ذهني ساذج وإقرار كيانات نفسية مفتعلة، أو التأثر بمفاهيم غير واضحة ومبهمة مثل الفكرة، أو الصورة الذهنية أو ما شابه". لذلك بالنسبة لأولمان إن المعنى أو الدلالة هي العلاقة المتبادلة وذات الوجهين بين الاسم أو اللفظ والمدلول والتي يمكن أن ترسم بصورة إجمالية كما في الرسم الآتي⁹:

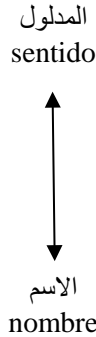
⁵ يونس علي (1993: 27).

⁶ Saussure (1945: 131).

⁷ Lyons (1989: 93); Ulmann (1967: 64-65); Ulmann (1951: 32y ss).

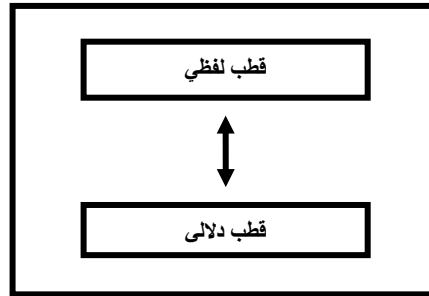
⁸ Ullmann (1951: 64-65).

⁹ Ullmann (1951: 64).



نجد هناك جدالا حول عناصر المثلث الأساسي ، وهذا التباين ناتج من اختلاف مناهج البحث، فالسلوكيون مثلا يرفضون مذهب العقلانيين الذين يعتمدون في دراستهم على الصورة الذهنية، بل تعتمد نظريتهم على تصرفات الإنسان وسلوكه في المواقف المختلفة مع الاهتمام بعنصري الإثارة ورد الفعل أو الاستجابة – وهو حسب مستوى فهمنا نوع من التفسير الحسي الظاهري – لذلك أبعد السلوكيون الرأس أو الزاوية (ب) من المثلث وأقاموا علاقة مباشرة بين الأشياء والكلمات أو الألفاظ التي تمثلها¹⁰.

هكذا نجد أن كل النظريات مهما كان طرحها لموضوع الدلالة، تؤكد على العلاقة المتبادلة بين الدال والمدلول بحيث أن الاثنين يكونان وحدة واحدة. لكن الخلاف بينهم كان حول طبيعة هذين العنصرين المكونين لهذه الوحدة. لذلك فإنه ليس جديدا ما يُطرح في النظرية الإدراكية أو المعرفية حول الدلالة. حيث تؤكد هذه النظرية على أن العلامة اللغوية تتكون من ثلاثة أجزاء: قطب دلالي- تمثيل دلالي – وقطب لفظي صوتي –تمثيل صوتي- وصلة أو رابطة ذات اتجاهين أو وجهين، توحد أو تدمج القطبين في وحدة أو كيان واحد. نحن نتساءل أين توجد هذه الرابطة أو العلاقة وما طبيعتها؟ لقد برهنا في كتابنا على أن هذه العلاقة تنتمي إلى عالم الواقع أو عالم الأشياء الثابتة وغير المتحركة والتي كشفت عنها الفيزياء الكمية مؤخرا، وكما رأينا حسب مستوى فهم دي سوسير التصويري، فإن هذه الرابطة أو العلاقة هي مثل ورقة ذات وجهين غير قابلة للقطع ما لم نقطع الجزء الآخر منها¹¹. لذلك نجد أن علماء اللغة المختصين بالنظرية المعرفية مثلوا البنية الداخلية للرمز اللغوي كما في الرسم الآتي¹²:

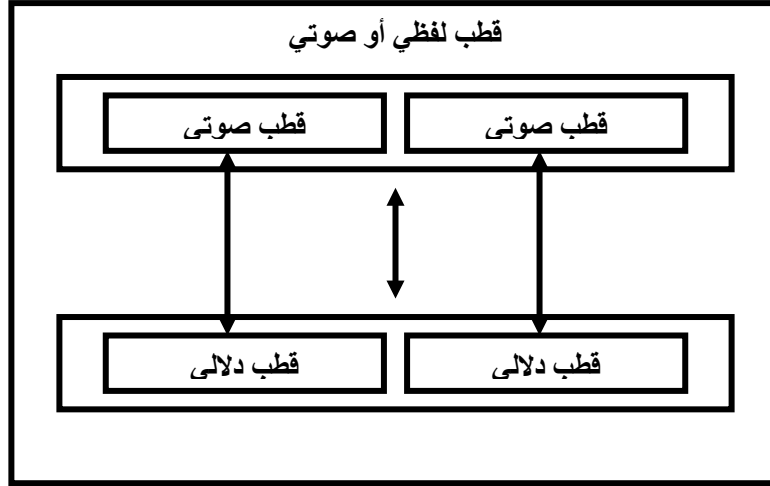


نجد أن هذا التعريف للعلامة اللغوية يشير بصورة مباشرة إلى مفهوم دي سوسير حول الدلالة. فقط يختلف عنه في أن العلامة اللغوية في النظرية المعرفية لا تقتصر على الكلمة، بل أيضا تحتوي ما هو أقل من كلمة كالوحدات الصرفية أو أكبر من الكلمة كما في البنى التركيبية وهذا ما أكدته النظريات المختصة في الدلالة في التراث الإسلامي. فالقواعد بالنسبة للنظرية المعرفية ليست عبارة عن مجموعة من العناصر المستقلة، بل هي نوع من الوحدات الدلالية وهي نتيجة اتحاد بنية أو قطب دلالي مع آخر صوتي في كل مستويات التمثيل اللغوي كالوحدات الصرفية، والكلمات، والبنى الأكبر من الكلمة مثل الجملة كما في الرسم:

¹⁰ Ullmann (1951: 69).

¹¹ لمزيد من المعلومات انظر كتابنا Hussein Abid (2008, 2011).

¹² Cuenca & Hilferty (1999: 66, 182).



إن هذا المفهوم ليس جديداً على اللغة العربية، فقد أكد الفقهاء القدماء المختصون باللغة على أن كل مظاهر اللغة هي ذات دلالة. حيث بينوا أن الخطاب كبنية تركيبية واحدة ومتلازمة، ذات أجزاء متصلة بصورة صميمة، بحيث تؤدي أي محاولة إلى تغيير هذه البنية وإعادة تركيبها بطريقة أخرى. إن أول من أكد على تلازم وترابط أجزاء الخطاب هو العالم اللغوي عبد القاهر الجرجاني، مشبهاً تأليف الكلام كمن "يأخذ قطعاً من الذهب أو الفضة، فيذيب بعضها في بعض حتى تصير قطعة واحدة". حيث علق على بيت بشار بن بر:

- كأن مثار النقع فوق رؤوسنا
وأسيافنا ليل تهاوى كواكبه

مؤكداً: "إذا تأملته وجدته كالحلقة المفرغة التي لا تقبل التقسيم، ورأيت أنه قد صنع في الكلام التي فيه ما يصنع الصانع حين يأخذ كسراً من الذهب، فيذيبها ثم يصبها في قالب ويخرجها إليك سواراً أو خلخالاً. وإن أنت حاولت قطع بعض أفاظ البيت عن بعضها كنت كمن يكسر الحلق ويقصم السوار. ذلك أنه لم يرد أن يشبه النقع بالليل على حدة، والأسياف بالكواكب على حدة، ولكنه أراد أن يشبه النقع والأسياف تجول فيه بالليل في حال ما تتكدر الكواكب وتهاوى فيه، فالمفهوم من الجميع مفهوم واحد. والبيت من أوله إلى آخره كلام واحد"¹³.

لذلك فإن أجزاء الخطاب تكون وحدة دلالية واحدة وليست عدة معانٍ ودلالات – هو المعنى المركب – فإذا غير أي جزء سيغير كل النص. فمثلاً في اللغة العربية إذا غيرت حركة إعرابية فسيغير المعنى المركب كما في الفرق:

- "أسيء إلى أخي"
- "أسيء إلى أخي"¹⁴.

أما على مستوى الدلالة المعجمية فمثلاً كلمة "عين" عندما تستخدم مع ماء تملك دلالة – صورة ذهنية – تختلف عما لو كانت استخدمت مع كلمة إبرة. ونحن حسب طرحنا سنجد أن الصورتين تنبعان من نفس الصورة الذهنية المبسطة والإجمالية أي بينهما علاقة.

إن اللغويين القدماء يعتبرون هذه الظاهرة نوعاً من *الترباط العضوي* بين وحدات النص أو الخطاب اللغوي، حيث قالوا مقولتهم المشهورة "لكل كلمة مع صاحبها مقام" فعين ماء تعني "نوع ماء" ولها صورة تختلف عن "عين الإبرة"¹⁵.

¹³ يونس علي (1993: 136).

¹⁴ يونس علي (1993: 135).

¹⁵ يونس علي (1993: 136).

إن تعريف الدلالة في النظريات المذكورة جميعا يطرح عدة تساؤلات، لأنه يتعارض مع كثير من الظواهر اللغوية. فإن كانت العلامة اللغوية هي ارتباط الدال - قطب صوتي - والمدلول - قطب معنوي أو دلالي - فلماذا اللغات مختلفة والمعنى واحد؟ وما بال معاني مختلفة واللفظ واحد في المشترك اللفظي؟ و في الترادف الألفاظ مختلفة والمعنى واحد؟

2. نظرية الإشارة في التراث العربي

لقد أكد بعض فقهاء اللغة مثل أبي إسحاق الشيرازي (ت 476 هـ) أن الدلالات موضوعة بإزاء الماهيات الخارجية (الشيء أو المرجع). بينما الإمام الرازي (ت 606 هـ) وأتباعه أكدوا على أن الدلالات موضوعة بإزاء الصور الذهنية، وقد استدل على ذلك بقوله "بأن اللفظ يتغير بتغير الصورة بالذهن، فإن من رأى شبحاً من بعيد وظنه حجراً، أطلق عليه لفظ الحجر، فإذا دنا منه وظنه شجراً أطلق عليه لفظ الشجر، [...] إذن إطلاق اللفظ دائر مع المعاني الذهنية دون الخارجية، فدل على أن الوضع للمعنى الذهني لا الخارجي. وأجاب صاحب التحصيل عن هذا، بأنه إنما دار مع المعاني الذهنية لاعتقاد أنها في الخارج كذلك لا لمجرد اختلافها في الذهن"¹⁶.

لقد دعم هؤلاء العلماء آراءهم بحجج قوية مؤكدين على صحتها معربين عن أن هنالك كثيراً من المعاني ليس لها وجود في الخارج ومع ذلك فإن لها ألفاظاً تدل عليها كالعقلاء والغول، وهذا أيضاً بالنسبة للمعاني المجردة كالشجاعة والعلم الخ.

كذلك أكدوا أنه لو كان المعنى موجوداً في العالم الخارجي - أي الخارجي المحسوس فقد أثبتنا أن عالم الخارج محسوس وغير محسوس¹⁷، لانتمى المعنى بانتفائه، أي إن معنى التفاحة ينتفي بأكلها مثلاً¹⁸. فهناك كثير من الأشياء التي نشير لها وهي غير موجودة أو حاضرة في لحظة تكلمنا. لذلك عرفوا المعنى بأنه الصورة الذهنية التي بإزائها وضع اللفظ¹⁹.

الشريف الجرجاني (ت 816 هـ) أكد "أن المعاني هي الصور الذهنية من حيث أنه وضع بإزائها الألفاظ، والصور الحاصلة في العقل: فمن حيث أنها تقصد باللفظ سميت معنى، ومن حيث أنها تحصل من اللفظ في العقل سميت مفهوماً، ومن حيث أنه مقول عن جواب ما هو، سميت ماهية، ومن حيث ثبوته في الخارج سميت حقيقة، ومن حيث امتيازها عن الأغيار سميت هوية"²⁰.

الغزالي (ت 505 هـ) يشير إلى رتبة الألفاظ من مراتب الوجود على "أن للشيء وجوداً في الأعيان ثم في الأذهان ثم في الألفاظ ثم في الكتابة، فالكتابة دالة على اللفظ واللفظ دال على المعنى الذي في النفس، والذي في النفس هو مثال الموجود في الأعيان" وأضاف أن "لا معنى للعلم إلا مثال يحصل في النفس مطابق لما هو مثال له في الحس، وهو المعلوم وما لم يظهر هذا الأثر في النفس لا ينتظم لفظ يدل به على ذلك الأثر"²¹.

نجد أن حازم القرطاجي (ت 684 هـ) يتبع الغزالي في الإشارة إلى المربع الدلالي مؤكداً "أن المعاني لها حقائق موجودة في الأعيان، ولها صور موجودة في الأذهان، ولها من جهة ما يدل على تلك الصور في الألفاظ وجود في الأفهام، ولها وجود من جهة ما يدل على تلك الألفاظ من الخط يقيم صور الألفاظ، وصور ما دلت عليه في الأفهام"²².

حسب مستوى فهمنا التصوري فإن هذا الطرح هو مفتاح الحل لكثير من الظواهر اللغوية ومشاكل اللغة، لذلك سنتخذ قاعدة نطلق منها من أجل تطوير نظرية حول الإشارة إلى المعنى.

في كتابنا²³ حول هذه النظرية طرحنا عدة مقدمات فلسفية مثل مستويات فهم الحقيقة، والسر وراء المادة، وعالم الأمر والعالم الخارجي، والنفس لكي يتمكن من فهم نظريتنا حول الإشارة اللغوية.

¹⁶ السيوطي (ت 911 هـ). (بدون تاريخ: 42)؛ يونس علي (1993: 79).

¹⁷ Hussein Abid (2008: 24-27).

¹⁸ ابن سينا (ت 428 هـ). (1952: 64)؛ الغزالي (ت 505 هـ). (1983: 47)؛ يونس علي (1993: 80).

¹⁹ يونس علي (1993: 78). القرطاجي (ت 684 هـ). (1986: 19).

²⁰ الشريف الجرجاني (1971: 116).

²¹ الغزالي (1983: 47).

²² القرطاجي (1986: 19)؛ يونس علي (1993: 79).

²³ لمزيد من المعلومات راجع كتابنا: Hussein Abid (2008).

3. الصورة الإجمالية للإشارة إلى المعنى

الآن سنحلل كل عنصر من العناصر الأربعة التي تكون الصورة الإجمالية للإشارة إلى المعنى وهي : الإحساس، والتصور، والفهم، والرمز.

1.1.3. الإحساس

يُعد الإحساس عنصراً أساسياً في نظرية الصورة الإجمالية للإشارة. فحسب المختص بنظرية المعرفة الأوربية خوسيه لويس ثيوفونتس أونروبيا José Luis Cifuentes Honrubia "إن الإحساس هو معرفة أو إدراك الحقيقة بواسطة الحواس، لكنه نوع من الإدراك أو الفهم الانتقائي" وأضاف أن " الإحساس هو نتيجة التفاعل بين المحيط اللغوي والمنظومة الوظيفية المعرفية للجهاز العصبي"²⁴.

بالنسبة إلى اللغويين المختصين بالنظرية الإدراكية أو المعرفية فإن " نواة أنظمتنا الفهمية أو التصورية تستند بصورة مباشرة على الإحساس و الحركة الجسدية من خلال تجاربنا المادية والاجتماعية"²⁵.

فالحواس هي بمثابة أجهزة استقبال للإنسان، فلا يمكن لشيء أن يوجد في الذهن دون أن يمر على الحواس الظاهرة. أما الحواس الباطنة فقد شجعتنا على طرحها التطورات الجديدة في الفيزياء الكمية والنظريات الحديثة في علم النفس. وهي خمسة حواس: **الحس المشترك والخيال والوهم والحافظة والمتصرفة**²⁶. هذه الحواس تكون مرتبطة بصورة صميمة بالحواس الظاهرة ومتممة كل منها للأخرى. إن الشخصية الإحساسية للإنسان – كل إنسان منا – هي أن كلا منا منذ طفولته يمر بحركة دائرية فكرية تنطلق من الإحساس. كيف هذه الحركة؟ نوضحها بمثال هو²⁷: الطفل عندما يفتح عينه يرى أمه تبتسم تبدأ عنده الحركة الفكرية، تمر هذه الحركة بعدة محطات هو لا يشعر بها: المحطة الأولى تسمى بالمعرفة الحسية، فصورة الابتسام – ابتسام أمه – تنقلها العين إلى الدماغ، هذه أول محطة، تسمى بالمعرفة الحسية؛ فالحس المشترك هو الذي يجعلنا ندرك بكل حواسنا في نفس الوقت. أي نرى الشيء بكل خصائصه. مثلاً التفاحة لها لون ووزن، وملس، وكثافة، فهي لينة، كلها تُحس سوية وفي نفس الوقت. إن الماديين يقولون إن الأعضاء هي التي تحس وترى وتسمع. نتقبل ذلك لأنه مستوى من الفهم، بالرغم من أنه في مستوى فهمي أعمق الروح هي التي تعمل من خلال الأعضاء الجسدية. لكن هذه المعلومات حول ثقل التفاحة ولونها، وحجمها الخ تجتمع في النفس، لذلك ندرك التفاحة بكل صفاتها. إن الماديين لم يستطيعوا إعطاء تفسير للحس المشترك، فلو كان الحس المشترك مادياً – محسوساً – أين يوجد حس مشترك، مع العلم أنه لا يمكن أن تُفسر إحساسات أي بشر إلا بالحس المشترك؟ لأن الإحساسات تتوزع في عدة أجزاء من الدماغ وتأتي مباشرة، هي غير مجتمعة، فالنظر في جهة والسمع في جهة أخرى وهكذا. إذا لو كنا ندركها أو نحسها مجتمعة نكون من قبيل السفسطائيين في كل الحقائق، أي نشكك بالحقيقة.

مثلاً نحن لا نشاهد الزرقة التي في الكتاب مثلاً معلقة بين الأرض والسماء، إنما في هذا الكتاب بالتحديد. واقع ضيق لكن حقيقي وواقعي، وإذا لم يكن حس مشترك يذهب الواقع كله²⁸.

المحطة الثانية: المعرفة الخيالية. يملك الإنسان قوة تسمى (قوة الخيال). تقوم هذه القوة بالاحتفاظ بالصورة وبتكرارها، فالطفل عندما يدير وجهه يحتفظ بصورة أمه وهي تبتسم، وقد يكررها ذهن عدة مرات، قد يصوغ منها عدة صور، فهذه تسمى المعرفة الخيالية. ثم ينتقل الإنسان إلى محطة ثالثة، وهي المعرفة الوهمية. يمتلك الإنسان حاسة باطنية متوقدة تسمى (الحدس)، ولا يخلو منها إنسان، حتى الطفل وعمره سنة يملك هذه الحاسة. هذه الحاسة (حاسة الحدس) تنتزع من الصورة – صورة الأم وهي تبتسم – تنتزع منها معنى وجدائياً وهو المحبة، من أين

²⁴ Cifuentes Honrubia (1989: 29).

²⁵ Cuenca, & Hilferty (1999: 15).

²⁶ لمزيد من المعلومات راجع كتابنا: Hussein Abid (2008).

²⁷ (منير الخباز. شبكة المنير/ <http://www.almoneer.org>).

²⁸ (الصدر، محمد صادق. بدون تاريخ. خطبة الجمعة رقم 14).

يكشف الطفل محبة أمه؟ من صورة الابتسامة، من صورة التقبيل له، من صورة العناق له، فالطفل من دون أن يعلم، يمتلك حاسة سادسة وهي (حاسة الحدس)، هي التي تنتزع من الصورة - صورة الابتسامة - تنتزع منها هذا المعنى الوجداني، الذي يعبر إلى قلبه من دون أن يشعر ألا وهو معنى المحبة. هذه الحاسة تقابل المستوى الفهمي التصوري للإشارة اللغوية. ثم تنتقل النفس (تنتقل الروح) إلى المحطة الرابعة والأخيرة: وهي المعرفة العقلية. والمعرفة العقلية تعني أن الروح تجمع عدة صور محسوسة وتستخرج من هذه الصور المحسوسة قاعدة عامة تسمى بـ (الكليات)، مثلاً: الطفل يندكر عدة صور: صورة أن هناك أما تبتسم، صورة أن هناك أما تقبل، صورة أن هناك أما تعانق، صورة أن هناك أما تعنتي... إذا جمع الطفل وهو ابن سنة أو أقل هذه الصور في ذهنه تذكرها، استخرج منها قاعدة، وهي أن الأم تحب طفلها، كل أم تحب طفلها، هذه قاعدة كلية، وهذه القوة التي تستخرج القاعدة الكلية تسمى بقوة العقل. إذن هناك شخصية إحساسية للإنسان، تجعله يمر بحركة دائرية عبر محطات: محطة الحس، محطة الخيال، محطة الهم، ثم يصل إلى محطة العقل، وهذه الشخصية الإحساسية هي الأداة و الجهاز الذي يتحرك به الإنسان ويكشف الأشياء، قال تعالى: { وَاللَّهُ أَخْرَجَكُمْ مِنْ بُطُونِ أُمَّهَاتِكُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ شَيْئًا وَجَعَلَ لَكُمُ السَّمْعَ وَالْأَبْصَارَ وَالْأَفْئِدَةَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ }²⁹. كما سنشاهد في الرسم الدائري للإشارة اللغوية أو الترميز.

2.3. التصور

نجد في النظريات الغربية المختصة بالمعنى وجهتي نظر تستبعدان أن يكون التصور جزءاً من الدلالة على المعنى، هما:

- (1) من وجهة نظر أفلاطونية، فإنه يُعتبر أن التصور له علاقة مفردة بالجسد، والذي يكون خاصاً ومزاجياً، ولذلك فهو بعيد عن كل ما هو موضوعي ويُدار عن طريق قوانين رياضية جبرية.
 - (2) من وجهة نظر رومانسية، فإن التصور له ميزة الإبداع الفني والاكتشاف العلمي وقوة المخيلة والحدثة والاختراع، والتي تتحول إلى نوع من المهارة التي تربط التصور بالعقل³⁰.
- أما نحن فنجد أن التصور يشمل المفهومين السابقين، هذا بالإضافة إلى أننا نعتبر أن عقليتنا اللغوية كبشر هي تصويرية ولسبب بسيط وهو أن الاستخدامات اللغوية المجازية تعتمد بصورة مباشرة على البنية التصويرية التي تعطي معنى أو دلالة لتجاربنا، والتي تجعل من الممكن التكلم عن العالم وتعلّمه.
- فيما يأتي لاحقاً سنبرهن على أن كل دلالة أو مفهوم في لغة ما هو عبارة عن مستوى فهمنا التصوري والمجازي لحقيقة ما، لأنه يمثل جزءاً من هذه الحقيقة.
- بهذه الطريقة أكد Mark Johnson أنه "بدون تصور لا معنى لشيء في العالم. بدون تصور لا نستطيع أن نشير إلى تجاربنا. وبدون تصور لا نستطيع أن نتكلم حول معرفتنا للحقيقة"³¹. وأكد أن الصورة الإجمالية و تحضيراتها المجازية هي عبارة عن نوع من التصور³².
- إن الأشياء في العالم الخارجي لها دور أساسي في تقبيد طريقة تصورنا حسب تجاربنا مع هذه الأشياء، لكن الحقيقة لا تُتصور بنفس الطريقة من قبل كل العالم. مثال على ذلك الأشكال التالية:

. . . .	لا	ماذا . . .
.	بعد . . .
(ب)	(أ)		

ماذا نتصور النقاط الموجودة في (ب) كما لو كانت تشكل مستطيلاً، بالرغم من أن هذه النقاط لا ترتبط ببعضها بخطوط، ولا نتصور النقاط البارزة في (أ) بنفس الكيفية رغم أنها ترتبط بنفس المسافة الفضائية التي تجمع

²⁹ القرآن الكريم (النحل 78).

³⁰ Johnson (1991: 221-223, 291).

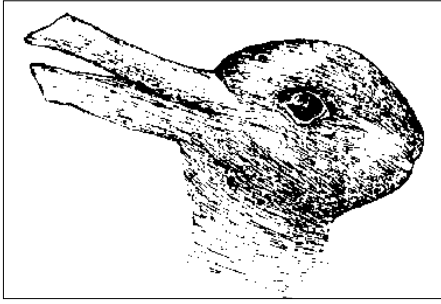
³¹ Johnson (1991: 9).

³² Johnson (1991: 221).

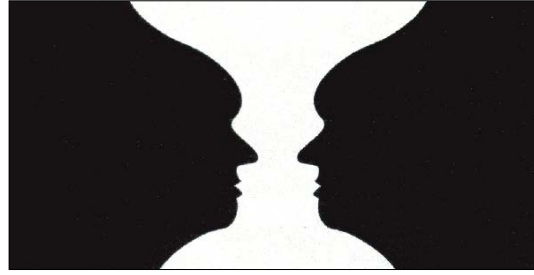
بين النقاط. إن هذا يدل على أن الحقيقة شيء والتصور شيء آخر- يُراد القول إن المعلومات التي تحملها اللغة شيء آخر. لكنها مرتبطة بها - أي يُعبر عن جهة أو حيئية واحدة من هذه الحقيقة- وهذا نراه بوضوح في هذه الصورة:



إن القطعتين (ج) و (د) متساويتان من حيث الطول، وما اختلف هو وضعية الزوايا التي تحد كل وصلة على حدة، ولكننا نتصور دائما ان القطعة (ج) أطول من (د) والواقع أنهما متساويتان. إن الصور (ا) و (ب) و (ج) و (د) تمثل الطريقة التي نصف بها العالم، أي نجعل له مقولات ونصنفه، وهي نتيجة تصورنا الذي له علاقة بمستوى فهمنا وإدراكنا لهذه الحقيقة. من الواضح أن هذه الطريقة لا تعكس ما هو واقعي في العالم الخارجي، لكن ترتبط به بصلة لأنها تشير إلى جزء من الواقع. إن علماء النفس الجشطالتيين (Gestalt psychologists) أسسوا وأجروا تجاربهم الأولى على الصور ذات الوجهين أو المشككة كما في الرسوم الآتية³³:



(ش)



(س)

إن الغموض أو الالتباس هنا ليس له علاقة بالسؤال الذي يقول: هل تُعتبر (س) وجهين أم مزهرية - بالرغم من أننا نراها طاولة مدورة- أو هل الصورة أو الشكل في (ش) أرنب أو وزه. نقول إن السؤال المتعلق بماهية هذه الأشياء أو إمكانية رؤيتها لها بهذه الطريقة أو تلك يعتمد على التفاعل بين طريقة إدراكنا وتصورنا وفهمنا التي تشكل أو تحدد تصنيفنا للأشياء أي تحديد مقولاتها. حسب طرحنا للمادة هي مرتبطة بطريقة إحساسنا الذي يرتبط بمستوى فهمنا التصوري، أي تصورنا الذي يكون معرفتنا لأجل تصنيف المقولات.

وهذا له علاقة بمحيطنا وبيئتنا التي تحدد تجاربنا، أي مستوى فهمنا للعالم وبالتالي مستوى تفكيرنا أو تعقلنا لهذا العالم. مثلا في حرب الخليج الأولى عندما كان يحدث هجوم جوي بالطائرات ليلا على بغداد، كان يستمر أكثر من خمس ساعات أو كل الليل. لم يكن هنالك ضوء، فقط ضوء الشمعة التي كنا نلتف حولها عدة عوائل، بما أننا عراقيون اعتدنا الحروب أو الرضاء بالقدر، نقضي بعض الساعات باللعب ومنها عمل صور باليد، حيث نسقطها على الحائط وكل شخص عليه أن يتصور أي شكل تمثل هذه الصورة مثلا في الشكل الآتي:



إن الغالبية تقريبا يعتبرونه مدفعا بدلا من تصوره أي شيء آخر كما يتصور أي شخص إسباني عندما أسأله عن ذلك. ويحدث الشيء نفسه مع الشكل الآتي:

³³ Jackendoff (1985: 24-26) و جغه (2000: 96 - 97).



تتصور الأغلبية أنه رمز النصر بواسطة الأصابع وليس حيوان كما تصوره بعض الأصدقاء الإسبان. هذا يؤكد ما قاله مارك جونز Mark Johnson من " أننا كبشر ومع مرور نمونا أو تطورنا، تطبعنا بمحيطنا، ونقلناه – أي بعلتنا وتفكيرنا" ³⁴.

إن معلومات لغة ما تُسقطها أو تُعدها في مجال ذهني. المجال الذهني هو مصطلح وضعه Gilles Fauconnier ³⁵، فهذا اللغوي "يصوره كمجموعة من العناصر المفتوحة والعلاقات بين هذه العناصر، كذلك يمكن اعتباره بصورة متعاقبة (كصندوق تصوري إدراكي) يجمع معلومات مختارة من واحد أو أكثر من النماذج الإدراكية المثالية – أي الصور الإجمالية لمعنى ما – والتي تُشكل أو تتكون أثناء كلامنا أو تفكيرنا ويُعاد تصورها بحسب تطور الخطاب" ³⁶.

حسب طرحنا فإن المجال الذهني في النظريات الإدراكية أو المعرفية الحديثة يقابل الخيال، فالخيال هو خزانة الحس المشترك، فهو بقي ويحفظ ما يقتنصه الحس المشترك من صور، حيث يحفظها من الضياع والنسيان. إن مظهر هذا الواقعي مادي يقع في مؤخر الدماغ. إلا أن الخيال مجرد، ويعتمد على النفس وصفاتها.

3.3. مستوى الفهم التصوري

لقد شاهدنا في مستويات فهم الحقيقة أن الفهم التصوري يلعب دوراً أساسياً في التعقل البشري ونماذج التفكير، ومع ذلك فإننا نجد في النظريات المعاصرة حول الدلالة إهمالاً أو غياباً لهذين العنصرين – الفهم والتصور – اللذين لا يمكن الاستغناء عنهما في الإدراك البشري.

إن المعرفة تُقاس بمستوى الفهم. إن المعرفة تعني الفهم بطريقة معينة، ولها مظهران. من جهة، فإنها تعتمد على تجاربنا المتصلة بثقافتنا وعاداتنا وديننا ومناخنا إلى الخ. نتيجة لذلك ينبع نوع من الفهم المشترك بين أبناء البيئة اللغوية الواحدة، يُسمى **بالفهم المشترك الجماعي**. من جهة أخرى، فإن مستوى الفهم يكون نابعا من التجربة الشخصية التي تعتمد على التفاعل بين النفس والجسد، والنظام الإدراكي والعصبي والمزاج، وتخصص الشخص العلمي أو مستواه الدراسي، والطبقة الاجتماعية الخ. من كل هذه العناصر ينبع **فهم شخصي** وحسب هذا الفهم كل شخص يفهم العالم بشكل خاص.

مارك جونسون Mark Johnson أشار إلى الدور المهم للفهم مؤكداً "أن كل تعريف مناسب حول المعنى و التعقل ينبغي أن يشير إلى الدور الأساسي للبنى الجسدية والتصورية للفهم، والتي بواسطتها نلتقط العالم" ³⁷ وأوضح "أن هنالك شيئاً أساسياً يجب أخذه بنظر الاعتبار وهو أن الفهم ليس فقط عبارة عن التفكير في استخدام جمل وقضايا

³⁴ Johnson (1991: 308) .

³⁵ Cifuentes Honrubia (1994: 42); Mendoza Ibáñez Ruiz (1999: 38).

³⁶ Mendoza Ibáñez Ruiz (1999: 38).

³⁷ Johnson (1991: 16) .

محددة من بعض تجاربنا السابقة. بل هو الطريقة التي نملك بها عالما ما. هي الطريقة التي ندرك بواسطتها عالما كحقيقة مفهومة. وبالتالي فإن الفهم يمثل كل كياناتنا، قدراتنا، وكل عرفنا الثقافي، حيث يمثل طريقة ارتباطنا بمجتمع لغوي معين، ويمثل إدراكنا الإجمالية. باختصار، فإن فهمنا هو «طريقتنا في الوجود في العالم». هي الطريقة التي فيها نكون موجودين بصورة ذات معنى في العالم، من خلال تفاعلاتنا الجسدية، مؤسستنا الثقافية، تقاليدنا اللغوية وسياقنا التاريخي. إن الأفعال الأكثر تجردا وتفكرا في فهمنا، والتي يمكن أن تكون عبارة عن قضايا محددة هي ببساطة عبارة عن توسع لفهمنا للإحساس الأساسي لـ «امتلاك عالم ما»³⁸.

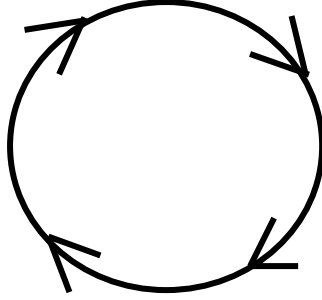
4.3. العلامة اللغوية أو الترميز

الترميز أو الرمز اللغوي هو العنصر الرابع في الصورة الإجمالية للإشارة اللغوية. وفق تروخيليو Trujillo فإن المعنى هو الشكل الذي يبني ويوجه إحساسنا بالعالم، فهو (أي المعنى)، ذو خصوصية غير محددة، بل حدسية أو بديهية. هو شيء حقيقي قبل كل تأويل، هو عبارة عن قوة، هو الصورة التي تُعطي نماذج لكي تمنح معنى لإحساسنا بالعالم. حسب مستوى فهمنا، المعاني غير لغوية، بل هي نفس الحقيقة.

بنفس الطريقة أكد محمد محمد يونس قائلا "إننا لا نسلم بأن المعاني واحدة إلا إذا نظرنا إليها مجردة من لغات تصفها وتسميها وتتحدث عنها، ففي هذه الحال المعاني واحدة، أي قبل أن تُشكّل في لغة من اللغات، فإذا تشكلت أصبحت خاضعة إلى حد ما لما يفرضه عليها الشكل اللغوي، أو طريقة التعبير التي تُشكّل وفقا للغة المستعملة، ويصبح إدراك السامع لها من خلال الطابع الذي رسمته تلك اللغة"³⁹.

وهذا ما نؤكد أيضا في طرحنا للإشارة اللغوية من أن المعاني خارج اللغات واحدة ومطلقة ومجردة عن الأحاسيس والمشاعر والزمان والمكان. هي القوة التي تعطي نماذج تصورية لأجل تنظيم وتوجيه إدراكنا. مثلا لدينا ثلاثة فنانيين جلسوا ليرسموا شيئا واحدا، هنا الملهم واحد وبالرغم من ذلك خرجنا بثلاث لوحات مختلفة، وهذا يعود لوجود مستوى فهم تصوري مختلف بالنسبة للأشخاص الثلاثة.

إذن العلامة أو الرمز اللغوي هي نتيجة التفاعل المشترك بين الإحساس بالحقائق أي المعاني، والصورة الذهنية، ومستوى الفهم التصوري لهذه الصورة والرمز أو الكلمة. وهذا يمكن أن نصوره إجمالا بالمخطط الآتي:



يمكننا ان نتصوره كدائرة أو سلسلة مغلقة كلية، بحيث أن فقدان أي عنصر من عناصرها الأربعة تحتفي الإشارة أو العلامة اللغوية. لذلك يُقال إن الصورة الذهنية هي جزء من النفس، ومفاضة من قبل النفس، وإن العلم عين العالم وهو النفس⁴⁰. وهذا كله يعود إلى الحواس الظاهرية الباطنية والتي تجعلنا نحس ونتصور ونفهم ثم نرمز حسب مستوى فهمنا التصوري في نفس الوقت. لأن ذلك موجود في النفس التي تنتمي إلى عالم الأمر الثابت الذي لا يحتاج إلى زمان.

مثال يجسد الرمز اللغوي هو في مدة إقامتي في إسبانيا، إذ شاهدت بعض الفواكه والخضار التي لم أرها قبل في العراق بلادي، بسبب عدم زراعتها هناك، وأيضا بسبب عدم استيرادها في أيام الحروب والحصار التي مرت على

³⁸ Johnson (1991: 174).

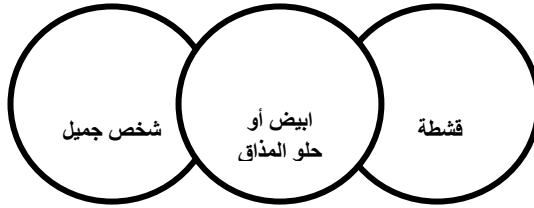
³⁹ يونس علي (1993: 28).

⁴⁰ الصدر (1418 هـ: 157).

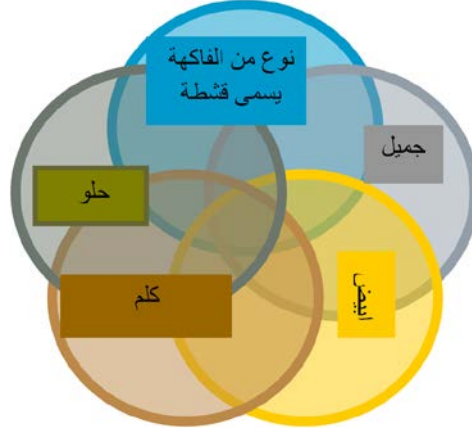
بلدنا. واحدة من هذه الفواكه هي التي تسمى باللغة الإسبانية *cherimoya*. المرة الأولى التي رأيت بها هذه الفاكهة – أي تجربتي الأولى مع هذه الفاكهة – حسب مستوى فهمي التصوري المرتبط بتجاربي السابقة التي اقتنصتها من خلال بيئتي ومحيطي، اعتقدت أنها نوع من أنواع الخضار التي تزرع في بلدنا والتي تسمى *كلم*. في يوم ما كنت في بيت إحدى صديقاتي العراقيات ، والتي كانت تعيش في إسبانيا منذ زمن طويل، حيث قدمت لي أنواعا من الفاكهة وكان من بينها *الجيرموبا*. فسألته هل هي نوع من الفاكهة، فقالت لي نعم، وإنها لذيذة جدا، ودعتني إلى أن أجربها، لكن أنا من مظهرها الخارجي وحسب مستوى فهمي التصوري المرتبط بتلك الخضرة *الكلم* لم أتجرأ على أكلها، لأن شكلها الخارجي لا يشجع على تناولها. آنذاك فتحت لي واحدة وجلبت لي ملعقة وشجعتني على أكلها. عندما تذوقتها لم أكن أتصور طعمها اللذيذ، ولا شكلها من الداخل فلها أبيض وفيه خبيبات سود. بعد فترة التقيت بصديقة مصرية فقصصت عليها تجربتي مع هذه الفاكهة، وسألته هل توجد في مصر؟ فقالت لي إنها موجودة وتزرع في السواحل مثلا في مدينة الإسكندرية وتسمى *قشطه*. خلال حوارنا عن هذه الفاكهة، كنا نستدعي الصورة الذهنية لها، حيث تكونت لي عدة صور عنها من خلال تجربتي معها كلها تأتي على البال أي تُستحضر أثناء حوارنا عنها وتختلف الصور التي تأتي إلى ذهن صديقتي أيضا حسب تجاربها أي مستوى فهمها لهذه الفاكهة النابع من بيئتها ومحيطها اللغوي. وكل ذلك بفضل الحواس الباطنية التي توحد الإحساسات وتخزن الصور الذهنية لكل فرد حسب تجاربه أي إدراكه لشيء معين.

إذن في اللهجة المصرية أطلق رمز القشطه على هذا النوع من الفاكهة، أي قيمر في العراقية. حسب مستوى فهمي فإنه عندما قُطعت الفاكهة ما جذب انتباه من أطلق الرمز عليها لأول مرة، هو لونها الأبيض الذي يشبه القشطه وطعمها الحلو، فأطلق عليها قشطه، فطغت هذه الصفات على غيرها من ميزات هذه الفاكهة، لذلك حاولوا أن يبينوا قصدهم في الرمز القشطه. ثم انتشر الرمز بين أفراد المجتمع المصري شيئا فشيئا، بسبب مستوى الفهم الجماعي الذي يشترك به أفراد المجتمع اللغوي، هنا المصري. ثم تحول الرمز إلى رمز اصطلاحي أي متفق عليه، ومع مرور الزمن يُنْشَأ سبب إطلاق الرمز على شيء معين.

إذن ليس كل الصفات أو العناصر التي تشكل مفهوما ما مُفعلة بنفس الوضوح، حسب مستوى الفهم التصوري لإفراد المجتمع المعين، أما بالنسبة لمستوى الفهم الفردي فهي تعتمد على صفات النفس ومراتبها. نجد أيضا أنه في اللهجة المصرية يُرمز للشخص الجميل والأبيض (حلو في العراقية) *قشطه*، وهو كذلك نوع من الكناية، ما يجذب الانتباه جزء من الصفات أو الميزات أي المجال الإدراكي التصوري للشخص وهي البياض الذي يجمع بين الجميل والقشطه. هذا يُظهر أن المقولات المعقدة تُنْظَم ابتداء من سلسلة من الميزات – المجالات الإدراكية في النظرية المعرفية، وهي بالنسبة لنا الصور الذهنية – التي تربط بين حلقات مركزية وأخرى أبعد فأبعد عن المجال الإدراكي وهكذا كما في الرسم:



أو يمكن أن يُتصور بهذا الشكل.



إن هذا يُبين لنا أن الإشارة إلى أي معنى هي عبارة عن الدخول إلى نقطة أو عقدة في شبكة معقدة ومتشابكة وغير محددة ، أي أنها مستمرة ومتغيرة تعتمد على مستوى الفهم التصوري لشخص ما، وأن ميزات أو صفات هذا المفهوم هي العلاقة مع النقاط أو العقد الأخرى في هذه الشبكة غير المتناهية والمتغيرة.

إن الصورة الذهنية تختلف من شخص لآخر سواء أكانوا من نفس البيئة اللغوية، أو من بيئات مختلفة، وهذا يعتمد على تجارب الشخص مع هذه الصورة الذهنية – المعنى أو الشيء أو المفهوم –. فمثلاً – قبل هذا العصر، عصر الانترنت ، الذي جعل العالم كقرية صغيرة يمكن أن يطلع عليها أي شخص – الصورة الذهنية للأسواق الكبيرة – سوبر ماركت أو مول كما يُقال حالياً – تختلف في ذهن القروي وذهن الذي يعيش في المدن الكبرى، مثلاً في بغداد، وبين هذا ومن يعيش في إسبانيا. ففي العراق قديماً لم يكن هنالك أسواق كبيرة مثل El Corte Ingles أو el Campo أما الصورة الإجمالية للأسواق فهي واحدة، "مكان يُباع فيه ويُشترى"⁴¹. نجد أن في الرمز العربي ما يلفت الانتباه من الصورة الإجمالية لكلمة سوق حسب قاموس ابن فارس، هو صورة ساق يسوق سوقاً. والسبقة هي ما استيق من الدواب. فالسوق مشتقة من هذا، أي مما يُساق إليه من كل شيء، والجمع أسواق. والساق للإنسان وغيره. وسميت كذلك لأن الماشي ينساق إليها⁴². أما ما يجذب انتباه المتكلم الإسباني من الصورة الإجمالية لكلمة سوق فهي عملية الشراء، فله علاقة بكلمة *mercar* التي تعني *اشترى* و *تاجر*. وهذا يحدث مع كل الألفاظ ، فلنأخذ مثلاً كلمة *كتاب* فإن الصورة الذهنية الإجمالية لهذه الكلمة أو الرمز في اللغة الإسبانية هي "مجموعة من الورق المطبوع والمجموع بشكل مجلد"⁴³. إن ما يجذب الانتباه في اللغة العربية هو الكتابة وليس الطبع. حسب مستوى فهمنا، عندما عُرف الكتاب في المجتمع العربي، كانت الكتب تُكتب باليد، لذلك أكدوا على صفة الكتابة. بينما في اللغة الإسبانية فعُلت الميزة أو الصفة حرر *liberar*، والتي لها استخدام مجازي أُصدر⁴⁴. في كلا المجتمعين يوجد نفس الشيء أو الحقيقة وهو *الكتاب*، لكن كلا منهما يُفعل جزءاً معيناً من هذه الحقيقة، حسب مستوى فهمه التصوري المرتبط ببيئته الاجتماعية. وفي عصرنا الحديث وبسبب انتشار المطابع، نجد في اللغة العربية المعاصرة وبمشابهة أو مجانسة مع اللغات اللاتينية، أنه يقال *متحان* تحريري، أي عن طريق الكتابة، ومحرر جريدة وهكذا الخ. هذا يُبين أن مستويات الفهم التصوري غير قابلة للقياس، لكن تنبع من نفس الحقيقة أي الأشياء في العالم الخارجي، حيث أن هذه الحقائق تحدد توهمنا أو تصورنا لها.

