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In Memoriam Tryggve Kronholm (1939–1999)

With the death of Tryggve Kronholm, a brilliant Swedish scholar has departed this life. He was born in Helsingborg in 1939. After postgraduate studies in Lund, his academic career took him to Stavanger and a professorship in Old Testament exegesis at the School of Mission and Theology. Then, after a short tenure of the professorship of Semitic languages at Lund, he took the greatly coveted chair in the same subject at Uppsala, a chair previously occupied by K.V. Zetterstéen, H.S. Nyberg and Frithiof Rundgren. Kronholm was a member of the Academia Europaea, the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities and a number of other learned societies in Sweden and abroad.

He was my namesake and my friend, though a year older than me. I remember him at the grammar school in Helsingborg, doing a balancing act on the horizontal bar in the gymnasium (he was an outstanding gymnast). He ceased to cultivate his talent in gymnastics, but his professional academic life took on the character of a lifelong trial of strength, carried out with the elegance and mastery of the gymnast.

Kronholm took the doctorate twice—in Semitic languages and in Old Testament exegesis. Both disputations took place in Lund. With the resolve which distinguished most of the things that he did, he early decided to qualify for a chair in Semitic languages. His scholarly production comprises three essential areas of Semitic philology—Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic studies.

He took the doctorate in semitics with a thesis on the Jewish prayer-book, *Seder R. Amram Gaon. Part II: The Order of Sabbath Prayer* (1974). This work, which deals with one of the most important of all Jewish texts, is an excellent critical edition of the Sabbath prayers with a meticulous commentary. The first part of this text had been edited by David Hedegård in 1951. Kronholm's other great monograph was his theological thesis on the biblical interpretations of a Syrian Father of the Church, entitled *Motifs from Genesis 1–11 in the Genuine Hymns of Ephrem the Syrian* (1978), in which he discusses Ephrem's relations to the Jewish interpretation of Scriptures. This thesis was presented as a contribution to Old Testament exegesis but is also a specimen of patristic studies. Kronholm retained down the years his interest in the early Christian Church. He played a leading part in the Nordic project entitled "Judendom och kristendom under de första århundradena" (Judaism and Christianity during the First Few Centuries) (1982–85).

The two monographs established Kronholm's reputation as an international scholar in Hebrew and Aramaic studies. He was then able to show his mastery in smaller studies, especially on Hebraistic matters. His essay entitled "The Vale of Tears" is a demonstration of the complications involved in the editing of late Hebrew texts. Here, as in other studies resulting from his activity as faculty opponent, he makes striking observations in an elegant form. In the field of Hebrew studies, he also managed to make a number of contributions to the international dictionary project entitled *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.*

Kronholm was also a respected authority in the field of Arabic studies. Thus, the treatises which he wrote in order to qualify for the professorships in Lund and Upp-

sala included a major work which Kronholm hoped to finish and publish after his retirement. This is an edition of Sibt ibn al-Jawzi's medieval work *Advice to a Prince*. A study of dependence and prophetic originality in the Koran (*Orientalia Suecana* 1982–83) shows particularly well his ability to enter into the world of Islamic ideas. Among his achievements in the domain of Arabic studies, I would like to especially mention *Den arabiska litteraturens historia* (The History of Arabic Literature) (1995). It is so far the most important work of this kind in Swedish. Moreover, he planned to write a companion volume on the history of Hebrew literature.

Kronholm's research was not concentrated on questions of theoretical linguistics. He was a philologist of the classical school, not as an iconoclastic pioneer but as an exemplary recorder and documentalist. Faithfulness to the original text was, of course, the scholarly virtue that he rated highest. Owing to the broad scope of his learning, he was able to work with wide horizons. And it was not only that he was able to penetrate to the linguistic basis of the Semitic formulations; his ability to unearth bibliographical data and to document what modern research had contributed could sometimes, for example in reviews of the works of other scholars, be expressed in overwhelming fashion. A few editors of learned journals must sometimes have scratched their heads with perplexity. One must ask whether Kronholm was not something of a footnote fetishist.