إذن المعنى في لغة ما هو نفس البنية الدلالية والمفهومية، التي أصبحت متعارفاً عليها بعد الترميز اللغوي من قبل مجتمع معين. وهذه البنية المفهومية الدلالية هي تصويرية وجزئية، لأنها تُبرز جهة أو حيثية واحدة أو أكثر من الحقيقة – المعاني خارج اللغات.

⁴¹ انظر (2001) Sánchez (كلمة *mercado*)
⁴² انظر ابن فارس (بدون تاريخ. مادة سوق)

⁴³ GDUSA, s. v., libro.

⁴⁴ Op. cit., s. v., liberar.

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A NEW MODEL FOR LEARNING ARABIC SCRIPT

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Abstract: This paper intends to solve a long lasting pedagogical problem that is still confronting Arabic learners and teachers by introducing a new approach to learning the Arabic script.

The new model minimizes the 110 graphemes that exist in the five-column traditional Alphabet table to 32 shapes in a single-column table.

Based on the historical evidence and studying the origination of the Arabic script, this paper discusses the *connector concept* and presents a new approach to dealing with the Arabic script that could be applied in learning, teaching and computing.

Keywords: *Arabic script, Arabic writing, Arabic alphabet, letter forms, letter shapes, grapheme, connector, alphabet table.*

1. Introduction

There are many challenges facing learners and teachers alike of Arabic as a second language. These challenges vary from understanding the dynamic grammar, derivational and inflectional morphology, the flexible yet complicated syntax, the long sentence structures and unfamiliar script (Salameh, 2010: 148-50). In addition to all of that, Arabic is considered to be a diglossic language (Ferguson, 1959); Badawī, on the other hand, has categorized Arabic into five levels of oral speech styles (Badawī, 1973), which makes it a polyglossic language. However, Badawī's categorization of Arabic polyglossic features has changed since 1973 because of the influence of media and globalization, the categorization issue having being discussed in detail by Kanakri, who examined various views on oral speech styles (1988).

It is needless to say that the Arabic script is one of main obstacles facing learners and teachers of languages written in Arabic script (*e.g.* Persian, Urdu... etc.); therefore, many reforms were introduced or proposed since the rise of Islam and took a different direction after the Arab renaissance period and rise of nationalistic views in Muslim countries in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This was to a certain extent due to socio-political factors which followed the example of Europe or the "Civilized World" as some viewed it (Bin Salāma, 1971: 70; Salameh, 2010: 143). Many called for the following of the Turkish model that adopted the Latin script to replace the Arabic script in 1929; this move was part of a socio-political reform that was championed by Kemal Atatürk as he explained: "our nation will show with its script and with its mind that its place is with the civilised world" (Brigs & Burke, 2005: 11; Marzari, 2006: 87-9). A similar call was in Somalia in the post-war era (*i.e.* 1950s-1960s), when the nationalists' view won over the traditionalists' view on reforming the Somali script by replacing the Arabic script in which the Somali language was written with the Latin script; on this issue Laitin says:

Much of the nationalist activity in the postwar era was directed at freeing the Somali “nation” from any other definition than “Somali.” To have accepted the Arabic script would have been, for many Somalis, to give up their unique identity. (1977: 96)

Many researchers sounded their calls to reforms of the Arabic language in order to solve these long-lasting problems with Arabic (Abu-Absi, 1986; Versteegh, 1997; Marzari, 2006).

2. Arabic Writing System

Arabic is written from right to left, by means of a script containing 28 consonantal letters, 3 of which are also used to write long vowels. These letters are written in only 17 distinct forms, distinguished one from another by a dot or dots placed above or below the letter. Short vowels are optionally appearing as strokes on top of and below the letters.

There are several opinions on the origin of the Arabic script; most scholars would suggest that the Arabic Kūfīc script originated from the Nabataean script (Fischer, 2002: 3, Gruendler, 1993: 1-2; 131-40, Naveh, 1982: 153-61). Macdonald, who agrees with this suggestion, says:

I am completely convinced that what we know as the ‘Arabic’ script was not developed or derived from either the Syriac or the Nabataean alphabets, in any conscious way. It is simply the Nabataean alphabet in its latest form. (2000: 58)

Healey, on the other hand, agrees with the assumption that Arabic script is originated from the Nabataean script, yet he had a few unsolved problems about the early development of Arabic (Healey, 1990: 248-9, 1993), which he refined in his joint work with Rex Smith later on; they say: “On this basis a very strong case can be made for the origin of the Arabic script in the Nabataean cursive” (Healey and Smith, 2009: 71).

At a later stage of the history of Arabic, the dotting system was introduced by Abū al-Aswad al-Du’alī (c.16BH-69AH /603–688AD) to distinguish different phonemes which use the same letter shape. However, al-Du’alī’s invention was soon developed further by Naṣr and Yaḥyā, who were commissioned by al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Ṭāqafī (41-95/661-713) to simplify the Arabic writing. They introduced the short vowels by adding another group of diacritical dots on top of the consonants’ graphemes; this way many consonants had more than one group of dots, which was confusing to users. During that period, the Quran was written in different colors, black was for the consonants while red and yellow were used to write the vowels that marked grammatical cases.

The current *Taškīl* system was founded by al-Ḳalīl ibn Aḥmad (100-160/718-787), who introduced strokes to replace the previous coloring system. Fischer suggested that:

Sībawayh (d.793) and later grammarians provided an array of elaborated [*taškīl*] systems in which they classified the phonemes variously according to the manner of articulation. (2002: 16)

3.1. The Current Models of Teaching the Arabic Script

It has long been the tradition to teach the Arabic Alphabet through the five column table as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Traditional Arabic Alphabet Table

Name of the Letter	Isolated Form/ Standing alone	Final Form/ With a preceding letter	Medial Form/ With a preceding and following letter	Initial Form/ With a following letter
<i>Alif</i>	ا	ا	ا	ا
<i>Bā'</i>	ب	ب	ب	ب
<i>Tā'</i>	ت	ت	ت	ت
<i>Tā'</i>	ث	ث	ث	ث
<i>Jīm</i>	ج	ج	ج	ج
<i>Hā'</i>	ح	ح	ح	ح
<i>Kā'</i>	خ	خ	خ	خ
<i>Dāl</i>	د	د	د	د
<i>Dāl</i>	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
<i>Rā'</i>	ر	ر	ر	ر
<i>Zāy</i>	ز	ز	ز	ز
<i>Sīn</i>	س	س	س	س
<i>Šīn</i>	ش	ش	ش	ش
<i>Šād</i>	ص	ص	ص	ص
<i>Dād</i>	ض	ض	ض	ض
<i>Tā'</i>	ط	ط	ط	ط
<i>Zā'</i>	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ
<i>'Ayn</i>	ع	ع	ع	ع
<i>Ġayn</i>	غ	غ	غ	غ
<i>Fā'</i>	ف	ف	ف	ف
<i>Qāf</i>	ق	ق	ق	ق
<i>Kāf</i>	ك	ك	ك	ك
<i>Lām</i>	ل	ل	ل	ل
<i>Mīm</i>	م	م	م	م
<i>Nūn</i>	ن	ن	ن	ن
<i>Hā'</i>	ه	ه	ه	ه
<i>Wāw</i>	و	و	و	و
<i>Yā'</i>	ي	ي	ي	ي
Additional Graphemes				
<i>Tā' Marbūṭa</i>	ة	ة	-	-

A person can hardly find any book teaching the Arabic script, whether from a non-Arabic speaker or a native speaker perspective, not using this table; this census agreement triggers the question of the origin of this table and whether it is right or wrong.

I assume that this table is related to the "Letterpress" printing technique and the

letter sorting in that industry according to their appearances rather than according to their nature; this was developed recently for computer use, which enabled specialists in PC typography to introduce an easier approach for the user despite their adaptation of the traditional model (Allen et al., 2012: 250-66). However, the earliest reference to this classification was Fry's discussion of this set of Arabic letters according to the above table, where he said:

These modern Characters are the invention of the Vizier Maloch, who flourished about 933 of the Christian Æra, with which he wrote the Koran three times, and in a manner so fair and correct, as to be considered a perfect model of writing it... This is the alphabet in present use, in which are expressed in the Initial, Medial, and Final forms; with their powers subjoined. (Fry, 1799: 4-5)

Later on, the work of Franciscus Raphelengius in 1595 introduced for the first time the Arabic type specimen (Vrolijk and van Leeuwen, 2014: 17-19); the challenges that faced him and others dealing with the Arabic script were illustrated by Lane, Breugelmans and Witkam: 'The complexity of Arabic script challenged the ingenuity of punchcutters, typefounders, and compositors and the resulting mixture of sometimes ad hoc solutions is often difficult to sort out....' (1997: xi-xiv).

A modified table using the same method and creating a matrix which was originally made for printing purposes was used in most if not all famous books, including great titles, such as: Lane's *An Arabic-English Lexicon* in 1863 (xxxii), Wright's *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* in 1874 (1932: 1-3), Brockelman's *Arabische Grammatik* (1962: 3-6) and most recently Fischer's *A Grammar of Classical Arabic* in 1996 (2002: 3-6). This common practice included other Semitic languages (e.g. Syriac (Nöldeke, 1880: 1-3)).

Textbooks teaching Arabic as a foreign language adopted that model in teaching the Arabic script, including the most common ones, such as the University of Michigan's text book by Abboud et al. in their *Introduction to Modern Standard Arabic Pronunciation and Writing*, which was published first in 1968; this book is still widely used in Japanese and South Korean universities. The same approach is found in 'Answer Key to accompany *Alif Baa with DVDs*': *Introduction to Arabic Letters and Sounds* (Brustad et al., 2004: xi; xii; 4), which is considered the learners' first contact with the Arabic language before they start learning from *al-Kitāb fī Ta'allum al-'Arabiyya* with DVDs (Part 1-3).

On the other hand, *Mastering Arabic*, which is widely used in the UK, follows the same practice in using the connectors, as we find in their discussion about the way the letter (◌) is written (Wightwick & Gaafar, 2007: 29). The series of *Mastering Arabic* had the same assumption and perception with their script teaching book (Wightwick & Gaafar, 2005: 4 and after). Books that specialized in teaching Arabic writing are not an exception, for example we would find identical assumption by Mitchell in *Writing Arabic*, which was first printed in 1953 (1970: 11-12).

The only exception found was in Mace's *Teach Yourself Beginner's Arabic Script*, which was first published in 1999; in it he says:

Each letter has two possible forms: the short form is used at the beginning or in the middle of a word, and the longer form (the 'full' form) when the letter stands at the end of a word, or alone (2003: 6).

It can be suggested here that Mace tried to simplify learning the Arabic script, yet he explained neither the reasoning behind his model nor how he arrived to it, although it is clear that this model is based on the previous traditional model, which speaks about different forms of the letter. We can find the traces of his reliance on Table 1 soon after the previously quoted sentence, when he tried to explain to learners what he means by medial form; Mace says: "ا is always written downwards exception the middle form, i.e. when joined to a previous letter; then it is written upwards" (2003: 7).

The explanation provided shows that his model is not based on any logical reasoning, nor did he mean to introduce a new model. It might have been the case that he visualized the Arabic graphemes in different words and then tried to give the simplest versions of these letters.

In the recent version of the *Teach Yourself* series, Diouri showed an advanced and visually rich approach to teaching the Arabic script to non-Arabic learners (Diouri, 2011). He also categorized the letters in groups according to their 'basic skeleton shape' (Diouri, 2011: xviii and xxvi), which left learners with 10 groups and clear instructions on how to approach them; a similar approach in the categorization of the letters according to their similar features was followed by Haqqani in his *Noorani Qaaidah*, where he subcategorized the letters into 9 groups (Haqqani, n.d.: 8-11). Yet, Diouri followed the traditional model of introducing the letters (Diouri, 2011: xxvii-xxx).

The Arabic reading books for Quran recitation purposes agree with the model presented above in considering various forms of each letter. This is shown in the most common books teaching Quranic Arabic, including: *Ahsanul Qawaid* (Author unknown, 2010: 7-9), *Noorani Qaaidah* (Haqqani, n.d.: 5) and *Qā'idah Baġdādiyyah* (al-Jindī, 2010: 9).

As shown above, the common ground between all writers who used these tables is their reference to the joining or connection system affecting the letter from both sides.

3.2. Traditional and New Model of Teaching Arabic Script

In addition to the 110 shapes mentioned in Table 1, learners will soon find themselves compelled to learn another 14 shapes, marks and vowels, as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Supportive Marks Table

Name	Shape	Sound
Short Vowels		
<i>Fatha</i>	َ	A
<i>Damma</i>	ُ	u, o
<i>Kasra</i>	ِ	i, e
Long Vowels		
<i>Madd al-alif</i>	ا	Ā
<i>Madd al-wāw</i>	و	ū, ō
<i>Madd al-yā'</i>	ي	ī, ē
<i>AlifMaqṣūra</i>	ى	--ā
<i>Dagger alif</i>	آ	Ā
Tanween		
<i>Tanwīn al-fath</i>	ً	--an
<i>Tanwīn al-damm</i>	ٌ	--in, --en
<i>Tanwīn al-kasr</i>	ٍ	--un, --on
Vowelless Marks		
<i>Sukūn</i>	◌	No vowel
<i>Hamzat al-waṣl</i>	أ	No vowel
Stress Mark		
<i>Ṣadda</i>	◌ْ	Strengthening

Table 2 shows that four of the existing written shapes (ا, و, ي) and (ى) can take on an additional phonetic value when used as long vowels. It also lays out ten new shapes for short vowels, *tanwīn* marks and other marks, including: (أ) and (◌).

In my opinion, these tables are some of the main obstacles to widening the learning of Arabic.

To avoid burdening the new learner with unnecessary and inaccurate shapes which occur when Table 1 is introduced to learners, Table 1 is supposedly designed for learners to visually picture the maximum number of images for each letter as it appears in its context in the word.

It would be more appropriate to examine the learner's and educator's perspective, than using these different images for each grapheme, and to make a more enhanced and interactive mould of learning.

There are two suggestions to make the new approach more authentic and user-friendly; the first would be to look at the associated values of the script with its

origination as discussed above, and the second to introduce a new pedagogical approach to make learning Arabic script an interactive study in contemporary learning environments.

Therefore, I have restored Table 1 and simplified it for the learner and educator by removing three columns, based on the argument detailed below.

The single column alphabet table approach is applied in teaching letters in other languages such as English; for example, teaching the letter (*e*) would not be introduced according to its position in the word as shown in Figure 1 below.



Figure 1. The high-joined (*e*) and the low-joined (*e*) (Young, 2012)

So the first (*e*) in the word (*ever*) represents a low-joined letter, nevertheless, the preceding dotted connection would not have been introduced if the letter (*e*) was not preceded by another letter from the group of letters that link from the bottom (e.g. *a*, *c*, *d* ..etc). On the other hand, the second (*e*) represents a high-joined letter which only occurs if it is preceded by one of four letters that link from the top (e.g. *b*, *o*, *v* and *w*). However, the dotted connection that follows the letter (*e*) in both cases does not change the way it is going out of the letter regardless of what letter follows.

Therefore, the letter (*e*) is not taught to students in four forms according to the way it is joined or joins as appears in Figure 2 below. This way of introducing the letter is confusing and it will be more complicated with other letters in the alphabet that change their shapes more when adding these connectors.



Figure 2. the letter (*e*) in different 'forms'

The same approach could apply to a model of learning the Arabic scripts which was named "*The Al-Burāq Model*¹", hoping it would make learning and teaching Arabic script easier.

The Al-Burāq Model (i.e. Table 3) minimizes the number of shapes that exist in the traditional table (i.e. Table 1) to 32 shapes. This means that the fresh learner will be able to learn the Arabic script with no need for an extra load of 78 shapes.

¹The model was named after Al-Burāq, which is a miraculous creature 'whose every stride carried it as far as its eyes reach' (Parrinder, G. 1990: 146). The new name connotes the faster learning model.

Table 3
Al-Burāq Model: A New Model introduced by M.F. Al-Hamad

<i>Name of the Letter</i>	<i>The Only Form of the Letter</i>		
<i>Alif</i>	ا		
<i>Bā'</i>	ب		
<i>Tā'</i>	ت		
<i>Tā'</i>	ث		
<i>Jīm</i>	ج		
<i>Hā'</i>	ح		
<i>Kā'</i>	خ		
<i>Dāl</i>	د		
<i>Dāl</i>	ذ		
<i>Rā'</i>	ر		
<i>Zāy</i>	ز		
<i>Sīn</i>	س		
<i>Šīn</i>	ش		
<i>Šād</i>	ص		
<i>Ḍād</i>	ض		
<i>Ṭā'</i>	ط		
<i>Zā'</i>	ظ		
<i>'Ayn</i>	ع		
<i>Ġayn</i>	غ		
<i>Fā'</i>	ف		
<i>Qāf</i>	ق		
<i>Kāf</i>	ك	ك	
<i>Lām</i>	ل		
<i>Mīm</i>	م		
<i>Nūn</i>	ن		
<i>Hā'</i>	ه	ه	ه
<i>Wāw</i>	و		
<i>Yā'</i>	ي		
<i>Additional Graphemes</i>			
<i>Tā' Marbūṭa</i>		ة	

4. Testing the Model:

Although this model was introduced in a classroom environment of Arabic Beginners in high schools, professional courses and at a university level since 2005, however, it was tested on 40 Arabic language learners who have given their consent to conduct this study at A1/A2 level according to the Common European Framework of Reference for

Languages in a written examination at an ‘Arabic Beginners’ elective module at Manchester Metropolitan University in April 2010.

The learners were divided into two equal groups of 20 learners each. Group A learnt Arabic using the new model, without any of the group’s members having been introduced to the Arabic alphabet before, while group B learnt Arabic using the traditional model, ten of the group’s members having learnt Arabic letters before.

However, mistakes linked to connection problems occurred in the papers of only six learners in group A and of fifteen in group B. The frequency of occurrence was 3 times or more in the papers of 4 learners in group A and only 1 in group B.

5. Analysis

Group A learners had less problems in learning the Arabic script and they managed to learn it faster. Furthermore, the learners were instructed that each Arabic letter has only one shape representing the phoneme, except (ك) and (س)², as shown in Table 3.

Learners realized that they are not faced with challenges posed by the writing systems of English and other languages, such as two or more letters combining into multigraphs that correspond to distinct phonemes, which makes the Arabic script an easy script to learn.

In addition to the reasons stated above, group A has less confusion than learners of group B between similar letters (e.g. many learners of group B confused (ل) with (ل) especially in the middle of a word as they learnt that the letter has one shape with certain characteristics. Similarly, some learners have confused (ذ) with (ذ)... etc.).

The confusion might have a visual reason, as group B learners had to recall the newly learnt grapheme out of 104 shapes in their memory and to classify them into groups.

6. Conclusion:

The principle of this approach is based on questioning the connector concept, which makes all Arabic teaching textbooks that use tables share a common ground represented

²Although the letters (ك) and (س) appear to be an exception to the rule in the Al-Burāq Model, they were introduced differently for pedagogical reasons - it was easier to show different ‘forms’ rather than going through explaining how they arrived to these different shapes.

The epigraphic evidence shows that some letters have appeared with no connectors (e.g. ق, ك, ل, م and ي) (Gruendler, 1993: 84-7, 96-9 and 104-7). However, it might be the case that these letters have adopted other specific forms depending on their location in the word which slightly differ from their original shape, in order to avoid confusion with other letters which look similar to them.

So, the –so called- ‘initial’/‘medial’ (س) is the original shape of the letter, but its writing was avoided at the end of a word as it may be confused with (ي). And the –so called- ‘isolated’/‘final’ (ك) shape was introduced in a form similar to (ل) with a small (س) in the middle of it to differentiate it from (ل). On the other hand, the ‘initial’ (س), ‘medial’ (س) and ‘final’ (س) have developed from the ‘isolated’ س, depending on how it is joined and joins. These shapes of س minimized the confusion with the un-dotted (س) or (س).

by their reference to the joiners or connectors linking the letter from both sides. This common misunderstanding of the nature and history of the Arabic script has traditionally been present in teaching the script. Therefore, this approach is purely a teaching technique and is not introducing a new writing system.

In my opinion, the connections do not exist as part of the grapheme's original character. The so called connectors are nothing but the straightened tails of the letters that join with an exception of six graphemes in Arabic (ا, د, ذ, ر, ز and و). These straightened tails inside the body of the word were shortened for purely artistic and practical reasons (e.g. *منتصر* or *بنت*...etc).

In my opinion, it would be more logical for students to be introduced to the reasoning behind the additional shapes.

Calligraphers introduced different terms referring to the connection of the letters in Arabic based on the nature of the connection. According to Hilmi Efendi:

Tarṣīf is connecting (joining) every connectable (connecting) letter to another, while *ta'liḥ* is putting every connectable letter to another in the best form of *tasfīr* [which is] putting words next to one another to form a uniform line, and *tansīl* [finding] the best suitable place for the elongation of connectable letters (1849-50: 31).

I hope that this approach will allow learners to overcome the difficulties in mastering the script and to open the door for further study of the Arabic script from a newer perspective.

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THE SOGDIAN HORSEMAN: VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF A HUNTING SCENE IN PRE-MODERN CENTRAL ASIA AND IRAN

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Abstract: Silver dishes from pre-modern Near East are not unique. Yet, their iconography is sometimes puzzling and may be easily misinterpreted. In this paper, I analyze the reasons for such misinterpretation drawing upon western art historian methodologies and Russian theories of iconology and suggest a probabilistic approach to deconstruction, interpretation and attribution of the elements of the image to a particular style, period, and place. The silver dish to which this analysis is applied came from the crossroads of Near Eastern cultures and represents a hunting scene. I suggest that unlike in mathematics, the simplest explanation is not always the best. The analysis of an art object should take into consideration the long and arduous road leading to its inception: the multitude of the external influences exerted on the creator, and the observer, of the art piece and their corresponding context.

Keywords: *Near East, iconology, image interpretation, Central Asia, Iran*

Introduction: The Question of Methodology

As we entered the 21st century, art history became an increasingly integrated discipline. It has gone through a constant evolution since its inception: art historians have been using art specific methodologies as well as applying those of other fields: psychoanalysis, social history, and linguistics – to name a few. The latter approach raised a question of the transferability of methodologies across various fields. Should we transfer the psychoanalytical doctor-patient relationship to critic-artwork à la Freud, or should we reverse this relationship to artwork-critic as Bal and Bryson (1991) suggest, since critics do all the talking and thus they are analogous to patients, not doctors?

The idea of an art object acting as a silent psychoanalyst is particularly interesting because it suddenly grants art historians acting in the role of patients a license to conduct the intellectual exercises of analysis and deconstruction. The more enigmatic and complicated the object of analysis is, the larger and more controversial is the corpus of the scholarship and more heated are the discussions around it.

Central Asia, having been the center of active trading and migratory routes that spanned more than a millennium from the dawn of the Common Era, became a melting pot of cultures and art production techniques and motives. The objects coming from this

region, often referred to as the Silk Road, confront scholars with a constant challenge of deconstruction and proper identification as they ponder over the questions of transferability of methodologies: How can we break down a continuous image into discrete elements in order to apply a language-based structuralist approach to it?

The intellectual discipline of *semiotics* attempts to address similar shortcomings by providing “discipline-free” tools that can be used across the board. In Mary Douglas’ (1982) definition, semiotics is “*a technical analysis of structures in which the meaning is produced.*” It challenges the positivist view of knowledge such as authentication of oeuvres and the social history of art, and raises important new issues of the polysemy of meaning; problems of authorship, context, and reception; the relationship between the image and the narrative, and others. Through a series of “mini-revolutions”, semiotics breaks down incumbent paradigms of privileged positions of a context, an author, and a male and establishes a more “democratic” relationship between the stakeholders of the process of art creation *and* the process of art consumption. Semiotics increases the complexity and objectivity of the analysis by moving from a binary approach to a multi-dimensional space where ‘zero-sum’ judgments no longer make sense. Finally, it adds temporality to the equation in the form of *semiosis* (Peirce cited in Bal and Bryson (1991: 182)), transforming the subject of the analysis into a complicated dynamic system of *Sender-Object-Receiver-Context* whose relationship and interaction are manifested through sign-events. Although the *Sender* (an artist, or a craftsman) and *his/her* context have chronological and causal precedence over the *Object* and its contemporaneous and extra-temporaneous *Receivers* (viewers and users) and *their* context, the quest for meaning usually starts with the *Object* because this is what is usually available to the art historians first. The object to be discussed in this paper has been the subject of analysis for several decades, and therefore represents an excellent example of art acting as a psychologist for the art historian community across different continents.

The Object: A Silver Dish Representing a Horseman

I would like to start by giving a formal description of the object without any attempts to attribute it to a particular place, time, or style. The subject of this paper is a dish made of silver with golden elements (Fig. 1), which belongs to the collection of the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, Russia. It represents a horseman aiming an arrow at a lion while the wounded wild boar runs away in the lower part of the image. The dish has an inscription of a name written in *Pehlevi*. It was first described in the reports of an archaeological expedition in 1867 (Ремпель, 1959).

The Hermitage already had a very similar object (Fig. 2) – a silver dish dated 310-320 CE and positively identified as a representation of the Sasanian king Shapur II, who ruled from 309 to 379 CE (Ремпель и Пугаченкова, 1982). Therefore, our focal subject had been initially attributed to *the Sasanian silver* because of its similarity with Shapur’s dish¹. Indeed, the similarities are striking and catch your eye instantly: space

¹ Although there are continuous references to this attribution “*in the Hermitage catalogues and publications*” in the Russian sources (Ремпель и Пугаченкова, 1959, 1965, 1982, 1987), I could not

composition, the galloping horse, and the turned back horseman with a bow and a sword, aiming at a lion. Coupled with an inscription in Pehlevi, it makes an almost perfect case for Sasanian silver. So why may this attribution be wrong?

The Reasons for Misattribution: Irrelevant Analogy

In the early days of the 20th century, the scholars in Russia used the art historian method of *iconography*, description and classification of images were based on style, identifying the objects through *analogy*. I believe that the *irrelevance* of this analogy was the main reason for misattribution of the subject dish. What is an irrelevant analogy?

When arguing for the existence of God, Paley (1987) uses the probability theory in the following way: he compares finding a rock on the beach with finding a watch. While nobody immediately supposes that the rock is man-made, the statement is exactly the opposite for the watch, because the *probability* of all watch parts to randomly fall together on the beach in *a meaningful way* is virtually zero. This argument is then continued through teleology (analogy) whereby the Universe is compared to human artifacts (e.g. watch) in its complexity.

Although Hume (1987) and Dawkins (1987) rejected Paley's argument, it failed not because of the probability premises but because of the *irrelevant analogy* between the Universe and the watch. Interestingly, we can use both the true probability premise and the false analogy premise, to highlight some of the art interpretation issues in our area of interest.

Thoughts on Using Probability for Denotational Analysis

When addressing the *polysemy of the meaning*, Barthes (1977) breaks it down into *denotational* (non-coded, iconic-literal), and *connotational* (iconic-symbolic) types. While both types are polysemic depending on the point of reference (artist/context/viewer), the former is more straightforward than the latter. For this reason, I have chosen to start the deconstruction of the enigmatic horseman in Fig.1 by the denotational analysis enhanced by the mathematical principle of probability.

Quite often authors imply *causality* where there can be a mere *coincidence*, or use irrelevant analogy (e.g. "*a podium and a man are similar because they both take space*"). I would argue that any argument for causality or influence should start with the determination of the *probability of a coincidence*. The compositions that have high probability of occurring independently should not be used to draw conclusion about dependencies. Such compositions should be first taken at their "*face value*"² and the onus should be on the researcher to prove their relationship through textual or other scientific evidence.

find any primary source where this position is stated, so I am using Rempel's reference in Ремпель (1987) to *Imagery Royal: silver vessels of the Sasanian period*. 1981. vol. 1, New York, fig. 44.

² I.e. that what Roland Barthes calls "denotational meaning" in Barthes (1977)

Although we cannot precisely quantify this probability, its *relative magnitude* is within our reach. For example, objects and creatures that are encountered in the normal *everyday life* of an artist will most certainly find their way into the artist's work. Some shapes are so *universal* (squares, circles, triangles, crosses, curves) that the high probability of them appearing in any culture without outside influence should be expected. Other shapes and creatures can be *local* i.e. types of trees, animals, human features. The probability of independently depicting a palm tree in Africa is as high as that for universal shapes. However, the presence of a palm tree in Central Asia would definitely call for a further investigation of the genealogy of the image. In Varaksha, a mural painting (7th-8th centuries) depicts a tiger and an elephant, animals which are not local to Central Asia; therefore, it must have experienced South Asian influence. The white tombstone in the Archangel Cathedral in Moscow has an obvious *islimi*³ arabesque, so foreign to Russia that its provenance must be from the East (Ремпель и Пугаченкова, 1965).

Consider an example of *a curvy line* known from ancient times. Curves exist in nature in various objects; therefore interpreting them without context should not be done. However, if it is found on an object belonging to people that live next to water, it might be interpreted as a wave, while if its makers were steppe nomads, we might suppose it depicted a horn (Ремпель, 1987). But what if it were the Bactrians, a Central Asian culture that combined Hellenistic artistic features with that of the nomads? In this case we cannot definitely say whether it is a wave or a horn ornament, or maybe even something totally different such as a cloud.

Let us take *an eight-petal flower* – one of the most common flower shapes in nature. Should we draw conclusions about complicated links between cultures based on the appearance of this flower on the Ishtar gates in Mesopotamia from 575 BC, on the 9th century Samanid Mausoleum in Bukhara and on the 13th century metalwork? I think it would be more prudent to start by assuming that it was just an image from the world around the artist.

The case is exactly the opposite for *the lotus flower* images found in the Altai Mountains. Since there are no lotuses in this area, we must search where they could come from. The lotus grows in warm climates such as India and Egypt. The latter is farther away geographically and had no known contacts with the area; therefore it would be safe to assume South-Asian influence.

Another example of the images from the world around us is a case of *a predator catching its prey*. That is all that predators do. Therefore some other evidence beyond the content of the image itself should support the conclusion about definite links in the images representing such scenes.

Russian scholar L.I. Rempel, in several of his works (1959, 1965, 1982, 1987) warns his colleagues against over-interpretation, seeing more than just the representation of reality (e.g. in animal/hunting scenes). He says: "*The craftsmen did not invent something that didn't exist in the nature around them, but simply united images from around them into a whole.*" Rempel's fundamental work *The Chain of Times* (1987:73), based on a painstaking analysis of thousands of art pieces, explains how similar visual

³ An *islimi* arabesque is a freehand biomorphic motif used in Islamic decorative arts.

representations are possible because of *the common human psychology and similar socio-economic conditions of the development of a society*, without being influenced or caused by each other. He notices that similar forms appear in different cultures that are undergoing a similar stage of development and quotes O. Miller, saying that “*fixed formulae appear without any particular reason, in parallel, as a result of convergence whereby similar conditions create similar results because of commonality of: 1) human motivation, 2) ways of reflection of the nature in human consciousness and 3) nature of human imagination*” (1987:152).

Rempel compares the unevenness of historical processes to the picture of the sky. Some stars already died, but their light is still visible because of large distances, while other stars are just being born and their light will reach us only in the future. He argues that an art image is a combination of “*eternal images*” («вечные образы»), and “*vagabond motives*” («бродячие сюжеты»). When an image crosses its chronological and geographical limits, it becomes not only eternal but also vagabond.

As per Rempel, *the eternal images* include: 1) symbols of world genesis; 2) astro-animal symbols; 3) anthropomorphous gods; and 4) mythic semi-gods. Many scholars think that the first images of world genesis (often composed of universal symbols discussed above) are the results of the technology of weaving, fabric-making and mud bricks positions that created natural patterns that were later applied onto other objects (e.g. pottery) for beautification. One example of universal signs can be the Swastika.

On the other hand, *the vagabond motives* are: 1) compositions with a “goddess”; 2) compositions with “the tree of life”; 3) animal styles (see the example of the predator catching its victim discussed previously); 4) cult and religion representations; 5) epic themes; and 6) court themes. The vagabond nature of these motives makes them *les faux amis* for art historians who use analogy of style to attribute an art object to a particular place and period. The example of misattribution of the subject dish of this paper to the Sasanian period is a case in point.

Hunting Scene as an Example of a Vagabond Motif

Horseback riding became possible in the second half of the second millennium BC, when the steppe people introduced bits and bridles. Slowly but surely, it spread across the continent, becoming a part of the culture. A so-called “*hunting scene*” becomes a vagabond motif, in Rempel’s definition: it does change its meaning across time and space but the visual representation remains. The steppe nomads expressed themselves in what became known as an animalistic style characterized by realistic images of a plethora of the wild animals of the steppes. The antique artists depict anthropomorphous gods hunting mythical animals: griffons, hydras and dragons. Buddhist and early Zoroastrian movements fill the mythical animals with cosmological meaning of Dark Forces fighting the Light. Gods transform into epic heroes. Kings are godified to boost their authority, and all of them are on a horse striking their animal-looking adversary.

Therefore, the mere fact of hunting the same (even atypical for this geography) animal with the same bow should not be used as a point of reference in our case. So far, the denotational analysis of our object didn’t shed much light on its provenance, meaning

or purpose due to the very generic (vagabond) style of the scene. Let us now look at the next level of analysis: *connotational*.

Thoughts on Using Context for Connotational Analysis

The art specific method of *iconography*, that deals with description and classification of images, is being complemented by *iconology* – the science of discovery and interpretation of symbolic values (Panofsky, 1955). Signs, the main analytical operands of semiotics, are classified as icons, indices and symbols (Peirce cited in Bal and Bryson, 1991). Their relationship with other elements of semiosis (ground and object) is defined in terms of syntax, semantics and rhetoric (Mukarovsky cited in Bal and Bryson (1991)), where the rhetoric of image is its connotational meaning (Barthes, 1977). Being a coded structure, the connotational meaning has a higher degree of complexity than the denotational one and is produced by the interpretative function of the sub-consciousness. Further, as Derrida determinately puts it: “*No meaning can be determined out of context*” (cited in Bal and Bryson (1991:182)). The plethora of connotational meanings is almost endless – as it depends on the context of conception, creation and “consumption” of the art object, which is not any simpler or more legible than the object itself.

In our case, the context is unknown and needs to be reconstructed through what Nietzsche calls a “*chronological reversal*” (cited in Bal and Bryson (1991:190): we have to identify the cause based on the effect (i.e. the object at hand). This task is not a trivial one, given the problems of granularity of the image, and the complexity of the preceding influences in the Silk Road area. In order to reconstruct a particular context (hopefully, the most probable one) that could lead us to a meaning we should first break down the image into individual elements. Then, applying the Peirce formula⁴ to the elements of the image acting as signs, we can attempt to arrive at the potential meaning by mapping these elements into the stylistic groups identified in the region of our interest. The starting point for this exercise is to draw the road map.

Stylistic Groups in Central Asia and Iran

Shapiro (1969:231) defines style as “*a constant form, elements, and quality of art of an individual or a group.*” Central Asia, being at the crossroads of migratory and trade routes from the second half of the first millennium BCE, became the place where cultures mixed and matched centuries after centuries. I propose that the assimilation and association process, which had been going on in the region, can be presented graphically (Fig. 3). *Persian* and *Turkic* heritage in *Sogdian* art, and *Hellenistic* and *Buddhist* motives in *Bactrian* art were well analyzed by Gyul (1998-2002) and are beyond the scope of this paper. Knowing the chronology of this development and the differentiating

⁴ The referent (object) is the representamen (sign) transformed by an interpretant (mental image) (Bal & Bryson, 1991).

features of the identified stylistic groups, we can now map the elements of the image into these groups.

Deconstructing the Horseman's Image

Textual evidence is usually more telling and provides better material for deconstruction because of its relative ease of separation into discrete elements (letters, syllables, words). Maybe this is why the structuralist analysis was proposed by Levy-Strauss for text first (1963), and only later transferred to the deconstruction of art. However, in our case, the inscription on the dish is not an unambiguous guide. Quite the opposite: it led the scholars to an erroneous conclusion. Indeed, the Pehlevi inscription on the dish is one of the most interesting elements of the object. On one hand, it is the most “clear” element, being a text and not an image. On the other hand, it is potentially the most misleading evidence. As explained in Ремпель and Пугаченкова (1982), the inscriptions on objects from Central Asia do not always correspond to the stylistic type of the object itself. The Russian academic Galina Pugachenkova identified four combinations: Sogdian style with Sogdian inscriptions, Sogdian style with two types of inscriptions: Sogdian and Near Eastern, not Sogdian style but with Sogdian inscriptions, and not Sogdian in style with Sogdian and/or Persian inscriptions. Our dish seems to belong to the fourth group. But what is written? It has been identified that the name on the dish is not the one of the craftsman, but that of the owner. Moreover, the early Islamic origin of the name helped to date the dish as 8th-9th century as opposed to the previously suggested period of 6th-7th.

Now let us turn to the image. Scholars have discovered that *the turned back posture* of the horseman is a nomadic feature found on the art pieces with Turkic, i.e. Northeastern, influence, while the Persian horsemen usually face forward (Ремпель и Пугаченкова, 1959). On the other hand, lions do not live in Central Asia, thus they should have come from the closest location – South Asia. The “royal” status of lions in the Sasanian art and the striking compositional similarity of the animal on both images (Fig 1 and Fig 2) has probably led the earlier scholars to the wrong association.

Upon looking closer at the horseman, his facial features (Fig. 1) appear quite different from that of a Persian man (Fig. 2) and are much similar to the Sogdian terracotta from Afrasiab: a full-face and not a profile position of the head, a lack of beard and, most importantly, a lack of headdress (crown). In art history there are no examples of a Persian king or nobleman depicted with a casual ribbon on his head. The argument that such objects might not have survived is not acceptable because the lack of a crown as a status symbol would have undermined the whole glorifying spirit of royal Persian art.

Additionally, the horseman's face (Fig. 1) has a peaceful, removed expression, which is quite uncharacteristic for a solemn and determined attitude of the Persian figures. However, it is rather similar to the Bactrian images in which the Hellenistic lack of expression⁵ is mixed with the Buddhist peacefulness.

⁵ Gombrich (1960) argues that the aesthetic beauty of the classical Greek images comes from the lack of expression on their faces.

The straight sword attached to the double metal belt and accompanied by a short dagger is a known element of the Sogdian style as seen on other silver dishes and mural paintings in Pandjikent (Ремпель и Пугаченкова, 1965). But the conclusive evidence is in the fact that *the horse has stirrups* that only appeared in 6th – 7th century among the Turkic peoples of Central Asia and was unknown to the Sasanians (Ремпель и Пугаченкова, 1959). Finally, the whole theme of the composition is quite different: instead of the victorious pathos of a superior king over the beast, our dish tells a story of what might be a real hunting episode. While the horseman got busy with the lion, the wounded wild boar is escaping his fate.

Indeed, the beginning of feudalism in Central Asia gave rise to a new knightly class of *dihkans* for whom the elegant dress code depicted on the dish seems quite appropriate, unlike the formal figures on Sasanian images. For the *dihkans*, hunting was no longer a challenge - it was an entertainment (Ремпель и Пугаченкова, 1959).

Pugachenkova and Rempel (1959) took their connotational analysis even further. They suggest, citing textual evidence from a medieval Chinese encyclopedia, that it might have been a representation of a pre-Islamic festival, Mihrjan, that was popular in Samarkand, whereby young men were competing in bow shooting and the winner got the title of “king” for a day. Alternatively, they suggest, it could have been the epic hero Ramin from the poem “Visa and Ramin”⁶. I would have probably not have gone this far, as there is no concrete evidence pointing to these specific feasts, but just conclude the case by calling the image “*A Sogdian Hunter*”. To double-check this conclusion, we can verify that this attribution places our object in a logical place in the evolutionary chain of the hunting scenes between 5th and 10th centuries CE in the region of Central Asia and Iran.

The Evolution of the Hunting Scene during 5th and 10th Centuries CE

The Sogdian fellow fits quite well in to the evolutionary chain of horseman images on Fig. 4. The naturalistic fervor of the Hephthalite hunter is replaced by the posing celebratory stance of the Sasanian king (A), followed by a more realistic hunter in a double-horned headdress (B-C). Although this last dish has inscriptions in Sogdian (Ремпель и Пугаченкова, 1982), it is not yet Sogdian by style; the hunter is still quite royal, bearded and has the typical Persian profile. The situation is reversed in our subject dish where the style is Sogdian but the inscription is in Persian Pehlevi (D). However, it is worth remembering the historical factors of that time, when Persian was the language of choice for the administration. Suddenly all the pieces of the puzzle fit together and we can consider our case closed and well supported.

Finally, the last picture represents a piece from the Islamic times (E). The change is remarkable. Although the level of craftsmanship is quite high, the image looks more like a cartoon. The horse has stopped galloping. The hunter’s arms are twisted rather unnaturally. He looks idealistically content, rather than tense (which you should normally expect from a hunter). The lions lost their animalistic nature; one of them is even laughing under the feet of the horse. The old steppe, antique, Sasanian, and even recent

⁶ One of the oldest surviving Persian romances, ascribed to Nizami of Samarkand.

Sogdian influences were being replaced by the Islamic tendencies which shy away from the naturalistic representation of animated creatures. The realistically depicted mythical creatures of the antiquities are substituted with the schematic visuals of real men and animals.

Soon, we will not find the hunting scene on murals and metal objects in the orthodox Islamic milieu. But it will not disappear completely: it would vagabond away into manuscripts and will find its asylum in the regions with a more tolerant attitude towards human representation.

Conclusion

In this paper I have attempted to analyze the reasons for the misidentification of a silver dish from the Hermitage Museum representing a hunting scene. Drawing upon the advanced western art historian methodologies and Russian theories of eternal images and vagabond motives, I have suggested a probabilistic approach to the deconstruction, interpretation and attribution of the elements of the image to a particular style, period, and place. The object chosen for this paper came from a crossroads of cultures and thus proved to be a good material for such an analysis. This analysis has demonstrated that unlike in mathematics, the simplest explanation is not always the best. The analysis of an art object should take into consideration the long and arduous road leading to its inception: the multitude of the external influences exerted on the creator and the receiver of the art piece and their corresponding context. These influences can be decoded by analyzing the signs that an object conceals in itself but is ready to reveal to an inquisitive mind.

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Figure 1: A Silver Dish in Hermitage Collection



Figure 2: *Sassanian Dish in Hermitage Collection*

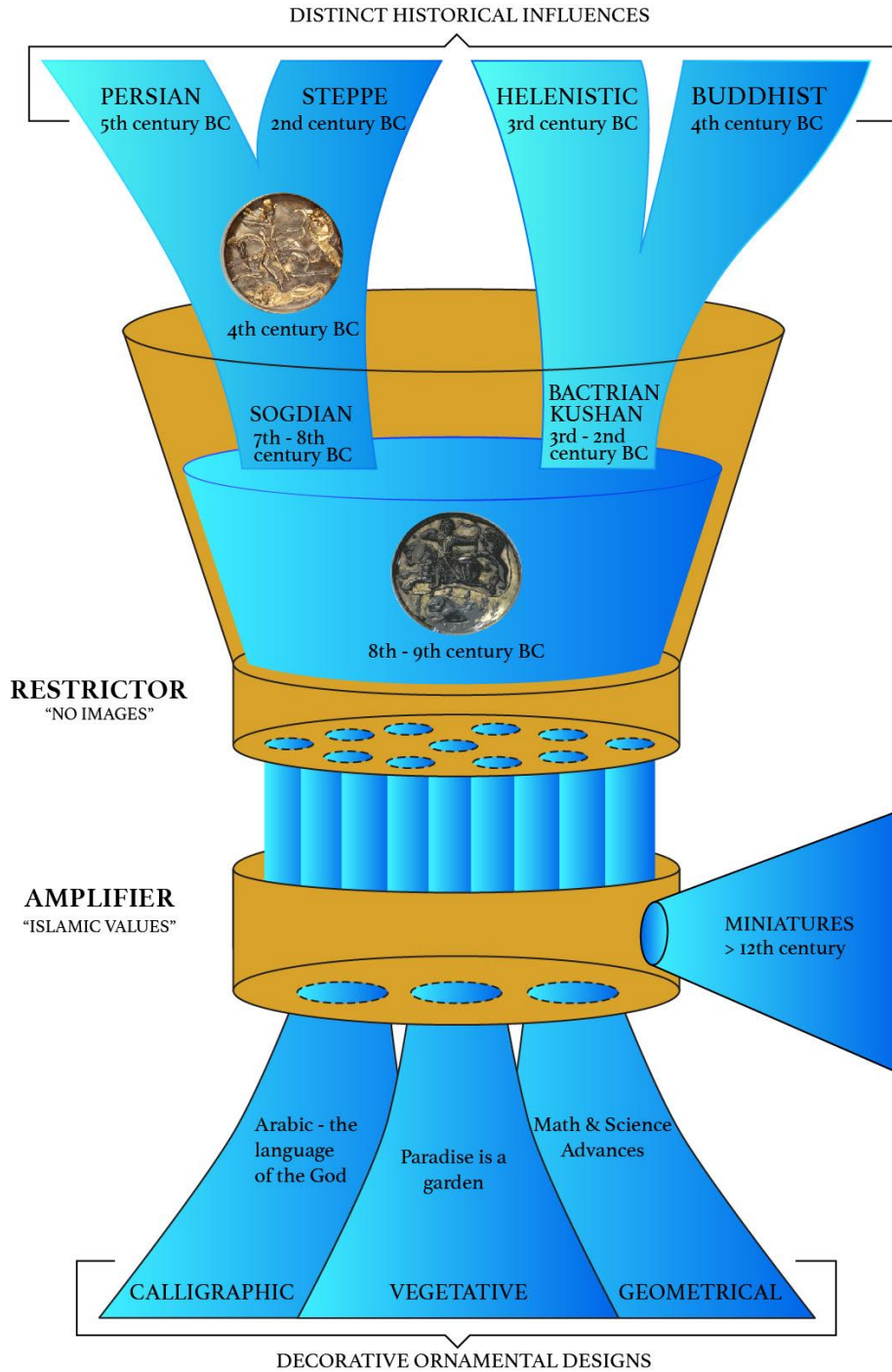


Figure 3: Stylistic Groups in the Near East. Source: developed by the author



A. Sasanian style, IV c



B. Sasanian style, VI c



C. Transitional style, VI-VIIc



D. Sogdian style, VIII-IX c



E. Islamic style, IX-X c

Figure 4: *Evolution of the Hunting Scene in the Near East*

SAḤŪRI WALA TBŪRI
ELATIVE STRUCTURES IN COLLOQUIAL PALESTINIAN ARABIC PROVERBS

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Abstract. Elative structures are very frequent in old Arabic proverbs and in colloquial Arabic proverbs as well. The structure “*X wala Y*” is one of the most frequent and special elative structures in Arabic proverbs in general. The primary goal of this article is to introduce this structure and its specificity, considering the other elative structures which were found in Palestinian Arabic (PA) proverbs, and in Standard Arabic (SA) proverbs.

Keywords: *Proverb; Elative structure; Palestinian Arabic; Brevity; Symmetry; Rhyme.*

1. Introduction

Researchers have studied the art of proverbs from different points of view, such as the literary, the cultural, the social, and the political. However, we notice that syntactic studies of proverbs are quite few, in comparison with studies of other aspects.

In classical times, several linguists and grammarians introduced proverbs as evidence to support grammatical or syntactic questions or as illustrations for certain syntactic or grammatical issues¹, but they did not devote special independent studies to the structure of proverbs.

Today, we witness the appearance of a number of specialized studies focusing on the syntax of proverbs, such as *al-’amtālu al-’arabiyyatu: dirāsatuṅ naḥwiyyatun* (Ṣaqr 2000), and *al-Ḥaḍfu fī l-maṭali l-’arabiyyi* (al-Hammuz 1984). These two researchers depend on *Maḡma’u l-’amtāli* by *al-Maydānī* (d. 518/ 1124). Other syntactic studies deal with popular Egyptian² and Moroccan³ proverbs. It is noteworthy that the syntactic research of proverbs has gained a lot of interest among researchers in languages other than Arabic.

The absence of a study that is devoted fully to the syntactic structures of colloquial PA proverbs motivated me to conduct such a study for my M.A. degree. Through my study, I found that proverbs can be divided into various categories and patterns according to their structures, such as: exception sentences, vocative sentences and elative sentences (Khatib-Aqil 2007: 51-135).

This article is devoted to studying the elative proverbial sentences according to the results of my mentioned study, compared to elative proverbial sentences in SA according to *al-Maydānī*’s collection *Maḡma’u l-’amtāli*.

¹ See in this context: *al-Ma’arrī* 2002.

² See for example: Ghaly 2000.

³ See for example: Bergman 1992.

The SA proverbs data was taken from *al-Maydānī*'s collection, *Mağma'u l-'amṭāli*, which contains more than six thousand proverbs. PA proverbs data of this research was taken from the collection of the proverbs that the priest Said Abboud Ashqar collected in the first half of the twentieth century and published under the title *aṭ-Ṭurfatu l-bāhijatu fī l-'amṭāli wa l-ḥikami l-'arabiyyati d-dārījati*. In addition to this version, this collection was published in Germany, under the title: *5000 arabische Sprichwörter aus Palästina*, with a special glossary entitled: *Glossar zu den 5000 Arabische Sprichwörter aus Palästina*. This collection contains more than five thousand proverbs, which constitute a rich treasure for researchers in different domains⁴.

2. Findings

There are three structures of elative proverbs, as shown in the following table:

Table 1

	Structures	Examples in SA	Examples in PA
1	' <i>af^{al}</i> min X	أخفّ من فراشة ' <i>axaffu min farāšatin</i> Lighter than the butterfly	أرخص من الفجل ' <i>arxaṣ min il-feğil</i> Cheaper than the radish
2	X ' <i>af^{al}</i> min Y	ترك الذنّب أيسر من طلب التّوبة <i>tarku d-danbi 'aysaru min ṭalabi t-tawbati</i> Leaving the sin is easier than asking repentance	الوقوع في البلاء أهون من استنظاره <i>li-wqū^c fī l-bala 'ahwan min 'stindāru</i> Getting in a bad situation is easier than waiting for it
3	X <i>wala</i> Y	ركوب الخنافس ولا المشي على الطّنافس <i>rukūbu l-xanāfisi walā l-mašyu 'ala ṭ-ṭanāfisi</i> Riding beetles is better than walking on thin rugs	مشتراة العبد ولا ترباته <i>muštarāt 'l-'abid wala tirbātu</i> Buying the slave is better than growing him

The first structure is composed of the elative form '*af^{al}*, and a prepositional phrase that begins with the preposition *min*. The second structure is a nominal sentence having the first structure as a predicate. The third structure consists of two phrases or clauses linked with the elative particle *wala*. This structure has the meaning of the elative although it doesn't contain the elative form '*af^{al}*.

The three structures exist in SA and PA as well, yet their frequency is different. The following table describes this difference according to the collections of *al-Maydāni* and *Ashqar*:

⁴ For more details about this collection, see: Khatib-Aqil 2007: 44-47.

Table 2

	Structures	Number of elative proverbs <i>al-Maydānī</i>	Number of elative proverbs <i>Ashqar</i>
1	' <i>afal min X</i>	910	31
2	<i>X 'afal min Y</i>	74	59
3	<i>X wala Y</i>	5	111

This table shows that the most well-known elative structure in SA proverb literature is '*afal min X*. Goitein (1952) noted that the use of this structure is rare today in comparison with the past. This claim supports the results of the current research⁵. It is worthwhile mentioning that some of the 31 proverbs of this structure in *Ashqar*'s collection are in SA.

The second structure, *X 'afal min Y*, exists in PA and SA as well. It is worthwhile to mention, also, that this structure is the elative structure used in non-proverbial sentences in SA and PA as well.

PA prefers the *X wala Y* structure, while it is very rare in SA. The *al-Maydānī* collection has five proverbs corresponding to the *X wala Y* type in PA, three of them having the particle *lā* instead of *walā*, as shown below:

- (1) به لا بطبي أعر
bihi lā bi-ḍabyin 'afara
Occurring to him is better than occurring to a white elk
- (2) به لا بكلب نابح بالسباب
bihi lā bi-kalbin nābiḥin bi-s-sabāyibi
Occurring to him is better than occurring to a barking dog
- (3) التجلد ولا التبد
at-taḡalludu walā at-taballudu
Endurance is better than insensitivity
- (4) جدك لا كدك
ḡidduka lā kadduka
To be serious is better than working hard
- (5) ركوب الخنافس ولا المشي على الطنافس
rukūbu l-xanāfisi walā l-mašyu 'alā ṭ-tanāfisi
Riding beetles is better than walking on thin rugs

al-Maydānī interprets and deals with these proverbs as declarative ones, and he did not mention the elative meaning in his interpretation of these five proverbs⁶.

The particle *walā*, in these proverbs, is composed of the additive conjunction *wa* and the negative morpheme *lā*. It primarily indicates the declarative meaning in SA

⁵ See also: *Nāḍer* 1996: 39.

⁶ See *al-Maydānī*, V1: 117, 175, 215, 391.

proverbs⁷, but it is used as an elative particle in PA proverbs and has the same meaning as the structure: *'af'al min*.

The *X wala Y* structure became a proper elative structure in PA proverbs, as indicated in the former table.

Bergman dealt with this structure in her research about the syntax of the Moroccan proverbs. She claims that the elative meaning in these proverbs is not only via the particle *wala*, but by the semantic opposition within the two sides of the elative (Bergman 1992: 110).

3. Main characteristics of the *X wala Y* proverbs in PA

Brevity and popularity are considered by classical Arabic scholars the main characteristics in their definitions of the proverb (Khatib-Aqil 2007: 30). They maintain that the proverb is a brief sentence that is popular among the people. Each scholar tried to add additional information and descriptions to these two aspects of the definition. However, none of them has reached a conclusive and unified definition for the proverb, which can be accepted as complete and accurate in all cases.

Linguistically, proverbs are characterized by their special and peculiar lexical combination and structure, and by the rhetorical effects that result from their use of rhyming, metonymy, paronomasia, metaphors, and parallelism. However, these features are not cardinal in the art of proverbs, as we find many proverbs that have no such characteristics.

There are three main characteristics of the *X wala Y* proverb structure in PA: symmetry, rhyme and brevity. In the following sections, these characteristics are specified.

3.1 Symmetry

The two phrases or clauses which are linked by the particle *wala* are primarily symmetric:

- (1) زَبَالَ الْمَدَنِ وَلَا سُلْطَانَ الْقَرَايَا
zabbāl 'l-mudun wala sulṭān 'l-qarāya
Cities' dustman is better than villages' sultan
- (2) جَارِكَ الْقَرِيبِ وَلَا أَخُوكَ الْبَعِيدِ
ḡārak 'l-qarīb wala 'axūk li-b'īd
Your close neighbor is better than your distant brother
- (3) الرَّيْحَةُ وَلَا الْعَدَمُ
ir-rīḥa wala l-'adam
The smell is better than nothingness

⁷ There are other 14 *X wala Y* or *X lā Y* proverbs in *al-Maydāni* collection, but they are not elative proverbs (See *al-Maydāni*, V1: 81, 124, 156, 217, 265, 286, 334, 347, 378; V2: 21, 323, 324, 325 459).

- (4) ساحوري ولا تبوري
saḥūri wala tbūri
 A Saḥūri is better than staying without marriage

- (5) شَبَّ فِي السُّوقِ وَلَا مَالٌ فِي الصَّنْدُوقِ
šabb fi s-sūq wala māl fi ṣ-ṣandūq

A young man in the market is better than money in the box

The two phrases or clauses linked with the particle *wala* are primarily symmetrical.

The first proverb, for example, contains two symmetric phrases: *zabbāl 'l-mudun* and *sulṭān 'l-qarāya*.

The two phrases in the following proverb are not symmetric:

- (1) مشترة العبد ولا تربيته
muštarāt 'l-ʿabid wala tirbātu
 Buying the slave is better than growing him

The linked pronoun in *tirbātu* is necessary here to obtain a coherent sentence, which is why the two phrases of this proverb are not symmetric.

3.2 Rhyme

The two phrases or clauses of *X wala Y* proverbs are mostly rhymed:

- (1) شَبَّ فِي السُّوقِ وَلَا مَالٌ فِي الصَّنْدُوقِ
šabb fi s-sūq wala māl fi ṣ-ṣandūq

A young man in the market is better than money in the box

- (2) بالمال ولا بالعيال
bi-l-māl wala bi-li-ʿyāl

Bad thing occurring with money is better than them occurring with family members

- (3) ساحوري ولا تبوري
saḥūri wala tbūri

A Saḥūri is better than staying without marriage

In the first proverb, the use of the word *ṣandūq* is to be rhymed with the main word in the proverb, *sūq*. This proverb includes financial advice: money can be saved and increased by doing business, and not by keeping it in a box. The word *sūq* belongs to the semantic field of finance, and the word *ṣandūq* is suggestive of the idea of keeping the money without using it; and while there are several words which can be used in this context and provide the same meaning, such as *ḡēbe* (pocket), or *xazne* (safe) or *bēt* (house), etc., the word *ṣandūq* was preferred here to be rhymed with the word *sūq*.

The other two proverbs are rhymed also. The phrase *bi-li-ʿyāl* in the second proverb was preferred to be rhymed with the phrase *bi-l-māl*. This phrase could be replaced with another one, like *bi-li-wlād* (occurrence with children), but this one was chosen because it is rhymed with *bi-l-māl*.

In the third proverb, the word *tbūri* was chosen to be rhymed with the word *saḥūri*, and it was preferred to the word *tʿannsi* which has the same meaning⁸.

Not all the *X wala Y* proverbs are totally rhymed. Some of them are in a state of assonance:

- (1) جارك القريب ولا أخوك البعيد
ġārak 'l-qarīb wala 'axūk li-b'ēd
 Your close neighbor better than your far brother

In this proverb, the two words *qarīb* and *b'ēd* are not rhymed, but they have the same form: *fa'ēl / f'ēl*.

3.3 Brevity

In general, *X wala Y* proverbs tend to be brief:

- (1) ساحوري ولا تبيوري
saḥūri wala tbūri
 A Saḥūri is better than staying without marriage
- (2) بالمال ولا بالعيال (2) بالمال ولا
bi-l-māl wala bi-li-ʿyāl
 Bad thing occurring with money is better than them occurring with family members
- (3) الرّيحة ولا العدم
ir-rīḥa wala l-ʿadam
 The smell is better than nothingness

The first proverb contains only two words in addition to the elative particle *wala*. The well-known elative structure helps the listeners/readers to understand the meaning of the proverb, in spite of the small number of words in it.

The language user can understand that this proverb means: To marry a person from *Bēt Saḥūr*⁹ is better than staying unmarried, although the proverb doesn't contain the word *zawāġ*. The verb *tbūri* and, in general, the adjective *bāyre*, are used to describe a woman who became old but is not yet married. Using this verb and using the elative structure make the hearer of the proverbs understand that the first part in the proverb, *saḥūri*, means *ḡto* marry a person from *Bēt Saḥūrḡ*.

The brevity of the second proverb is made clear by using the two prepositional phrases without a main verb or adverb. The hearer can understand the meaning of the occurrence of a bad thing without mentioning this. The context and the popularity of the proverb help it to be brief and understood.

In the third proverb, the word *ir-rīḥa* indicates a small amount of something. The

⁸ The verb *bārat* is used in PA to mean "didn't marry" (See: *al-Bargūti* 2001: 200).

⁹ *Bēt Saḥūr* is located close to Bethlehem, and people from this village have a reputation for being stupid or uneducated (See: *Ashqar* 1933: 101).

brevity of this proverb is manifested by the use of only two nouns in addition to the elative particle *wala*.

On the other side, it should be noted that it is not accurate to measure the brevity of the proverb by counting the number of words that it consists of, but one should take into consideration the amount and quality of information that the proverb conveys. We might consider a certain proverb as ‘brief’ or ‘concise’ because it contains a relatively large number of words, but it might also include much information and meaning that cannot be summarized in fewer words. We are likely to be mistaken in our judgment if we follow this criterion.

4. Summary and conclusions

The article introduced the elative proverb structures in PA compared to their parallels in SA. The research shows that there are three elative structures in PA and SA as well:

- a. *'af^{al} min X*
- b. *X 'af^{al} min Y*
- c. *X wala Y*

The first structure is more frequent in SA, while the third structure is more frequent in PA. The frequency of the second structure is almost identical in both levels of language.

Most of the elative proverbs in PA are *X wala Y* proverbs. These proverbs are characterized in their symmetry, rhyme and brevity. All these three characteristics are quite noticeable in the proverb: *saḥūri wala tbūri*.

The elative structure *X wala Y* is very rare in SA. This can be explained by the extreme popularity of *'af^{al} min X* as the main elative proverbial structure. PA and other dialects adopted the *X wala Y* elative structure, and its three aforementioned characteristics make it more popular and familiar.

It is worthwhile to notice that the elative structure *'af^{al} min X* is brief also, but its use is limited to the cases of talking about someone or something, who is compared to the information mentioned in the proverb.

The structure *X 'af^{al} min Y* is very similar to the structure *'af^{al} min X*, but it is more extensive and exhibits both terms of comparison. The *X wala Y* structure exhibits both terms of comparison also, but it is more brief than the *X 'af^{al} min Y* structure.

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ICONICITY IN ARABIC GRAMMATICAL TRADITION: AL-SUHAYLĪ ON THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN FORM AND MEANING¹

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Abstract: Iconicity, the correspondence between form and meaning, was seldom discussed in Arabic grammatical tradition. The grammarian best known for his interest in this issue in Arabic is Ibn Jinnī. Here it will be demonstrated that iconicity is even more prominent in the thought of another grammarian, the Andalusian al-Suhaylī.

The present paper will analyze linguistic phenomena which al-Suhaylī explains as iconic. It will be shown that not only did al-Suhaylī's use of iconic explanations exceed what one generally encounters in the writings of Arab grammarians, both in extent and explicitness, but also that for him iconicity is deeply grounded in a philosophical-theological principle, linked with his view on the origin of language.

It will be argued that within the Arab grammarians' framework of linguistic "causes" (*'ilal*), iconic explanations are, by definition, "ultimate", as they need no further explanation.

Keywords: *Arabic Grammatical Tradition, Iconicity, Sound-Symbolism, Origin of Language, al-Suhaylī, Ibn Jinnī, Sībawayhi.*

*Le signe linguistique est arbitraire*²
*al-lafẓ jasad wa-l-ma'nā rūḥ*³

1. Introduction

As is well known, the "arbitrariness of the linguistic sign", i.e. the lack of a natural connection between the signifier and the signified, constitutes one of the most celebrated principles of Saussurian linguistics. The concept of "sœur", for instance, is said to have no inner relationship with the sound sequence *s-ö-r*. Possible exceptions are onomatopoeic words and interjections, which are, for Saussure, of secondary importance and whose symbolic origin is partly contestable.⁴ However, the principle of arbitrariness of the linguistic sign was never universally accepted; philosophers as well as linguists have adhered to the idea that cases of iconicity, that is, of a correspondence between form

¹A concise version of this paper was read at the 39th Annual *MEISAI* Conference, University of Haifa, 14 May 2015.

²Saussure 1995: 100.

³See Sec. 3 below.

⁴Saussure 1995: 100-102. On absolute vs. relative arbitrariness, e.g. "dix-neuf" see *ibid.*, 180-84 (see also *ibid.*, 221 ff.). See also Jakobson 1965: 24-25; Lyons 1977: 100-101; Van Langendonck 2007: 394-95; Magnus 2013: 201-2. But see Joseph 2015.

and meaning,⁵ are more widespread in language than Saussure was (probably) ready to admit.⁶

Arab grammarians seldom discussed iconicity *per se*⁷ although, as we shall see in the course of this study, iconic ideas pop up sporadically in their writings. The grammarian best known for his interest in iconicity in Arabic is Ibn Jinnī (d. 1002), who dedicated three chapters in his celebrated *al-Ḥaṣāʾiṣ* to this topic.⁸ In the present study it will be shown that iconicity is prominent in the thought of another grammarian, Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Suhaylī (d. 1185),⁹ recognized as an innovative mind by both medieval grammarians and modern scholars, among them Baalbaki, who dedicated an article to his "innovative approach to the theory of regimen" (sc. ʿamal, syntactic effect).¹⁰

In the present article I will first discuss, in Section 2, linguistic phenomena which al-Suhaylī explains as iconic. Most of these cases are found in al-Suhaylī's main grammatical treatise, *Natāʾij al-fikr fī al-naḥw* and one example is taken from a miscellaneous collection, published under the title *Masāʾil fī al-naḥw wa-l-luġa wa-l-ḥadīth wa-l-fiqh*.¹¹ The present author maintains that in the study of Arabic grammatical tradition, modern notions and theories should only be utilized with the aim of shedding light on that tradition, and this methodological principle will be followed here. It should be emphasized that the present study belongs to the field of history of ideas, specifically, the history of Arabic grammatical thought, and not to linguistics of Arabic *per se* (students of iconicity might, of course, find interest in al-Suhaylī's ideas presented here). Needless to say, no criticism will be leveled here at al-Suhaylī's ideas, far-fetched as they may be.

Whereas Section 2 will demonstrate that al-Suhaylī's use of iconic explanations exceeds what one generally encounters in the writings of Arab grammarians, Section 3 will show that he also grounded this notion in a philosophical-theological principle, linked with his view on the origin of language.

Finally, in Section 4, a broader point of view will be taken, that of the ʿilal framework in Arabic grammatical thought; the question will be raised as to how iconicity fits in the (more conventional) grammarians' methods of explaining linguistic phenomena.

⁵This is the sense in which the term "iconicity" will be used here. Cf. Lyons 1977: 70-71, 102 ff.; Haiman 2000: 282; Van Langendonck 2007: 394 ff.; Cruse 2011: 11.

⁶See e.g. Jakobson 1965: 25 ff.; Jakobson & Waugh. 1987: 181 ff., and the studies mentioned throughout the following pages (and the references therein).

⁷See Versteegh 2009: 286.

⁸See Mehiri 1973: 257-58; Versteegh 1987: 46; 1997: 110-11; 2009: 287. Other types of form-meaning correspondences (which will not be dealt with here) are discussed outside grammatical thought, e.g. assignment of natural properties to letters and gematria, as well as the association of meaning with letters or with letter names; see Versteegh 1997: 97 ff.; Ryding 1997 (I would like to thank Prof. Tzvi Langermann for referring me to this article); Böwering 2011.

⁹For biographical details, see al-Bannā 1985: esp. 43 ff.; Raven 2004.

¹⁰Baalbaki 1999, and see the discussion and references in *ibid.*, 24-25.

¹¹Some of these were gathered in al-Bannā 1985: 204 ff. and *passim.*, where al-Suhaylī is merely quoted or summarized, without the analysis which his theories require and deserve.

2. Iconic Explanations in al-Suhaylī's Writings

In this section I will discuss the linguistic phenomena explained by al-Suhaylī as iconic. For this notion, of correspondence between form and meaning, al-Suhaylī uses the expressions *mušākala* (also: *tašākul*),¹² *muṭābaqa*,¹³ *muwāzana*¹⁴ and *muwāzāh*;¹⁵ the form is also said to be *tābi*⁶ (or *taba*⁶) of the meaning.¹⁶

2.1. Iconicity of Distance

This type of iconicity can be formulated as "the distance between expressions corresponds to the conceptual distance between the ideas they represent", or "meanings that belong together more closely semantically are expressed by more cohesive forms". An illustration is the differentiation between "I hear him sing(ing)" and "I hear that he sings/is singing": the first is claimed to be used for "direct perception", the second for "indirect perception".¹⁷

This principle is utilized in al-Suhaylī's discussion on the derivation of the finite verb from the verbal noun (*maṣdar*).¹⁸ The point of departure of the discussion is the annexation of a verbal noun to the so-called subjective genitive, e.g. *a⁶jabanī ḥurūju zaydin* "Zayd's going out pleased me". Now, if the *fā⁶il*¹⁹ of the event (*ḥadaṭ*, denoted by the verbal noun) is to function as the subject,²⁰ al-Suhaylī states, this construction is inappropriate, since the *fā⁶il*, viz. the logical subject, takes the genitive here and formally follows another constituent, while it should, in fact, take the nominative and precede, just like the nominal subject (*al-mubtada*⁷).²¹ At this stage, al-Suhaylī considers another

¹²al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Beirut), 43, 83, 101, 140, 153, 254, 312 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Riyadh), 55, 108, 131, 180-81, 197, 327, 406. See also al-Suhaylī, *Masā²il*, 92.

¹³al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Beirut), 43, 83 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Riyadh), 55, 108. See also al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Beirut), 100 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Riyadh), 130 (*taṭābuq*).

¹⁴al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Beirut), 83, 90, 140 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Riyadh), 108, 115, 181.

¹⁵al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Beirut), 249, 251, 252 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Riyadh), 321, 323, 324. One of the last two terms is possibly a corruption of the other.

¹⁶al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Beirut), 54, 59, 62, 77-78 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Riyadh), 67, 74, 78, 99-100. Cf. al-Jurjānī's similar expressions, discussed in Baalbaki 1999: 50-51.

¹⁷For discussions and further illustrations of this iconic principle, see Haiman 1983; 2000: 284-87; 2008; Van Langendonck 2007: 405-7 (see also the discussion on "adjacency", *ibid.*, 409-410); Cruse 2011: 11; Croft 2008. But cf. Haspelmath 2008: 2, 15 ff. (where a distinction is made between "distance" and "cohesion").

¹⁸This is a well-known *Streitfrage* between the Baṣrans and the Kūfans. For an overview and references, see Vidro & Kasher 2014: 231.

¹⁹Note the use (common in Arabic grammatical tradition in general; see Kasher 2012) of the term *fā⁶il* for both the verbal subject (more specifically, the subject of active verbs) and the subjective genitive. Moreover, it is used not only for syntactic positions, but also in the everyday sense of 'doer'; it is thus what Peled (1999) terms a 'metagrammatical intuitive term': its semantic scope covers both its meaning as a technical term and the underlying everyday concept.

²⁰On the term *muḥbar* ⁶*anhu*, see Goldenberg 1988: 46 ff.

²¹The nominative case of the subject is discussed in al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Beirut), 312 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā²ij* (Riyadh), 406 (see 2.8 below). The formal precedence of the *mubtada*⁷ is not discussed there, but may

hypothetical construction, where a particle (*ḥarf*) would be introduced to the *fāʿil*, in order to denote that it is the subject, since particles generally indicate meanings in nouns.²² But this solution is also rejected, as it would create a formal separation between the *fāʿil* and the (noun denoting the) event (i.e. the verbal noun); such a separation between the event and its *fāʿil* (i.e. the doer, the subject's denotatum) is impossible, the former being the latter's movement, just as it is impossible to separate (in extra-linguistic reality) between a movement and its substrate (*maḥall*). Separation, al-Suhaylī maintains, should not occur in the form, for form follows meaning.²³

Elsewhere, al-Suhaylī infers from the very same analogy that just as movement cannot occur by itself but must be linked to its substrate, the verb must be linked to its subject rather than to its object; thus, it is as if the subject pronoun in *ḍarabtu* "I hit" is one of the verb's *ḥurūf*.²⁴ Although al-Suhaylī does not explain the difference between subject pronominal suffixes, e.g. *-tu*, and object pronominal suffixes, e.g. *-hu* in *ḍarabtuhu* "I hit him", it is frequently discussed in Arabic grammatical writings, in which the following line of argument is used: The final vowel *a* of the perfect verb (e.g. *ḍaraba* "he hit") is elided before subject pronominal suffixes beginning with *CV*, due to a rule prohibiting a sequence of four *CVs* in one word (i.e. *ḍaraba + tu ->ḍarabtu*); this elision is an indicator that the subject pronominal suffix is construed as part of the word. In contrast, this rule of elision does not apply to object pronominal suffixes (e.g. *ḍarabaka* "he hit you"), which indicates that they are not construed as part of the word.²⁵ Moreover, in line with his abovementioned rejection of the possibility of attaching a particle to the verbal subject, al-Suhaylī now shows that such a particle is sometimes attached to the object – the so called *al-lām li-taqwiyat al-ʿāmil* (lit. "the *lām* of strengthening the operator", or simply "*lām al-taqwiya*") – e.g. *ḍarbu zaydin li-ʿamrin* (alongside *ḍarbu zaydin ʿamran*, both meaning "Zayd's hitting ʿAmr");²⁶ the verb cannot be formally separated from its subject, just as it is inseparable from it in meaning.²⁷

be inferred from his words *muqaddam fī al-rutba* ("precedes with respect to degree" – see the discussion in 2.2 below).

²²On this widely-held conception of particles among the Arab grammarians, see Guillaume 1988: 28.

²³al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 53-54 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 67-68. The sequel of the text does not pertain to the present discussion; in short, since both options are excluded (annexation and introduction of a particle), if one wishes to use the *fāʿil* as subject it is inevitable to derive from the *maṣdar* some form which would indicate a meaning in something else (just like a particle), and whose relationship with this noun would be analogous to annexation. This derived form is the finite verb. See 2.3 below.

²⁴The term *ḥarf* (in the phonetic/phonological sense) basically corresponds to "consonant". However, long vowels are regarded in Arabic grammatical tradition as sequences of a short vowel and a glide, the latter being a *ḥarf*: *ī* is analyzed as a short *i* (*kasra*) followed by a vowelless *yāʾ*, regarded as a *ḥarf*, thus *iy*; *ū* is analyzed as a short *u* (*ḍamma*) followed by a vowelless *wāw*, another *ḥarf*, i.e. *uw*; and *ā* as a short vowel *a* (*fatha*) followed by an *alif*, which is also regarded as a *ḥarf*, this sequence being often symbolized in Western writings as *aʾ*. See Bohas, Guillaume & Kouloughli 1990: 98-99, n. 3; Goldenberg 1994; Versteegh 2003.

²⁵See e.g. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Asrār*, 80-81.

²⁶On this *li*- see Wright 1896-98: I, 61 ff.; Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī*, III, 190 ff.

²⁷al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 297 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 387-88.

2.2. Iconicity of Order

Linguists do not restrict this type of iconicity to the obvious correspondence between order of elements and order of events (e.g. "Veni, vidi, vici"); also included here are other notions, such as priority (e.g. "the President and the Secretary of State attended the meeting") and closeness to the speaker (e.g. "Here and there"), as well as the predominant precedence of the subject over the object.²⁸

At the syntactic level, al-Suhaylī discusses at length a principle according to which formal precedence (mostly of one of two conjuncts) corresponds to mental precedence, i.e. in meaning, which latter is of five (not mutually exclusive) types:²⁹

- (1) Temporal precedence, for example, *ʿādīn wa-ṭamūda* (e.g. Q. 41: 13),³⁰ ʿĀd and Ṭamūd being two well-known ancient tribes, mentioned here according to their relative chronology.³¹
- (2) Natural precedence, for example in numerals, e.g., *maṭnā wa-ṭulāta wa-rubāʿa* "two at a time, three at a time, four at a time" (Q. 4: 3).³²
- (3) Precedence with respect to degree, for example, *yaʿtūka rijālan wa-ʿalā kulli dāmīrin* "they (sc. the pilgrims) will come unto thee on foot and on every lean camel"³³ (Q. 22: 27). This verse, according to al-Suhaylī's interpretation, displays gradation with respect to distance: those who come "on foot" come from a close place, whereas those who come "on every lean camel" come from far away.³⁴
- (4) Precedence with respect to causation, for example, *yuhibbu l-tawwābīna wa-yuhibbu l-mutaṭahhirīna* "God loves those who repent, and He loves those who cleanse themselves"³⁵ (Q. 2: 222), since, al-Suhaylī says, the former notion (*al-tawba*) is the cause of the latter (*al-ṭahāra*).
- (5) Precedence in superiority, honor and perfection, for instance, *al-nabiyyīna wa-l-siddīqīna* "the prophets and the truthful" (Q. 4: 69).³⁶

This entire discussion is, in al-Suhaylī's view, an elaboration of a laconic statement made by Sībawayhi, regarding the preposing of the object to the verbal subject,³⁷ to the effect that the speakers "prepose whatever they are more interested in and concerned to specify, although both [constituents] are of interest and importance to them".³⁸

²⁸See Jakobson 1965: 27 ff.; Lyons 1977: 511, fn. 12; Van Langendonck 2007: 407 ff. Cf. Ibn Jinnī, *al-Ḥaṣāʾiṣ*, II, 162 ff.

²⁹al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 208-215 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 266-75. See also al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 238-39, 240-41, 255 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 306, 309, 330.

³⁰But also: *ṭamūdu wa-ʿādu* (Q. 69: 4); no explanation is furnished for this order.

³¹See Q. 7: 74

³²See Lane 1863-93: I, 348. See also Q. 35: 1.

³³Pickthall 1953: 243.

³⁴Incidentally, al-Suhaylī says that this order can also be interpreted according to the fifth type below.

³⁵Arberry 1964: 31.

³⁶Cf. Peled 2009: 78-79, fn. 27.

³⁷E.g. *ḍaraba zaydan ʿabdu llāhi*.

³⁸This translation of the text of the *Kitāb* is taken from Peled's (2009: 76) extensive discussion of this principle in Sībawayhi's *al-Kitāb* and in Arabic grammatical tradition in general (ibid., 76 ff.). al-

At the morphological level, al-Suhaylī believes that iconicity explains the choice of the place of the augment³⁹ in the word:⁴⁰

The reason, according to al-Suhaylī, why the *yā'* of the diminutive (e.g. the pattern *fuʿayl*) is added inside the word rather than at its end lies in his theory that the place of the augment should correspond to the addition it brings about in meaning. Thus, since the biological distinction between the sexes is specific to an "extremity" (*ṭaraf*),⁴¹ the feminine marker (the so-called *tā' marbūṭa*) is also placed in the extremity of the form. On the other hand, the property of smallness of the body (the noun's denotatum) is not specific to any part of it, hence the marker is augmented inside the word. It is inferred from the discussion that this principle also applies to the augmentation of the *alif* in the "broken" plurals of the *CaCāCiC* patterns (such as the patterns *fawāʿil*, e.g. *ṭawābiq* and *faʿāʿil*, e.g. *rasāʿil*, etc.).⁴²

The order of nouns and their case markers is explained by al-Suhaylī on the grounds of the order of their meanings: it is only after the knowledge of the meaning of the noun itself has been obtained that the meaning of the case marker (this meaning being the syntactic function of the noun⁴³) can be added. The meaning of the case marker is a property, an attribute (*waṣf*), vis-à-vis the meaning of the noun, viz. its denotatum, and this explains why the former should (formally) follow the latter.⁴⁴

al-Suhaylī also applies this principle to the so-called preformatives of the imperfect. He maintains that their augmentation at the beginning of the word indicates that the action (designated by the stem) has not been carried out yet by the *fāʿil*.⁴⁵

al-Suhaylī accounts for the augmentation of *nūn* in Stem VII at the beginning of the form by arguing that the action designated by this pattern is caused by a preceding action

Suhaylī's quotation does not conform with the extant text of the *Kitāb* and is slightly corrupted: *yūqaddimūna fī kalāmihim mā hum/huwa bihi ahammu wa-hum/wa-huwa bi-bayānihi aʿnā wa-in kānā jamīʿan yuhimmānihim wa-yaʿniyānihim* (al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* [Beirut], 208 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* [Riyadh], 266). In the printed editions of the *Kitāb* this text reads: *yūqaddimūna llaḏī bayānuhu ahammu lahum wa-hum bi-bayānihi aʿnā wa-in kānā jamīʿan yuhimmānihim wa-yaʿniyānihim* (Sibawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, I, 11). See also Baalbaki 1999: 51-52.

³⁹The terms affix, prefix, infix and suffix will be avoided here, since some of the elements in question are, in fact, parts of patterns. al-Suhaylī makes no distinction between such elements and affixes.

⁴⁰Cf. Ibn Jinnī's (*al-Ḥaṣāʾiṣ*, II, 153-55) account of the form *istafʿala* (Stem X).

⁴¹On *ṭaraf* referring to genitals, see Lane 1863-93: V, 1843.

⁴²al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Beirut), 70-71 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Riyadh), 89.

⁴³Cf. Versteegh 1995: 104, 126 ff.

⁴⁴al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Beirut), 66 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Riyadh), 82. al-Suhaylī is not the only grammarian who discusses the position of *iʿrāb* markers in the word; an overview of the different opinions is found in Versteegh 1995: 120 (see also Ibn al-Warrāq, *ʿIlal*, 215-19; Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ*, I, 152; Ibn al-Ḥājjib, *Amālī*, II, 822; al-Suhaylī restricts himself to mentioning that [a] different "undesired" opinion[s] regarding this issue exist[s]. Some grammarians adhere to the same view as al-Suhaylī's (or to a very similar one). One of these is al-ʿUkbarī (*Masāʿil*, 75-76), who states that Qutrūb criticized (the same criticism is ascribed by al-Zajjājī [*al-Īdāh*, 76] to Ibn al-Ḥayyāt) an opinion identical with this view, based on the fact that the markers of the diminutive and the ("broken") plural are not augmented at the end of the word but rather inside it; interestingly, one of al-ʿUkbarī's refutations of Qutrūb is virtually identical with al-Suhaylī's theories regarding the issue in question, as well as the augmentation inside the word in the diminutive and the "broken" plural (see above).

⁴⁵al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Beirut), 91 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Riyadh), 117.

on the part of a different *fāʿil*, e.g. *kasartuhu fa-nkasara* "I broke it so it broke";⁴⁶ this is why the *nūn* precedes the radicals,⁴⁷ in line with the general principle of correspondence between the formal order regarding augmentation and the order with respect to meaning. Another such case evoked in this discussion is the abovementioned preformatives. If, on the other hand, the additional meaning "follows", the augment also features at the end; this is also the case with the dual⁴⁸ and the feminine markers (see above).⁴⁹

Still in the realm of verbal patterns, al-Suhaylī mentions, and agrees with, the view that Stem IX (*ifʿalla*) differs from Stem XI (*ifʿālla*) – two patterns which are used for colours and defects – in that the former is utilized only when the colour in question is not mixed with another colour, while the latter is used when such a mixture does take place. al-Suhaylī states that the *alif* is augmented inside the word only for an addition of meaning "inside" the meaning of the word.⁵⁰

2.3 Syntactic Effect Due to Semantic Effect⁵¹

The link between meaning relationship and grammatical operation (*ʿamal*) is not alien to Arabic grammarians.⁵²

According to al-Suhaylī, since the particle denotes a meaning in something else,⁵³ it inevitably operates (*ʿāmil*) on it, due to the principle that form follows meaning: just as the particle adheres,⁵⁴ with respect to meaning, to what it is introduced to, it also adheres to it formally, i.e. operates on it; just as it affects its meaning, it also affects its form.⁵⁵ This also applies to the finite verb,⁵⁶ that is to say, the fact that it denotes a meaning in something else accounts, according to al-Suhaylī, for several properties in which it is similar to the particle, including its syntactic effect on nouns.⁵⁷

⁴⁶This notion is extensively discussed in Larcher 2012: 75 ff. The semi-technical terms used by al-Suhaylī for this notion (*istidʿāʾ wa-sabab* and *manʿ wa-istidʿāʾ*) seem to be idiosyncratic.

⁴⁷In this chapter al-Suhaylī also discusses Stems V and VI as well as the quadriliteral Stem II (*tafaʿlala*).

⁴⁸Although al-Suhaylī discusses this marker elsewhere (see 2.4 below), the place of the augment is not tackled.

⁴⁹al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 252 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 324-25.

⁵⁰al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 253 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 325-26.

⁵¹This issue was discussed in Baalbaki 1999: 39-45.

⁵²See e.g. Levin 1995: 225 ff. Cf. al-Jurjānī, *al-Muqtaṣid*, I, 88 ff.

⁵³See 2.1 above.

⁵⁴*taṣabbuʿ*; see Baalbaki 1999: 43-45.

⁵⁵As emphasized by al-Suhaylī, for those particles lacking the possibility to operate, one needs to seek for a special explanation.

⁵⁶al-Suhaylī's approach differs from what is considered the standard grammatical view, namely, that the verb, rather than the particle, is the basic operator (on which see Bohas, Guillaume & Kouloughli 1990: 59-60).

⁵⁷al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 55, 59 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 68, 74.

2.4 Formal Similarity Due to Similarity in Meaning⁵⁸

This principle is as early at least as the time of Sibawayhi. For instance, Sibawayhi explains the discrepancy between the transitivity of the verb *saḥiṭa* "he was angry, displeased" and the pattern *faʿal* of its verbal noun, viz. *saḥaṭ*, which is characteristic to intransitive verbs, on the grounds of the semantic similarity between this verb and the intransitive verb *gaḍiba* (as well as their shared verbal pattern, *faʿila*).⁵⁹ This principle is ubiquitous in Arabic grammatical writings in general.⁶⁰ One may even include here more intricate discussions, which are also much more common and fundamental in Arabic grammatical thought, of subclasses of the three parts of speech, whose "deviant" behavior is explained as stemming from their similarity with another part of speech, this similarity being sometimes semantic. For example, the fact that pronouns take no case markers is explained as due to their semantic similarity with particles.⁶¹

I will restrict myself here to one example of al-Suhaylī's. He argues that since the dual is "closer" to the singular than the plural, the *alif* is chosen as the dual marker (e.g. *faʿalā*, where it is also a pronominal marker) of the verb, in order to prevent change in the verb's final vowel *a* (e.g. *faʿala*), whereas the plural marker *ū* does change the verb's final vowel (e.g. *faʿalū*).⁶² In al-Suhaylī's words, the "closeness" of the dual form to the singular form is due to the dual's "closeness" to the singular with respect to meaning.⁶³

2.5 Formal Similarity Due to Antonymy

This principle is also well known in Arabic grammatical thought. For example, Ibn al-Anbārī argues that the verb *daḥala* "he entered" should be classified as intransitive by comparing it not only with its "like" (*naẓīr*), i.e. its (near-)synonym, *gāra*,⁶⁴ which is intransitive, but also with its antonym *ḥaraja* "he went out", which is also intransitive.⁶⁵

This notion is also evoked in order to explain two traits of the diminutive patterns, viz. the *yāʾ* in all diminutive patterns and the *kasra* in the *CuCaYCiC* and *CuCaYCīC* (analyzed as *CuCaYCiyC*⁶⁶) patterns: the antonymy between the diminutive and the

⁵⁸Cf. Jakobson 1965: 30 ff.