Tryggve Kronholm was fascinated by the different Semitic cultures and the contents of the texts. For him, the royal road to them was through uncompromising study of the records. The world of the Bible had a particular appeal to him. It is relevant to mention that he had grown up in the *Bibeltrogna Vänner*, a religious body characterised by its conservative pietism. The new Swedish translation of the Old Testament is a teamwork, but I shall scarcely do violence to the truth if I say that the translations of the Books of Daniel, Ruth, Ecclesiastes and Esther bear Kronholm's special imprint.

A work of value on the world of the Bible which is at the same time directed to a wider circle of Bible readers is his book on the Decalogue, *De tio orden* (The Ten Commandments) (1992). Kronholm popularised biblical themes in a series of other writings. Here, he gave full expression to the inspiration which he had imbibed as a young student and scholar from the legendary Hugo Odeberg. For a number of years, he was also chairman of the Erevna Society founded by Odeberg, a circle in which the mystery and the inner meaning of the Bible were at the focus of attention. The influence of Odeberg is particularly noticeable in Kronholm's treatment of the Book of Ecclesiastes, one of his favourite writings in the Old Testament, in *Den verksamme Guden: Ett bidrag till Predikarens verklighetsuppfattning, speciellt hans teologi* (The Active God: A Contribution to Ecclesiastes' View of Reality, especially his Theology). The *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (the Swedish Dictionary of National Biography), Kronholm contributed a reverential portrait of Hugo Odeberg, a document in which he toned down beyond recognition Odeberg's recorded sympathy for Nazism.

Kronholm's bibliography is available on the Internet (www.afro.uu.se/kronholm.htm).

Kronholm devoted thorough study to the intellectual worlds of Judaism and Islam. In this connection, he showed a high degree of empathy. At the same time, on

the private level, his Christian position was very clear, as appears from his paper entitled "Mångfald, trefald och faran för kyrklig enfald" (Multiplicity, trinity and the danger of simplicity in the Church) (*Svensk Teologisk Kvartalsskrift* 1988: 93–101). In his capacity as *verbi divini minister*, an ordained clergyman of the Church of Sweden, he felt a responsibility also for the imponderabilia which cannot be analysed with philological or other scholarly tools. His piety was accordingly not of the indifferent kind. But as a scholar and a Christian, he drew a sharp distinction between what he believed that he knew as a scholar and what he knew that he believed as a Christian.

By Tryggve Kronholm's death, Swedish humanistic and theological research has lost a leading scholar.

Tryggve N.D. Mettinger
Lund

Tryggve Kronholm was the sole editor of Orientalia Suecana vols. XXXVIII (1989)–XLII (1993) and a member of the editorial board of vols. XLIII (1994)–XLVIII (1999).

We honour his memory.

Gunilla Gren-Eklund *Lars Johanson* *Bo Utas*

A Romance *Kharja* and the Poems Linked to It

Kómo śí ... filyólo alyéno non maś lo premés a(d) mew śéno/Filyólo alyéno bibáṭši a(d)órmaś a(d) mew śéno[1]

Karin Almbladh, Uppsala

With the publication of his article *Les Vers finaux en espagnol dans les muwaššaḥ hispano-hebraïques*, Samuel Miklos Stern initiated the debate on the Andalusian *muwashshaḥ*-poetry more than fifty years ago. Among the *kharajât* discussed in the article was the *kharja*, which is today interpreted *filyólo alyéno [bibáṭši] a(d)dórmaś a(d) mew śéno* and found in a Hebrew panegyric, *Pannû dĕrâkênû* by Judah Halevi (dead 1141).[2] Now we know that this *kharja* is found in an Andalusian-Arab poem as well, viz. the anonymous amatory Arabic poem *Ayya 'ayshin yalidhdhu maḥzûn*. No contrafacts or (to use the Arabic term) *mu'âraḍât* of the Arabic poem have, so far, been found, either in Arabic or in Hebrew.[3] The Hebrew poem, on the other hand, was contrafacted four times: in a poem by Judah Halevi himself, *Bidmê gĕvî'ênû*, a religious poem by (possibly) Aaron b. Joshua ibn al-'Ammâni (Egypt, first half of the 12th century), *Ozen lĕ'am evyôn*, in a panegyric to David I (b. Abraham) Maimonides (dead 1300) by a certain Samuel as well as in an anonymous panegyric, *Rabbû śĕśônênû lim'ôd*.