⁵⁹Sibawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, II, 225. See the discussion in Kasher 2012: 16-17.

⁶⁰See esp. Ibn Jinnī, *al-Ḥaṣāʾiṣ*, II, 145 ff.

⁶¹See Bohas, Guillaume & Kouloughli 1990: 51-53.

⁶²According to the Arab grammarians the dual form is analyzed as *faʿala*" (see the explanation of the term *ḥarf* in fn. 24 above), thus the addition of *alif* (symbolized here as ") does not change the final (short) vowel. In the plural form, analyzed as *faʿaluw*, it does change.

⁶³al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 83-84, 116 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 109, 152. See also al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 80-82, 116-17 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 104-6, 152-53. For a case where the negative counterpart of this principle is evoked, namely, that different forms correspond to different meanings, see al-Suhaylī, *Masāʾil*, 92 (cf. the notions of *ḥilāf* and Separation and Non-Identity principle, on which see Carter 1972; 1973; Owens 1990: 107 ff.; Talmon 2003: *passim*).

⁶⁴See 2.4 above.

⁶⁵Ibn al-Anbārī, *Asrār*, 181. On the problem which this verb poses to grammarians, see Kasher 2013: 122. Cf. Ibn Jinnī, *al-Ḥaṣāʾiṣ*, II, 389.

⁶⁶See fn. 24 above.

"broken" plural of *CaCāCiC* patterns accounts, according to al-Suhaylī, for the *yā'* of the former, which corresponds to the *alif* of the latter, both being "third" (i.e. the third *ḥarf*)⁶⁷ in the patterns. The principle underlying this explanation is that the two forms should correspond, just as their meanings do. In our case, it is a matter of antonymy, and al-Suhaylī emphasizes the frequency of equivalence between antonyms, e.g. *ʿalima* "he knew" vs. *jahila* "he was ignorant of", *rawiya* "he quenched his thirst" vs. *ʿaṭīša* "he was thirsty" and *šarufa* "he was exalted", and the corresponding adjective *šarīf* "exalted", vs. *waḍuʿa* "he was vile", and the adjective *waḍīʿ* "vile".⁶⁸

2.6 Iconicity of Quantity

According to this principle, "more form is more substance", or "greater quantities in meaning are expressed by greater quantities of form". Jakobson says: "Morphology is rich in examples of alternate signs which exhibit an equivalent relation between their signantia and signata. Thus, in various Indo-European languages, the positive, comparative, and superlative degrees of adjectives show a gradual increase in the number of phonemes, e.g., *high-higher-highest*, *altus-altior-altissimus*. In this way the signantia reflect the gradation gamut of the signata." Another illustration Jakobson gives for this notion is the addition of a morpheme for the plural (but not the other way around): "The signans of the plural tends to echo the meaning of a numeral increment by an increased length of the form."⁶⁹

A very simple application of this principle is the *lām* added to distal demonstratives, e.g. *dālīka*, from *dāka* (both being masculine singular distal demonstratives). al-Suhaylī holds that this addition, serving for corroboration, fits here, since the increase in number of *ḥurūf* corresponds to the increase in distance (in comparison with, e.g., *dā* [the corresponding proximal demonstrative]).⁷⁰

According to al-Suhaylī, there is a semantic difference between *lā* + imperfect and *lan* + imperfect, in that the negation by *lan* refers to the near future, whereas that of *lā* is more "extended". This, for al-Suhaylī, corresponds to a phonetic distinction between the two particles: the speaker is free to extend the sound of *ā*, in contrast with *n*, and this

⁶⁷The *alif* is the third *ḥarf* in the pattern *CaCāCiC*, which is analyzed as *CaCa"CiC*, just as the *yā'* is the third *ḥarf* in the diminutive patterns: *CuCayC*, *CuCayCiC* and *CuCayCīC*. See fn. 24 above.

⁶⁸al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Beirut), 70-72 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Riyadh), 89-90. On the equivalence between the antonyms *ʿalima* and *jahila*, see also Ibn Jinnī, *al-Ḥaṣāʾiṣ*, II, 389.

⁶⁹Jakobson 1965: 29-30. But cf. Haiman 2000: 287; Van Langendonck 2007: 400-401, 403-404; Haspelmath 2008: 2, 4-14; Croft 2008: 49-50; Cruse 2011: 11. See also Ibn Jinnī, *al-Ḥaṣāʾiṣ*, III, 264 ff.

⁷⁰al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Beirut), 178 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Riyadh), 228. It seems highly improbable that al-Suhaylī subscribes here to the view that there are three levels of distance in demonstratives, that is, that those with *lām*, e.g. *dālīka*, are distal demonstrative, while those without it, e.g. *dāka*, are medial demonstratives (see Wright 1896-98: I, 267; Carter 1981: 262-63; al-Suyūfī, *Hamʿ*, I, 246-48). al-Suhaylī does not mention any difference in meaning between these two groups, but only states that the *lām* serves for corroboration.

formal extension indicates the extension in meaning.⁷¹ The very same notion is evoked in order to explain the difference between *mā* and *man* (as relative pronouns): *mā* is said to apply to a genus under which several species are subsumed, corresponding to the "extension of the air" in the production of its final *ā*, whereas *man* is specific to only one species, namely rational beings, which corresponds to the lack of "extension of the voice" in the production of its final *n*; the "restriction" of form thus corresponds to that of meaning.⁷²

al-Suhaylī explains the idiosyncratic forms of several words in accordance to his principle that "full" meaning corresponds with a full form, so that, when the meaning is "reduced", so is the form. al-Suhaylī's explanation of the desinential inflection of the class of the so-called *al-asmāʾ al-ḥamsa* "the five nouns"⁷³ such as *ab* "father" (*abū-abā-abī* in construct state, *abun-aban-abin* in absolute state) stems from this principle: these nouns, he holds, are "annexed" (*muḍāfa*) in meaning,⁷⁴ thus, when they are not (grammatically) annexed, the meaning is "reduced", and, in consequence, so is the form. When in construct state, their meaning is complete, hence it is expected that their form be complete as well. An overarching principle is asserted in this discussion, that every addition or elision occurring to the form is according to meaning (the only exception being elision due to frequency of use).⁷⁵ In the same vein, al-Suhaylī explains the elision of *wāw* from the word *ḡad* ("tomorrow"). This word, he avers, is derived from *ḡadw* "walking in the early part of the morning"; by two metonymic shifts, *ḡad* denotes the entire day whose early morning is in close proximity to the present day. Thus, contrary to its original imposition, *ḡad* no longer denotes an event; a loss in its form corresponds to the loss in its meaning, that is, it is only when the complete meaning is intact that the form exhausts all its *ḥurūf*.⁷⁶

One may also include under this category the linkage which al-Suhaylī posits between the jussive mood (*jazm*) and negation – *nafy* – e.g. with *lam*, claiming that the

⁷¹al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 100-101 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 130-31. The controversy revolving around the meaning of *lan* is not just linguistic, but has a theological dimension as well: al-Suhaylī (*Natāʾij* [Beirut], 102-3 = *Natāʾij* [Riyadh], 132) mentions that the Muʿtazilites adduce God's words to Moses, according to Q. 7: 143, *lan tarānī*, as a proof that God will *never* be seen. See Carter 1981: 62-65. On the theological polemic regarding the (im)possibility of seeing God, see Abrahamov 1996: pp. 7, 15-18, 35, 108 ff.; Holtzman 2011.

⁷²al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 139-40 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 180-81.

⁷³In fact, this class consists of six nouns (thus *al-asmāʾ al-sitta*), together with *han* (see e.g. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Asrār*, 43), but this noun is frequently omitted by grammarians (see e.g. Carter 1981: 56, 92).

⁷⁴al-Suhaylī does not elaborate on this notion, but the concept of inalienability immediately comes to mind. Indeed, in this chapter al-Suhaylī discusses the noun *ibn* "son", which he labels *ism idāfī*, a term which presumably applies to all the nouns in this class. al-Suhaylī also discusses the nouns *uḥt* "sister" and *bint* "daughter", whose forms are explained according to the same iconic principle, albeit in a more convoluted manner. However, no other kinship terms (e.g. *umm* "mother") are mentioned. No explanation is given for the inclusion of *fī* "mouth" in this class, to the exclusion of other body parts. The inclusion of *ḡū* "possessor of" in this class is self-explanatory; see the discussion in Diem 1986: 244-46. *han* is not mentioned in this chapter (see the previous fn.).

⁷⁵al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 76 ff. = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 98 ff.

⁷⁶al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 88-90 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 113-15. Another case included in this category is the elision of *alif* from interrogative *mā* under several conditions; see al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 153 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 197.

former is the mood appropriate for the latter sense, since *jazm* (lit. "apocopation", "cutting off") consists of *nafy* (here probably also in the sense of "driving away") of vowels and "termination of sound" (e.g. *yaktub-u* [indicative] → *yaktub-Ø* [jussive]).⁷⁷

The principle of augmentation due to an additional meaning is also mentioned with respect to the preformative of the imperfect. See 2.2 above.

2.7. Iconicity of Mention vs. Elision

In the previous sub-section we discussed cases in which elision reflected an "incomplete" meaning or an iconically signed "negation". Here we present a different iconic principle, that elision may be motivated by the wish to call to mind the non-elided parts of the sentence.

al-Suyahlī raises the following question regarding the syntactic structure of the Basmala, i.e. the formula *bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīmi* "In the name of God, the Compassionate, and Merciful": what is the reason behind the elision of the verb *abdaʿu*⁷⁸ "I begin" to which the preposition *bi-* is supposedly connected?⁷⁹ One of the reasons he gives is that in the formula in question God's name must precede. Thus, the elision of the verb (and its subject, incorporated in it) creates a correspondence between form and meaning; mentioning the verb (with its subject) would have resulted in a discrepancy between the two. Now, this seems *prima facie* to belong to iconicity of order (see 2.2 above). However, the verb is not postposed, but rather elided. Moreover, al-Suhaylī analogizes this with the formula *Allāhu akbaru*, whose underlying level includes the words *min kulli šayʿin* "than everything"; this latter phrase is not uttered, for the sake of correspondence between form and intention, i.e. that only God is called to mind (and thus, only God is mentioned).⁸⁰

2.8 Articulatory Properties⁸¹

The following classes of iconicity are studied in modern linguistics under several headings. Some writers extend the notion of onomatopoeia to include all or some of the phenomena to be dealt with here. Beside the acoustic onomatopoeia, in which the sound is reproduced (e.g. 'cuckoo'), Guiraud mentions phonokinetic onomatopoeia, in which the speech organs reproduce the movement referred to (e.g. "glisser" in French), and phonometaphoric onomatopoeia, in which sounds or movements are likened to forms, colours, sentiments etc., i.e. synesthesia.⁸² Wartburg speaks of visual onomatopoeia, for example, "le radical du mot *bobine* prononcé avec la bouche s'arrondissant entre les deux occlusives labiales fait surgir l'image de l'objet même qui est rond et limité des deux

⁷⁷al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Beirut), 100 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Riyadh), 130.

⁷⁸According to al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Beirut), 45 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Riyadh), 56.

⁷⁹Cf. Carter 1981: 7, 135.

⁸⁰al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Beirut), 43 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Riyadh), 55.

⁸¹Cf. Ibn Jinnī, *al-Ḥaṣāʿiṣ*, II, 157 ff.

⁸²Guiraud 1972: 25. See also Sarfatti 2001: 45-47.

côtés."⁸³ Similarly, in the framework of his "Matrix and Etymon Model",⁸⁴ Bohas suggests a relationship between the matrix {[+pharyngeal] [+labial]} – that is, a group of roots one of whose radicals is *b* or *f* and another is a guttural or an emphatic, e.g. *rabaṭa* "he tied, bound, made fast" and *ʿafasa* "he restrained him" – and the notion of 'constriction': "... for the articulation of pharyngeal [sc. the emphatics and the gutturals], the pharynx is constricted. The relationship between the notional invariant of 'constriction' and the form of articulation then becomes clear." This is an illustration of the "relationship 'between the words and the world'. This connection is of a mimophonic (vocomimetic) nature, i.e., there is an analogy between the phonetic material of the matrix, its notional invariant, and its referent."⁸⁵ The term "sound symbolism", "the direct linkage between sound and meaning",⁸⁶ under which the phenomena discussed here (and more) are subsumed, has been current in modern linguistics.⁸⁷ Two of its (non-dichotomically distinguished) subgroups, according to the typology of Hinton, Nichols and Ohala, are of interest here.⁸⁸ The first, imitative sound symbolism, includes not only ("regular") onomatopoeia, but also "movement imitatives": "languages represent movement with the same sorts of sound-symbolic forms that they use for the representation of sounds"; this is found, for example, in reduplication ("ding-dong"), "a direct imitation of the rhythm being represented".⁸⁹ The second is synesthetic sound symbolism, mentioned above.⁹⁰ As one of the forms of sound-symbolism, the authors mention the "association of certain phoneme classes with certain semantic fields", for example, "stops are used for abrupt sounds and acts, and continuants for continuing sounds and acts."⁹¹

According to al-Suhaylī, the vowel *a*, termed *fath* (lit. "opening [of the lips]", whence the technical term⁹²) is used to designate abundance and wideness, which is why mutes and non-Arabic speakers, by their nature, open their lips and spread their hands when they tell about something abundant. For this reason, the *alif* is used in the "broken" plurals of *CaCāCiC* patterns, which are plurals of abundance.⁹³ The vowel *u* on the other hand, termed *ḍamm* (lit. "contracting [the lips]", whence the technical term⁹⁴), he takes to designate paucity and smallness, which is why people contract their lips or join their fingers when conveying this sense. It is inferred from the discussion that this explains the appearance of the vowel *u* in the diminutive patterns, e.g. *CuCayC*.⁹⁵ al-Suhaylī uses the same notion, regarding the *fath*, to explain the pattern *faʿāl*, of verbal nouns of *faʿula* verbs: he argues that words of this pattern convey a general meaning (see the discussion

⁸³Wartburg 1963: 139, fn. 1. See also Sarfatti 2001: 47.

⁸⁴For an overview of this theory, see Bohas 2008.

⁸⁵Ibid., 47-48. See also ibid., 50.

⁸⁶Hinton, Nichols & Ohala 1994: 1.

⁸⁷See also Lyons 1977: 104.

⁸⁸See also Versteegh 2009: 282.

⁸⁹Hinton, Nichols & Ohala 1994: 3-4.

⁹⁰Ibid., 4-5.

⁹¹Ibid., 9-10. Cf. the discussion of *lā* vs. *lan* in 2.6 above.

⁹²al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Beirut), 67 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Riyadh), 84.

⁹³See Wright 1896-98: I, 234.

⁹⁴al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Beirut), 67 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Riyadh), 83-84.

⁹⁵al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Beirut), 70-72 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʿij* (Riyadh), 89-90.

below), and thus, the sequence of *fatḥh* in this form corresponds to the "openness" – *infītāh* – and "wideness" of the meaning, just as is the case in the "broken" plurals of *CaCāCiC* patterns. This, he adds, also applies to Stem VI; this is obvious in the case of verbs such as *taḥāṣama* (conveying the meaning of reciprocity, thus *taḥāṣamū* means "they disputed with one another"⁹⁶), but al-Suhaylī applies it also to simulative verbs such as *tamāraḍa* "he feigned illness"⁹⁷ which, he says, convey a sense of *izhār* "displaying" (also: feigning)⁹⁸ and *intiṣār* "spreading" (the latter here apparently in the sense of "being published"⁹⁹).¹⁰⁰

Elsewhere, however, the very same articulatory trait, this time characterized as "joining the lips together", is said to iconically sign the opposite meaning. The *jam^f* "plural", lit. "joining", is marked by *wāw* (e.g. *fa^falū*, analyzed as *fa^faluw^f*¹⁰¹), which brings about the joining together – *jāmi^fa*, *ḍāmma* – of the lips. This is also the reason behind the use of *wāw* for coordination, which is also *jam^f* in its meaning.¹⁰²

The question of correspondence between certain vowels and bigness/smallness is as old as Plato (in *Cratylus*), and is still a matter of dispute. It is commonly argued that *i* represents smallness, whereas *a* and *u* (also: *o*) represent bigness.¹⁰³ Of the variegated suggestions for the reasons underlying this opposition, the following is of special interest for the present discussion: "the perception of the small lip aperture in one case and the more open mouth in the other".¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, opposition between *a* and *u*, the latter being used for the diminutive, is also mentioned in the literature.¹⁰⁵ There are also cases where the high vowels *i* and *u* are taken to represent bigness;¹⁰⁶ this opposition is explained by the larger volume in the mouth occupied by the tongue in the articulation of high vowels, and the "amount of contact between the sides of the tongue and the upper molars".¹⁰⁷

A distinction between the negative particles *lā* and *lam* is linked by al-Suhaylī to the phonetic distinction between the two words. Both words begin with *la*,¹⁰⁸ which corresponds to their shared meaning,¹⁰⁹ viz. negation, and it is the difference between what comes next in these two words that corresponds to the distinction in meaning between them. The *l* in *lā* is followed by a "prolonged sound terminating in the farthest place in the throat", by which al-Suhaylī probably means the point of articulation of the

⁹⁶See Lane 1863-93: II, 751.

⁹⁷See Larcher 2012: 87-89.

⁹⁸See Lane 1863-93: V, 1927.

⁹⁹See *ibid.*, VIII, 2794.

¹⁰⁰al-Suhaylī, *Natā^ʿij* (Beirut), 251 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā^ʿij* (Riyadh), 323-24.

¹⁰¹See fn. 24 above.

¹⁰²al-Suhaylī, *Natā^ʿij* (Beirut), 83, 118-19 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā^ʿij* (Riyadh), 108, 154.

¹⁰³See Jespersen 1933; Jakobson 1965: 33; Ultan 1978: 532 and *passim*; Jakobson & Waugh 1987: 185 ff.; Hinton, Nichols & Ohala 1994: 10; Diffloth 1994; Sarfatti 2001: 46-48; Van Langendonck 2007: 402-3; Versteegh 2009: 288-89; Magnus 2013: *passim*.

¹⁰⁴Jespersen 1933: 284-85. See also Jakobson & Waugh 1987: 187-88.

¹⁰⁵See Ultan 1978: 532 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁶See Diffloth 1994.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁰⁸As *ā* is analyzed as *a* + *alif* (see fn. 24 above), *lā* is analyzed as *la*".

¹⁰⁹See 2.4 above.

hamza (the glottal stop), as already mentioned by Sībawayhi.¹¹⁰ Thus, in the form of *lā*, that is, articulation in the farthest *back* point, lies an indication of its meaning: it may negate what *precedes* it, for example in the Qurʾānic verse *lā uqsimu bi-hādā l-baladi* "Nay, I swear by this city"¹¹¹ (Q. 90: 1).¹¹² In contrast, *m* is a bilabial consonant (the most *frontal* point of articulation), and so *lam* is connected with the *following* word, that is, it negates the following verb.¹¹³

The point of articulation of the so-called *tāʾ marbūʿa*, regarded by al-Suhaylī (as is often the case in Arabic grammatical tradition in general) as *hāʾ*, i.e. the utmost – *muntahā*, *gāya* – point of articulation, explains, for him, some of its uses. This is most clear in the addition of *tāʾ marbūʿa* to adjectives in order to designate intensiveness, or, in al-Suhaylī's words, its *gāya*, i.e. utmost degree, e.g. *ʿallāma(h)* "very learned".¹¹⁴ This notion of *nihāya* also manifests itself, for al-Suhaylī, in the sense of "limit", in the *nomina vicis* (*ism al-marra*),¹¹⁵ thus *ḍarba(h)* ("one strike") vs. *ḍarb*, which applies "to a few as well as to many [actions], *ad infinitum*". This notion also applies to the difference between the two patterns of verbal nouns of *faʿula* verbs, namely *faʿāla(h)* and *faʿāl*: verbal nouns of the pattern *faʿāla(h)* are used for specific properties, whereas under those of the pattern *faʿāl* several properties are subsumed (this is a genus-species relationship), e.g. *faṣāḥa(h)* vs. *kamāl*, that is, "eloquence" is but one of the properties subsumed under "perfection".¹¹⁶

The following discussions revolve around two phonetic oppositions (apart from points of articulation) made in Arabic grammatical thought. The first is *jahr* vs. *hams* (the corresponding adjectives being *majhūr* vs. *mahmūs*). The precise meaning of this pair is the subject of a major dispute among modern scholars. All the *hurūf* subsumed under the latter group are voiceless, whereas *almost* all those subsumed under the former are undoubtedly voiced. One of the problematic cases for the equations *majhūr*-voiced and *mahmūs*-voiceless (a case which is of relevance to the following discussion) is the *hamza*, which is classified as *majhūr* although it is commonly regarded as voiceless.¹¹⁷ The second (much less problematic) opposition is *ṣadīd* vs. *riḥw*. For the following discussion it is sufficient to point out its correspondence to the opposition stop vs. fricative, although

¹¹⁰Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, II, 311. See also al-Nasser 1993: 30. On the linkage between *alif* and *hamza*, see also Versteegh 2003: 227-28.

¹¹¹Pickthall 1953: 440.

¹¹²In fact, it has been customary to interpret this *lā* as otiose. See e.g. al-Aḥfaṣ, *Maʿānī*, II, 508; Ibn al-Sarrāḡ, *al-Uṣūl*, I, 401-2. A translation of the verse, according to the latter view, is "I swear by this city" (Abdel Haleem 2005: 422). This interpretation was criticized by al-Farrāʿ (*Maʿānī*, III, 207), who adheres to the same view as al-Suhaylī's. On *lā* see also al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 61 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 76.

¹¹³al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 108-9 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 142.

¹¹⁴See Wright 1896-98: I, 139-40.

¹¹⁵See Wright 1896-98: I, 122-23 (and also in the *nomina unitatis* [*ism al-waḥda*], see *ibid.*: I, 147-48).

¹¹⁶al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 250-51 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 321-22. The pattern *faʿāl* itself is also explained in iconic terms (see above).

¹¹⁷On the dichotomy *majhūr*-*mahmūs* and the status of the *hamza* therein, including overviews of previous studies, see Bakalla 1982: 129-39; al-Nasser 1993: 35-38; Danecki 2008; Heselwood & Maghrabi 2015.

grammarians differ as to the classification of consonants which are neither stops nor fricatives (e.g. liquids).¹¹⁸

We begin with al-Suhaylī's explanation for some consonants in personal pronouns, which pertains to the distinction between first and third person. A curious explanation is given for the form of the personal pronoun *'anā* which, according to al-Suhaylī, indicates the speaker (*al-mutakallim*, which is also the technical term for the first person): al-Suhaylī maintains that the point of articulation of the *hamza* in initial position, viz. the *ṣadr*,¹¹⁹ is the closest to the speaker, who is said to be located behind the jugular vein (*ḥabl al-warīd*), as proven by the Qur'ānic statement: "We are closer to him [sc. man] than his jugular vein"¹²⁰ (Q. 50: 16). That it is the speaker who is meant here is proven from the context: "he does not utter a single word without ..."¹²¹ (Q. 50: 18). Now, the two *ḥarfs* whose point of articulation is the closest to this place are *hamza* and *hā'*,¹²² the former, he claims, is more suitable, being – in his words – the "stronger",¹²³ due to its two properties: *jahr* and *šidda*, and what is "stronger" is more suitable to designate the speaker, who is characterized by speech.¹²⁴ The same line of thought also explains the *hā'* of *huwa*: this pronoun is used only after an explicit noun (i.e. the pronoun is used anaphorically) and so refers to what is preserved in memory. The *hā'* fits here because its point of articulation, the *ṣadr* (see above), is close to the place of memory. The reason why *hā'* is chosen here rather than the *hamza* is that the latter is *majhūr* and *šadīd*, and thus appropriate for the speaker, being more "apparent"; on the other hand, the *hā'* has the property of *ḥafā'*, i.e. being "unapparent", which renders it more appropriate for the *ḡā'ib*, "the absent" (which is also the technical term for the third person), being more "unapparent".¹²⁵

The second issue concerns the explanation for consonants that distinguish masculine from feminine demonstratives. The choice of *dāl* for some demonstratives, e.g. (*hā*)*dā*, is said to be due to its being apical. That is to say, one can point¹²⁶ at something by means of the glance, the hand or the tongue, the organs being servants of the mind; since the tongue is the organ in question in the case of the demonstratives, it is only possible to point by means of a *ḥarf* produced by its tip. The choice is thus between *dāl* and *tā'* (which, though not the only apical sounds in Arabic, are the most frontal

¹¹⁸See Bakalla 1982: 139-42; al-Nasser 1993: 38-39. For iconic distinctions made by modern linguists between stops and continuants, see, for example, Jakobson & Waugh 1987: 191.

¹¹⁹The *ṣadr* ("chest") as the point of articulation of the *hamza* is mentioned already in Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, II, 172. See al-Nasser 1993: 12, 81. See also Bakalla 1982: 69.

¹²⁰Abdel Haleem 2005: 340.

¹²¹Abdel Haleem 2005: 341.

¹²²The *ḥ* in *naḥnu* is said to be due to the proximity of its point of articulation to the one mentioned regarding *'anā*. See al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Beirut), 175 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Riyadh), 224.

¹²³On "strength" as one of the hierarchical notions in Arabic grammatical tradition, see Baalbaki 1979: 16 ff; Suleiman 1991: 358.

¹²⁴al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Beirut), 171 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Riyadh), 219. Cf. Ibn Jinnī, *al-Ḥaṣā'is*, II, 146.

¹²⁵al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Beirut), 174 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Riyadh), 222-23. See also the theory of the theologian Ibn Fūrak on the word *Allāh*, *apud* al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Beirut), 176 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Riyadh), 225.

¹²⁶*išāra*; note that one of the terms for this class of words is *asmā' al-išāra*.

consonants involving the tongue).¹²⁷ The latter is dispensed with, being both *mahmūsa* and *riḥwa*, while a *ḥarf* which is either *majhūr* or *šadīd*, being thus "apparent", is more appropriate. *ḡāl*, being *majhūra*, is chosen for the masculine. On the other hand, the appropriateness of *tāʾ* for the feminine,¹²⁸ e.g. in *tilka*, stems *inter alia* from its property of *hams*.¹²⁹

One of the two reasons given by al-Suhaylī for subject's¹³⁰ nominative case is that a subject's share in the content of the assertion is "stronger" than that of other syntactic functions, and thus the most appropriate vowel for it is the "stronger" *u*; in this way, form and meaning agree.¹³¹ Elsewhere, another iconic explanation is given, which revolves around the term *rafʿ* itself: according to al-Suhaylī, the nominative is so named because the vowel *u* (which is its basic marker) involves the raising – *rafʿ* – of the voice (cf. the discussion on *ḥafḍ* below).¹³² Thus, since the subject is "high, raised" – *marfūʿ* – in meaning, it has the "right" to be *marfūʿ* in form as well; the verbal subject (*fāʿil*), rather than the object, has thus the "right" to *rafʿ*, since the former has a "higher, more raised" – *arfaʿ* – degree in meaning than the latter (that is, the subject is hierarchically higher than the object), and therefore it must be so also in form, for form follows meaning.¹³³

In the following two cases the iconicity of "heaviness" (*tiqal*) vs. "lightness" (*hiffa*) is evoked. This pair of antonyms is ubiquitously used by Arab grammarians in order to explain a host of linguistic phenomena.¹³⁴ Thus "heaviness" is attributed to forms with more vowels than the "light" forms, which have fewer vowels – a common usage of this notion in Arabic grammatical thought.¹³⁵ al-Suhaylī's discussion revolves around patterns of verbal nouns of transitive vs. intransitive verbs. Those of intransitive verbs are said to be made "heavy" by vowels, in contrast with those of transitive verbs; compare, for example, *quʿūd* "sitting" (intransitive) with *ḍarb* "hitting" (transitive).¹³⁶ This formal "heaviness" is said to correspond to heaviness in meaning, namely, adhering to one place, without leaving it,¹³⁷ and this is exactly how intransitivity is characterized: the action denoted by the verb "adheres" to its place without leaving it for anything else (viz. the

¹²⁷ See also the editor's remark regarding *z*, in al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 227 fn. 5. Cf. al-Suhaylī's explanation that the *wāw* in *huwa* is due to its bilabial articulation, the lips being utilized for signing (*ramz*; see Lane 1863-93: III, 1153 for *ramz* by means of the lips).

¹²⁸ Note that *tāʾ*, in contrast with *īāʾ*, is a stop, and thus also fulfils one of the two abovementioned properties.

¹²⁹ al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 177-78 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 227-28.

¹³⁰ *al-muḥbar ʿanhu* – see 2.1 above.

¹³¹ al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 312 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 406. Very similar arguments are frequently found in Arabic grammatical writings; see e.g. Ibn al-Warrāq, *ʿIlal*, 376-77. Note that al-Suhaylī here links the "strength" of this vowel to its "heaviness" (and to perception), on which see below.

¹³² al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 67 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 84. al-Zajjājī (*al-Īdāh*, 93; see also Versteegh 1995: 157, 159) suggests a different explanation, namely that the *rafʿ* is named thus because the production of the vowel *u* involves the raising of the lower jaw. See also Kinberg 1987. On modern studies on the origin of case/mood terms, see Versteegh 1995: 159-62.

¹³³ al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 62 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 78.

¹³⁴ See Baalbaki 1979: 15; Suleiman 1991: 356 ff.; Versteegh 1995: 179-81; Sadan 2008.

¹³⁵ See Sadan 2008: *passim*.

¹³⁶ See Wright 1896-98: I, 112-13.

¹³⁷ Cf. Versteegh 1995: 179-80.

object's denotatum). "Lightness" means the opposite: it is the property of what moves from its place to another, which is what characterizes transitivity. Thus, formal "lightness" corresponds to lightness in meaning.¹³⁸ The same notion of "heaviness" is also utilized to explain the verbal pattern *fa'ula* (e.g. *karuma* "he was noble"), which is used to designate a natural quality and a permanent property.¹³⁹ The "heaviness" in this case pertains to the vowel *u*, which is generally regarded as such in Arabic grammatical tradition.¹⁴⁰ These verbs are thus "heavier" than verbs such as *qa'ada*.¹⁴¹

The explanation that al-Suhaylī gives for the use of the verbal pattern *fa'ila* in verbs designating a property in the *fā'il* – e.g. the intransitive *fazi'a* "he feared" and the transitive *sami'a* "he heard" (in contrast with e.g. *daraba* "he hit") – is that the meaning of such verbs involves an effect on the "internal state" (*bātin*) of the *fā'il* and also a "concealment" (*gumūd*) in it; this, he says, is the reason why the vowel *i* is chosen, as it is phonetically characterized by lowering of the voice, and thus the form corresponds to the meaning. Now, for this sense al-Suhaylī uses two verbal nouns: *ḥafd* and *ihfā'*.¹⁴² The first is undoubtedly related to the technical term *ḥafd*, a synonym of *jarr*, viz. genitive (*i* being the basic marker of this case);¹⁴³ elsewhere he provides an etymology for the term *ḥafd*, deriving it from the lowering (*yanḥafidu*) of the voice in the articulation of the vowel *i* (cf. the discussion of the term *raf'* above).¹⁴⁴ As for *ihfā'*, it basically means concealment.

3. al-Suhaylī's Philosophical Principle¹⁴⁵

That iconicity was not alien to Arab grammarians is illustrated by some of the references in the previous section. However, the discussion above demonstrates that the extent of al-Suhaylī's use of this principle, as well as of its explicitness, vastly exceeds what we found (at least, as far as I know) in other grammatical treatises. In the present section it will be shown that not only was al-Suhaylī's use of this concept quantitatively different from other grammarians, but that iconicity constituted a leitmotif in his thinking, with philosophical-theological underpinnings.

¹³⁸al-Suhaylī uses the verbs *ta'addā* and *lazima* both in his characterization of the transitive and intransitive verbs (the former is termed *al-fi'l al-muta'addī* in Arabic grammatical tradition, and the latter is frequently termed *al-fi'l al-lāzim*) and in the characterization of lightness and heaviness.

¹³⁹Cf. Larcher 2012: 17, 37 ff.

¹⁴⁰See Baalbaki 1979: 15; Sadan 2008: *passim*. Bohas (1977; 1981; 1985: esp. 207-8) compares this notion with the modern concept of sonority scale.

¹⁴¹al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Beirut), 249-50 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Riyadh), 321.

¹⁴²al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Beirut), 253-54 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Riyadh), 327

¹⁴³The term *ḥafd* is commonly considered as the Kūfan counterpart of the Baṣran term *jarr*, but is very frequently used by mainstream grammarians. See the discussion and references in Vidro & Kasher 2014: 218-19.

¹⁴⁴al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Beirut), 67 = al-Suhaylī, *Natā'ij* (Riyadh), 84.

¹⁴⁵I would like to deeply thank several scholars whom I consulted for this section: Prof. Kees Versteegh, Prof. Tzvi Langermann, Dr. Livnat Holtzman, Dr. Nadia Vidro (and through her – Dr. Gregor Schwarb), Dr. Avi Tal and Ms. Avigail Noy. Unfortunately, not all their valuable insights and references could be incorporated in this section, due to its scope.

As we shall see here, al-Suhaylī makes use of a common analogy between forms and bodies, on the one hand, and meanings and spirits on the other. In Islamic philosophy, this analogy goes back at least to *Rasāʾil Iḥwān al-Ṣafāʾ*,¹⁴⁶ it was very common in the field of literary criticism,¹⁴⁷ and even found its way to Abraham ibn ʿEzra.¹⁴⁸ Different writers used this analogy for variegated purposes; its transformations need further study, but this is beyond the scope of the present discussion. In al-Suhaylī's thought, it was used as a "subtle philosophical" underpinning for the principle of iconicity:

In his discussion of the desinential inflection of the "five nouns",¹⁴⁹ al-Suhaylī presents what he deems a "subtle philosophical" principle: "the form is a body and the meaning is a spirit" (*wa-huwa anna l-laḥẓa jasadun wa-l-maʿnā rūḥun*), and thus the former follows the latter in its soundness and defectiveness, in its augmentations and elisions.¹⁵⁰ A further elaboration is furnished in the discussion of the *wāw* as a plural marker:¹⁵¹ the things perceptible through the senses (*maḥsūs*) by which the things perceived by the intellect (*maʿqūl*) are designated must resemble (*mušākil*) them. God, he continues, created bodies, with their attributes which are perceptible through the senses, in correspondence (*muṭābiqa*) to the spirits, with their attributes which are perceived by the intellect, and put the forms in the tongues of Adam and his offspring as equivalent (*muwāzina*) to the meanings, the latter being the spirits of the forms.¹⁵² This analogy is also mentioned in the discussion of the opposition between *lā* and *lan*:¹⁵³ the forms resemble (*mušākila*) the meanings, which are their spirits; the intelligent can perceive true meaning in the form. This ability is compared here with *firāsa*, "a technique of inductive divination which permits the foretelling of moral conditions and psychological behaviour from external indications and physical states";¹⁵⁴ those endowed with this ability can by their nature perceive the attributes of the spirits in the bodies. Note that al-Suhaylī uses here the verb *tafarrasa* for the perception of true meaning from form.¹⁵⁵ That is to say, inference of meaning from form is analogized by al-Suhaylī to physiognomy.¹⁵⁶

al-Suhaylī links this theory with his view on the divine origin of speech: it is God who is responsible for the iconic nature of Arabic. According to an opposite view (intermediate views existed as well), the source of language is mutual agreement and convention. This subject was rarely discussed by grammarians; moreover, it quickly lost its relevance, and writers generally refused to take sides.¹⁵⁷ Interestingly, even Ibn Jinnī,

¹⁴⁶Baffioni 2010: 33-34 (translation: *ibid.*, 78) = *Rasāʾil*, I, 366; *ibid.*, III, 89, 99, 201. On the Iḥwān's linguistic theses, see Versteegh 1997: 88 ff.; the analogy in question is discussed in *ibid.*, 96-97.

¹⁴⁷As I was informed by Ms. Avigail Noy. See e.g. Ibn Rašīq, *al-ʿUmda*, I, 124.

¹⁴⁸Ibn ʿEzra, *Yesod*, 85.

¹⁴⁹See 2.6 above.

¹⁵⁰al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 77-78 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 99-100.

¹⁵¹See 2.4 above.

¹⁵²al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 83 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 108.

¹⁵³See 2.6 above.

¹⁵⁴Fahd 1965: 916. On *firāsa* see also Hoyland 2005.

¹⁵⁵See Lane 1863-93: VI, 2367

¹⁵⁶al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Beirut), 101 = al-Suhaylī, *Natāʾij* (Riyadh), 131.

¹⁵⁷See Loucel 1963-64 (the translations in this extensive study should be treated with much caution); Weiss 1974; Goldziher 1994: 39 ff.; Versteegh 1996: 21 ff.; *idem* 1997: 101 ff.

the most celebrated grammarian to investigate iconicity,¹⁵⁸ also discusses this theological disagreement, but finally chooses not to commit himself.¹⁵⁹ Iconicity thus is not dependent on upholding the divine origin of speech; moreover, Versteegh states that "almost all participants in the discussion were convinced of the arbitrary nature of speech".¹⁶⁰ A third view is ascribed to the Mu'tazilite theologian 'Abbād ibn Sulaymān (d. 864), according to whom there is a "natural relationship" between words and their referents. Although this view was widely rejected, according to Versteegh it inspired Ibn Jinnī's investigation of iconicity.¹⁶¹

For al-Suhaylī, as shown above, the divine source of language was part and parcel of his theological-philosophical view underlying iconicity.¹⁶²

4. Iconicity as *'illa* in Grammatical Thinking

Finally, it is important to understand the advantage of an iconic explanation in the framework of the *'ilal* "causes"¹⁶³ in Arabic grammatical theory. As Versteegh puts it: "From the very beginning of grammatical theory, Arab grammarians treated the facts of language as a system in its own right, within which the linguistic units behaved just like members of a society. Language has its own laws, and from these laws linguistic units derive certain rights and duties. Since language is part of God's creation, there can be no arbitrariness in this system and for every phenomenon, for every apparent exception, there must be an explanation in terms of the overall system."¹⁶⁴

In the fifth chapter of his *al-Īdāh fī 'ilal al-naḥw*, al-Zajjājī (d. ca. 950) differentiates between three levels of "causes": *'ilal ta'limiyya* "didactic causes", *'ilal qiyāsiyya* "analogical causes" and *'ilal jadaliyya wa-naẓariyya* "dialectic and speculative causes".¹⁶⁵ First-level causes "simply state the rules that apply to concrete cases, and represent, therefore, ordinary grammatical generalizations. The second level provides an explanation of the grammatical rules in terms of the language system ... Its explanatory power derives from the fact that it provides a cross-categorical comparison between linguistic phenomena. The ultimate aim of the grammarian is to demonstrate the coherence of the system: since all phenomena are linked by comparisons, they all

¹⁵⁸See Sec. 1 above.

¹⁵⁹Versteegh 1996: 25; *idem* 1997: 101 ff. Cf. Loucel 1963-64: [39], [44] ff., [54].

¹⁶⁰Versteegh 1997: 109. See also Loucel 1963-64: [58]. Goldziher (1994: 43), on the other hand, goes so far as to say: "It follows from what has been said above that according to the linguistic theory of the Mu'tazilites there is a deep connection and harmony between the word and the concept that lies behind it. This must be so, since if people determined the names of the things, then inevitably the names they pronounced would have been closely associated with the peculiarities of things." Cf. Loucel 1963-64: [47].

¹⁶¹See Versteegh 1997: 111. See also Loucel 1963-64: [72]-[73]; Weiss 1974: 34-38; Versteegh 1996: 23.

¹⁶²Note that Ibn Fūrak, mentioned above in fn. 125, is also said to have held this theological view (see Loucel 1963-64: [72]).

¹⁶³On *'illa* in Arabic grammatical tradition, see Versteegh 1995; 2006; 2011; Suleiman 1999.

¹⁶⁴Versteegh 1995: 7.

¹⁶⁵al-Zajjājī, *al-Īdāh*, 64. See Versteegh 1995: 87.

contribute to each other's explanation".¹⁶⁶ The third level is "a level on which the language system itself is explained".¹⁶⁷ This hierarchy is illustrated with constructions introduced by *inna* and its "sisters". With respect to the first level, it is only stated that *inna* assigns the accusative to the subject and the nominative to the predicate.¹⁶⁸ The second level cause explains this operation on the ground of *inna*'s similarity to transitive verbs alongside which the object precedes the subject, e.g. *ḍaraba aḥāka muḥammadun*.¹⁶⁹ As for third level causes, here one explains the points of resemblance between these particles and verbs, the reason behind the analogy with constructions where the object precedes the subject (which is a marked order), etc.¹⁷⁰

However, this is not the end of the story. This specific resemblance being established, one might ask why the subject takes the nominative, and the object the accusative, in the first place. At this stage, one is referred to the relevant grammatical discussions, where *ʿilal* are found for these cases. One of the popular explanations is the fact that in each sentence there is only one subject, while there may be many *mafʿūls* (including the so-called *mafʿūl muṭlaq* etc.); *u*, the basic marker of the nominative, is "heavier"¹⁷¹ than *a*, the basic marker of the accusative, hence, the former is allocated to what is less frequent, and the latter to the more frequent.¹⁷² Such an explanation may be regarded as an "ultimate explanation", since it does not need any further explanation: the chain of *ʿilal* terminates in it.¹⁷³ Iconic explanations, that is, explanation of linguistic facts on the ground of similarity between form and meaning, are, by definition, ultimate explanations.¹⁷⁴

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¹⁶⁶Versteegh 1995: 90-91.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 91.

¹⁶⁸al-Zajjājī, *al-Īdāh*, 64. See Versteegh 1995: 87.

¹⁶⁹al-Zajjājī, *al-Īdāh*, 64. See Versteegh 1995: 87, 93.

¹⁷⁰al-Zajjājī, *al-Īdāh*, 66. See Versteegh 1995: 88.

¹⁷¹See 2.8 above.

¹⁷²See e.g. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Asrār*, 77-78; Versteegh 1995: 91-92.

¹⁷³Cf. Versteegh 2011: 88.

¹⁷⁴This, of course, if we exclude overarching principles, such as the "wisdom of the Arabs" and the theories underlying iconicity in Arabic. Cf. Versteegh 1995: 91.

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L'ARABE DE SICILE ET L'ARABE ANDALOU DANS LE CONTEXTE MAGRÉBIN : UNE APPROCHE PHONOLOGIQUE¹

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Abstract. Sicilian Arabic and Andalusī Arabic are two Maghribī non-Hilālīan varieties which share some dialectal features, still attested in Neo-Arabic Occidental varieties (Grand'Henry 2007), though having maintained their own linguistic peculiarities (Lentin 2007, Ferrando 2003). In this paper, some Maghribī Phonological features, found in some Siculo-Arabic works of the Islamic and Norman periods, such as the *Cambridge Chronicle*, the *Opus Geographicum*, the *Kitāb al-ġāmi' li-ṣifāt aštāt al-nabāt wa-ḍurūb anwā' al-mufradāt* and the *Uns al-muhaġ* of al-Idrīsī, will be analyzed in comparison with the Andalusī ones attested in some coeval works (Corriente 1977, 2011, 2013 ; Ferrando 1998, 2002, 2004). The attestation of Maghribī linguistic features, such as vowel harmony, *imāla*, loss of short vowels in open syllables, *ressaut* and fluctuation between the interdental and dental consonants, in Sicilian and Andalusī works is relevant for the studies of Historical Arabic linguistics as it permits to observe the evolution of these phenomena in a diachronic perspective.

Keywords: *Siculo Arabic, Andalusī Arabic, Maghribī dialects, Middle Arabic, phonology, 'āmmiyya.*

Les phénomènes phonologiques qui intéressent le vocalisme et le consonantisme de l'arabe de Sicile, variété maghrébine non-hilālienne disparue, restent encore largement à reconstruire, en dépit du fait qu'ils aient été étudiés depuis relativement longtemps. Steiger (1932) a été le premier à tenter une analyse phonétique de l'arabe andalou et de l'arabe de Sicile, portant sur les arabismes ibéro-romans et siciliens, et à comprendre, donc, la nécessité d'une comparaison des phénomènes phonologiques attestés dans les deux variétés. Steiger, toutefois, n'a basé son étude que sur les termes d'origine arabe attestés en sicilien et sur l'édition des diplômes de Cusa (1968-82). Le vocalisme et le consonantisme de l'arabe sicilien ont suscité, par la suite, l'intérêt de quelques chercheurs italiens (voir Pellegrini 1957 et Caracausi 1987/88 : 13-26) qui entendaient principalement retracer les influences de l'arabe dans l'italien et dans ses dialectes à travers l'étude des emprunts arabes en langue italienne (voir par exemple Pellegrini 1972 ; 1989). L'analyse d'Adalgisa De Simone (1979 et 1992 : 59-90) sur le vocalisme de l'arabe de Sicile, à travers les transcriptions en grec des diplômes édités par Salvatore Cusa et des *ġarā'id* de la chancellerie normande, a eu un rôle pionnier pour la découverte de quelques phénomènes dialectaux, tels l'*imāla*, l'harmonie vocalique ou la monottongation, qui n'auraient pas pu être mis en évidence sans la transcription grecque permettant de noter les voyelles que l'arabe ne marque pas. Dionisius Agius, dans sa monographie *Siculo Arabic* (1996), a mis en évidence les correspondances phonologiques

¹ Nous tenons ici à remercier le réviseur anonyme de cet article pour ses précieuses indications et suggestions.

de quelques-unes des variétés arabes de Sicile avec l'arabe maltais, en basant son analyse sur la seule œuvre de *laḥn al-‘āmmah* sicilienne à nous être parvenue, le *Tatqīf al-lisān wa-talqīh al-ḡanān* d'Ibn Makkī al-Ṣiqillī (m. 1107), et sur les *Diplomi* édités par Cusa. Malgré le fait que *Siculo Arabic* demeure un repère fondamental pour les études de phonologie arabe sicilienne, dans le domaine scientifique international, on a ressenti la nécessité d'analyser les traits linguistiques de l'arabe de Sicile d'après un *corpus* plus vaste, à la lumière des études les plus récentes de dialectologie arabe maghrébine et de moyen arabe, ce qui a généré des études récentes sur la variété sicilienne auxquels on fera référence (parmi lesquels on peut citer Cassarino 2007, 2012 ; Grand'Henry 2007 ; Lentin 2007, La Rosa 2012, 2014a, 2014b).

Cet article s'inscrit dans ce cadre visant à présenter une synthèse des phénomènes phonologiques maghrébins propres à l'arabe de Sicile connus jusqu'à présent, sur la base des approches innovantes proposées par les études citées. Afin de réussir dans cette tâche, on a analysé les traits orthographiques, présents dans quelques textes du *corpus* siculo-arabe rédigés dans une variété 'mixte', seuls témoins utiles pour la reconstruction des caractéristiques phonologiques de l'arabe de Sicile. Cet échantillon sera présenté ci-dessous et confronté aux exemples relevés dans l'arabe andalou, variété d'arabe pré-hilālīen contemporaine de la sicilienne, également disparue, mais fort connue (voir entre les nombreuses contributions, Corriente 1977, 1992, 2013 ; Ferrando 1996, 1998, 2002, 2004 ; Vicente 1999, 2011) qui a produit un très vaste *corpus* de textes, composés entre les X^e et XVI^e siècles (Ferrando 1998 : 61). Nous estimons que la façon la plus fructueuse d'obtenir de nouvelles données sur l'arabe de Sicile est d'analyser les phénomènes linguistiques, relevant de la phonologie, à travers une approche comparative en les confrontant avec les traits andalous. Les exemples présentés sont tirés des textes siculo-arabes suivants : les ouvrages d'al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq fī ḥtirāq al-āfāq* (Idrīsī : 1974-84), *Kitāb al-ḡāmi‘ li-ṣifāt aštāt al-nabāt wa-ḍurūb anwā‘ al-mufradāt* (Idrīsī : 1995), la section sur l'Afrique de l'*Uns al-muhaḡ wa-rawḍ al-furaḡ* (Ducène 2010), qui datent de l'époque normande, et le *Tārīḥ ḡazīrat Ṣiqilliyya*, aussi connu comme *Chronique de Cambridge*, anonyme non daté, probablement datable de l'époque islamique (La Rosa, en presse).² On fera référence aux phénomènes linguistiques indiqués par Ibn Makkī dans son *Tatqīf al-lisān* et aux traits relevés dans les diplômes de la chancellerie normande (Cassarino 2012).

Traits orthographiques et phonologiques

Voyelles

Affaiblissement du système vocalique

Le vocalisme bref en arabe de Sicile montre un processus d'affaiblissement en cours : dans quelques mots, en effet, on trouve des *sukūn* en milieu et en fin de mot, tels سُنَّة 'an' (CC : *passim*), سِتَّة 'six' (CC : f. 4), et on remarque aussi des exemples de deux *sukūn*

²Abréviations: Uns *Uns al-muhaḡ wa-rawḍ al-furaḡ*; NU *Nuzhat al-muštāq fī ḥtirāq al-āfāq*; CC *Chronique de Cambridge*; KJ *Kitāb al-jāmi‘ li-ṣifāt aštāt al-nabāt wa-ḍurūb anwā‘ al-mufradāt*; IM Ibn Makkī.

consécutifs, comme dans le cas de الْخَبْرُ 'la nouvelle' (CC :f. 5). Le phénomène paraît être systématique lorsque la première consonne du mot est un *rā*, lequel porte toujours le *sukūn*: رِجْلَيْهِمْ 'leurs pieds' (CC : f. 8), رَهَائِن 'deux prisonniers' (CC : ff. 8 deux exemples, 9), وَرَجَعَ 'et il revint' (CC : f. 9), فَبِرْجُوعِهِ 'pendant son retour' (CC : f. 9), حَسَنَ إِلَى افْرِيقِيهِ 'Hasan revint en Ifrīqiyya' (CC : f. 10). L'affaiblissement, voire la chute, des voyelles brèves en syllabe ouverte est un trait attesté surtout dans les dialectes maghrébins (Marçais 1977 : 173-76 ; Agius 1996 : 213-16, 223-24, IM : 132-169, 306-346), alors que la présence de deux *sukūn* consécutifs et d'un *sukūn* sur un *rā* initial est aussi connue en moyen arabe oriental (Lentin 2012 : p. 222-23).

Ce qui confirme qu'en arabe de Sicile ce processus d'affaiblissement était en cours est l'application d'une voyelle prosthétique, notamment *alif*, dans quelques substantifs, اطرابلس 'Tripoli' (Nu : p. 297), اغرناطة 'Grenade' (Nu : 564), اطرانة 'Trani' (Nu : 76) et dans le numéral اثمان 'huit' (Nu : 74).

De nombreux exemples de *scriptio defectiva* semblent corroborer l'hypothèse de l'abrègement des voyelles longues, à l'instar de ce qui se vérifie dans les dialectes maghrébins modernes et contemporains. *Scriptio defectiva* de /ā/ : تلمسن 'Tlemcen' (Uns : 27, deux exemples), ربع 'quart' (Uns : 39), ثلاثمائه 'trois cent' (CC : ff. 1, 2, 4 etc. ; Nu : 320), ثلاثون 'trente' (CC : ff. 3, 4, etc.), ثلاث 'trois' (Uns : 4 et passim ; CC : ff. 4, 10 ; KJ : 60, 61, 115, et passim), 'trois (féminin)' (KJ : 60, 116, 117 et passim), ثلاثاً 'troisième fois' (KJ : 116), ابوالقاسم 'Abū l-Qāsim' (Nu : 5), ثمنه 'huit' (CC : ff. 3, 4, 7), ثلث 'tiers' (Nu : 449, 10), السموات 'les cieux' (Nu : 3), يناير 'janvier' (Nu : 7). Ce trait est aussi attesté dans les diplômes, par exemple dans les prénoms ابراهيم et اصطفن (Cassarino 2012 : 91) et dans la particule génitive متع (Lentin 2007 : 48). On remarque aussi la *scriptio defectiva* de /ī/ médiane: سبل 'voie' (Nu : 3, 5) ; جهاني 'Ġihāni' (Uns : 2). Le /u/ en arabe de Sicile est généralement plus stable (voir De Simone 1992 : 81).

En arabe andalou, la quantité vocalique s'est perdue, la langue orale a acquis un rythme accentuel (Corriente, Vicente, Pereira 2015 : 75) et les *matres lectionis*, souvent, ne sont pas marquées à l'écrit ; ce qui a engendré des cas d'abrègement des voyelles longues non accentuées : قَطْع 'argent', قنقط 'hérissou', (Grand'Henry 1977 : 674), صفي 'pur', يُجَد 'se trouve', فران 'rats', سقنين 'deux jambes', عم 'an' (Corriente 2013 : 37), سلم 'paix', حبيك 'ton amie' (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 75-76).

Allongement des voyelles brèves *Scriptio plena* des voyelles

Phénomène très bien connu en moyen arabe (Lentin 2012 : 214-217) et attesté aussi en arabe de Sicile, la *scriptio plena* des voyelles est typique des textes dialectaux ou dialectalisants, dans lesquels on trouve, par exemple, l'allongement des voyelles brèves pour les marques verbales et pronominales de féminin singulier نِي, dans diverses particules, prépositions et conjonctions telles لام pour لم et dans la transcription de noms étrangers.

Parmi les nombreux exemples de *scriptio plena* de /a/, remarqués dans les textes siciliens, on peut citer : إرلانده 'Irlande' (Uns : 8), ثمان 'prix' (CC : ff. 2,3), قبا 'estomac d'animal' (Agius 1996 : 204), بيان 'communiqué, proclamation' (Cassarino 2012 : 91).

La *scriptio plena* d'*alif* en fin de mot pourrait aussi avoir la fonction de noter une *imāla* (Lentin 2012 : 15). *Scriptio plena* de /u/ : اوخذت 'fut prise' (CC : ff. 1, 2, 3, 4, 10), يوقبض '[qui] est perçu' (Lentin 2007 : 47). *Scriptio plena* de /i/ : مفادير 'superficie' (Uns : 2), تدليس 'Tadallis' (Uns : 26), طيحال 'foie' (Agius 1996 : 210), المسلمين 'les Musulmans' (Lentin 2007 : 47).

Ce trait linguistique a, selon Corriente (1977 : 60-61), un usage particulier en arabe andalou (Lentin 2012 : 215) :

«les voyelles accentuées en syllabe ouverte ou finales étaient senties comme 'marquées' d'une façon particulière et représentées par des *matres lectionis*, sans tenir compte de la présence ou de l'absence dans ces positions de longueur phonologique en arabe ancien».

Dans les deux variétés d'arabe, la quantité était évidemment liée à l'accent ; pour cette raison, l'auteur du texte choisissait d'apposer des allongements ou des abrègements des voyelles de façon, parfois, arbitraire. Parmi les cas trouvés en arabe andalou, on peut citer قفوط 'hérisson', نقاع 'je tombe', ماعه 'avec lui' et جيهات 'côtés, directions', راطل 'livre', راعية 'sujets', مُقاصص 'ciseaux', اسقوف 'évêque', نقيف 'je m'arrête' (Corriente, Vicente, Pereira 2015 : 76 ; voir aussi Grand'Henry 1977 : 674).

Changements qualitatifs

/a/ par rapport à /i/

ست 'six' (CC : ff. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9); ستون 'soixante' (CC : ff. 2, 9). La réalisation /a/ de /i/, en arabe de Sicile, semble se vérifier plus fréquemment à proximité des consonnes bilabiales, alvéolaires et uvulaires. Parmi les exemples attestés on trouve برونون 'cheval pur-sang ou de somme', خزانة 'entrepôt', مغزل 'fuseau, fusée' (Cassarino 2007 : 15). En arabe andalou, on peut signaler صحاب 'amis', حزب 'hérésie', قطاع 'pièces de monnaie, argent' (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 10), عند 'chez' et مبرد 'lime', (Grand'Henry 1977 : 674-75). Le deuxième cas pourrait être le produit du phénomène d'harmonie vocalique. Des emprunts castillans et portugais montrent la tendance de /i/ vers la voyelle centrale /a/, tels *zaque* 'outre' et *alcatrão* 'goudron' (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 10).

/a/ par rapport à /u/

متولين 'deux gouverneurs' (CC, f. 8). En arabe de Sicile, ce change se vérifie surtout avec les noms à schème $C_1uC_2C_3\bar{u}C_3$ qui acquièrent la forme $C_1aC_2C_3\bar{u}C_3$ en proximité de /n/, /r/, /l/ et /h/ et avec les noms à schème $C_1uC_2C_3\bar{u}C_4$ qui passent à $C_1aC_2C_3\bar{u}C_4$. Parmi les nombreux exemples on peut citer عصفور 'oiseau', عنقود 'grappe de raisin', زعرور 'azerole', برغوث 'puce' (Cassarino 2007 : 16 ; voir aussi Agius 1996 : 225-227).

On relève aussi des cas en arabe andalou: rabazuz de ربالسوس 'régliasse' (Agius 1996 : 228), زرنوق 'petit fleuve', à schème $C_1aC_2C_3\bar{u}C_4$ (Cassarino 2007 : 17), قبطية

'sorte de tunique appelée 'copte', قَرَشِيَّة 'appartenance à la tribu de Qurayš' (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 13).

D'autres changements qualitatifs sont indiqués dans l'œuvre d'Ibn Makkī : *i/* par rapport à */a/* : قالب 'forme, modèle', تاجن 'casserole' (Agius 1996 : 210-13, 271). */u/* par rapport à */a/* : سلوم 'escalier', فسُنُق 'pistache', فُر 'froid. */u/* par rapport à */i/* : صُرَاح 'pur', مُفْتاح 'clé' (Agius 1996 : 205, 213-214, 221-223 ; Cassarino 2007 : 16). En arabe de Sicile, ce dernier phénomène semble être influencé par la présence de consonnes labiales, par l'occlusive uvulaire */q/*, par la spirante uvulaire sonore */g/*, par la sifflante sourde */s/* et par l'emphatique */ṣ/*. En arabe andalou aussi, surtout en contexte labio-vélaire, on peut trouver parmi les exemples غنى 'chanson', جوار 'voisin', مُفْتاح 'clé' (sur ce phénomène voir Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 6-8). */i/* par rapport à */u/* : on a plusieurs exemples, parmi lesquels ظفر 'ongle' (Agius 1996 : 227), طِلَاوَة 'beauté, grâce' (Cassarino 2007 : 15, 17).

Allophone [o]

On remarque la transcription des voyelles */o/* ou bien */u/* avec *o* dans les noms de quelques mois : اَوْسَه 'août' (ff. 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10), يُولِيوَه 'juillet', يُونِيوَه 'juin', مَائِه 'mai', مَارَسَه 'mars' (ff. 3, 4, 6, 7) à lire, probablement, *awsu/awso*, *yūliū/yūlio*, *yūniū/yūnio*, *māyu/māyo* et *mārsu/mārso*, à cause de l'influence du latin (voir Lentin 2012 : 218 et Caracausi 1987/88 : 16 pour les noms des mois). Outre les voyelles du triangle vocalique */a/*, */i/* et */u/*, des allophones de type [e] et [o] sont attestés en arabe de Sicile : De Simone (1992 : 81-82) indique plusieurs exemples, parmi lesquels حسين, en grec χόσειν, امالامر, en grec οὐμελάμαρ et ابنسرور, en grec ἔπινσορόρ (voir aussi Agius 1996 : 343-345). Ce trait est très usuel dans les dialectes maghrébins, où, en contexte vélaire, */u/* peut être réalisé comme */o/* ; par exemple, *ḥobz* 'pain', *'omr* 'vie' (Grand'Henry 1977 : 675).

La présence de ces phonèmes vocaliques est probablement due à des phénomènes comme l'*imāla* et le *tafḥīm* et donc aux conditionnements de l'entourage consonantique, à l'instar de ce qui se passe en arabe andalou (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 2). Dans les emprunts et les toponymes en andalou, on peut remarquer que le phonème */u/* avait un allophone [o], occurant en contexte vélaire, vélarisant ou pharyngal, par exemple: *algodón* 'coton', *alcova* 'chambre à coucher' (Corriente 1977 : 28-29, 2013 : 6 ; Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 11-12), *rōḥ* 'esprit' (Grand'Henry 1977 : 674).

Imāla

L'*imāla* de premier degré et l'*imāla* forte sont attestées en arabe de Sicile. L'*imāla* de premier degré, non-conditionnée par l'entourage phonétique, est typique de l'arabe sicilien ; rare est, par contre, l'*imāla* de second degré. Il est possible, toutefois, de mentionner quelques exemples : عبد الكثير en grec ἀβδικεθέρ, فتّاح en grec φιττάχ, النّجّار en grec νιτζάρ, حسن 'bon' en grec χάσεν. (Pour d'autres exemples, voir De Simone 1992 : 65, 71-72 et Grand'Henry 2007 : 36). Le son *-ah* final peut subir *imāla šadīda* dans des contextes où elle devrait être inhibée comme dans le cas de γαμήρε 'Amīrā. L'*imāla*, en

effet, est généralement inhibée à proximité des consonnes emphatiques, pharyngales, laryngales et vélares (De Simone 1992 : 70). On la retrouve aussi en final de mot dans quelques noms et prénoms siciliens : فاطمة dans les diplômes grecs est transcrit ainsi φάτουμε et نعمة ainsi νήγμε, ce qui indique que les noms et les prénoms en Sicile étaient probablement soumis à la formation diminutive et augmentative (Cassarino 2012 : 95). D'autres cas d'*imāla* de premier degré sont الخباز 'le boulanger' en grec ἡλκαπέζ et ياسر en grec γέσηρ (Grand'Henry 2007 : 36).

On a relevé des noms à suffixe *-iyya* dans les œuvres d'Idrīsī (pour la *Nuzhah* voir Lentin 2007 : 48) : صلووية 'crucifixion' (Nu : 359, 7, 10 et *passim*); كنيسة 'église' (Nu : 28, 1; 29, 3; 34; 82, 3, 9 et 10; 84, 2, 3, 4, 6 et 7; 111, 9; 112, 3; 491; 495; 544 et *passim*). Quelques cas, relatifs à des noms géographiques, se retrouvent aussi dans l'*Uns*: المنصورية 'al-Manṣūra' (Uns: 33) et قسطنطينية 'Qusanṭīna' (Uns: 33). Le suffixe *-iyya* pourrait être une tentative de transcrire une *imāla* en fin de mot (d'autre exemples en Lentin 2012 : 219-220 et Lentin 2009 : 312).

La palatalisation de /a/ en arabe andalou est aussi de type spontané, c'est-à-dire, non-conditionnée par le contexte phonologique (pour des exemples d'*imāla spontanée* et d'*umlaut imāla* voir Ferrando 1996 : 116-117 et 1998 : 63-65). Parmi les exemples d'*imāla šadīda*, très répandue en al-Andalus, on a وُد 'père' (Corriente 2013: 2), بيب 'porte', هوي 'passion' (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente : 5). L'*imāla* de deuxième degré est un phénomène très ancien en arabe andalou :

«on peut donc supposer que ce phénomène phonétique a été apporté par des groupes arabes, autres que les 'Yéménites', qui ont envahi la Péninsule Ibérique, et qu'il a atteint une certaine popularité sous l'égide des Omeyyades, jusqu'au point de se généraliser et être caractéristique de la koiné arabe andalou qui a atteint sa maturité au 10^{ème} siècle. Ce phénomène s'est intensifié à Grenade, plus encore qu'à Valence» (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente : 6).

Les règles auxquelles ce phénomène répond pourraient avoir plusieurs explications (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 4-5, n. 10) mais il paraît que l'*imāla* de deuxième degré était le plus souvent présente dans des textes de registre plus populaires et qu'elle disparaissait en contexte vélaire, vélarisé, pharyngal et uvulaire aussi bien qu'en contact avec /p/ et parfois /w/ (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 4-6). D'abord considérée comme une innovation typique des parlers de Grenade, elle était en fait présente partout en al-Andalus et à toute époque (Corriente 2013 : 2). Ce trait a probablement été supprimé des textes les plus cultivés et pour cette raison on le trouve surtout dans les œuvres rédigées dans un registre plus populaire comme les ouvrages d'Ibn Quzmān, d'Ibn Zamrak et d'Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 5, n. 11).

Phonétique combinatoire Harmonie vocalique

Le phénomène d'harmonie vocalique n'affecte pas le pronom suffixe هُمْ, précédé de /i/ ou de /ī/: فيهم 'en eux' (f. 8) ; مع مقدمهم 'avec les hommes qui les suivaient' (f. 5) ; اليهم 'à eux, vers eux' (ff. 6, 7) ; عليهم 'à eux, contre eux' (ff. 6, 7). Ce trait, attesté dans les variétés de moyen arabe occidentales et orientales, indique que le pronom personnel suffixe masculin

pluriel de troisième personne était, probablement, *hum* invariable (pour la forme des pronoms suffixes dans les dialectes maghrébins voir Marçais 1977 : 191-193) comme en arabe andalou : دَخَلْنَاهُمْ 'nous les avons fait entrer', دَنُوبُهُمْ 'leurs péchés' (Corriente 1977 : 97, 2013 : 79 ; Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 131-132).

L'harmonie vocalique est, de façon générale, un phénomène présent en arabe de Sicile. Parmi les exemples connus on peut mentionner بُلُوط 'chêne, gland du chêne'. Grand'Henry définit ce type d'harmonie vocalique, attestée par Ibn Makkī en Sicile, dès le XIII^e siècle à Valencia et présente aujourd'hui dans quelques dialectes maghrébins, comme un trait de moyen arabe occidental (Grand'Henry 1977 : 37).

Parmi les exemples attestés en arabe andalou, nous trouvons اِثْفِيَّة 'trépid', اَيْل 'cerf', بُلُوط 'gland', سَلُوم 'escalier' (Corriente 1977 : 69-70), نَنْزَل (*nenzel*) 'je descends' et نَبْنِي (*nebni*) 'je construis' (Grand'Henry 1991 : 98-99 ; voir aussi Berge 1981 : 366).

Consonnes

Le phonème glottal occlusif /ʔ/

L'absence de *hamzah* en toute position, phénomène très commun dans les manuscrits arabes, en arabe de Sicile a parfois des conséquences orthographiques, voire phonologiques (Cassarino 2012 : 100). Le support de *hamzah*, en effet, est souvent un ي, ayant les points diacritiques, comme dans le cas de ثَلْتَمَائِه 'trois cent' (CC : f. 2), qu'on a vu plus haut, et des termes هَوِيَّة 'climat' (Uns : 4), عَائِرَة 'enfouies profondément' (Uns : 12), حَشَائِش 'drogues' (KJ : 2), فَايْدَة 'utilité' (KJ : 5), سَائِر 'les autres' (KJ : 5). Des exemples similaires se trouvent dans les diplômes de la chancellerie sicilienne et sont aussi indiqués par Ibn Makkī : الكَائِن 'courant', خَمْسَمَائِيَّة 'cinq-cents', مَائِيَّة 'cent', فَايْدَة 'utilité', قَائِد 'chef' (Cassarino 2012 : 91), كَلَائِيَّة 'protection'; اَبْيَار 'biens' (Agius 1996 : 166), قَرِيْب 'j'ai lu' (Cassarino 2007 : 20). La chute de la consonne cause l'allongement de la voyelle qui la précède : رَاس 'tête' (KJ : 116), مِرَاة 'miroir' (KJ : 116), رَايْت 'j'ai vu' (KJ : 3), يُوَكَل 'on le mange' (KJ : 94 ; pour d'autres exemples en arabe sicilien voir Agius 1996 : 164-167).

Le passage très fréquent de ء à ي se vérifie aussi bien en arabe andalou : «on évite le hiatus avec l'insertion d'une semi-consonne homologue [...], /y/ si elle était /i/», par exemple, رِيَّة 'poumon' (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 71), فَايْت 'mourant' (Corriente 2013 : 35). Le *hamzah* passe à /y/ avec les voyelles /i-a/ : مِيَّة 'cent', رَدِي 'méchant' et à /w/ près de /u-a/ ou /ā/ : مَوْنَب 'calomniateur', مَوَاهِر 'arrière du navire' (Agius 1996 : 168). En andalou, même la chute de la consonne peut se vérifier à proximité des voyelles brèves et des voyelles longues + *hamzah* comme dans le cas de 'Et toi ?' (Agius 1996 : 168). En outre, le *hamzah*, s'il est présent, pourrait passer à /y/ ou /w/ ou bien pourrait causer l'allongement de la voyelle précédente : سَوَال 'question', يُوَسَل 'il a été interrogé', سَوَال 'désir', شَان 'habitude', مِيَّة 'cent', مَوَائِس 'désespéré', اَوْدَب 'j'enseigne', جَزُو 'part, portion', اَسْوَلَة 'questions' (Corriente 1977 : 59-60 ; Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 74).

Le phénomène est très répandu en arabe maghrébin ; parmi les exemples où le *hamzah* en fin de mot a laissé la place à /y/, on peut mentionner نِيَّ 'viande crue' (X^e, XII^e et XV^e siècles) (Grand'Henry 1998 : 79). Pour le *hamzah* initial on trouve en arabe occidental du XII^e siècle وَجَرْت 'j'ai loué', et le maltais *uikkièl* 'nourrir' (Grand'Henry

1998 : 79). Pour le *hamzah* médian, on peut citer *ميد* en arabe maghrébin du XV^e siècle et *مليت* 'j'ai rempli' (voir Grand'Henry 1998 : 78-79 ; Agius 1996 : 162-163).

/ā/ pour /ā'/'

L'orthographe du groupe consonantique *ء* était rendue comme /ā/ et était écrite *ى* ou bien *ا*: *حمرا*, 'rouge' (KJ : 60), *الما*, 'l'eau' (KJ : 4, 59, 60, 115 et *passim*), *هوا*, 'climat' (KJ : 48), *الاطبا*, 'les médecins' (KJ : 59). Il pouvait aussi être transcrit comme *ة* en conséquence du fait que le *ء* était désormais muet ou bien parce que le *ة* en fin de mot pourrait rendre aussi une *imāla* (Lentin 2012 : 219 et voir aussi 2007 : 48) : *المنشئة* 'al-Manšā (e)' (Uns : 22). D'autres exemples sont attestés dans les diplômes : *علا*, 'communiqué', *استغنا*, 'devenir riche', *ما*, 'eau' et *وفا*, 'paiement, exécution' (Cassarino 2012 : 91), *مرا*, 'miroir' ou *تار*, 'vengeance de sang' (voir Grand'Henry 1998 : 78-79 ; Agius 1996 : 162-163). En arabe andalou, on a des cas similaires : *ابدا*, 'début' (Agius 1996 : 167) ; *فزا*, 'fourreur' ; *بنا*, 'maçon' (Corriente 2013: 35).

Phonème interdental spirant sonore /d/ et phonème occlusif dental sonore /d/

En arabe de Sicile, on remarque la tendance à la perte de l'articulation interdentale de la consonne *ذ*: *ذلك*, 'celui' (KJ : 47) ; *بدلك*, 'avec ça' (KJ : 115), *ادهب*, 'va' (KJ : 60), *بوخذ*, 'on prend' (KJ : 59, 115, 116 et *passim*) *دراع*, 'coudée' (KJ : 60), *هده*, 'cette' (KJ : 4, 115 et *passim*), *يدهب*, 'il va' (KJ : 116), *دكر*, 'il a mentionné' (KJ : 48), *عداب*, 'punition, torture' (CC : f. 7) ; *الذي*, 'qui' (CC : ff. 7, 8), *اوخذت*, 'a été prise' (CC : f. 8 plusieurs exemples), *اخذ*, 'il prit' (CC : f. 9 deux exemples), *اخذوا*, 'ils prirent' (CC : f. 9). Ce trait apparaît aussi dans les diplômes où la dentale /d/ et l'interdentale /d/ sont transcrite en grec avec l'interdentale sonore /ð/ :

«La transcription grecque, que l'on pourrait supposer due à l'absence d'un son correspondant au phonème /dh/, finit par refléter le phénomène de la réalisation de l'interdentale /dh/ par la dentale /d/. Ce phénomène, en tout cas corroboré pour l'époque médiévale par les exemples apportés sur ce point par Ibn Makkī, est attesté dans le moyen arabe, dans l'arabe sicilien et dans les dialectes arabes contemporains tant occidentaux qu'orientaux» (Cassarino 2012 : 93).

Dans le *Tatqīf al-lisān*, Ibn Makkī indique d'autres cas tels *زمرُد*, 'émeraude' et *قنفود*, 'hérisson' qui sont attestés aussi en arabe andalou (Cassarino 2007 : 19-20 ; Grand'Henry 2007 : 39).

La perte des fricatives interdentales sourdes et sonores /t/ et /d/ est en effet un trait qui intéresse l'Occident du monde arabe sauf quelques variétés occidentales citadines, rurales et bédouines, incluant les zones de Cherchell, de la Tunisie de Constantine, d'Alger (Grand'Henry 1972: 6-7 ; Cantineau 1960 : 44), du Maroc, de la Mauritanie et de Malte (Vicente 1998 : 320). Il s'agit d'un phénomène présent dans la plupart des langues sémitiques alors que l'articulation des interdentales /t/ et /d/ est, par contre, conservée

dans les dialectes bédouins et très anciens (Vicente 1999 : 317-333) ; les phonèmes interdentaires sont aussi maintenus en arabe andalou, qui est notamment une variété d'arabe ayant des caractéristiques conservatrices. À cause de l'absence des consonnes interdentes dans l'ibéro-roman et dans le latin utilisés en al-Andalus, dans les transcriptions des mots arabes en graphie latine, /d/ est toujours transcrit /d/ (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 30). En arabe andalou, il y a quand même des traces de l'articulation dentale de /d/, probablement causée par la susmentionnée absence de phonèmes interdentaires dans l'ibéro-roman de l'époque: عَدَّ 'nourrir', دُخْر 'trésor', زُمْرُد 'émeraude' et قُنْفُذ 'hérissou' (Agius 1996 : 179-180 ; Cassarino 2007 : 19-20), جُرْد 'rat' et مَدَاك 'depuis que' (Corriente 2013 : 22).

«il ne s'agissait pas seulement d'une fréquente indistinction graphique, puisque le parallélisme avec le cas du /t/, la fréquence des confusions mutuelles, à toute les époques et dans tous les types de textes, et les admonitions des auteurs des 'in corrections du peuple' [...], ne laissent aucun doute sur la fréquente indistinction phonologique des deux phonèmes, au moins dans les registres bas et moyens de l'arabe andalou» (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 31 ; sur le phénomène voir aussi Ferrando 1996 : 120 et 1998 : 61-63).

Phonème pré-palatal chuintant sourd /š/ et phonème pré-dorsal sifflant sourd /s/

En ce qui concerne l'oscillation de س et ش, il s'agirait du recul du point d'articulation de la sifflante alvéolaire sourde *s̄n*, réalisée comme palatale sourde : سرقوشه 'Syracuse' (CC : f. 2), شنتاغاته 'Sant'Agata' (CC : f. 5), شبت 'samedi' (CC : f. 6), شنتانجل 'Sant'Angelo' (NU, p. 43). Le phénomène, qui avait été déjà relevé par Agius (1996 : 183-184, 288-290) en arabe de Sicile, est typique aussi de l'arabe andalou, surtout en ce qui concerne les toponymes qui contiennent les mots *Sant* ou *Santa* qui deviennent, respectivement, *Šant* et *Šanta*. En arabe de Sicile, aussi bien qu'en al-Andalus, d'autres exemples sont attestés : شجاع 'roucouler', شذائق 'faucon prédateur', شمطير 'sentier, parcours', شمش 'soleil' (voir Agius 1996 : 183-185).

«Même en tenant compte des erreurs des copistes qui ont souvent lieu, entre deux graphèmes qui ne diffèrent qu'en présence ou en l'absence des points diacritiques, il faut accepter qu'il y ait eu des cas de confusion réelles entre /s/ et /š/» (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 51)

comme par exemple : شيبيا 'seiche' et شوذائق 'faucon prédateur'. Les explications de ce phénomène sont plusieurs : dans certains termes, comme dans le cas de 'seiche', le passage pourrait être causé par le fait qu'il s'agit d'un emprunt au grec ; concernant d'autres mots, il pourrait s'agir de pseudo-corrections dues à la proximité entre le /š/ apical et le /s/ pré-dorsal (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 52).

En arabe andalou, on trouve des exemples du phénomène inverse causé par l'oscillation entre le phonème roman /s/ et le /š/ dont les points d'articulation sont très proches et de la dissimilation de /š/ en proximité de certaines consonnes comme /ğ/ : سجاج 'blessures à la tête' ; حسرج 'râler' (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 58-59 ; pour d'autres exemples sur ce trait comme 'vestige sudarabique', voir pp. 59-60 ; voir aussi

Corriente 2013 : 27). En arabe de Sicile aussi on remarque quelques cas tel يكسف 'il découvre' (KJ : 47).

Phonème pré-dorsal sifflant sourd /s/ et phonème pré-dorsal sifflant sourd vélarisé /ʃ/

L'oscillation de س et ص est attestée. Ce trait, panarabe et très fréquent en Sicile, où il est attesté dès le XII^e siècle, est généralement causé par la proximité d'une consonne emphatique ou d'un *rā'*, comme dans le cas du substantif صور 'mur' et صور 'bastion'. Au nombre des conséquences de ce trait, il y a l'usage indifférencié des verbes سار 'marcher' et صار 'devenir' (NU : 23 et *passim*. Pour le phénomène en moyen arabe, voir Bettini 2012 ; pour d'autres exemples, voir Agius 1996 : 188 ; Grand'Henry 2007 : 39-40). Agius a inventorié d'autres cas tels صفر 'livre', حمّصت 'j'ai réchauffé le pain sur le feu' et نقرص 'arthrite' (Agius 1996 : 184).

Le phénomène est aussi attesté en arabe andalou: صرّة 'nombril', فارص 'amer', سلاح 'arme', ناقوص 'cloche' (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 51 ; voir aussi Corriente 2013 : 25). L'oscillation de /s/ et /ʃ/ est très bien connue dans quelques variétés maghrébines : نخاص 'vendeur d'esclaves' et عسكر 'soldats' (Grand'Henry 2007 : 40) sont parmi les nombreux cas. Le phénomène inverse a été attesté en Sicile, سقلية 'melon', سقلية 'Sicile' (Agius 1996 : 187-188), et en arabe andalou : فرصة 'occasion'; اسفر 'jaune' (Corriente 1977 : 50). En al-Andalus, l'oscillation de /s/ et /ʃ/ pourrait être due à l'influence du substrat roman ; cette opposition a disparu des textes de registre bas et a survécu dans les textes les plus cultivés comme résultat de formes d'hypercorrections (Corriente 2013 : 25).

Phonème occlusif dental sourd /t/ et phonème occlusif dental sourd vélarisé /t̪/

Seulement deux cas d'emphatisation de consonnes non-emphatiques sont présents dans nos textes siculo-arabe : اللطيني (NU : 278) et اللطينية (KJ : *passim*), les deux indiquant la langue latine. Le /t/ semble être plutôt stable en arabe de Sicile et aucun cas analogue n'est signalé ni par Ibn Makkī ni attesté dans les autres textes siciliens. Dans le cas de اللطيني, l'emphatisation de la dentale sourde /t/ pourrait être une pseudo-correction due à la transcription du prêt 'latin' en arabe.

En arabe andalou, malgré le fait que le /t/ soit assez stable, il peut passer à /t̪/ en contexte vélaire (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 35-36) : فطقت 'j'ai déchiré', اصطحى 'avoir honte' ; طخت 'garde-robe' (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015 : 35, 81-82), وقطك 'ton temps' (voir aussi Corriente 2013 : 15).

En guise de conclusion

Comme on a tenté de le montrer, l'arabe andalou et l'arabe sicilien ont plusieurs traits phonologiques, à caractère maghrébin, en commun qui nous indiquent l'existence d'un

bloc arabe occidental qui incluait, outre les parlers du Maghreb, l'andalou, le sicilien et l'arabe de Malte (Cassarino 2012 : 104 ; Vanhove 1998).

En tant que dialectes pré-hilāliens, les variétés sicilienne et andalouse ont gardé des caractéristiques bédouines et conservatrices à côté d'innovations typiques de la région maghrébine. L'arabe andalou est sans doute le plus conservateur : il suffit de penser à la tendance à maintenir l'articulation interdentale de /d̪/ et /t̪/ qui, en Sicile, passent généralement à /d/ et /t/. En réalité, en al-Andalus, ce processus est plus complexe car il y avait dans la région une certaine fragmentation dialectale qui explique que l'on trouve aussi des cas d'articulation dentale des mêmes phonèmes (Ferrando 2004 : 41-53 ; Vicente 1998 : 328).

L'*imāla* de deuxième degré est un autre trait conservateur, attesté aussi dans d'autres dialectes occidentaux tels le maltais et le libyque. L'*imāla* serait un archaïsme importé en arabe andalou et en arabe de Sicile lors des premières conquêtes islamiques ; alors qu'en al-Andalus on connaît très bien sa distribution sur le territoire à toute époque, pour la Sicile on a très peu d'informations. Comme les études de Steiger et De Simone l'ont montré, dans l'Île, l'*imāla šadīda* est très rare, tandis que l'*imāla* de premier degré est très répandue.

L'andalou a probablement gardé plus de traits conservateurs, par rapport au sicilien, à cause de son caractère périphérique (Ferrando 1996 : 113 ; Vicente 2011 : 368, Tchobanova 2006/2007). Malgré le fait que l'arabe de Sicile ne puisse pas être défini comme 'périphérique' au sens le plus étroit du terme (Lentin 2006/2007), il a maintenu des traits périphériques, surtout phonologiques, parmi lesquels l'*imāla* forte.

L'analyse phonologique qu'on vient de présenter indique aussi que l'andalou et le sicilien partagent d'autres traits qui sont 'standardisés' dans les parlers maghrébins contemporains : l'affaiblissement des voyelles brèves, la présence des allophones [e] et [o], l'absence de *hamzah* en toute position et les changements qu'elle engendre, tels le passage de /ʔ/ à /y/ et la transcription de /āʔ/ avec /ā/.

Les traits phonologiques mentionnés, tirés d'un *corpus* de textes relativement limité, ne sont que quelques-uns des traits qui caractérisent l'arabe de Sicile (voir La Rosa 2014a). L'analyse linguistique de cet échantillon ajoute quelques éléments utiles pour la reconstruction des caractéristiques de l'arabe de Sicile ; l'approche comparative appliquée aux études sur l'arabe sicilien, en fait, permet, dans une perspective synchronique, de mieux définir le type linguistique sicilien à travers l'analyse des éléments communs avec l'andalou et les variétés maghrébines et la mise en évidence des spécificités de l'arabe de l'Île. D'ailleurs, du point de vue diachronique, cette étude comparative pourrait être utile pour dater la genèse de quelques phénomènes phonologiques attestés en arabe de Sicile, ce qui permettrait d'ajouter une petite pièce à la mosaïque des études d'histoire de la langue arabe et particulièrement des dialectes arabes maghrébins d'époque médiévale.

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A DIGITAL PHILOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE HISTORY OF *HĀ HUNĀ* CONSTRUCTIONS

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Abstract. In modern spoken Arabic dialects, the proximal locative demonstrative “here” is derived either from **hunā* or **hā hunā*, with no dialects preserving both forms or contrasting between them. In formal written Arabic both forms are used, and so this study investigates the contrast between *hunā* and *hā hunā* in an 800 million word collection of written Arabic texts in order to shed light on the development of *hā hunā* in the spoken dialects. The study, however, finds that there is no semantic or pragmatic contrast in the usage of the two phrases, though changes in the relative frequency of use reflect larger changes in the centers of literary production and political power and the dialects of those centers. The study concludes that formal written Arabic must be treated as an autonomous register which has developed according to the needs of that register and therefore written Arabic reflects the spoken language only to a small degree.

Keywords: *Corpus linguistics, diglossia, demonstratives, digital humanities, philology*

In exploring the history of the Arabic language, one is confronted by the inescapable reality of the diglossic split between the two primary modalities of Arabic: the formal written variety and the spoken dialects. The diglossic character of Arabic means that the vast majority of pre-modern and modern texts are in a formal variety of Arabic, referred to in the Arabic linguistic tradition as *al-fuṣḥā*, and in the western tradition as Classical Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic depending on the time period. There is significant evidence that the canonical register of *al-fuṣḥā* had diverged from spoken usage in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. Thus even the earliest texts in *al-fuṣḥā* probably diverge significantly from the contemporaneous spoken register (Abboud-Hagggar 2006; Al-Jallad 2015; Hopkins 1984; Magidow 2013b). This means that in contrast to other languages, it is unclear whether applying philological methods to historical formal texts can reveal very much about the history of the spoken Arabic dialects.

This article uses a large diachronic text collection to investigate the link between the spoken and written varieties of Arabic by focusing on the phrase *hā hunā* “(right) here.” This phrase exists both in spoken varieties and in written Arabic, but only in written Arabic does it still co-exist with the phrase *hunā* “here.” This article combines large scale statistical data from the text collection with traditional philological analysis of the texts themselves. Computational searching tools are used to guide the researcher to examples of the word or phrase being investigated, and these examples can then be subjected to linguistic analysis.

¹ The author would like to thank Maxim Romanov for his generosity in sharing the Shamela corpus, and to Yonatan Belinkov for our shared work on related projects. The author would like to extend his warmest thanks to the editor for catching many an embarrassing mistake and for the insightful suggestions for the translations. All remaining errors are the author’s own.

Though there are few high quality, diachronic corpora of Arabic, and no well curated corpora that cover the entire history of the Arabic language, a number of projects are engaged in digitizing and archiving texts from the Arabo-Islamic tradition and making these texts publicly available online.² These electronically readable text collections focus on texts of interest to scholars of Islamic theology and due to their bias towards Islamic texts they are not as balanced as a formally collected corpus would be. For this reason, I refer to these as “text collections” rather than “corpora.”