In the present article, the poems in which the variants of the *kharja* are found are discussed as well as the contrafacts. The focus of the discussion is the structure of the poems and the thematic relationships (if any) within them and between them.

THE *KHARJA*

Although the *kharja* is not identical in the first two poems, it is generally assumed that they are only two versions of the same *kharja*. As usual in strophic poetry, it governs the metrical structure as well as the rhymes of the *asmâṭ*. In the anonymous poem, the *asmâṭ* are divided into two equal hemistichs following the *kharja*, i.e. they have a symmetrical structure. In the Hebrew poem, however, the *kharja* and the *asmâṭ* are divided into two unequal segments with 6 syllables and 10 or 11 syllables each, i.e. they are asymmetrical. Turning to the *aghṣân*, each of them has 10 or 11 syllables, i.e. half a *simṭ* in the anonymous poem, while they have the same structure as the *asmâṭ* in the Hebrew poem.

[1] An earlier version of this paper was read at the EAJS colloquium on Medieval Hebrew Poetry at Yarnton Manor, Oxford, July 24 to July 27, 2000.

[2] Stern's article was originally published (in French) in *Al-Andalus*, vol. 13, 299–346. It is now conveniently available in English in Stern, 1974, 123–157.

[3] The literary technique of *mu'âraḍa* is discussed in *EI2*, s.v.

In the anonymous poem, the *kharja* runs:

KÓMO ŚÍ ... FILYÓLO ALYÉNO NON MAŚ LO+PREMÉŚ A(D) MEW ŚÉNO

Como si <fuese>muchachito forastero, a quien ya no apretase más contra mi seno.[4]

The following version is used in Judah Halevi's poem:

FILYÓLO ALYÉNO [bibáṭši] A(D)DÓRMAŚ A(D) MEW ŚÉNO

Muchachito forastero, [pronto] duermas en mi seno!

or

Someone else's child, [you have drunk,] and now sleep in my bosom! [5]

But what does the expression *filyólo alyéno* mean? So far, the concept behind it has not been discussed: "a stranger"? "a member of an alien clan"? "an outsider"? a Romance literary stereotype, much like *al-raqîb* ("the watcher") in Arabic literature? And to what extent (if any) was it used as a pejorative expression, like "bastard"? To this it should be added that *filyólo* is a diminutive, and, as such, it may be condescending or scornful, as well as endearing. In this respect, it fits well into the pattern, as the use of diminutives in the *kharajât* is well documented.[6] It is, however, also used for the lover in another *kharja* found in three other poems, two in Arabic, viz. one by Abû Bakr Yaḥya al-Jazzâr (11th century, Saragossa), and the other by Abû Bakr Yaḥya b. Aḥmad Ibn Baqî (dead 1145 or 1150), as well as one in Hebrew by Moses Ibn Ezra (dead 1138?). In the Arabic poems, it runs:

K+ADAMÉY FILYÓL ALYÉNO ED ÉLL+ A(D) MÍBE KÉRELLO DE MÍB BEṬÁRE ŚEW arraqíbE

Porque amé a muchachito forastero, y él a mí, me lo quiere vedar su celador.[7]

In the Hebrew poem, the following version is found:

ADAMEY FILIOLO ALIENO E EL A MIBI KERED-LO DE MIB KAṬARE ŠUO al-raqîbi

Amé a un hijito ajeno, y él a mí; lo quiére captar (apartar) de mi su espía (guardador)[8]

[4] Corriente, 1997b, 288, where the metre is interpreted as *khafîf*.