These text collections represent a potentially invaluable resource, as the expensive and time-consuming process of text digitization has already been undertaken. Moreover, these collections are very large and have excellent diachronic coverage. However, the nature of these texts is that they tend to be written in highly formal registers of *al-fuṣḥā*, and so it is not immediately clear what value they may have for understanding the development of the spoken Arabic language. Can they be used to investigate the history of the Arabic language as a whole, or can they shed light only on the register in which they are written, *al-fuṣḥā*?

For a pilot variable to explore how well these texts reflect the underlying spoken language of their writers, the phrase *hā hunā* “right here” was chosen due to its unique characteristics. This phrase, created by the addition of the deictic particle *hā* “lo, here” to the proximal locative demonstrative *hunā*, only contrasts with the original, bare *hunā* in the *al-fuṣḥā* register. In contrast, in spoken colloquial Arabic, the proximal locative demonstrative is either a reflex of bare *hunā* or *hā hunā*. That is to say that the distinction between the two in spoken Arabic acts as an isogloss between dialects (Fischer 1959:121). In *al-fuṣḥā* both *hunā* and *hā hunā* are used, often in the same text. By investigating the realizations of these forms in historical written texts, we may be able to understand better the differences in meaning that resulted in the creation of the *hā hunā* forms used in modern spoken dialects and be able to determine to what degree spoken Arabic and *al-fuṣḥā* were interrelated.

Relationship between spoken dialect and written language

The work on the influence of spoken Arabic on written Arabic has been ambiguous, finding both the direct influence of spoken Arabic forms on *al-fuṣḥā* usage, what I call here “direct use”, and the non-use of forms that are seen as too colloquial for formal use, what I call “colloquial avoidance.” Certainly most formal written texts are by their very nature written using vocabulary, syntax and morphology different from the everyday language of the writer, which is inherently a form of colloquial avoidance, but there is evidence for positive interference as well. Ibrahim (1997, 2009) and Parkinson & Ibrahim (1999) have shown that there is consistent lexical variation in the written styles of different countries. This is typically direct use, that is to say that dialect words like *kanze*

²The only true corpus is the King Saud University Corpus of Classical Arabic (KSUCCA), but it only covers the first three Islamic centuries (<http://ksucorpus.ksu.edu.sa/>). A number of text collections are available which feature texts from all eras, for example <http://www.alwaraq.net>, <http://shamela.ws/>, <http://www.aljamea.net/> (all accessed Nov 15 2015).

“sweater, pullover” in Lebanese Arabic might be used directly in a formal written context, at times confusing non-Levantine speakers. A more subtle example of direct use is that found by Wilmsen(2010), who shows that Levantine newspapers are more likely to use the direct object marker *'yya-* than Egyptian papers, reflecting greater colloquial usage of cognate *yya-* in Levantine dialects than in Egyptian.

On the other hand, Magidow (2013a) found that on a forced-choice task, native Syrian speakers were more likely to avoid words or structures cognate with colloquial usage in constructing formal Arabic sentences, even if these were acceptable elements of *al-fuṣṣḥā*, at times to the point of hypercorrection. Similarly, Ibrahim (2009:147) notes that the Moroccan term for “thigh” *al-wark* has strongly colloquial connotations in Egyptian Arabic, and her subjects would have instead used *al-fahḍ* if writing formally. The direction of influence that should be expected in the data here is therefore unclear. We might find direct use, in that speakers of dialects with *hā hunā* use that form in writing, or the opposite might be true, with *hā hunā* dialect speakers using *hunā* in order to maintain the formality of their writing by avoiding a cognate of their local term.

al-Maktaba al-Šāmila

The text collection used in this study is based on the al-Maktaba al-Šāmila text collection, which will be referred to as the “Shamela collection,” using the spelling from their web address.³ This collection was downloaded and curated by the historian Maxim Romanov, who converted all of the website’s .epub files into normal text files, removed formatting codes, moved footnotes into endnotes and meticulously created a centralized metadata file. Dr. Romanov was generous enough to share this collection with the author, who further refined the metadata file and made small modifications necessary for the current research project. There is at this time no public repository for this collection.

The Shamela collection is valuable in that it includes significant metadata for its texts, the most relevant here being the author’s name, the author’s date of death, the title of the work, and though not considered here, some dubious genre classifications. Furthermore, all of the texts in the collection are digitized from printed editions of the work, so the electronic copy can be compared to the printed edition if necessary, and they can be cited easily to the level of the individual page. This allows for rapid diachronically oriented searches of the data while still maintaining the bibliographic standard needed for scholarly publication.

The Shamela collection contains 6132 texts with a total count of 802.1 million word tokens, defined as segments of text separated by spaces. However, only 4907 of those texts have author date of death information, with a total wordcount of 755.8 million words. Many of the texts are also marked as ‘CONTEMPORARY’, which I have coded as 1440 H in order to distinguish them from texts marked with a 1436 H date (the latest date shown in the database). Wordcount is not even through time, as can be seen in Figure 1 – most of the texts are contemporary, with only 593.7 million words from texts prior to 1300 H.

³<http://shamela.ws/>

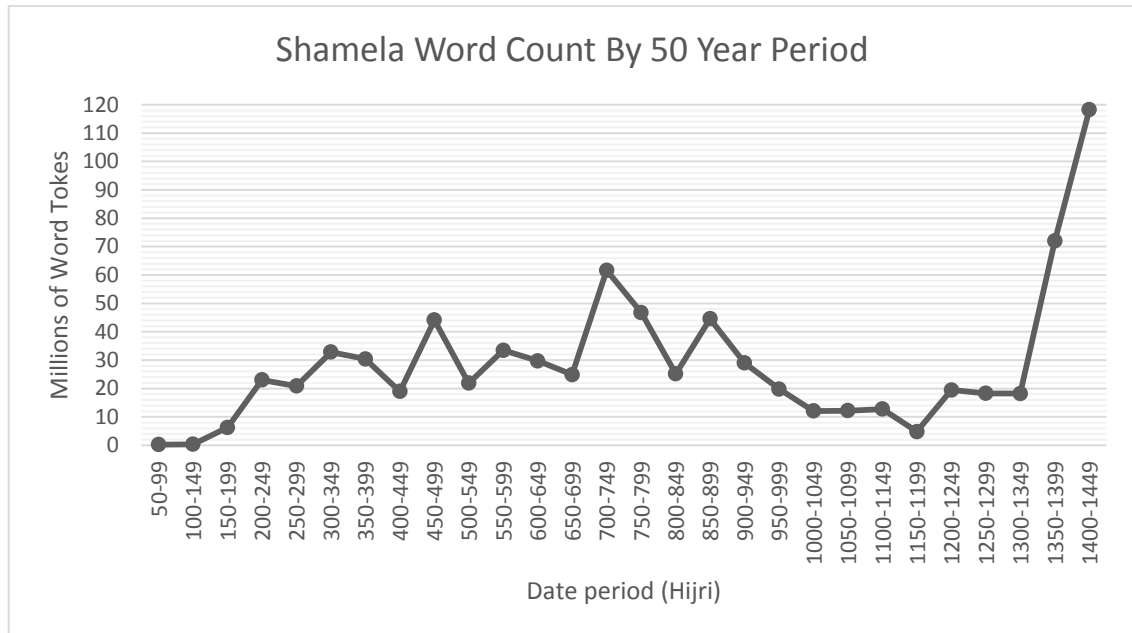


Figure 1: Wordcount by 50 Hijri year period

There are some limitations to the Shamela corpus. With respect to genre, early texts are primarily collections of hadith literature, while histories and biographical collections dominate in the sixth and seventh centuries. While this reflects the larger trends within the Arabo-Islamic tradition, it means that apparent chronological differences may actually reflect genre differences and visa-versa. Literary texts are not well represented, with very few poetic texts. There is also some mixing of contemporary and historical languages. The processing performed by Dr. Romanov has removed all footnotes to the end of the files, so that automatic processing of the files can easily ignore them. However, many texts feature an introduction by a modern editor, and removing these introductions automatically is not presently possible, nor at this juncture is it a worthwhile endeavor to remove the introductions from over four thousand texts manually. This means that searches for a given word may find usages that are actually contemporary (i.e. Modern Standard Arabic), even in a Classical Arabic text. Finally, the Shamela corpus is an Islamic corpus and thus features significant quotation between sources, whether of each other or of shared texts that might not be in the corpus per se. Work is underway to resolve this issue, but it is extremely computationally taxing and complex, so the corpus used here will necessarily show some redundancy.

Another limitation is that while the Shamela corpus and website provide author ID codes for each text, and even prose biographies for many authors, there is no simple method to extract information about where an author was born and where he worked. This makes it very difficult if not impossible to delineate geographical trends in language use, though such trends must be expected to exist by the very nature of schooling and language use. Future work should use the author biographies and computer readable gazetteers to automatically extract location information.

Searches were performed on this corpus using a custom-written Python script that produced a concordance and count of the instances of a search word or phrase. A custom program was required to easily correlate concordance instances and textual metadata, particularly author identity and author date of death. The program removed short vowels and other diacritics from the phrases prior to search. However, some orthographic errors and mistakes in both the software and the texts themselves mean that the results should not be taken as perfectly exact. The search works on a line-by-line basis, so if *hā* occurred directly before a line break, followed by *hunā* on the following line, the search would not detect this as *hā hunā*. Similarly, the presence of modern text segments or of quoted segments or the use of unexpected diacritics can alter the counts of words. For this reason, numerical results should not be considered extremely precise, but should still be illustrative of trends over time.

Hā Hunā Background

The proximal locative demonstratives in almost all varieties of Arabic are based on the word *hunā* “here” though in a number of dialects the original form may be *hinā* (Fischer 1959:121–122). The distal form of the demonstrative tends to be more varied, with many dialects showing *hunāk* or variants thereof, but others showing reflexes of *gādi* or *ṭamma*. Like the demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *hādā*), and in many cases the manner demonstratives (*hākaḏā*), in many dialects the presentative particle *hā* has become affixed to the locative demonstrative. Thus, in these dialects, the proximal locative demonstrative is a reflex of **hā hunā*. In some, but not all of these dialects, the distal form is a reflex of *hā hunāk*. In *al-fuṣṣḥā*, in contrast, both *hunā* and *hā hunā* forms can occur in the same texts. This means that *al-fuṣṣḥā* may hold the key for understanding what meaning was carried by *hā hunā* in contrast to *hunā*, which in turn can inform our understanding of how these *hā*-prefixed forms arose in spoken Arabic and how they contrasted in meaning with the forms lacking *hā*-prefixes.

The distribution of reflexes of **hāhunā* in modern dialects is essentially parallel to the distribution of demonstrative pronouns or adjectives which have *hā*-prefixes, though there is an implicational relationship: If a dialect has a reflex of **hāhunā*, then at least some of its demonstratives will show *hā*-prefixes, but the converse is not true. In Syria, for example, almost all dialects have both demonstrative pronouns that are reflexes of **hādā*/**hādī*, and all of these dialects have **hāhunā* based demonstratives (Behnstedt 1997 maps 280-281). The same is true in Yemen (Behnstedt 1985, maps 51-54, 56). In North Africa, however, while most modern dialects have *hā*-prefixes in their demonstrative pronouns and adjectives, their locative demonstratives are normally derived directly from *hunā* (Fischer 1959:116–117).

Reflexes of *hāhunā* that resemble modern forms are found as early as the 10th century. Fischer (1959:118, citing Oestrup 1897:469) reports an instance from that era of

a proximal demonstrative spelled *hwnā* (vocalization uncertain, though probably *hawna*). Notably the Quran only uses *hā hunā* as its proximal locative demonstrative.⁴

The basic function of the *hā* particle in Arabic has been that of an attention gathering particle, drawing the attention of the listener to the following utterance. Over time, this particle was likely used to emphasize sentences containing demonstratives in a presentative function, and eventually it became fused to those demonstratives. At this point, the demonstratives with prefixed *hā* (e.g. *hādā*) would have acted as more emphatic versions of the bare demonstratives (e.g. *dā*) - Fischer refers to the latter as *Schwachformen* “weak forms” (Fischer 1959:163; Magidow 2013b:sec. 5.4). This provides a convenient basic hypothesis for our study of *hā hunā* in *al-fuṣṣḥā*: we expect the primary contrast to be between *hunā* and *hā hunā*, rather than between e.g. *hā hunā* and *hā hunāk*, and that the nature of this contrast will be for *hā hunā* to somehow express a more emphatic meaning than bare *hunā*.

Overview of *hā hunā*

In searching the Shamela collection for instances of *hā hunā*, it is important to note that there are three major orthographic variations of this phrase, transliterated strictly here, without short vowels since these are rarely written in the texts: *hā hnā*, *hāhnā* and *hnnā*. All three variations can appear in the same text, and seem to be interchangeable. There are no clear temporal trends in the usage of one variation over another, nor do they seem to cluster according to author or text. For this reason, statistics about these variants will be grouped and we will not generally differentiate the variants, using *hā hunā* as a general term, but transliterating the appropriate form in examples.

Across the entire corpus, there are only 181,851 uses of phrases with *hunā*, including *hā hunā* and its variants. Of these there are 51,701 instances of *hā hunā* and its variants, or 28% of the total. Expressed in terms of frequency per 100,000 words, bare *hunā* has a frequency of 13.8 instances per 100,000, while *hā hunā* has a frequency of 5.5 instances per 100,000. Note that 2618 of the 6132 total texts do not have any instances of *hunā* phrases of any type, that is to say that nearly 42% of texts in the collection do not use proximal locative demonstratives in any form.

⁴ Quran 2:154, 5:24, 8:26, 69:35.

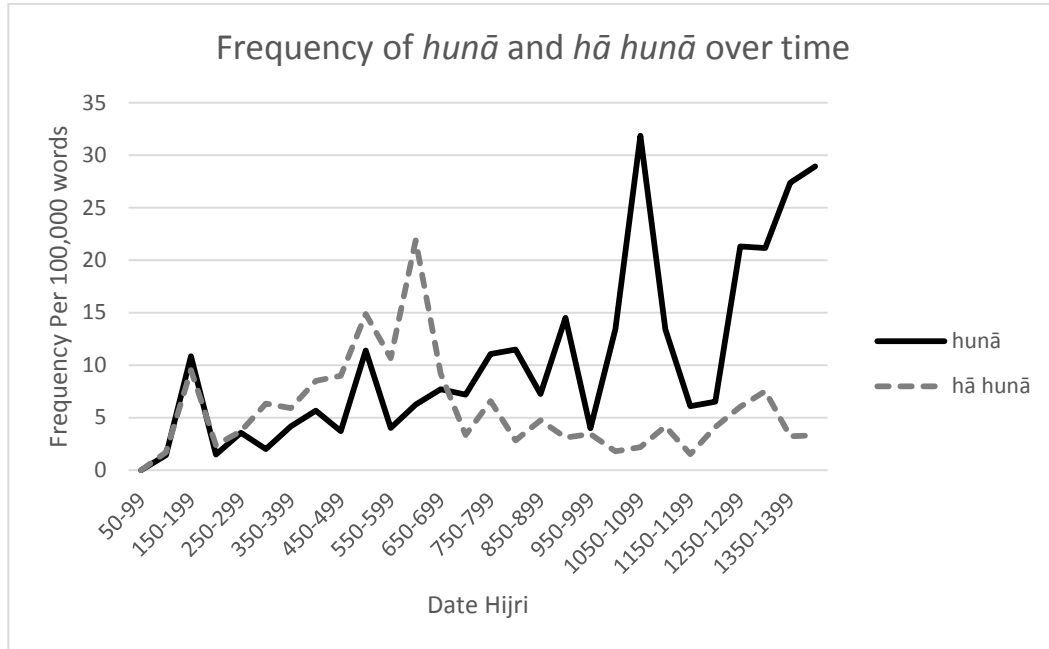


Figure 2: *hunā* and *hā hunā* frequency over time

However, there are strong temporal trends in frequency, as shown in Figure 2. In the early Islamic centuries, until the eighth Islamic century, *hā hunā* is the dominant form, though *hunā* is still very common.⁵ Following the eighth century, *hā hunā* becomes significantly less frequent, while use of *hunā* continues and becomes relatively more frequent. Note that it is relatively rare for texts to have only *hunā* or only *hā hunā*, with most texts showing both forms as illustrated in Figure 3. This suggests that *hunā* and *hā hunā* may have a contrastive function in those texts in which both are used.

⁵ Dates in the article are given according to the Hijri calendar and reflect dates of death of the authors as given in the Shamela website's metadata files.

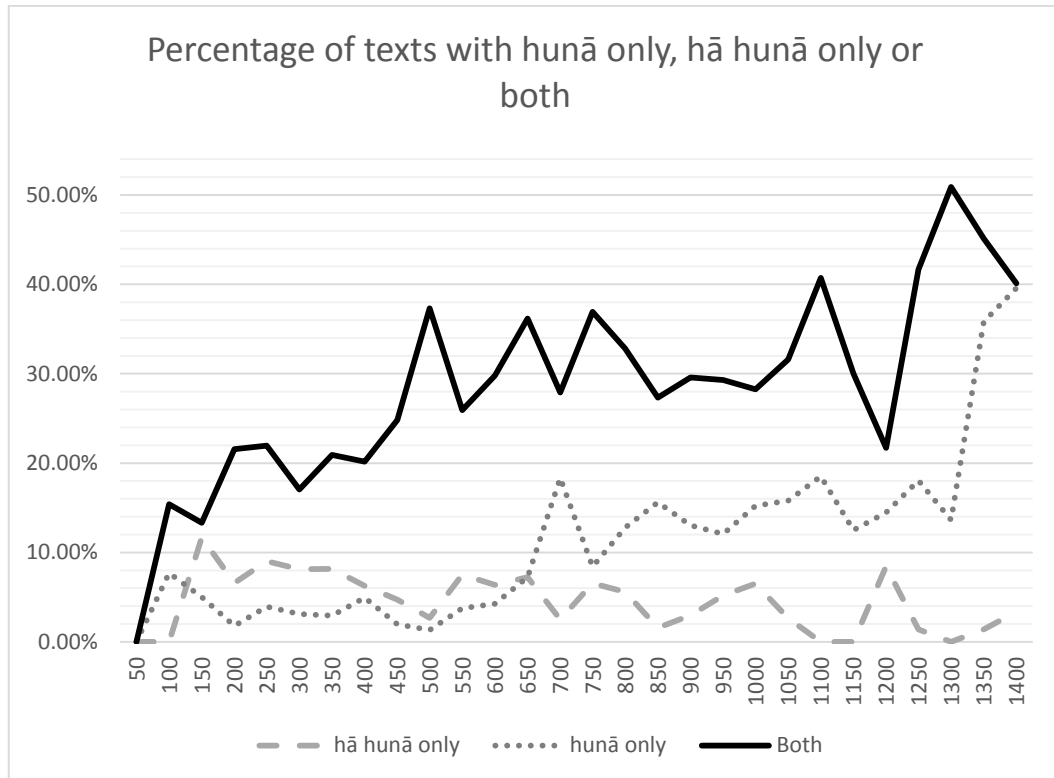


Figure 3: Percent of texts which show only one variant of the proximal demonstrative or both.

The analysis thus far approaches the distinction between the two phrases using texts as the unit of analysis, but if the choice of variant reflects an author's spoken dialect, we would expect authors to cluster very clearly in their behavior. In a chart of frequency of use of *hunā* on the x-axis versus *hā hunā* frequency on the y-axis, we would expect authors to cluster along the axes if their writing reflected their dialects, since dialects either have a reflex of *hunā* or *hā hunā*, but not both. However, as shown in Figure 4, there is no such clustering. Indeed the distribution is surprisingly even. A temporal analysis of the data, which is very difficult to visualize here, shows that there is clustering along either axis according to the date of the text, with early texts clustering along the y-axis (greater use of *hā hunā*) and more recent texts clustering along the x-axis (greater use of bare *hunā*). However, this is expected given the data from Figure 2 and Figure 3 which show very clearly the temporal distribution of these forms.

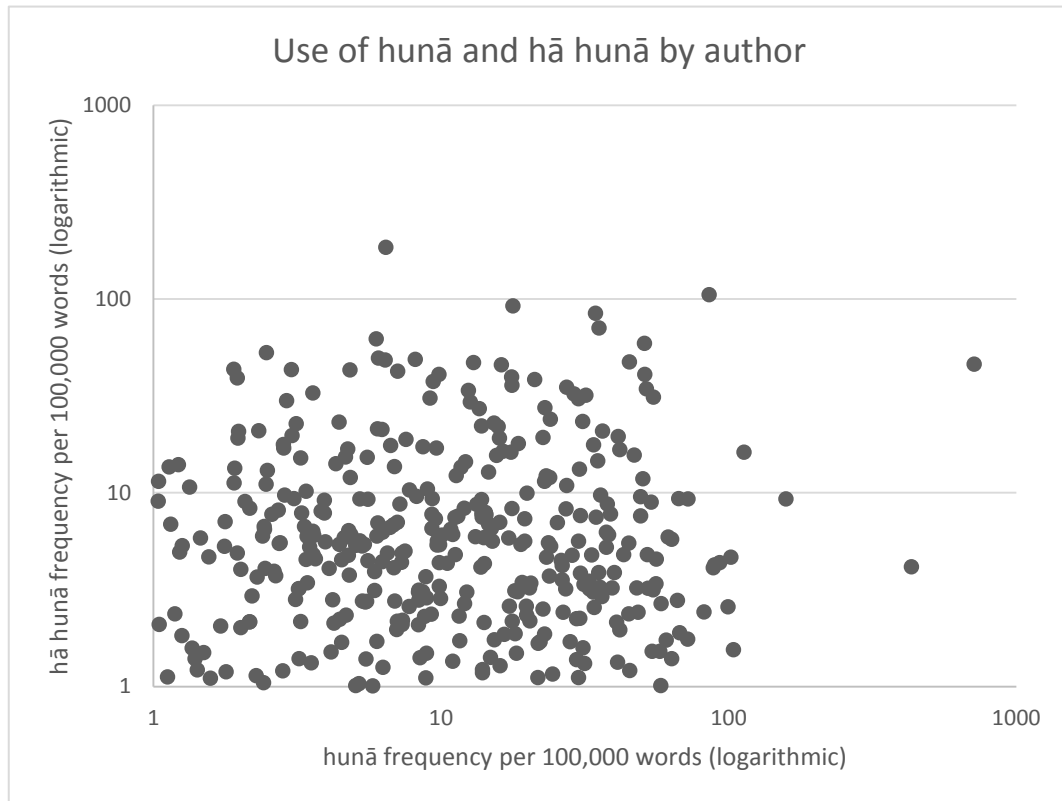


Figure 4: Average frequency of *hunā* and *hā hunā* use across all works by a single author. Each dot represents a single author, authors who do not use either form are not included.

Functions and Contrasts

One can, broadly speaking, divide the function of deixis into two basic roles: exophoric and endophoric, meaning text external and text internal respectively. Exophoric uses are references to the real world, outside the world of the text, while endophoric uses are references to the world of the text or texts. In English, an exophoric use of the proximal locative demonstrative would be “I just arrived here,” referring to the physical location in which the speaker is standing. An endophoric usage would refer to the discourse itself, e.g. “What I am trying to say here is that that is impossible.” (Diessel 1999:111–113) argues that the exophoric function of demonstratives typically gives rise to the endophoric use, and so one must consider the exophoric use to be the basic, original use of the demonstratives.

Both *hunā* and *hā hunā* can be used for exophoric reference:

- (1) *fa-jā`a`īsā`alayhi al-salāmu yaṭlubuhum fa-qālū: laysa **hunā`** aḥadun*
So Jesus, peace be upon him, came asking for them, and they said, “No one is **here**”. (al-Wāqidi 1997:44, d. 207 H)
- (2) *qālū yā mūsā`innā lan nadḥulahā`abadan mā dāmū fihā fa-dḥab`anta wa-rabbuka fa-qātilā`innā **hāhunā qā`idūna***
They said, ‘Moses, we will never enter while they are still there, so you and your Lord go in and fight and we will stay here’. (Quran 5:24, translation Abdel Haleem 2008)

However, though it is very difficult to quantify, the endophoric usage of both of these appears to be predominant in the corpus:

- (3) *wa-min **hā hunā`** aḥada`imāmu`ahli al-sunnati [...] ḥuḭbata kitābihi ḥayṭu qāla: [...]*
[Following discussion of Quran 37:180] And from here [i.e. this concept] the Imam of the people of the Sunna [drew] the argument of his book in which he said....(Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya 1987: volume 1: 152, d. 751 H)
- (4) *wa-**hunā`** naw`un`āḥaru mina l-iḥtilāfi wa-huwa wifāqun fī al-ḥaḥiqati wa-huwa iḥtilāfun fī al-iḥtiyāri*
Here is another kind of disagreement, which is agreement on [what constitutes] the truth but disagreement on the choice. (Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya 1987: volume 2: 518, d. 751 H)

The predominance of the endophoric use of the proximal locative demonstratives is due largely to the nature of writing in the Islamo-Arabic corpus, mirrored in the Shamela text collection. While narrative texts do exist, the overwhelming majority of the texts focus on the principled analysis of other texts, whether that is exegesis, linguistic analysis, hadith collection, or other activities that formed the basis of Arabo-Islamic academic endeavor. Texts which are narrative in nature, such as the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* stories, historical accounts such as *Futūḥ al-Šām* or even the Quran (see examples (1), (2) above), employ the proximal locative demonstratives almost exclusively in an exophoric use.

It is difficult to automatically search for endophoric versus exophoric uses of these words in order to determine if indeed endophoric uses predominate in the corpus. While an informal overview of the concordance strongly suggests that the endophoric usage is in the majority, the closest proxy for the function being performed by a given instance of *hunā`* or *hā hunā`* is the immediately preceding word. Table 1 shows the five most common words preceding *hunā`* or *hā hunā`* with some grouping of similar words and treating phrasal groups such as *al-maqṣūd bihi* as a single word. For verbs, past, present and gerundive forms were included.

Table 1

5 most common words immediately preceding *hunā* and *hā hunā*

<i>hunā</i>			<i>hā hunā</i>		
Word	Count	Percent of All Instances	Word	Count	Percent of All Instances
<i>min</i>	15392	11.8%	<i>min</i>	3701	7.2%
<i>ḍakar</i> (all forms)	4129	3.1%	<i>kaḍā, hākaḍā, kaḍālika</i>	2339	4.5%
<i>al-murād</i> (bi-)	3665	2.8%	<i>'anna</i>	1816	3.5%
<i>'ilā</i>	2124	1.6%	<i>qāl</i> (all forms)	1719	3.3%
<i>al-maqṣūd</i> (bi-)	1715	1.3%	<i>ḍakar</i> (all forms)	1479	2.9%

For both *hunā* and *hā hunā*, the most common immediately preceding word is *min* “from”, but this can be used in both exophoric and endophoric contexts, as can the preposition *'ilā*. In general, *'ilā* appears to be used more frequently in exophoric contexts, but *min* appears to be used approximately evenly in both contexts.

- (5) Exophoric: *fa-qultu min hāhunā wa-'aṣartu 'ilā ḥalfi wa-'ilā hāhunā*
So I said, “From **here**, and pointed behind myself, to **here**”. (Al-Qirṣī 1999, 49-50, d. 170)
- (6) Endophoric: [...] *wa-min hunā naḥhamu maḥhabahu fī ṣawmi yawmi al-ṣakki*
[After discussing a hadith regarding fasting when one is uncertain if Ramadan has begun] [...] and **from this** we can understand his approach to fasting on an uncertain day (al-Šāfi'ī 1951: volume 1: 272, d. 204 H)
- (7) Endophoric: *ya'nī ḥasabnā 'an lan taqūla al-'insu wa-l-jinnu 'alā Allāhi kaḍiban ya'nī natawahhamu 'anna 'aḥadan lā yakḍibu 'alā Allāhi wa-'ilā hā hunā hikāyatu kalāmi l-jinni*
That is to say, we believe that neither man nor jinn would say a lie to God, that is to say we imagine that no one would lie to God, and **up to this point** is the story of the speech of the jinn. (Al-Samarqandī 1993: volume 3: 503, d. 373 H)

The remaining terms are strongly associated with textual analysis. The terms *al-murād* and *al-maqṣūd* are used to gloss words or phrases (especially poetry and Quranic verses), a function often performed by *kaḍā* as well.

- (8) *qūl: al-fā'u hā hunā naḥāru “tamma” fī qawlihi “'a-tamma 'idā mā waqa'a 'āmantum bihi” wa-kamā lā yajūzu taqḍīru al-ziyādati fī “tamma” fa-kaḍā hā hunā*
It is said that the [word] ‘so’ here is the equivalent to ‘then’ in the verse, “So if it happened would you believe in it” [Quran 10:51] and just as one cannot leave it

unpronounced with ‘then’, **so it is here** as well. (Al-Bāqawli: 1999 volume 3: 782, d. 543 H)

- (9) “[...] *sami ‘nā ’annahu waqqata dāta ‘irqin ’aw al-‘aqīqa*” [...] ***wa-l-murādu hunā al-qarību min dāti ‘irqin qablahā bi-marḥalatin ’aw marḥalatayn*** [...] [relating a hadith] we heard that he [the prophet] had not gauged the time to *Dāt ‘Irq* or *al-‘Aqīq*, and the **meaning here** is near to *Dāt ‘Irq*, before it by a day or two’s journey. (al-Šāfi‘ī 1951: volume 1: 290, d. 204 H)

Though one could claim that there is distinction between *hunā* and *hā hunā* based on these collocated terms, the distinction is actually related to era. Both *al-murād* and *al-maqsūd* steadily increase in frequency over time, occurring more frequently following the seventh century. So the frequent co-occurrence of these two terms with *hunā* as opposed to *hā hunā* is an artifact of general changing norms of language usage rather than a semantic distinction between *hunā* and *hā hunā*.

The high frequency of endophoric uses of these terms is specific to the world of texts and textual analysis, and it seems unlikely that endophoric use of these words would be particularly frequent in spoken communication. Instead, these terms have developed into uses which are specific to the written register and to the genres of textual analysis, a development which must have been largely separate from the developments which occurred in spoken language, where exophoric uses likely predominated. This aspect of the written register must have developed largely autonomously from the spoken language.

Contrasts

The most surprising result of the data analysis is that *hā hunā* is almost never used in a contrastive manner with *hunā*. Nor is there even the semblance of complementary distribution between these terms in the same text. In the two following examples, the same author uses both terms in almost identical contexts while glossing two different words:

- (10) *wa-qawlu l-‘arabi: ‘ašši wa-lā taḡtarra: ’ay ‘ašši ’iblaka hunā wa-lā taḡlub ‘afdala min-hu*

The Arabs’ phrase: settle down for the night and be content [i.e. not deluded into thinking there is better]: that is, settle your camels down **here** for the night and ask not for better than this [place]. (al-Farāhīdī 1980: volume 1: 69, d. 170 H)

- (11) *wa-qawlu-hum: ‘ašši wa-lā taḡtarra, ’ay ‘ašši ’iblaka hā hunā wa-lā taḡlub ‘afdala min-hu*

Their phrase: settle down for the night and be content: that is, settle your camels down **here** for the night and do not ask for better than this [place]. (al-Farāhīdī 1980 volume 2: 187, d. 170H)

Only very occasionally is *hā hunā* contrasted directly with *hunā* in a single phrase, with only 56 examples of the phrase *hā hunā wa-hunā* or *hunā wa-hā hunā* occurring in the corpus, though it is worth mentioning that the former comprises 42 of those examples.⁶ The phrase *hā hunā* is contrasted with *hunāk* only very rarely, with only 10 examples of the phrase *hā hunā wa-hunāk* in the Shamela collection. On the other hand, *hunā wa-hunāk* is more common, with a total of 1908 instances in the corpus, though only 70 of those instances are pre-modern, occurring before 1300/1882.

- (12) *wa-yuqālu: bal huwa al-šay'u alladī yajma'u min **hunā wa hunāk***
[after discussing a contested definition] It is said that actually this is something that combines [aspects] of **this and that**. (al-Farāhīdī 1980: volume 2: 107, d. 170 H)
- (13) *'inna man yaqa'u min šāhiqi jabalin fa-huwa fī al-hawā'i fī ḥayyizin 'iḍ yuqāl la-hu huwa **hāhunā wa-hunāk**, wa-laysa fī makānin 'iḍ lā ya 'tamiḍu 'alā šay'in*
[part of a discussion on the nature of the sky] One who falls from the peak of a mountain is in the air, in a space, in that it could be said that he is **here and there** and not in a [single] place in that he is not resting upon a [single] thing. (Al-Rāzī 1999: volume 25: 115, d. 606 H)

Indeed, *hā hunā* is just as likely to be contrasted with itself in such phrases, just as *hunā* can be contrasted with itself:

- (14) *fa-ḡālika qawluhu subḥānahu "ka-ramādin ištaddat bihi al-rīhu" ḥājat yamīnan wa-šamālan marratan **hāhunā wa-marratan hāhunā***
This is like the Quranic verse "like ashes blown by the wind" [Quran 14:18] blowing it left and right, sometimes. (Al-Balḥī 2002: volume 2: 404, d. 150 H)
- (15) *yanzuru marratan **hāhunā wa marratan hāhunā***
He looks **this way** one moment, and **this way** the next (al-Farāhīdī 1980: volume 2: 11, d. 170 H)

This use of non-contrastive proximal demonstratives even when a contrast is intended, i.e. the two proximal demonstratives do not reference the same space, is still common in colloquial Levantine Arabic. News websites which offer a miscellaneous news section will sometimes have a section entitled (*min*) *hōn wa-hōn*, using the Levantine Arabic term even when the news itself is in *al-fuṣṣḥā*.⁷ This phenomenon is quite old, occurring in Christian Middle Arabic texts such that "*hāhunā...hāhunā* is used for rendering Greek ὄδε ...εκεῖ 'here to there'" though at least one text also uses *hāhunā* [...] *hunāka* (Blau 1967:401).

⁶ One might argue that the tendency to use *hā hunā* before *hunā* suggests that *hā hunā* is the unmarked member of the pair, but only 42 examples from such a large corpus are simply too few to be conclusive.

⁷ See http://www.nassnews.com/here_here or <http://hanawey.org/archives/category/%D9%85%D9%86-%D9%87%D9%88%D9%86-%D9%88%D9%87%D9%88%D9%86> (both accessed Nov 15 2015)

There are also very few forms in which *hā hunā* is contrasted with a distal form, except in what appear to be nonce coinings. There are only 28 such examples in the corpus.

(16) *'ayḍan qawluhu ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa sallam: "maṭalu al-mu'mini ka-maṭali l-ḥāmi mina l-zar'ī tumlīhā al-rīḥu marratan hāhunā wa marratan hāhunāk [...]*

Also like the saying of [the Prophet] peace be upon him, "the believer is like unhulled grains, one moment the wind moves it here, and at another it moves it there [...]" (Al-Bakarī 1971: volume 1: 5, d. 487 H)

This data strongly disproves the hypothesis that *hā hunā* would act as an emphatic or marked form. Instead, there seems to be no detectable semantic or pragmatic distinction between *hunā* and *hā hunā* but rather truly free variation between the two forms within a given text. While there may be specific stylistic differences which are too subtle to detect here (avoidance of repetition, prosodic rhythm of a sentence, etc.), this free variation implies that the marked function that we would expect to be performed by *hā hunā* does not exist even in the written language. This could be interpreted to mean that the dialects of Arabic, even in the early Islamic period, had already crystalized around a single form for their proximal locative demonstratives, though this would be extremely speculative. Indeed, it is surprising that we do not find an emergent distinction in meaning. For example, what was apparent dialect variation in the demonstratives in Old Arabic was incorrectly interpreted by grammarians as a proximal-medial-distal distinction, and it is surprising that a similar phenomenon does not emerge here (Jarbou 2012).

On the relationship between written and spoken Arabic

The results of this study suggest that we must take a nuanced view of the relationship between written and spoken Arabic. The predominance of endophoric uses of the locative demonstratives in the written Arabic texts should be taken as a reminder that the register of written Arabic is independent of the quotidian spoken register of Arabic.⁸ Written Arabic was used to make extensive arguments, and more importantly, to base this argumentation on foundational texts. The written register would therefore require tools for making endophoric references and the locative demonstratives are an obvious choice, used in languages throughout the world for the same purpose. When necessary, they could continue to perform their exophoric function, but this function was relatively less necessary in the dominant genres in the Arabo-Islamic cannon.

⁸ It is important to note that here I am referring as much to function as to medium. It is well established that Arabo-Islamic texts had an oral component, via recitation, lecture, etc., but all of these functions differ significantly from the daily life uses of language for interpersonal communication. In a sense, we could make a distinction between monologic and dialogic communication, but this would still be reductive. For the moment, given the nature of the data, I will continue to refer to written versus spoken language.

Though only one of the two variants, *hunā* or *hā hunā*, survives in spoken dialects, the nature of written language is that more variants are preserved over time. This is especially true in Arabic. The lifetimes of Arabic words were measured in a lemmatized version of the Shamela corpus and compared with the lifetimes of English words in the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) which covers the period 1810-2009.⁹ Since the time spans of the corpora are very different, with Shamela covering 14 Hijri centuries with yearly resolution and COHA covering 2 Gregorian centuries with decade-level resolution, a comparison was made based on how much of the time from a word's first usage to the present it persisted, expressed as a percentage, what I will call persistence. If it never went 'extinct' it would be counted as 100% (words found in the last year of the corpus were counted as 100%), if it was a nonce word it would be counted as 0%. The average persistence for the English corpus was 41%, median 43%, standard deviation of 35 percentage points. In contrast, the average persistence for Shamela was 52%, median 65%, std. dev. 25 percentage points. Note that since the maximum window for Shamela is 1400 Hijri years (the first text dates to 41 H), a ten-percent difference means that Arabic words last centuries longer than English words, with the average lifespan for an Arabic word of 1160 years (std. dev. 349 years) and the average lifespan for an English word of 68 years (std. dev. 58 years) (Magidow & Belinkov 2015). Perhaps this is a direct result of diglossia, where the written register is not expected to reflect the spoken register, and indeed as the examples of colloquial avoidance above show, a writer may specifically avoid spoken forms in their writing. In any case, the strongly preservative nature of written Arabic meant that both *hunā* and *hā hunā* would have been available to writers throughout the Islamic period.

There is one example in the corpus in which *hā hunā* is mentioned in the context of the *lahn al- 'amma* 'linguistic errors' genre in al-Šafaḍī's (d.764 H) *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf wa-taḥrīr al-taḥrīf*, which remarkably only reports the variation between *hunā* and *hā hunā* variants without providing a 'correct' version as he does for most other entries in this work. Being a Levantine writer (from Safed in the Galilee), he also reports an expected variant *hawna*. This remarkably non-judgmental entry in a book devoted to correcting linguistic errors provides further evidence that there was not a favored or more formally acceptable variant between *hunā* and *hā hunā*.

(17) *taqūlu: hā hunā wa-hunā. wa-l- 'āmmatu taqūlu: hawnā*

You say: *hā hunā* and *hunā* and the common people say *hawnā*. (Al-Šafaḍī 1987:528, d. 764)

Though there is not a clear difference in the semantics of how these two variants are used, there is the clear temporal difference in their usages shown in Figure 2. It is this difference that may reflect overall dialect usage. Though they are used equally in the first two centuries, *hā hunā* is the dominant form until the eighth/fourteenth century. From there, bare *hunā* becomes the dominant form, while *hā hunā* becomes a very low frequency term. The timing of this change seems to coincide with a larger change in the center of political power in the Arabic-speaking world. Prior to the eighth/fourteenth

⁹<http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/> (accessed September 30 2015)

century, power was centered in Mecca, then the Levant under the Umayyads and Iraq under the Abbasids, though the Levant remained a center of power and learning. In 656/1258 the Mongols sacked Baghdad and in 658/1260 sacked Damascus before being halted by the Mamluks at Ain Jalut in the same year. This invasion marked a shift in power from the Levant and Iraq to Egypt, which remained a major center of Arabo-Islamic authority until the Ottomans conquered Egypt in the tenth/sixteenth century. This change is also reflected in the Arabic bibliographical literature. Romanov (2013:74–81), using al-Dahabī's *Ta'riḥ al-'islām*, shows that references to Egypt begin increasing at the end of the sixth Hijri century, at the time when the Ayyubids were emerging from the ashes of the Fatimid empire. At the end of the time period covered by his study, 700/1301, references to Egypt grow significantly, while references to Baghdad are on the decline.¹⁰ This trend continues, though Egypt eventually cedes its prominence with the coming of the Ottomans (Romanov, p.c.).

Since Egyptian Arabic uses a reflex of *hunā*, while Levantine, Iraqi and Northwest Arabian Arabic use reflexes of **hā hunā*, it seems likely that the timing of the rise of *hunā* is not coincidental. Though there is apparently no constraint against using either form by writers from across the Arabic-writing world, as evidenced by the high proportion of texts in all eras which exhibit both *hunā* and *hā hunā* (see Figure 3), it is likely that the sheer weight of usage and the subtle role of direct influence of spoken Arabic on written Arabic are what pushed the relative frequency of use of these two forms. Since reflexes of **hā hunā* are not always clearly related to that phrase (Levantine *hawna*, Yemeni *'ōna*, see Fischer 1959 for more examples), it is perhaps unlikely to expect colloquial avoidance of this phrase and so direct use as found here is not unexpected. It is not clear why there has been so little rebound in the use of *hā hunā* when *hunā*'s use increased so strongly in later centuries, but this may be explained by Egypt's role in literary production throughout the Arabic *nahḍa*, or by the general establishment of a literary norm in which *hunā* became the standard form. Further research is needed, and a major desideratum at this point is to be able to determine authors' place of birth and residence, and to link that data to the Shamela collection in order to easily extract regional trends in language use.

Conclusion

This article has shown that the usage of either *hunā* or *hā hunā* in written Arabic texts is not based on a semantic or pragmatic distinction between the two terms. Though this might appear to contradict the hypothesis about the development of *hā hunā* as an emphatic form of *hunā*, the usage of both these terms in *al-fuṣḥā* seems to reflect the needs of the written rather than spoken modes of communication and of particular genres. Therefore, the evidence does not seem to bear directly on the development of the spoken terms. Instead it strongly suggests that *al-fuṣḥā* represents a register that is largely

¹⁰ For an animated visualization, see this page: <http://maximromanov.github.io/2013/02-07.html> (accessed Nov 15 2015)

autonomous from spoken Arabic, though it is not entirely free of the influence of the spoken dialect of its writers.

This study contributes evidence that *al-fuṣṣḥā* can act as a repository for terms which are archaic or which are not used in the dialects of its writers, and it is this preservative effect which may have maintained the use of both *hunā* and *hā hunā* even when there was no meaningful difference in their semantic value. Future studies which employ this kind of digital philological approach should be cautious in how they treat data from written formal Arabic texts. While *al-fuṣṣḥā* can indeed preserve contrasts which are lost in spoken dialects, the autonomy of this register and its own internal developments must be respected.

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AN ACOUSTIC-PHONETIC ANALYSIS OF VOWELS IN LEVANT ARABIC: SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

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Abstract: Acoustical phonetics of Arabic has been developing during the last half-century, but not enough research of this field already exists. The literature concerning the Levant (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian Authority) do not enable clear phonetic-acoustic distinction between local dialects. This paper compares acoustic features of the dialect region of the Levant, in order to distinguish between them.

At first, acoustical features of the first two formants (F1, F2) of Arabic dialects in the Levant countries are presented. From Israel the vowels of two regional dialects – the Galilee (GD) in the north and the Muthallath ('Triangle') in the center (MD) of Israel are discussed (based on Amir, Amir and Rosenhouse, 2014). The available vowel systems of the compared Levant dialects reveal (as expected) similarities and differences, found even between the GD and MD. Gender-based differences have also been found, as expected. Indeed, the phonetic descriptive literature notes such similarities and differences between short and long vowels. Their spectral structures are also compared and discussed.

The second part of the paper focuses on the lowering of /i/ > /e/ and /u/ > /o/, found in several Levant dialects, including GD and MD. In the literature on Arabic dialects, vowel lowering usually follows pharyngealization. In GD and MD, however, this could not cause that phenomenon, because pharyngeal consonants were not used in the tested words. This finding suggests that the combined effect of the *ʔima:la* and *tafxi:m* processes are expanded to other cases following natural acoustic-phonetic processes (i.e., Zipf's (1949) Principle of Least Effort). This combination yields an on-going generalization of vowel changes, which in various Levant dialects has already caused vowel neutralization or merging of /i, u/ to /e, o/ or schwa.

Keywords: *Levant dialects; acoustic phonetics; Arabic vowels; vowel trapezes; short vowels neutralization/merging;*

1. Introduction: The phonological/phonetic vowel system in the Levant

This talk studies mainly acoustic-phonetic features of vowels of the Levant, i.e., Al-Sha:m, or Greater Syria, as previously named. The Levant is divided now between five political entities: Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian Authority. Linguistically, they are part of the Eastern Arabic dialect group, and distinct from other Arabic dialect groups.

Acoustic phonetics has been developing in Arabic linguistics since about the middle of the 20th century. Not sufficient acoustic studies of the dialects are available, and those that exist are not researched in a uniform methodology. It is therefore difficult to compare the dialects. However, based on the literature, it is known that vowels of Arabic dialects differ phonologically less than phonetically, and inter-dialect differences are often described as reflecting sociolinguistic factors (e.g. Salam and Embarki 2014, Bassiouney 2009).

This paper has two parts: an acoustic description of some vowel systems of the Levant, and a (rather theoretical) acoustic-phonetic discussion of certain short vowels. The phonetic systems of the Levant vowels are described since (at least) the beginning of the 20th century by e.g., Brockelmann, Bauer, Bergstaesser, Cantineau, etc. Based on that literature, we know that Levant dialects include more, and somewhat different, vowels from those of Classical Arabic (CLA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). MSA has, as well known, three pairs of long and short vowels, /i, i:/, u, u:/, a, a:/, while several Colloquial Levant Arabic systems have five long and short vowels: /i:/, e:/, u:/, o:/, a:/, i, e, u, o, a/. Based on the literature, we know the following facts of these vowels of the Levant dialects:

/a, a:/ are the most stable vowels while /i, i:/, u, u:/ may be lowered, deleted or exchanged in various dialects, in certain morphological structures, and phonetic environments.

/e:/, o:/ are usually considered to have developed from the (CLA/MSA) /ai, au/ diphthongs, respectively, and are more stable than short /e, o/. Short /e, o/ occur both as phonemes and/or epenthetic vowels, depending on dialect, morphological structure and phonetic environment. The schwa /ə/ occurs in several variants (timbres) as an epenthetic. However, various studies refer to /e, o/ as allophones only, or do not study them at all.

Knowing all this, one may ask why we need to discuss this subject at all. In my opinion, the general phonetic descriptions do not enable distinguishing different Levant dialects for practical goals such as forensic dialect verification or speech synthesis. Therefore, we will study here some different vowel systems of the Levant dialects to distinguish between their features.

2. Methodology

This comparison relies on some of the available literature which presents vowel trapezes of some Levant dialects. Such description is based on the acoustic analysis of their formants. To begin this survey here are two definitions of a formant, which is: 'A vocal tract resonance which is displayed on a spectrogram as a relatively broad (<~ 300 Hz.) band of energy' (Shahin 1997: 588) or, in other words, 'The spectral peaks of the sound spectrum' (Fant 1960). Figure 1 shows a cross section of the vocal tract, through which the air waves pass, while exiting from the lungs, via the vocal folds and the oral cavity and sometimes through the nasal cavity. Along the way, the sound wave "bumps" against the walls of the vocal tract once, twice, or more times, as figure 1 shows. This creates resonances, which together with the vocal tract features (volume, humidity, tongue position etc.) create the speech sounds.

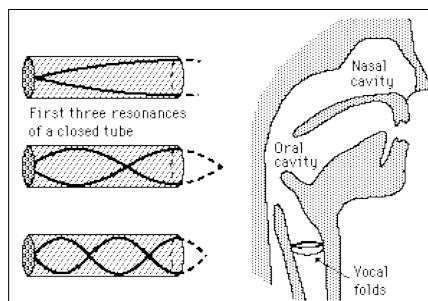


Figure 1. *Vocal tract and formants (from: Hanavan n.d.)*

Figure 2 is an example of a spectrogram (made with the Praat program, Boersma & Weenink 2012), where the top panel shows the envelopes of the waveforms. Below it, in the second panel we see the first four formants (in the background), the rising and falling pitch curve and the intensity (loudness) curve above the pitch curve (and falling towards the end). Below this panel, there are tiers where the utterance, the transcription and its timing, are written.¹

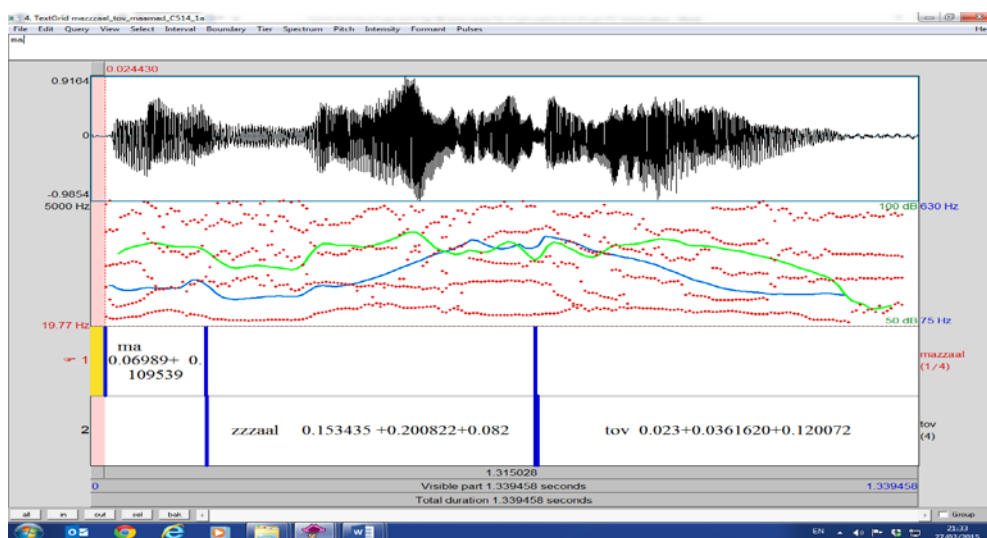


Figure 2. *An example of a spectrogram: Formants are marked red*

Vowels and consonants have several formants, as Figure 2 shows. For vowel identification, F1 and F2 are considered the most important formants because F1 reflects the tongue position, i.e., its height, and F2 reflects the tongue place (front/back) in the vocal tract. Therefore, only F1 and F2 are discussed below. Figure 3 shows an example of F1 and F2 in an English vowel system.

¹This spectrogram shows the Hebrew utterance *mazzal tov* 'congratulations' as analyzed by the present author.

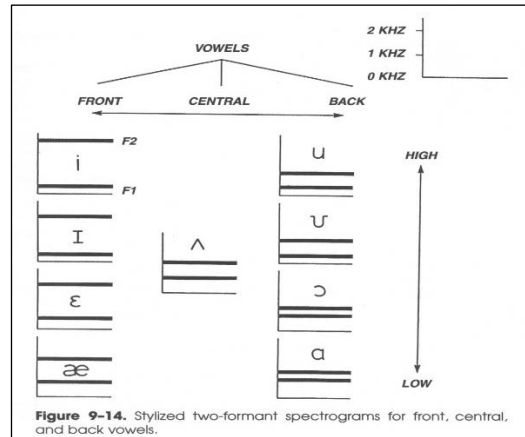


Figure 3. *Formants of some English vowels (from: Hanavan, n.d.)*

To get all this into formation, recorded speech samples are nowadays analyzed and scatter plots of the vowels in each speaker’s speech are found. These are depicted as error ellipses (or dispersion areas) of the vowels as in Figure 4. The means of a phoneme’s properties (e.g., Formants) are calculated using computer programs, and the results are traced onto graphs, shaped more or less like a trapeze or a triangle. The axes of these trapezes show the position of F1 and F2 of each vowel, reflecting the average production of the vowels in the speakers’ vocal tract (Figure 5). The scales in Figure 4 and Figure 5 reflect vocal-cord vibration frequencies as measured per second (Hertz, Hz.), but there are other measurement methods (and scales), such as Bark.² Please note that the long vowels are more peripheral and the short ones are more central in the trapeze space in all these Figures.

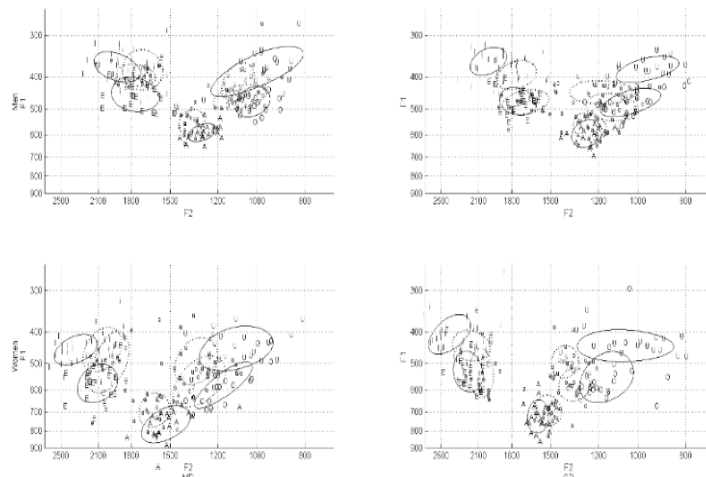


Figure 4. *Error plots of two Arabic dialects in Israel (Amiret al. 2014)*
(Left – MD, Right – GD, Top – men, Bottom – women)

²Bark scale definition: The Bark scale is a psychoacoustic scale proposed by E. Zwicker (1961). It is named after H. Barkhausen, who proposed the first subjective loudness measurements. The scale ranges from 1 to 24 and corresponds to the first 24 critical bands of hearing.

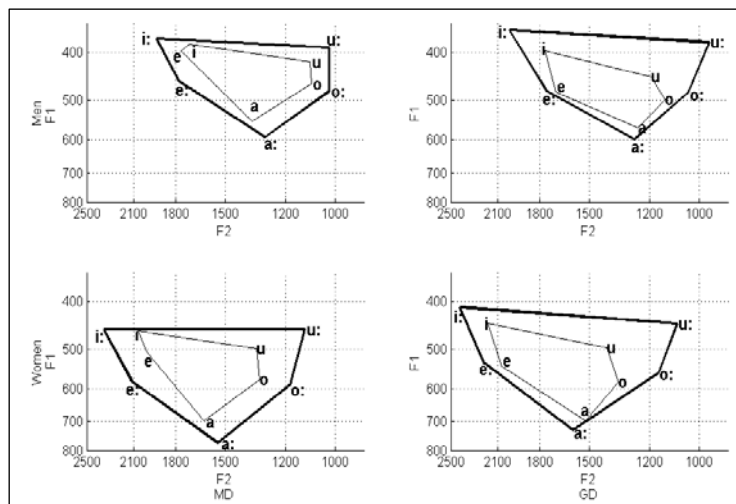


Figure 5. Vowel trapezes of two Arabic dialects in Israel (Hz.) (Amir et al. 2014) (Left – MD, Right – GD, Top – men , Bottom – women)

3. A comparison of Levant vowels

In this section, we examine vowel trapezes of some other Levant dialects. First, Figure 6 shows differences between the three pairs of one plain and one pharyngealized vowel (/i, i:, u, u:, a, a:/) of the Jordanian Irbid dialect (Al-Tamimi & Barkat-Defradas 2003). In addition to location and gender (of Figure 4, and Figure 5 above), these trapezes show that vowels differ also due to their consonantal environment, which may be plain or pharyngealized (*mufaxxama*).

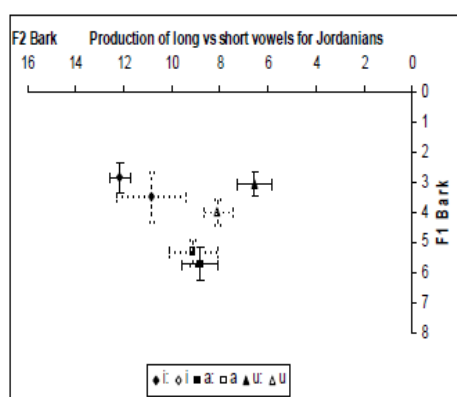


Illustration 12: Long vs. short vowels distribution for JA in production.

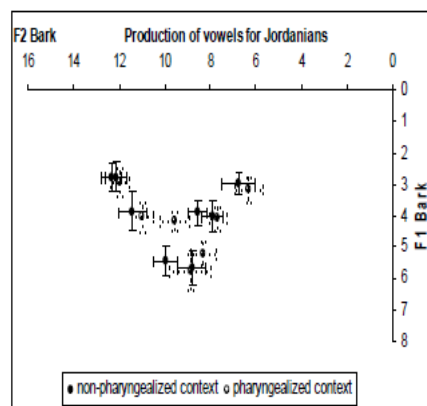


Illustration 16: Effect of pharyngealization on JAs' vowels in production.

Figure 6. Jordanian Arabic (Irbid) (from Al-Tamimi & Barkat-Defradas 2003: 180)

Next, we see the Damascus (Syrian Arabic) error plot of Figure 7 (Alhussein-Almbark 2012: 170). Here, the author analyzed not only three vowel pairs, but also the allophones,³ altogether 12 vowels. To clarify the array, Figure 8 (Alhussein-Almbark 2012) presents the schematic vowel trapeze of this Syrian dialect.

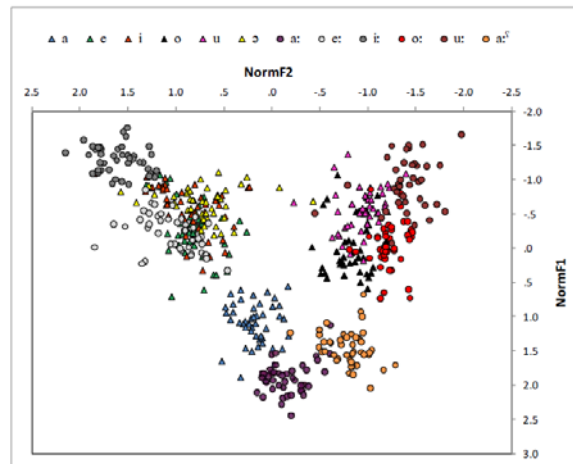


Figure 4-5: LOBANOV Z-scores of the normalised F1 and F2 values of all SA vowels for all SA participants

Figure 7. *Syrian (Damascus) Arabic* (from Alhussein-Almbark 2012: 170)

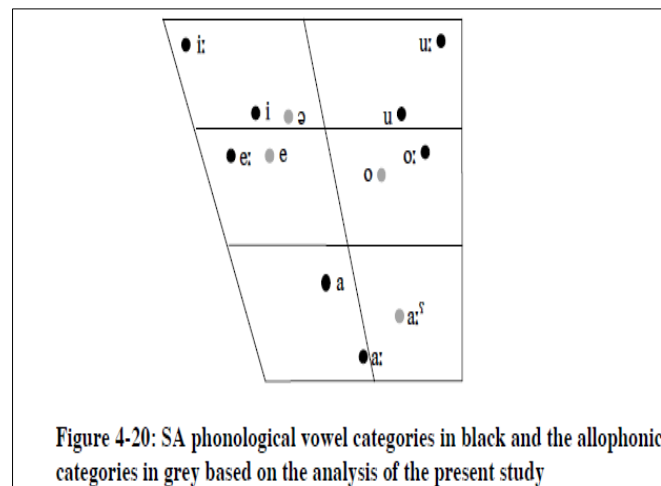


Figure 4-20: SA phonological vowel categories in black and the allophonic categories in grey based on the analysis of the present study

Figure 8. *Syrian (Damascus) Arabic* (from Alhussein-Almbark 2012: 188)

³Alhussein-Almbark uses the Lobanov Z-scores of normalization for the dialects (see her explanation of this method in Alhussein-Almbark 2012).

For Lebanese dialects, we hardly find acoustical data. We therefore show the Beirut phonemes and allophones as depicted in Figure 8 by Naïm (2006), and Obrecht's (1968) data for Tripoli in Table 1⁴.

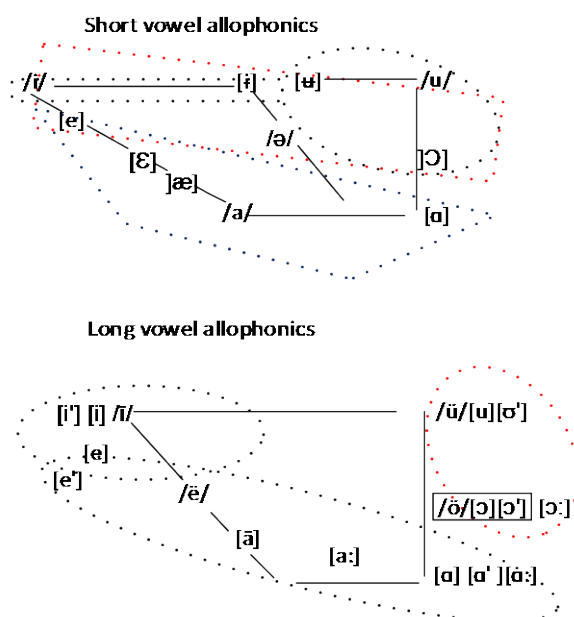


Figure 9. *Vowel Phonemes and Allophones of Beirut (Lebanese Arabic)* (Naïm 2006: 277)

Table 1

Vowels of Tripoli (Lebanese Arabic), one speaker (from Obrecht 1968: 28)

Vowel Formant (HZ.)	i:	i	u:	u	a:	a
F1	300	300	300	350	450	600
F2	2100	1650	750	800	1350	1700

Another manner of displaying such data is the table of F1 and F2 values, Table 2 below, which reflects six systems and different sources. This Table shows that many of the F1 and F2 values are similar, but not identical, for the different dialects. Differences exist also between dialects in the same country (here in the Syrian, Lebanese and CAI dialects). The manner of acquisition of the data varies between a single speaker (Beirut, Tripoli, Damascus) and twenty speakers (in GD, and MD). These factors (and others) affect formant data values, and make a valid comparison very difficult.

⁴ Obrecht, however, writes about his data that they are not accurate.

Table 2

F1 and F2 values of male speakers of six vowels of LD, SD, JD and CAI (GD, MD) dialects (adapted from Abou Haidar 1994, Al-Tamimi and Barkat-Defradas 2003, Obrecht 1968, Allatif 2008, and Amir et al. 2014)

Dialect vowel	i:		i		u:		u		a:		a	
	F1	F2	F1	F2	F1	F2	F1	F2	F1	F2	F1	F2
LD												
Beirut	280	2010	490	1530	330	795	475	1060	610	1430	640	
Tripoli	300	2100	300	1650	300	750	350	800	600	1700	1390	450
											1350	
SD												
Damasc.	330	2465	415		320	620	430	1200	710	1560	700	
Mayadin	320	2030	2135		360	921	436	1040	636	1196	1680	548
			431								1295	
			1549									
JD	320	2295	565		260	795	580	1240	770	1521	780	1620
			1720									
MD men	375	1931		385	391	1023	418	1096	591	1296	551	1360
			1713									
GDmen	361	2013		391	382	965	447	1183	597	1270	568	1253
			1765									
MD women	456	2345		458	456		498	1335	770	1541	699	1621
			2068		1119							
GD women	411	2416		443	444		496	1405	728	1593	697	1523
			2180		1086							

4. An interim conclusion

The published works surveyed here show different analysis methods and materials, which deal with a few Levant vowel systems and their formants. Their variability makes it difficult to compare the data (until all are normalized). As an interim summary, we conclude that these systems reveal both acoustic similarities and differences. The common phonological basis of the system is, as in CLA/MSA, the three long vowels. The differences are mainly evident in the short vowels and their allophones, which reflect dialect-specific features. These features are summarized as follows:

Similarities: *usually more than three long vowel phonemes per system

*short vowels are more centralized, long vowels –more peripheral

- *much use of epenthetic vowels (allophones)
 - *many common features, despite sociolinguistic differences
- Differences:
- *number and status of short vowels (phonemes and/or allophones)
 - *the rate of use and timbres of the epenthetic *schwa* in the dialects
 - *Vowel formant details (reflecting articulation gestures)

We have presented here acoustic formants of several dialects of four Levant countries. However, we do not know most of the acoustic data of other towns and villages in the Levant. Even in one country (e.g., Israel) there are differences. How can we know all the Levant acoustic features (in addition to other linguistic aspects)? At present, this question remains unanswered. The above examples show us that to study and compare all the Arabic dialects and sub-dialects in one dialect region requires an enormous and collaborative research.

5. The case of /i/ > /e/ and /u/ > /o/

We focus now on a specific issue, which has already been studied to some extent concerning the Levant dialects: the case of mid and high short front and back vowels /i, e, o, u/. The two dialects in Israel (henceforth: CAI) in Amir et al. (2014) tested words with all the vowels surrounded by plain, non-pharyngealized, i.e., not 'emphatic' or 'retracted' consonants. In that study, two vowel pairs did not significantly differ from other pairs: /i~e/, /u~o/. (That is: /i/ was "closer" to /e/, and /u/ to /o/ than /i, u/ in other pairs such as /i-a/, /e-o/). This was expressed by lower F2 in /e, o/ than in /i, u/. Examples of such words include /ʃedd/ 'pull!' /ʃedd/ 'count!' /fezz/ 'stand up,' and /dobb/ 'bear', /tomm/ 'mouth' (Amir et al. 2014). Various studies of the Levant describe /e, o/ as allophones of /i, u/, respectively, when they appear in emphatic environments (and with lower F2). But in CAI, in Palestinian Arabic (Shahin 2008) and Jordanian Arabic (Al-Wer 2007) /e, o/ are also distinct phonemes, as in: /bunni/ 'my coffee grains' vs. /bunne/ 'a coffee grain'; and /saʔaltu/ 'you pl. asked' vs. /saʔalto/ 'I/you sg. m. asked him.'

In the literature, "lowered" vowels are reported mainly in 'emphatic' environments, since pharyngealization/emphasis affects vowels mainly by lowering F2 (and raising F1 and/or F3; cf. Obrecht 1968). However, since the CAI study did not use pharyngeal consonants, pharyngealization could not have caused it. This raises the question what does create this lowering, and we find three conditions apparently involved in this process:

1. Emphatization (tafxi:m). Firstly, emphatic, guttural consonants affect adjacent vowels: lower F2 is found in pharyngealized /a/ and /u/, e.g., *sʕa:r* 'it became', *tʕa:r* 'he/it flew', and: /ro:ḥ ~ rɔ:ḥ/ (cf. MSA: *ru:ḥ*) 'spirit, soul'.⁵

⁵For /i, i:/ vs. /i^ʕ, i:^ʕ/ in /ti:n/ 'figs' vs. /tʕi:n/ 'clay' the difference is not in the Formant but rather in the transition from the consonant to the vowel, according to Obrecht (1968).

2. Cases where no tafxi:m occurs. Examples of this case are: /ʃedd/ ‘pull!’, /ʃedd/ ‘count!’, /fezz/ ‘stand up’, and /dobb/ ‘bear’, /tomm/ ‘mouth’, /sufon/ ‘ships’, /furon/ ‘stove’, etc. (Amir et al. 2014).

3. Code-switched foreign/Hebrew – Arabic words. Confusions of /i ~ e/, /u ~ o/ occur in Code-Switched speech in native Arabic speakers’ discourse (without non-Arab speakers’ presence) (Rosenhouse 2015), e.g., /ʔifʔarut/ < /ʔeffʔarut/ ‘possibility’, /ħivra/ < /ħevra/ ‘company, society’, /mixaivim/ < /mexaivim/ ‘(m. pl.) require’, /livuʃ/ < /levuʃ/ ‘clothes, clothing’, /tuxnit/ < /toxnit/ ‘program’, /kula/ < /kola/ ‘coca cola’ (from Brand 2013).

These CS examples indicate lack of distinction of Hebrew /i, e/ and /u, o/ by native speakers of Colloquial Arabic (while in Hebrew these are distinct phonemes). This feature has been found also in Arab speakers’ pronunciation of English (Alhoussein-Almbark 2012) and other foreign languages.

6. Discussion and conclusion

The vowel mixture described in section 5 may be considered “vowel merger” or “vowel change” (Labov 1972) and has been reported in non-acoustic studies of several Levant dialects (e.g., Blanc 1953, Palva 1967, Cowell 1967, Shahin 1997, 2003, Gouskova and Hall 2009, and Hall 2013.) Shahin (1997: 218, (4)e. Property 3 Part II) studies /e, o/ in the Palestinian Authority and writes that short vowels in closed syllables do not surface as “retracted” (i.e., uvularized or “lowered”). She defines there two conditions for this process: [+unstressed] [+closed] syllables. Shahin (2003) defines this phenomenon as vowel innovation. Yet we find lack of distinction in additional phonetic conditions: in closed but inherently stressed syllables (e.g., /fezz/ ‘stand up’ from Amir et al. 2014) and in open but unstressed syllables in the CS Hebrew of native speakers of Arabic (e.g., /mixai’vim/ ‘(pl. m.) require’, mentioned above). Thus, each one of Shahin’s two conditions seems to suffice for the process to occur.

The examined studies have led us to re-consider vowel lowering and merger in the Levant dialects. In time, the vowel processes of raising + fronting of /a/ > /e ~ i/ by ʔima:la, and raising + backing of /a/ > /ɔ/ by tafxi:m, have expanded to lowering + centering of /i/ > /ɪ, e/, and lowering + fronting of /u/ > /o/ near back consonants (in diverse conditions). The speakers themselves do not apparently distinguish between the phonetic processes: for them, only the outcome is relevant. Thus, (high and low) vowels converge to become mid-high vowels, as expected due to the Principle of Least Effort (Zipf 1949).⁶ This is, then, an on-going natural feature of spontaneous speech. It expands vowel changes by gradual generalization to all occurrences of /i, e/, /u, o/, and limited by various morphophonetic patterns in different dialects. The differences witnessed in the CAI and other Levant dialects suggest that the process progresses at diverse rates. In other words: The vowels /e, o/ are not entirely new, though they are not reported for CLA (and

⁶This principle may have started ʔima:la and tafxi:m in the first place.

assumed to have developed later); their distribution involves processes (changes) that are still under way.

To conclude: The survey of the vowel systems of four Levant dialects shows that the systems are generally (phonologically) similar but phonetic differences exist between the discussed dialects, even within a single country. Such a conclusion, known in non-acoustic literature, is not sufficient for distinguishing Levant dialects, however, and more study of the vowels is necessary.

In the Levant, /i, e/ and /u, o/ serve as both phonemes and allophones, depending on dialect, phonetic environments and morpho-phonetic patterns. The differences can be considered on the phonological (phonemic) or the phonetic levels, but the processes are going on. This analysis also explains native Arabic speakers' mixing of these vowels when speaking other languages (Brand 2013, Alhussein-Almbark 2012). This process is not unique for Arabic since vowel mergers/changes occur in many languages (cf. Labov 2010, Shahin 1997, 2002).

Additional questions for further research include the following: Do urbanization and globalization change communal vowel systems? Do different vowel systems converge due to these developments? How similar are vowel systems of different dialects becoming in the same country? To answer these questions and get a full picture of the different Levant vowel systems and vowel lowering/raising expansion for practical goals, many more phonetic-acoustic studies are necessary.

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ETYMOLOGY OF ARABIC TERMS DENOTING INTERNAL BODY PARTS

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Abstract. The paper presents the results of etymological research on Arabic somatic terms that denote internal body parts, namely *ri'a* "lung", *ṭiḥāl* "spleen", *ma'ida/mi'da* "stomach", *kulya/kulwa* "kidney", *mi'aⁿ*, *maṣīr* "intestine" on the basis of CS etymological material. The semantic structure of each of these terms is studied and derivational relations between direct and figurative values are established. Derivational valence of these somatic terms and collective semantics of its derivatives are examined on the basis of materials from classical and modern Arabic explanatory dictionaries. A stock of somatic idioms with *ri'a*, *ṭiḥāl*, *kulya/kulwa*, *ma'ida /mi'da*, *mi'aⁿ*, *maṣīr* as its core component is studied in its structural and semantic framework.

Keywords: *somatic, term, lemma, idiom (phraseological unit), semantics, value, etymology, derivation*

Introduction. The present paper is a sequel to our previous studies of Arabic somatic terms (i.e. *qalb/fu'ād* "heart")¹. It is dedicated to shedding light on the etymological, semantical and derivational aspects of the realization of somatic terms as a distinct lexical-semantic group of the Arabic language (as examples, such terms as *ri'a* "lung", *ṭiḥāl* "spleen", *kulya/kulwa* "kidney", *ma'ida/mi'da* "stomach", *mi'aⁿ*, *maṣīr* "intestine" are taken) on the basis of the material provided by etymological and explanatory dictionaries of Arabic and other Semitic languages.

Arb. lemma *ri'a* (with [ʾ] (*mahmūza*)², also *riya* without [ʾ]³ (*tuhmaz wa lā tuhmaz*⁴, *bi-l-hamz wa-tarkihī*⁵), (pl. *ri'āt, ri'ūna*) (< PS **riʔ-at-* > PBH *rēʔā*⁶; SA *rāʔātā* (*raʔtā, rātā*)⁷; Mehri *rəyēʔ*⁸; Jibbali *rōt* (pl. *rōi*)⁹; Harsusi *reyi*¹⁰) has the somatic value "lung", "the place of the breath"¹¹ (and wind¹²) of a man (and of an animal)".

¹ Sivkov 2014; Sivkov 2015.

² Rāzī 1986: 96; Ğawharī 1990: 2348.

³ Omission of *hamza* (*taḥfīf al-hamzatī*); Lane 1968, Vol. III: 1001.

⁴ Ibn Manzūr 1981, Vol. III: 1544; Zabīdī 1965, Vol. XXXVIII: 110 (with reference to Layṭ); Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. XV: 306.

⁵ Fayūmī 1987: 95.

⁶ Klein 1987: 600; Jastrow 1903, Vol. II: 1472.

⁷ SE: Number 2184; SL 2011: 219 (Number 6.1.20).

⁸ SE: Number 2184; SL 2011: 219 (Number 6.1.20).

⁹ SE: Number 2184; SL 2011: 219 (Number 6.1.20).

¹⁰ SE: Number 2184.

¹¹ Ibn Manzūr 1981, Vol. III: 1544; Lane 1968, Vol. III: 1001; Fayūmī 1987: 95; Ibn Sīda 2000, Vol. X: 346; Fīrūzābādī 2005: 1286; Zabīdī 1965, Vol. XXXVIII: 110; Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. XV: 306.

¹² Ibn Manzūr 1981, Vol. III: 1544; Lane 1968, Vol. III: 1001; Ibn Sīda 2000, Vol. X: 346-7; Fīrūzābādī 2005: 1286; Zabīdī 1965, Vol. XXXVIII: 110; Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. XV: 306.

The majority of Classical Arabic lexicographers propose two patterns of morphological derivation (*ištiqāq*) of *ri'a*:

1. *ī* (*tā' al-marbūṭa*) in *ri'a* as a substitute for *yā'*, which is suppressed (*al-hā' 'iwaḍ mina l-yā' (al-lām) al-mahḍūfa*); they substantiate their opinion by the existence of denominative verbs¹³:

vb. I *ra'ā*, vn. *ra'y*: *ra'aytu-hu* “I hit, or hurt, or struck, or smote his lungs (*aṣabtu ri'ata-hu*)”; *ra'ayta-hu* “You hit, or hurt, or struck, or smote his lungs (*ḍarabta ri'ata-hu*)”; *ra'ā-hu* “He hit, or hurt, or struck, or smote his lungs (*aṣāba ri'ata-hu*)”;

pvb. I *ru'iya*: *ru'iya* (vn. I *ra'y*) “He had a complaint of his lungs (*iṣtakā ri'ata-hu*)”;

pp. vb. I *ra'ā mar'iyy* “Hit, or hurt, or struck, or smitten in his lungs”: *rağul mar'iyy* “Man hit, or hurt, or struck, or smitten in his lungs”;

vb. IV *ar'ā*, vn. *ir'ā* “He had a complaint of his lungs (*iṣtakā ri'ata-hu*)”.

The common value of *ra'ā* “to hurt smb.’s lungs”; “to feel a pain in one’s lungs” emerged as a result of the semantic shift “the name of an organ” > “to hurt this organ”; “to feel the pain in this organ”.

So, it is evident that traditional Arabic lexicography formally connects *ri'a* with $\sqrt{r'-y}$ (*ra'ā* “to see” < PS **rV?Vy-* “see”¹⁴) though this consideration is definitely artificial. That’s why the verbs *ra'ā* “to see” and *ra'ā* “to hit, or hurt, or strike, or smite smb.’s lungs” are homonymous.

2. *ī* (*tā' al-marbūṭa*) in *ri'ā* as a substitute of *wāw*, which is suppressed (*al-hā' 'iwaḍ mina l-wāw (al-fā') al-mahḍūfa*) and it is originally *war'at* (like *'ida'* is originally *wa'dat*); they cite vb. I *warā*, vn. *wary*, pp. *mawriyy/mawruww*: *waraytu-hu/ warā (fulān^{un} fulān^{un}) / warā al-rağul^a* “I/smb. hit, hurt his lungs (*aṣabtu ri'ata-hu*)”¹⁵.

Classical Arabic lexicographical sources attest the usage of vb. I *warā* in the following idioms¹⁶:

pvb. I *wuriya (al-rajul^u)* “Purulent matter in the interior of smb.’s body or a severe ulcer in lungs that discharges purulent matter and blood affected, struck smb.”;

warā-hu al-dā' “The sickness, disease affected, struck smb.”;

¹³ Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. XV: 306; Fayūmī 1987: 95; Fīrūzābādī 2005: 1286; Ğawharī 1990: 2348-9; Ibn Manzūr 1981, Vol. III: 1544-5; Ibn As-Sikkīt 1998: 90 (with reference to al-'Aṣma'ī); Ibn Sīda 2000, Vol. X: 346-7; Isfahānī 2009: 375; Lane 1968, Vol. III: 999, 1001; Ma'lūf 1996: 243; Rāzī 1986: 96; Zabīdī 1965, Vol. XXXVIII: 110-1.

¹⁴ SE: Number 608.

¹⁵ Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. XV: 303-308; Fayūmī 1987: 95; Fīrūzābādī 2005: 1342; Ibn Manzūr 1981, Vol. VI: 4821; Ibn Sīda 2000, Vol. X: 357; Lane 1968, Vol. III: 999, 1001; Vol. VIII: 3052; Ma'lūf 1996: 898; Zabīdī 1965, Vol. XL, 187-8.

¹⁶ Fīrūzābādī 2005: 1342; Ğawharī 1990: 2522; Ibn Manzūr 1981, Vol. VI: 4821; Ibn Sīda 2000, Vol. X: 357; Ma'lūf 1996: 898; Rāzī 1986: 299; Zabīdī 1965, Vol. XL: 187-8.

warā al-qayḥ ḡawfa-hu “Smb. was affected, struck by purulent matter in the interior of smb.’s body or a severe ulcer in lungs that discharges purulent matter and blood”.

The following nominal lexemes related to vb. I *warā* are attested in Classical Arabic dictionaries¹⁷:

wary/warā “Purulent matter in the interior of smb.’s body or a severe ulcer in lungs that discharges purulent matter and blood”;
wāriya “disease of the lungs”.

Traditional Arabic lexicographers regard *ri’a* as a derivate of $\sqrt{w-r-y}$ with the common value “lung disease”. Arb. *warā/wary* (<PS * $\text{ri}^2\text{-at-}$ “chest”, “breast”) has cognates in Akk. *irtu* (*iratu*, pl. *irātu*) 1. “chest, breast (as part of the human/animal body)”; 2. “breastbone”; 3. “pectoral, breast strap (of a harness), scute (of a snake)”; Akk. *irtu(m)*, in OAkk also *ertum* and *iratu(m)* “Brust”¹⁸; Akk. *irtu(m)*, *iratu(m)*, OAkk. *ertum* “breast, chest of human, deity”; “breastplate as protection or ornament;” “breastpiece of animal’s harness”; “front of chariot”; “edge, frontage of sea, building, bow”; Ug. *irt*, singular, construct state *irt*, suffixal *irty*, *irtk*, *irth*, *irtm* (enclitic *-m* (?)) “breast”; “slope, side (of a mountain)”¹⁹.

Values of Arb. $\sqrt{w-r-y}$ and its derivatives “lung disease” and of Akk. and Ug. lemmas “chest, breast” may be interconnected by metonymic extension “breast” > “lung (situated inside breast)”.

In [SE, Number 2184] a metathetic relation between two different PS roots * $\text{ri}^2\text{-at-}$ and * $\text{ri}^1\text{-at-}$ and its derivatives in Semitic languages (see above) is suggested. The same source supposes the relation of Arb. lemmas *wāriya* and *warā* “lung disease” to * $\text{ri}^2\text{-at-}$ with *w-* as a triconsonantizer. Also it compares the same Arb. terms to B. **ta-wray-* “lung(s)” and CChad. **war(war)-* “lungs”; “belly, intestines”²⁰ (terms in *w-*) and says that it is possible to suppose it to be a vestige of the Afrasian **warVy-* “lungs”²¹ (**Vr(a)r* “chest and belly”)²²; hence * $\text{ri}^2\text{-at-}$ is to be interpreted as a secondary stem with a lost **wa-*²³.

¹⁷ Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. XV: 303-308; Fīrūzābādī 2005: 1342; Ḡawharī 1990: 2522; Ibn Manzūr 1981, Vol. VI: 4821; Ibn Sīda 2000, Vol. X: 357; Lane 1968, Vol. VIII: 3052; Ma’lūf 1996: 898; Zabīdī 1965, Vol. XL: 187-8, 195.

¹⁸ AHW 1965-1974, Vol. I: 386.

¹⁹ DUL 2003, Vol I: 110.

²⁰ SE: Number 114.

²¹ Militarev 2010: 55-6 (11 Breast).

²² Militarev 2010: 55-6 (11 Breast).

²³ SE: Number 2184.

This hypothesis may be supported by the conjecture of:

1. E. Klein, who thinks that PBH *rēḷā*²⁴; SA *rāḷatā* (*raḷtā*, *rātā*); Arb. *ri'a*; Akk. *irtu* “chest, breast” probably derive from the base *w-r-y*, *y-r-y* “to bear, bring forth, beget”²⁵, which appears in Arb. *warā(y)* “he wounded someone in the lungs”, *wary* “pus in the lungs”²⁶.
2. Classical Arabic lexicographers, who consider *ri'a* to be the derivate of *warā* with the substitution of *wāw* by *tā'* *al-marbūṭa* (see above).

This term is the core element of the idiom *ḥāmiḍ ar-ri'atayni* “such a one is in a loathing state of mind”²⁷, where the term *ri'a* is synonymous to *fu'ād* “mind, or intellect”²⁸ in *ḥāmiḍ al-fu'ād* “bad-hearted (man)”²⁹.

Arb. *ṭihāl* (pl. *ṭuḥul* < PS **ṭihāl-/ṭVlhīm*³⁰ > Akk. *ṭulīmu(m)*, *tulīmu* “Milz”³¹; *ṭulīmu* (*tulīmu*); OB, SB³² *ṭulīmu(m)*, *tulīmu*³³; Ug. *ṭhl*³⁴; PBH *ṭəḥōl*³⁵; JA *ṭəḥōlā*, *ṭəḥālā*³⁶; SA *ṭəḥālā*³⁷; Mehri *ṭelḥáym*³⁸; Jibbali *ṭelḥim*³⁹; Harsusi *ṭelḥáym*⁴⁰; Soqotri *ṭálḥən*, *ṭálḥem*⁴¹) has the value “spleen”.

It is suggested that the PS term for *spleen* has two variants: **ṭihāl-* (PS, Arb., Ug., PBH, JA, SA) and **ṭVlhīm-* (Akk., MSA)⁴². As it is proposed in [SE: Number 2228] the **ṭu/alḥīm-* variant with the **-Vm* (attested in Akk. and MSA only) is metathetic to **ṭihāl-* variant.

The lemma *ṭihāl* is a source of derivation of the following denominative formations:

1. verbs with the common value “to hurt smb.’s spleen”; “to feel a pain in spleen”⁴³:
vb. I *ṭəḥāla-hu* (vn. *ṭəḥl/ṭəḥal*) “He hit, or hurt his spleen (*aṣāba ṭihāla-hu*)” >

²⁴ Klein 1987: 600; Jastrow 1903, Vol. II: 1472.

²⁵ Klein 1987: 259.

²⁶ Klein 1987: 600.

²⁷ Lane 1968, Vol. II: 645.

²⁸ Sivkov 2015: 26.

²⁹ Umar 2008: 560 (№ 1469); Hava 1899: 136.

³⁰ SL 2011: 219 (Number 6.1.20).

³¹ AHW 1965-1974, Vol. III: 1394.

³² ChAD 1956-2010, Vol. XIX (*t*): 124-5.

³³ CDA 2000: 415.

³⁴ DUL 2003, Vol. II: 888.

³⁵ Jastrow 1903, Vol. I: 528.

³⁶ Jastrow 1903, Vol. I: 528; SE: Number 2228 (*ṭəḥōlā* may be a Hebraism).

³⁷ SE: Number 2228.

³⁸ SE: Number 2228.

³⁹ SE: Number 2228.

⁴⁰ SE: Number 2228 (with reference to Johnstone T. M. Harsūsi lexicon and English-Ḥarsūsi word-list. London ; New York : Oxford University Press, 1977, given with a question mark).

⁴¹ SE: Number 2228.

⁴² SL 2011: 219 (Number 6.1.20).