[5] For the text, see Corriente & Sáenz-Badillos, 1994, 285 (no. 7 = Corriente, 1997b, 312), where the metre is interpreted as *sarî'*. The passage printed in lower case is in Arabic. It is put in square brackets here as its proper interpretation remains doubtful. The first interpretation of the *kharja* is from Corriente & Sáenz-Badillos, 1994 (= Corriente, 1997b, 312), the second from Benabu, 1991, 25. Benabu no doubt takes his departure from a supposed Romance word corresponding to modern Spanish *beber*, "drink". However pleasing this interpretation is in view of the present discussion, it is unfortunately not followed by any linguistic analysis whatsoever. For this reason I have adopted Corriente's interpretation in the sequel.

[6] The morpheme *[-ól]* in this sense is discussed in Corriente, 1983, 58–59. The frequent use of diminutives in *kharajât* as a stylistic device is discussed in Zwartjes, 1997, 257–258.

[7] Corriente, 1997b, 296, where it has been emended after the version in the Hebrew poem. Here also the passage printed in lower case is in Arabic.

[8] Solà-Solé, 1973, 132–136. For some reason, it is not discussed in Corriente & Sáenz-Badillos, 1994.

In this example, we learn that a *filyólo alyéno* has a watcher. Of course it may be a humorous expression here. Yet it is a bit of a surprise, as we would rather expect the girl to be in need of one. It is thus tempting to follow the suggestion made by A. Jones concerning the last segment and interpret it as wholly in Arabic, viz. *šarra l-raqîbi* in the Arabic poems, and *śû l-raqîbi* in the Hebrew poem. In that case, it would then be the ill will of the watcher that keeps the lovers apart.[9] Apart from this, all that is certain is that, in strophic poetry, it is recorded only in Romance, but opinion differs as to whether there are any parallels to it in Arabic or not: F. Corriente suggests Arabic *ṣabî gharîb* as a parallel while O. Zwartjes stresses its singular Romance nature.[10] While thus the precise meaning of *filyólo alyéno* is still elusive, there is little doubt that the rest of the *kharja* is a euphemism for sexual intercourse.

AYYA 'AYSHIN YALIDHDHU MAḤZÛN BY ANONYMOUS

Nothing whatsoever is known for sure about when, where or by whom this poem was composed. It has, however, been suggested on internal evidence that it is a poem by a poet of the first half of the 12th century, perhaps even by Al-A'mâ al-Ṭuṭîlî or Ibn Baqî.[11]

Form: *tâmm*, five strophes.
Rhyme scheme: AA bbbaa cccaa etc.
Rhyme in the *asmâṭ*: *-ûnu/înu -ûnu/înu*
Metre:→ — ∪ — — — — ∪ — — — / — ∪ — — — — ∪ — — — (10 or 11 syllables/hemistich/*simṭ*:)
— ∪ — — — — ∪ — — — (10 or 11 syllables/*ghuṣn*)
Genre: *ghazal*
Text: Ibn Bishrî, 1992, 389–392 (poem 260 = below *Text 1*).
Translation: García Gómez, (1965) 1990, 205–207, Solà-Solé, 1973, 239–240[12]

What kind of life does he enjoy who is distressed, whose heart the black-eyed houri has robbed?!

Oh, ye who blame my rapture! If I die of desire[13] for Hind (my tears on my cheek bear witness that I am mad because of your love), is there no pity for my distressed[14] heart?

[9] Jones, 1988, 209–210. The fact that Arabic *shîn* is normally transliterated by *shîn* in Hebrew script, while Hebrew *sâmek* normally represents Arabic *śîn*, argues against this. In Solà-Solé, 1973, 133, the word here reproduced as *ŠUO* in the *kharja* of the Hebrew poem is transliterated as *šw*, i.e. Romance *su* = "his". But, *ś* is, in Andalusian-Arabic, at times confused with *š* in low registers (Corriente, 1977, 49).

[10] Corriente, 1997a, 122, Zwartjes, 1997, 252. See also the discussion in Corriente, 1997b, 67.

[11] For this suggestion, see Jones, 1988, 135. For the poets, see *EI2*, s.v. and Nykl, 1946, 241–244, 254–256.

[12] The translations by García Gómez and Solà-Solé are made from the text published in García Gómez, (1965) 1990.