⁴³ Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. IV: 386; Fīrūzābādī 2005: 1025; Ğawharī 1990, 1750; Ibn Manzūr 1981, Vol. IV: 2644; Ibn Sīda 2000, Vol III: 238; Lane 1968, Vol. V: 1830-1; Ma'lūf 1996: 461; Zabīdī 1965, Vol. XXIX: 362-5.

pp. I *maṭḥūl* “Having his spleen (*ṭihālu-hu*) hit, or hurt ”; “having a diseased spleen, splenetic”⁴⁴

vb. I *ṭaḥila* (*ar-raḡul*) (vn. *ṭaḥl/ṭaḥal*) “He became large in his spleen (‘*aẓuma ṭihālu-hu*)” >

ṭaḥil “Having his spleen large, or enlarged; or having pain therein (*al-‘aẓīm* “*aṭ-ṭihāl*)”);

vb. I *ṭaḥila* (vn. *ṭaḥal*) “He had a complaint of his spleen (*iṣtakā ṭihāla-hu*)”;

pvb. I *ṭuḥila* (vn. *ṭaḥl*) “He had a complaint of his spleen (*ṣakā ṭihāla-hu*)” >

pp. I *maṭḥūl* “Having a complaint of the spleen”;

tuḥāl “inflammation of the spleen, splenitis”⁴⁵

2. vn. *tuḥla* metaphorically denoting the color of the spleen (*lawn aṭ-ṭihāl*) or the color between that of dust and whiteness, with a little blackness (*lawn bayna-l-ḡubra wa-l-bayād bi-sawād qalīl*), like the color of ashes (*lawn ar-ramād*) or a color between that of dust and blackness, with a little whiteness (*lawn bayna-l-ḡubra wa-s-sawād bi-bayād qalīl*) and its derivatives >

adjs. *aṭḥal* “of a colour termed *tuḥla*”, *ṭaḥil* “of black or of a dusky or dingy black color (*al-aswad al-kadir*), which may be from the color of spleen (*ṭihāl*)”. It is stated in some classical lexicographic treatises that *ṭaḥil* as a color name may be derived either from the color of the spleen (*ṭihāl*) or from the meaning of *tuḥlub/ ṭihlib/ ṭihlab* “The green substance, or green slimy substance, that overspreads water which has become stale or what is upon water (*ḥuḍra ta‘lū al-mā’ al-muzmin aw huwa alladī yakūn ‘alā-l-mā’*)”, “water moss”;

vb. I *ṭaḥila* (vn. *ṭaḥal*) “to be of the color termed *tuḥla*”;

In medieval physiology, the spleen is regarded as the seat of morose feelings and bad temper. The English word *spleen* comes from the Ancient Greek σπλήν (*splēn*), and is the idiomatic equivalent of the heart, i.e. to be good-spleened (εὖσπλαγχνος, *eúsplankhnos*) means to be good-hearted or compassionate. Some English authors employed it to characterise hypochondriac and hysterical affections and irritable nature. The term *spleen* acquired the figurative sense of “violent ill-temper” implied in its derivative *spleenful* (*spleenless* means “free from anger, ill-humor, malice, or spite”). In French, *splénétique* refers to a state of pensive sadness or melancholy. The related English term *splenetic* is used to describe a person in a foul mood. The connection between *spleen* (the organ) and *melancholy* (the temperament) comes from the humoral medicine of the ancient Greeks. One of the humours (body fluid) was the black bile, secreted by the spleen organ and associated with melancholy⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ Wehr/Cowan 1980: 554.

⁴⁵ Umar 2008: 1389 (№ 3181); Wehr/Cowan 1980: 554.

⁴⁶ Levitsky 2010, Vol. I: 389; Online Etymology Dictionary; available online at http://etymonline.com/index.php?term=minister&allowed_in_frame=0.

These classical Western temperamental reflections of the notion of *spleen* are reproduced in Arabic somatic tradition. So, the following derivative of the Arabic term *ṭihāl* denoting spleen is attested in Arabic lexicography:

ṭahīl “spleenful (angry (*gaḍbān*))”.

√*ṭ-l-ḥ* with the general value “badness, corruptness, viciousness” and its derivative vb. I *ṭalaha* “He (a man) was, or became bad, corrupt, or vicious (*fasada*)” (vn. *ṭalāḥ*) > ap. I *ṭāliḥ* “bad, corrupt, or vicious, in whom is no good (*fāsīd, lā ḥayr^a fīhi*)” may be a metathetic derivation of *ṭihāl*. In traditional Arabic lexicographic sources vn. *ṭalāḥ* and ap. I *ṭāliḥ* are treated as antonymous (*didd, naqīd, ḥilāf*) to vn. *ṣalāḥ* and *ṣāliḥ*.

The term *kulya/kulwa* (as its variant (*luḡa*))⁴⁷, pl. *kulyāt* and *kula* < PS **kVly-at*⁴⁸ > Akk. *kalītu(m)* “kidney of human; ext. of animal”: *k. birkim/burki* “testicle”⁴⁹; *kalītu* “1. Small of the back, region of the kidneys, 2. Kidney (of an animal). 3. (a constellation or fixed star). 4. Gibbous moon, *amphikyrtos*; from OB on, pl. *kalētu, kalātu*”; *kalīt birki* (*kalīt burki*) “testicles”⁵⁰; *kalītu(m)* “Niere. 1. V Menschen. 2. v Tieren. 3. a) astr. k. Ea zunehmender Mond. b) als Sternbez. unkl.”; *k. birkim, burki* “Scrotum?”⁵¹; Ug. *klyr*: forms: pl./dual suffixed *klyth*⁵² Heb. *kilyā*⁵³; JA *kulyā* (also “testicle”)⁵⁴; SA *kūlītā*⁵⁵; Geʿez *kʷəlīt* (pl. *kʷəlāyāt*)⁵⁶; Amh. *kulalit*⁵⁷; Mehri *kəlyīt*⁵⁸; Jibbali *kužēt*⁵⁹; Harsusi *kelīt*⁶⁰; Soqotri *kəlīyət, kéloih* translated as “intestines”⁶¹) is used with the meaning of “kidney”.

The following denominative formations are derivations of the lemma *kulya*:

1. verbs with the general value “to hurt smb.’s kidney”; “to feel a pain in the kidney”⁶² >:
 - vb. I *kalā: kalaytu* (*fulān^{am}*, vn. *kaly*); “I hurt smb.’s kidney (*aṣabtu kulyata-hu fa-ālamtu-hā*)”; *kalā* (*ar-raḡul^m*) “He felt pain in his kidney (*taʿallama li-kulyati-hi*)”;
 - vb. I *kaliya* (vn. *kalaⁿ*) “Having his kidney hurt (*uṣibat kulyatu-hu wa-ūlimat*)”;
 - pvb. I *kuliya* (*ar-raḡul^m*) “He was affected by pain in the kidneys (*aṣāba-hu waḡaʿ al-kulā*)”;

⁴⁷ Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. X: 357-8 (according to al-Lays, *al-kulwa* is used by Yemenites (*ahl al-Yaman*)).

⁴⁸ SL 2011: 218-9 (Number 6.1.19).

⁴⁹ CDA 2000: 142.

⁵⁰ ChAD 1956-2010, Vol. VIII (*k*): 74-6.

⁵¹ AHW 1965-1974, Vol. I: 425.

⁵² DUL 2003, Vol. I: 443.

⁵³ Shapiro/Grande 1963: 269.

⁵⁴ Jastrow 1903, Vol. I: 620, 642.

⁵⁵ SE: Number 122.

⁵⁶ Leslau 1991: 284.

⁵⁷ Leslau 1996: 156.

⁵⁸ SE: Number 122.

⁵⁹ SE: Number 122.

⁶⁰ SE: Number 122.

⁶¹ SE: Number 122.

⁶² Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. X: 357-8; Fīrūzābādī 2005: 1329; Ġawharī 1990, 2475-6; Ibn Manẓūr 1981, Vol. V: 3925; Ibn Sīda 2000, Vol. VII: 109-10, 142; Maʿlūf 1996: 695-7; Zabīdī 1965, Vol. XXXIX: 409-12.

pp. I *makliyy* “Having his kidney hurt”;
kaliyy “Having his kidney hurt (*uṣibat kulyatu-hu wa-ūlimat*)”;
 vb. VIII *iktalā*: *iktalā* “to be hurt (kidney)”; *iktalā-hu* “He hurt smb.’s kidney (*aṣāba kulyata-hu*)”; *iktalā (ar-raḡul^l)* “He felt pain in his kidney (*ta’allama li-kulyati-hi*)”

The term *kulya* is the key component of the following figurative idioms:

Kulā al-wādī “sides (*ḡawānib*) of the valley”;
Kulyat as-saḥāba “the lower part of cloud”;
Laqītu-hu bi-ṣaḡmi kulā-hu “I met smb. in his youth and vigor (*bi-ḥidṭāni-hi wa-naṣāṭi-hi*)”, where fat on smb.’s kidney means the beginning of life, vigor and activity.

In ancient physiology the kidney as a body organ also served an emotional or logical role as well as the spleen (see above). In OH and MH *kidney* is regarded as the seat of the conscience and reflection⁶³.

The value “testicle”, attested in Akk. and JA, may metaphorically emerge in reference to the shape of the organ (cf. English *kidney*, originally *kidenere*, perhaps a compound of Old English *cwið* “womb” + *ey* “egg”⁶⁴, Greek *νεφρός* “the kidneys” > “euphem. for *ὀρχεῖς* “testicle”⁶⁵).

Arb. term *ma’ida/mi’da* (pl. *ma’id, mi’ad* as its variant (*luḡa*)) denotes *stomach*. Some Classical Arabic lexicographers, i.e. Ibn Sīda, suggest that the term *ma’ida* “stomach” is derived from *ṣay’ ma’d* i.e. *qawīyy wa ḡalīz* “big; bulky; gross; coarse”⁶⁶. It derives a cluster of denominative formations⁶⁷:

vb. I *ma’ada-hu* (vn. *ma’d*) “He, or it hit, or hurt his stomach (*aṣāba ma’idatu-hu*)”;
 vb. I *ma’ida (ar-raḡul^l, vn. ma’ad, ma’d)* “His (a man’s) stomach pained him (*dawīyat ma’idatu-hu*)”;
 pvb. I *mu’ida (ar-raḡul^l)* “He (a man) had a diseased, or disordered stomach, so that he did not find his food wholesome, or his stomach pained him (*dawīyat/z(d)aribat ma’idatu-hu fa-lam yastamri’ mā ya’kul^l mina-ṭ-ṭa’āmī waḡa’at-hu ma’idatu-hu*)”;
 pp. I *mam’ūd* “A man having a diseased, or disordered stomach, so that he does not find his food wholesome, having a bad stomach”;

⁶³ Shapiro/Grande 1963: 269.

⁶⁴ Online Etymology Dictionary: available online at http://etymonline.com/index.php?term=minister&allowed_in_frame=0

⁶⁵ Liddell, Scott: 1001.

⁶⁶ Zabīdī 1965, Vol. IX: 176-9 (with the reference to Ibn Sīda’s “al-‘Awīṣ fi ṣarḥ Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq”).

⁶⁷ Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. II: 258-60; Fīrūzābādī 2005: 319-20; Ḡawharī 1990, 539; Ibn Manzūr 1981, Vol. VI: 4229; Ibn Sīda 2000, Vol II: 39-40; Lane 1968, Vol. V: 1971, Vol. VII: 2723; Ma’lūf 1996: 767; Zabīdī 1965, Vol. IX: 176-9.

mu'ād “The disease of the stomach (*ad-dā' al-laḏī yuṣīb al-ma'ida*)”;
ma'add (*al-ḡanb wa-l-baṭn*) “1. Côté, flanc. 2. Ventre. 3. Chair sous les omoplates. 4. Veine dans la partie du corps appelée *minsag* chez le cheval”⁶⁸;
 “Side of man”⁶⁹. Some Classical Arabic lexicographers think that morphologically it is derived from the patterns *maf'al* or *fa'all*⁷⁰.

The term *intestine* corresponds to the following Arb. lexemes:

mi'a (pl. *am'a*, *muṣrān al-baṭn*, *min a'fāḡ al-baṭn*, *ḡamī' mā fī-l-baṭn mimmā yataraddad fīhi mina-l-ḥawāyā kulli-hā* < PS *mV'Vy- “intestines, entrails in general (?)”⁷¹ > Akk. *amūtu(m)*; pl. OB *amuwātum* “liver” Oakk, Bab. of a sacrificial sheep; extispicy “findings on a sheep’s liver, liver omen”⁷²; *amūtu* “1. liver (examined by the haruspex), liver model, 2. omen”; from OB on⁷³; *amūtu(m)* “(Schafs-) Leber; Leberomen”⁷⁴; Heb. *mē'ayim* (pl.) “entrails, intestines”⁷⁵; BA **məṣē* (pl. suffix *məṣōhī*) “Bauch”⁷⁶; JA *məṣā* (*məṣayyā*), *maṣyānā* “belly, womb, insides, bowels”⁷⁷; SA *məṣayyā*, *məṣūtā* “intestina”; Ge'ez *'amā'ut* (pl. *'amā'əwāt*) “intestine, bowel”⁷⁸; Mehri *məṣwəyēn* “intestine”⁷⁹; Harsusi *mṣeyīn* “intestine”⁸⁰; Soqotri *miṣho* (*miḥo*) “intestins, entrailles”⁸¹). In [SE: Number 2150] the Akk. and Ge'ez forms are proposed to be regarded with prefix *ḡa-*.

The term *mi'a* is attested in the Qur'ān (XLVII: 15) in the following fragment:

fa-qaṭṭa'a am'a-hum “It cuts up their bowels”⁸².

It is explained in [Ibn Kaṭīr 1998, Vol. VII: 290] as *mā fī buṭūni-him mina-l-am'a wa-l-aḥšā'* “all the bowels and entrails that are in their bellies”, in [Maḥallī/Suyūṭī: 508] as *maṣārīnu-hum* “their bowels”, and in [Qurtūbī 2006, Vol. XIX: 261] as *ḡamī' mā fī-l-baṭn mina-l-ḥawāyā* “all entrails that are in the belly”.

It acquires figurate metaphoric values:

- “a water-course, or channel of a torrent, running to a tract of land (*al-midnab min maḏānīb al-arḏ*)”;
- “soft, smooth, low land” (*mā lāna mina-l-arḏ wa-nḥafaḏa*)⁸³;

⁶⁸ Biberstein Kazimirski 1860, Vol. II: 1126.

⁶⁹ Hava 1899: 718.

⁷⁰ Zabīdī 1965, Vol. XXXIX: 545-7 (with reference to al-Azharī).

⁷¹ SL 2011: 219 (Number 6.1.20).

⁷² CDA 2000: 16.

⁷³ ChAD 1956-2010, Vol. I, part II (a2): 96.

⁷⁴ AHW 1965-1974, Vol. I: 46-7.

⁷⁵ Jastrow 1903, Vol. I: 813, 816; Shapiro/Grande 1963: 356.

⁷⁶ SE: Number 2150.

⁷⁷ Jastrow 1903, Vol. I: 812-3, 816.

⁷⁸ Leslau 1991: 23.

⁷⁹ SE: Number 2150.

⁸⁰ SE: Number 2150.

⁸¹ SE: Number 2150.

⁸² Al-Hilālī, Khān 1997: 689.

- “a small place, or channel in which a torrent flows; a small water-course, i.e. a place or channel in which water flows, or runs” (*masāyil šigār*)⁸⁴.

maṣīr (pl. of paucity *aṣīra*, pl. of multitude *muṣrān*, pl. of a plurality *maṣārīn*)⁸⁵. al-Azharī says that the Arabs have given it the pl. of multitude form *muṣrān* imagining *mīm* in *maṣīr* to be a radical letter (*tawahhamū al-mīm fī-l-maṣīr anna-hā aṣliyya*) and pl. of a plurality form *maṣārīn* (from pl. of multitude *muṣrān*) imagining *nūn* to be a radical letter (*tawahhum an-nūn anna-hā aṣliyya*)⁸⁶. Some say that *maṣīr* is of the pattern *mafʿil*, derived from *šāra ilay-hi-ṭ-ṭaʿām* “the food passed to it”, and they say *muṣrān*, likening *mafʿil* to *faʿīl* (*šabbahū mafʿīl^m bi-faʿīl^m*)⁸⁷.

The term *maṣīr* may be regarded as the noun of place (pattern *mafʿil*) from vb. I *šāra* (*ilā*) “to pass (to)”.

Conclusion.

Thus, the present research permits us to draw the following conclusions:

1. The denominative verbal and nominative derivatives of the majority of the examined somatic terms, i.e. *riʿa* “lung”, *ṭihāl* “spleen”, *kulya/kulwa* “kidney”, *maʿida/miʿda* “stomach”, have the common value “to hurt smb.’s organ”; “to feel a pain in the organ” emerged as a result of the semantic shift “the name of an organ” > “to hurt that organ”; “to feel pain in that organ”;
2. Some Arb. somatic terms denote organs that in traditional physiology are regarded as the seat of certain temperament and emotions. This is valid in the case of the term *ṭihāl*, whose derivational reflections are interconnected with the common value “badness, corruptness, viciousness”. Such a temperamental relation of *spleen* is generally attested in Ancient Greek, English and French linguo-symbolic tradition.

Abbreviations

- ap. – active participle
 pl. – plural form
 pp. – past participle
 pvb. – passive verb
 vb. – verb
 vn. – verbal noun

⁸³ Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. III: 250 (with the final reference to Ibn al-Aʿrābī).

⁸⁴ Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. III: 250 (with the reference to al-Aṣmaʿī).

⁸⁵ Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. XII: 184; Fīrūzābādī 2005: 476; Ğawharī 1990, 817; Ibn Manẓūr 1981, Vol. V: 4216; Ibn Sīda 2000, Vol VIII: 324; Lane 1968, Vol. VII: 2719; Maʿlūf 1996: 764; Zabīdī 1965, Vol.XIV: 128.

⁸⁶ Azharī 1964-1967, Vol. XII: 184.

⁸⁷ Ğawharī 1990, 817; Ibn Manẓūr 1981, Vol. V: 4216; Zabīdī 1965, Vol.XIV: 128.

Abbreviations of languages and language periods

Akk. – Akkadian
 Amh. – Amharic
 Arb. – Arabic
 B. – Berber
 BA - Biblical Aramaic
 Bab. – Babylonian
 CChad. - Central Chadic
 CS – Common Semitic
 Heb. – Hebrew
 JA – Judaic Aramaic
 MH – Modern Hebrew
 OAkk. – Old Akkadian
 OB – Old Babylonian
 OH – Old Hebrew
 PBH – Post Biblical Hebrew
 PS – Proto-Semitic
 SA – Syrian Aramaic
 SB – Standard Babylonian
 Ug. – Ugaritic

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III. BOOK REVIEWS

George Grigore & Gabriel Bițună (eds.). 2016. *Arabic Varieties: Far and Wide. Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of AIDA, Bucharest, 2015.* Bucharest: Editura Universității din București. pp. 588. ISBN: 978-606-16-0709-9

Reviewed by Andrei A. Avram

Arabic Varieties: Far and Wide includes part of the papers presented at the 11th Conference of the Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe, held in Bucharest from 25 to 28 May 2015, the largest to date, with 163 participants from 40 countries.

The volume consists of a “Foreword” (pp. 9-10), an obituary for Massimo Bevacqua (1973-205) (p. 11), and 68 of the single- and joint-authored papers presented at the conference (pp. 13-588). Authors from 28 countries have contributed to the volume: Algeria (1 author), Austria (8), Brazil (2), Canada (1), France (14), Georgia (4), Germany (1), Great Britain (1), Holland (2), Iraq (1), Israel (3), Italy (7), Japan (1), Kuwait (1), Morocco (2), Nigeria (1), Norway (1), Palestine (1), Poland (2), Portugal (1), Qatar (1), Romania (5), Russia (2), Spain (5), Sudan (1), Turkey (4), the Ukraine (1), the USA (2). The geographical distribution of the authors testifies to the widespread and ever-growing interest in the study of Arabic dialects and related issues.

The contributions to the volume under review cover an impressive array of topics. These are illustrated in what follows, bearing in mind, however, the fact that it is not always possible to force a paper into the straitjacket of a particular domain.

Consider first the synchronically-oriented studies. A number of papers are descriptions of individual dialects or of groups of dialects, including some lesser-known varieties: Faruk Akkuş “The Arabic dialects of Mutki-Sason areas” (pp. 29-40), Jules Arsenne “Preliminary results on the Arabic spoken in Jnanate, Northern Morocco” (pp. 73-78), Gabriel Bițună “The spoken Arabic of Siirt: Between progress and decay” (pp. 147-154), Dominique Caubet “The dialect of Msek – Beni Itteft (Al Hoceima), on the borders with Berber – revisited in 2014” (pp.163-173), Elisabeth Grünbichler “Linguistic remarks on the dialect of al-Buraymi, Oman” (pp. 267-272), Ștefan Ionete “Some features of Arabic spoken in Hasköy” (pp. 323-327), Najla Kalach “Homs Arabic: First issues” (pp. 337-344), and Amina Naciri-Azzouz “Les variétés arabes de Ghomara? *s-sah̄al* vs. *ağ-ğbal* (la côte vs. la montagne)” (pp. 405-412).

The following are papers on phonetics and phonology: Jairo Guerrero “A phonetical sketch of the Arabic dialect spoken in Oran (North-Western Algeria)” (pp. 273-280), Uri Horesh “Four types of phonological lenition in Palestinian Arabic” (pp. 307-313), and Islam Youssef “Epenthesis, assimilation, and opacity in Baghdadi Arabic” (pp. 549-556). Of related interest are two further papers on the spelling of dialects: Lucia Avallone “Spelling variants in written Egyptian Arabic: A study on literary texts” (pp. 79-97), and Marcin Michalski “Spelling Moroccan Arabic in Arabic” (pp. 385-394).

One of the best represented domains is the morphosyntax of Arabic dialects: Saif Abdulwahed Jewad Alabaeji “Aspects of grammatical agreement in Iraqi Arabic relative clauses: A descriptive approach” (pp. 41-52), Yousuf B. Albader “Quadrilateral verbs in Kuwaiti Arabic” (pp. 53-63), Najah Benmoftah & Christophe Pereira “Des connecteurs de cause en arabe de Tripoli (Libye)” (pp. 107-118), Marwa Benshenshin “Les interrogatifs *šan*, *šanu* et *šani* dans le parler arabe de Tripoli (Libye)” (pp. 127-136), Qasim Hassan “Concerning some negative markers in South Iraqi Arabic” (pp. 301-306), Jérôme Lentin “Sur un type de proposition circonstancielle syndétique dans les dialectes arabes” (pp. 369-376), Diana Lixandru “*Dialy* – Status constructus or a new grammar of the Moroccan body” (pp. 377-384), Stephan Procházka & Ismail Batan “The functions of active participles in Šāwi Bedouin dialects” (pp. 457-466), Lameen Souag “From existential to indefinite determiner: *Kaš* in Algerian Arabic” (pp. 505-513), and Laura Andreea Sterian “Topicalization in Baghdadi Arabic questions” (pp. 515-519).

There are also several papers dealing with semantics: Aziza Boucherit “Reference and spatial orientation in “ordinary discourses”. *hna* vs. *hna*, *tamm* and *l-hīh* in Algerian Arabic” (pp. 155-162), Letizia Cerqueglini “Etymology, culture and grammaticalization: A semantic exploration of the front/back axis in traditional Negev Arabic” (pp. 175-183), Daniela Rodica Firănescu “*Hāšā-ki yā bintī!* On alethic and deontic modalities in spoken Arabic from Syria” (pp. 251-258), George Grigore “Expressing certainty and uncertainty in Baghdadi Arabic” (pp. 259-266), and Catherine Taine-Cheikh “*Bašd(a)* dans les dialectes arabes: glissements sémantiques et phénomènes de transcatégorialisation” (pp. 531-539).

The vocabulary of dialectal Arabic is discussed in the following papers: Yaşar Acat “دراسة مقارنة في العناصر المشتركة في اللهجات العربية الأناضولية المعاصرة” (pp. 13-19), Nabila El Hadj Said “Innovation of new words borrowed from French into the Algerian dialect by young adults” (pp. 211-215), Khalid Mohamed Farah “Words of Old Semitic origins in Sudanese Colloquial Arabic” (pp. 231-236), Juma’a Jidda Hassan “Interjections: Cases of linguistic borrowing in Nigerian (Shuwa) Arabic code-switching” (pp. 291-299), Ahmed Salem Ould Mohamed Baba “Le lexique de l’Azawān. Une approche ethnolinguistique” (pp. 431-438), Tornike Pharseghashvili “Linguistic archaeology of peripheral Arabic” (pp. 453-455), and Faruk Toprak “دراسة عن كلمات دخيلة في لهجة سعرد العربية” (pp. 541-544). One further paper discusses the applicability of digital methods and tools to the compiling of dictionaries (the so-called “eLexicography”) of Arabic dialects: Karheinz Moerth, Daniel Schopper & Omar Siam “Towards a diatopic dictionary of spoken Arabic varieties: Challenges in compiling the VICAV dictionaries” (pp. 395-403).

Several papers focus on sociolinguistic issues: Montserrat Benitez Fernandez “Notes sur le sociolecte des jeunes d’Ouezzane (Nord du Maroc)” (pp. 99-105), Said Bennis “Opéralisation du paradigme de la diversité au Maroc: vers une territorialisation linguistique et culturelle” (pp. 119-126), Simone Bettega “Linguistic self-representation in a popular Omani cartoon: towards the rise of a national standard?” (pp. 137-145), Francesco De Angelis “The Egyptian dialect for a democratic form of literature: considerations for a modern language policy” (pp. 193-201), Emanuela De Blasio “A linguistic study about Syrian rap songs” (pp. 203-210), Magdalena Zawrotna “The use of taboo-related words in Egyptian Arabic. A sociolinguistic approach to (im)politeness”

(pp. 569-578), and Karima Ziamari & Alexandrine Barontini “Les liaisons dangereuses: médias sociaux et parlars jeunes au Maroc. Le cas de *Bouzebbal*” (pp. 579-588).

The morphosyntax of code-switching is the topic addressed by Judith Rosenhouse & Sara Brand in “Arabic-Hebrew code-switching in the spontaneous speech of Israeli Arab students” (pp. 467-474).

Two papers are concerned with proverbs: Mehmet Şayır “الأمثال في لهجة ماردين العربية” (pp. 485-492) and Tatiana Smyslova (Savvateeva) “Syntax and semantics of proverbs - dialogues in Egyptian Arabic” (pp. 497-503).

The use of dialects in literature is analyzed by Bohdan Horvat in “Voices and registers in the [dialect] poetry of Fuad Haddad” (pp. 315-321) and by Apollon Silagadze & Nino Ejibadze in “On Arabic (Egyptian) fiction created in the vernacular” (pp. 493-495). The literary use of vernacular Arabic is also the topic of two papers which examine it from the perspective of traductology: Safa Abou Chahla Jubran & Felipe Benjamin Francisco “في ترجمة ما ورد باللهجة اللبنانية في رواية ‘تصطفل مريل ستريب’ لرشيد الضعيف” (pp. 331-336) and Aldo Nicosia “*Le petit prince* in Algerian Arabic: A lexical perspective” (pp. 421-430).

The relevance of dialects to the teaching of Arabic as a foreign language is discussed in several papers: Muntasir Fayeze Al-Hamad “تأثير ازدواجية اللسان على وراثي اللغة العربية من متعلميها لغة أجنبية” (pp. 65-71), Moha Ennaji “Teaching and learning Arabic as a foreign language” (pp. 217-222), Victor Pak “Some thoughts about description and teaching of Arabic dialects” (pp. 439-442), and Mehmet Hakkı Suçin “مواقف أساتذة اللغة العربية وطلابها من تدريس اللهجات العربية على المستوى الجامعي في تركيا” (pp. 521-529).

Other topics covered are the Arabic Baby Talk register, in Evgeniya Gutova “Baby Talk in the Maghreb” (p. 281-290), Moroccan-flavoured Dutch, in Maarten Kossman “Yes/no interrogatives in Moroccan Dutch” (pp. 351-358), and pidginized Arabic, in Andrei A. Avram “On the developmental stage of Gulf Pidgin Arabic” (pp. 87-97).

The synchronic take on variation of these papers is supplemented with a number of contributions which are diachronically-oriented or which combine the synchronic and diachronic approaches: Jordi Aguadé “The Arabic dialect of Tangier across a century” (pp. 21-27), Ines Dallaji & Ines Gabsi “Overabundance in the Arabic dialect of Tunis: A diachronic study of plural formation” (pp. 185-191), Paule Fahmé-Thiéry “L’arabe dialectal aleppin dans le récit de voyage de Hanna Dyâb” (pp. 223-230), Ioana Feodorov “Le mélange terminologique comme trait spécifique au moyen arabe dans le *Journal de voyage* de Paul d’Alep (1652-1659)” (pp. 237-249), Maciej Klimiuk “Third person masculine singular pronominal suffix *-hne* (*-hni*) in Syrian Arabic dialect and its hypothetical origins” (pp.345-349), Cristina La Rosa “Le relateur *-Vn* en arabe de Sicile: exemples et remarques linguistiques” (pp. 359-367), Yulia Petrova “A case of colloquialization of the text: The Kyiv manuscript of *The Travels of Macarius*” (pp. 445-443), Lucie San Geroteo “Étude de quelques réalisations de l’arabe moyen dans *Sîrat al-Zîr Sâlim*” (pp. 475- 483), Zviadi Tskhvediani “Al-’išbā‘ in ancient and modern Arabic dialects” (pp. 545-548), and Liesbeth Zack “Nineteenth-century Cairo Arabic as described by Qadrī and Nahla” (pp. 557-567). One further paper is devoted to a variety of pidginized Arabic: Shuichiro Nakao “More on early East African Pidgin Arabic” (pp. 413-420).

As can be seen, the varieties of Arabic analyzed by the contributors to the present volume include: (i) currently spoken dialects (regiolects and sociolects): from Algeria, Egypt Iraq, Israel, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Oman, Palestine, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, and Uzbekistan; (ii) extinct varieties: Sicilian Arabic and Middle Arabic; (iii) Arabic Baby Talk; (iv) pidginized varieties of Arabic: East African Pidgin Arabic and Gulf Pidgin Arabic. Equally varied are the theoretical frameworks, ranging from ethnolinguistics to Optimality Theory.

To conclude, this is an important collection of papers, which provides a window on current work in Arabic dialectology. In spite of the technical difficulties posed by texts written in three languages – Arabic, English, and French – and two scripts as well as by the various special symbols used in transliterations and phonetic transcriptions, the volume is on the whole beautifully edited. Moreover, it has been published in a record-breaking time, i.e. within less than a year since the 11th conference of the Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe. For all their efforts put into producing this impressive 588 page-volume the editors therefore deserve ample credit.

**Jairo Guerrero Parrado. 2015. *El dialecto árabe hablado en la ciudad marroquí de Larache*. Zaragoza : Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza. pp. 344.
ISBN: 978-84-16272-64-8**

Reviewed by Gabriel Bițună

Jairo Guerrero is a Spanish researcher in Arabic Dialectology from Seville. He has a keen interest in studying Moroccan and Algerian Arabic varieties. Even if J. Guerrero may seem young of age (he was born in 1985), he has already published numerous academic articles, has participated in several international colloquia and conferences and has amassed a vast experience in studying and teaching Moroccan Arabic. Furthermore, the Spanish dialectologist holds a PhD. in interculturality and the Arab-Islamic world, from Cadiz University in Spain (2014), earned for defending the dissertation entitled *Estudio del dialecto árabe de Larache (norte de Marruecos)*, and which was awarded Cum Laude and International Mention, subsequently leading to the publishing of the book under review.

This 344-page book, written in Spanish and titled *El dialecto árabe hablado en la ciudad marroquí de Larache* “The Arabic dialect spoken in the Moroccan city of Larache” is, actually, an entire monograph of an Arabic variety spoken in a city inhabited by approximately 100,000 people, and located south-east of the better known Tangier.

The introductory chapters give the reader a thoroughgoing diachronic insight of the research carried out with a focus on this Arabic variety, as well as data on the geography and history of the city, the etymology of the name *Larache*, as well as on informants and the corpus of recordings.

The *Fonética y Fonología* chapter is a wonderful display of the whole phonological system of the Moroccan dialect, as well as of many other phonetic phenomena such as metathesis and epenthesis. It is worth mentioning that each sub-chapter discussing vowels, diphthongs or the accent contains tens of examples, most of which the author has collected himself during his field research in Larache, which makes any dialectologist who likes to find and preserve new and unique words and expressions truly envious.

In *Morfología verbal* Guerrero discusses the following: the three main conjugations found in Larache Arabic; the triconsonantic verb with its derived stems, with every stem carefully covering every type of root (regular, concave, defective, etc.); quadriconsonantic verbs; verbal aspects and the passive voice; auxiliary verbs and particles.

Morfología nominal is much more than what its name suggests because not only does it contain biconsonantic, triconsonantic and quadriconsonantic stems for nouns, but it also includes discussions on the gender and the number of nouns, on adjectives and pronouns, covering as well syntactical topics such as definitiveness, the construct state, negation, numerals, prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions.

One of the rather difficult research topics is dealt with in the next chapter, *Léxico*, containing discussions on the loan words from all the languages that interacted, at a certain extent, with the Moroccan dialect, both synchronically and diachronically. Other topics covered in this chapter are semantic calques and lexical isoglosses in the region of Larache, followed by a well-received section showcasing a series of proverbs and sayings.

The last part of the book (which spans over 100 pages) consists of more than 50 texts in Larache Arabic that have been recorded from informants of different ages and social status, transliterated, translated and accompanied by exhaustively researched footnotes.

Before the recorded texts, Guerrero drew a few conclusions regarding the common traits of Larache Arabic and other Moroccan Arabic varieties. Of special interest are the individual traits that the researcher noted, among which some unique phonetic phenomena. The author's final conclusion is that "the Arabic spoken in Larache is a pre-Hilali urban dialect, fairly homogenous. Moreover, one can notice the influence of Bedouin-Hilali and rural-Jabali dialects over this variety" (p. 202).

Attached are also a few annexes consisting of two glossaries and one study on the Jewish dialect of Larache according to the texts of Klingenhoben (pp. 311-314), covering some aspects of phonetics and morphology.

In conclusion, the reader will be thrilled to go over an exhaustive monograph of an insufficiently known Moroccan Arabic dialect, containing considerations on its phonetics and morphology, accompanied closely by well-researched aspects of syntax, all of which are interspersed with the authors' personal footnotes (including quotes from the few hundred titles that his bibliographical references contain), thus making any reviewer's job so much easier and enabling them to confirm that this is and will continue to be a reference book for Arabic Dialectology in general and for the Moroccan and North-African Arabic dialects in particular.

Noureddine Guella. 2015. *Essays in Arabic Dialectology*. Bern/Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. pp. 114. ISBN 9783631660027

Reviewed by Giuliano Mion

The book under review is written by Noureddine Guella who, after many years spent at the University of Oran, is currently a professor of Linguistics at King Saud University in Riyadh. It is a short collection of articles on various subjects of general Arabic linguistics, as well as on some Arabic dialects belonging to both the Eastern and North African regions.

Each chapter of the book represents slightly revised versions of articles previously published in different journals, either in English or French. In this final revision, the original language of each article has been maintained; the book's introduction is in English and is entitled "Preface and Acknowledgments" (9-11). Most of the chapters are preceded by an abstract.

The book is divided into two parts that reflect the theoretical and methodological orientation of the works. The first is called "Part One: Dialectology", while the second is "Part Two: Linguistic Processes and Social Interactions". As the Author prudently declares in his preface, these republished articles «reflect on the whole a middle-of-the-road-approach [in linguistic analysis], avoiding speculations and controversial issues or proposals» (p. 9).

The so-called "Part One" of the book consists of four chapters.

The first chapter is *On relative clause-formation in Arabic dialects of the Maghreb* (p. 15-27). By starting with a quick comparison of the Classical Arabic structures and a short survey of the existing literature on this subject, the Author deals with the strategies involved in the formation of relative clause structures in some North African dialects. His analysis is mainly based on data collected in Algeria, and in particular the urban dialect of Nédroma.

The second chapter is *Possessive constructions in Arabic: a cross-dialectal study* (p. 29-42). The Author focuses on an intriguing issue of Arabic dialectology, i.e. the

structure of the traditionally so-called “construct state” and its substitution by genitival prepositions in modern Arabic dialects. The Author stresses the shift from a ‘synthetic’ construction, typically that of Classical Arabic, to a more ‘analytic’ one, that of the dialects. A comparison is made between the dialects of Eastern Arabia and those of North Africa in order to highlight differences and analogies. In this analysis, the treatment in both the Arabian dialects and Algerian ones of terms like **abū* ‘father’ and **umm* ‘mother’ is particularly interesting, because of their use in composite nouns expressing characteristics of people, animals and things. As for this latter issue, maybe a comparison with the data recently gathered by V. Ritt-Benmimoun¹ could have been useful. As for the general overview on the reflexes of the “construct state” in the Arabic dialects, in the bibliographical references of this chapter one cannot find, for example, a work like that of K. Eksell².

The third chapter is *On syllabication, stress and intonation in an urban Arabic dialect* (p. 43-55). As is apparent from the title, this work deals with the suprasegmental features of the urban Algerian dialect of Nédroma. It gives a short typological survey of the possible syllabic structures of this variety, exemplifying at the level of lexical words; no examples of syllabication at a sentential level are given. Aside from syllables, the work describes the general rules that govern the principal stress patterns. Intonation is treated by drawing the principal intonation contours, after the interpretative model of K.L. Pike³, of statements (including “commands”) and questions (“yes/no questions” and “information questions”).

The fourth chapter is *Emprunts lexicaux dans des dialectes arabes algériens* (p. 57-66). The article is an analysis of the foreign lexical elements entered in urban Algerian Arabic by the interference with the languages in contact, i.e. Berber, Turkish, Spanish, Italian and French. For each of the source languages, the Author gives an interesting list of lexical items and tries to trace the origins and socio-historical context of some of them.

The so-called “Part Two” of the book consists of three chapters.

The fifth chapter is *La suppléance linguistique en arabe dialectal: reflet d'une dynamique conversationnelle* (p. 69-85). This article deals with the interesting processes of voluntary and involuntary substitution of terms in daily conversations. The Author describes the dynamics through which individuals and communities use particular strategies in order to avoid some words and substitute them with euphemisms, metaphors,

¹ «A Lexical Study on Composite Nouns with *bū* and *umm* in Tunisian Bedouin Dialects», in S. Procházka, V. Ritt-Benmimoun (eds.), *Between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Studies on Contemporary Arabic Dialects*, Wien, 363-381.

² *The Analytic Genitive in the Modern Arabic Dialects*, Göteborg, 1980.

³ *The Intonation of American English*, Ann Arbor, 1945.

and so on. Several cases of “suppléance” are described: euphemisms/metonymy (like the use of *mūl ad-dār* ‘the master of the home’ instead of *rāǧāl* ‘man, husband’ by Algerian women), antiphrasis (like *bṣīr* ‘clairvoyant’ with the significance of ‘blind’ in Tunisia) and “suppléance par ignorance” (like the locution *asm-bbah* ‘his father’s name’ with the sense of ‘that thing’). But the investigation covers also phenomena issued by linguistic contact, as in the case of borrowings (like particular uses of French *ça va* and *normal* in Algeria) and code-switching. Lexical creation is another interesting case, if one considers for example the Algerian word *ṭaywān* whose origin is ‘Taiwan’ and that refers to counterfeit goods, or the Saudi Arabian term *dabbūs* (literally ‘pin’) that is a metaphor for ‘handcuffs’.

The sixth chapter is *Linguistic substitution as verbal dynamism* (p. 87-99). In the Author’s words «substitution is a process whereby a contextualized element or expression is replaced or substituted» (p. 89), and it occurs in particular with terms considered taboo or ignored/unknown by the speaker. After a short review of the scientific literature, the Author offers a list of examples classified under the categories of euphemism/metonymy, antiphrasis, borrowing and lexical creation.

The seventh chapter is *Enigmes en contexte algérien: un cas de dynamique sociolinguistique* (p. 101- 114). By means of the analysis of some riddles collected in Western Algeria, this study intends to show how some physical and animal environments are reflected in the linguistic and lexical structures of a community. The riddles studied are classified after the word of their resolution, i.e. *fākrūn* ‘turtle’, *nmāl* ‘ant’, *ṣarḃū* ‘jerboa’, *baṣla* ‘onion’, *ṣnāza* ‘funeral’ (and it should be observed that the grapheme <ṣ> is that used in the work, although coastal Algeria knows affricated ṣ above all).

Overall, some concluding remarks on this book can be made, as follows.

The *fil rouge* that links all the different studies representing the single chapters is undoubtedly the source of the linguistic issues, i.e. on the one hand, Algerian Arabic dialects, on the other, Gulf dialects. As for the latter dialects, in some research they appear for practical reasons, and this is because the Author works in Saudi Arabia and can easily have access to data from that region. As for the Algerian Arabic dialects, their presence in the research is the result of linguistic investigations carried out in the pre-colonial urban town of Nédroma (58 km far from Tlemcen) and its surroundings. The choice of this town is motivated by the fact that, in the past, the Author dedicated to its Arabic dialect his PhD thesis in Linguistics at the University of Manchester.

Although the previously published papers have been completely reformatted to become individual chapters of the same book, perhaps some purely formal and typographical aspects could have received better care, like for example references in the

final bibliographies. Transcriptions do not always follow the same criteria for all the chapters. For example, in the third chapter, unlike the others, *shwa* is registered by the symbol « ^ »; there is a slight alternation between ğ and ž, even when different works have used data belonging to the same Arabic variety; the phonetic symbol «æ» sometimes appears instead of the phonemic *a* (or *ā*) within examples written in phonemic transcription; long vowels are generally written as «*ā/ī/ū*», but there are also a few cases of «*a:/i:/u:*» and «*aa/ii/uu*».

Beyond these merely formal aspects, we can conclude that the subjects the book deals with are undoubtedly of great interest for those who study Arabic dialectology from a comparative perspective as well as a pragmalinguistic point of view.

Alina-Georgiana Foçșineanu. 2015. *Kalīla wa Dimna și Istoria ieroglifică. O posibilă filiație*¹. Iași: Ars Longa. pp. 205. ISBN: 978-973-148-226-2

Compte-rendu par Christian Tămaș

Ce n'est pas un secret que *Panchatantra* est l'une des œuvres de sagesse de l'Inde ancienne les plus traduites, qui a exercé une influence notable sur beaucoup d'auteurs de premier rang tant de l'Orient que de l'Occident.

En partant de sa version arabe appartenant à Ibn al-Muqaffa', intitulée *Kalīla wa Dimna*, traduite, à son tour, tout à fait remarquablement, en roumain, par l'orientaliste arabisant George Grigore sous le titre de *Kalila și Dimna sau poveștile lui Bidpai* (Polirom, 2010), Alina-Georgiana Foçșineanu propose, dans son ouvrage „*Kalīla wa Dimna*” și „*Istoria ieroglifică*”. *O posibilă filiație* (Ars Longa, 2015) une analyse ponctuelle, qui essaye d'identifier, en comparant directement les deux textes, les éléments susceptibles d'avoir été empruntés, dans une mesure plus ou moins grande, par Dimitrie Cantemir, dans son *Histoire hiéroglyphique*.

Même si la possible influence exercée par *Kalila et Dimna* sur *L'histoire hiéroglyphique* a été signalée auparavant par d'autres auteurs, ceci ne porte aucune atteinte à la courageuse entreprise d'Alina-Georgiana Foçșineanu, car l'étude comparative signée par la jeune chercheuse roumaine réussit à présenter un point de vue original, bien argumenté, par l'intermédiaire d'une démarche scientifique rigoureuse, manquant de redondance, qui satisfait avec succès tant les critères académiques (clarté de l'exposition du thème et de la méthodologie de recherche, l'organisation de l'argumentation, la pertinence des conclusions, basées sur l'analyse textuelle, qui infirment ou confirment les hypothèses initiales, et aussi l'adéquation de l'appareil bibliographique) que les critères littéraires nécessaires à la compréhension par un public plus large d'un ouvrage qui s'adresse tout d'abord aux spécialistes.

Même sans émettre des prétentions d'exhaustivité à l'égard du sujet abordé – car une telle démarche nécessite, comme l'affirme l'auteur elle-même, la confrontation de l'original sanskrit aux versions existantes en persan, turc, grec et slavon –, „*Kalīla wa Dimna*” și „*Istoria ieroglifică*”. *O posibilă filiație* constitue un précieux point de départ pour d'autres éventuelles recherches portant sur ce thème.

¹ *Kalila wa Dimna et L'histoire hiéroglyphique. Une possible filiation.*

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