[13] So after Dozy, s.v.

[14] So following the suggestion by the editor.

(2)
What a patience everyone who is madly in love has, he who sells himself for nothing for the pleasure of every beautiful gazelle! He has been robbed of his reason and his religion, and is swindled among the sellers.

(3)
Tell her who has aroused my pain: "Woe unto you! Release me quickly! I am dying, pierced in my soul with the arrows from her eyes, buried in the shroud of emaciation."

(4)
A branch of *bân* to which I am passionately attached scorns, swaggering; the earth below, putting the branch to shame whenever it bends down: in his mouth pearls are hidden, and a *nûn* is hanged[15] above the corner of his eye.

(5)
For a long time she has attacked with her eyes, and notions of love have had their part when she has sung and wept because of my desire:[16]

As if [you were] a filyólo alyéno, who no longer cuddles up to my bosom any more!

The poem is a rather characteristic piece of amatory *muwashshaḥ*. The "story" of the poem is told in the *maṭla'* and the last strophe:

What kind of life does he enjoy who is distressed, whose heart the black-eyed houri has robbed?!

For a long time she has attacked with her eyes, and notions of love have had their part when she has sung and wept because of my desire:

As if [you were] a filyólo alyéno, who no longer cuddles up to my bosom any more!

The body of the poem describes the sufferings of the lover because of his separation from the beloved (the first three strophes) and the beauty of the beloved (the fourth strophe). This description is based upon stock themes with roots in 'Udhrî poetry to such an extent that it is almost a collage of literary clichés. There is no logical sequence between the different elements of the description. Instead the strophes constitute separate pictures that are juxtaposed to one another without any attempt of conjunction and co-ordination. It is, however, well worth noting that the description of the beloved is in the strophe usually devoted to the praise of the addressee in strophic panegyrics. In the first three strophes, the lover speaks of himself in the third person (lines 1, 6–9, 13) or in the first person (lines 2–5, 10–12, 14).

As usual in strophic poetry, the last strophe forms the transition, a kind of *takhalluṣ*, to the climax of the poem, the *kharja*. In this strophe a shift of voice is brought about by introducing a girl. In the context of the poem, this is obviously "the black-eyed houri" and "Hind" in the first strophe. Still, however, the "I" in the rest of the poem remains the narrator, who now returns to the theme of the first strophe

[15] So following the suggestion by the editor.
[16] So after Dozy, s.v.

only to complete it here. The strophe is linked with the rest of the poem in other ways as well. The *topos* of the attacks of the beloved's eyes in the third strophe is thus repeated here. Of interest for the understanding of the *kharja* is also that the tears of the lover in the first strophe are reciprocated here by the beloved, only to be given their full explanation in the *kharja*. While we saw above that a loving couple obviously has to be separated when the lover is a *filyólo alyéno*, the girl speaks here of the lover by comparing him with a *filyólo alyéno* who, by definition, must leave her. The description of her grief in the last line is, however, not quite convincing against the background of the description of her cruelty not only in the body of the poem but also in the first line of the last strophe.

PANNÛ DĚRÂKÊNÛ BY JUDAH HALEVI

Not much is known of the addressee of the poem, the physician Abû l-Ḥasan Me'îr ibn Qamni'êl. He was obviously a person of note in Andalusian-Jewish society. Judah Halevi dedicated a number of poems to him. In the heading of one of them, he is called *al-wazîr al-jalîl*, in another heading just *al-wazîr*, and from this second heading it appears that he was living in Seville on the occasion of that poem. Together with another Jewish physician and two Muslim physicians, he was a member of a medical team that, in vain, treated a high dignitary at the Almoravid court of 'Alî b. Yûsuf b. Tâshufîn in Marrakesh in the first few decades of the 12th century. It is also worth mentioning that Judah Halevi dedicated another *muwashshaḥa* to Ibn Qamni'êl "at his departure to Maghreb", perhaps for the consultation at the Almoravid court. The precise occasion and the social context of the present poem are, however, not known.[17]

Form: *tâmm*, five strophes.
Rhyme scheme: AA bcbcbcaa dededeaa etc.
Rhyme in the *asmâṭ*: *-kênû, -kênû*.
Metre:→ — — ∪ — — — / — — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — (6 + 10 or 11 syllables/*simṭ*:)
— — ∪ — — — / — — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — (6 or 7 + 10 or 11 syllables/*ghuṣn*)
Heading: *walahu fî bni qamni'êl* ("By him, concerning Ibn Qamni'êl").
Genre: *madîḥ*.
Text: Judah Halevi, 1971, vol. 1, 176–177 (poem 118 = below *Text 2*).
Translation: Solà-Solé, 1973, 240–241.

Pave the way for us! Honour our king! [18]

May the sound of the good tidings resound across earth as quickly as a lightning, may the heart of those who hope for the breach to be repaired rejoice as at emptying a bowl, his

[17] For Ibn Qamni'êl, see *EJ2* s.v. *Kamniel*. The story of the medical consultation is told in Stern, 1963, 258–261. The other poems dedicated to him are Judah Halevi, 1971, vol. 1, nos. 16, 33, 42, 88, 126 (= the other *muwashshaḥa* dedicated to Ibn Qamni'êl). It should be kept in mind that the annotations in Judah Halevi's *diwân* to the best of our knowledge are not from the hand of the poet but from the medieval editor(s) of the *diwân*. Yet they provide useful information on a number of matters concerning the poems.
[18] Is 57:14, Est 1:20. The plural here is a plural *metri causa*.

name[19] is honey for our palate, just as from his appearance a cure is poured out for every cut, and he is the desire of all of us who yearn.

(2)

'Enlightener' (*Mê'îr*), so his parents called him, and they could not hide him, for they found him a light (*mâ'ôr*). Verily, as his name so he is in his business. They carried him in their bosom, and God Most High hewed his heavenly nest, and through our window he looks and enlightens (*hê'îr*) our darkness.

(3)

In your footsteps a straight path is revealed for Israel, for your thoughts are learning, generosity and fear of God. Fasten your reins, and draw near the hearts of those who say: "Please! Let us be drawn with you and let us be blessed."

(4)

Your contemporaries find the heavenly host your myriads, they cry out before you and your chariots, "On your knees!",[20] calling to you, "Deck thyself with majesty!",[21] for thus your ancestors were our lords, and you are God's prince among us.[22]

(5)

Brought up[23] in the bosom of Sovereignty, he has drunk his fill, enjoying her love.[24] From the day he was created, her chain [25] has been comely for his neck. Surely she rightly sings her most delightful song for her beloved:

"Filyólo alyéno, soon you will sleep in my bosom!"

The poem is peculiar in so far as it is one of the few Andalusian-Hebrew panegyrics, strophic or not, that is basically monothematic. In their strophic panegyrics, the Jewish poets usually adhered to the convention of an amatory or Bacchic introduction in the first strophe(s), then passing over to the panegyric in the third or fourth strophe (in a five-strophe poem), and finally closing with an amatory introduction to the *kharja*. Judah Halevi wrote, however, a number of monothematic panegyrics during his stay in Egypt, and they were to serve as models for Jewish poets there.[26] It is also worth remembering that Andalusian-Arab strophic panegyrics so far have not been adequately studied. The tripartite division of the poem is, however, discernible, as

[19] So against Brody's comment in which "scent" after the medieval Jewish interpretation of Hos 14:8 is suggested. *Ḥêk* was, however, considered an organ of taste as well as of speech, and so we may have here a *double entendre*. If so, the translation *his scent is honey for our palate* would add to the Bacchic touch of this strophe alluding to the medieval interpretation of Hos 14:8, "Its scent shall be as *the wine* of Lebanon" and, at the same time, used as a metaphor for "fame". The translation *his name is honey for our palate*, on the other hand, points to the next strophe that opens with the mention of the name of the addressee, *Mê'îr*. Probably the matter was no problem for the original reader/listener.

[20] After Gn 41:43.

[21] So after Hi 40:10, following Brody's comment.

[22] Gn 23:6.

[23] Prv 8:30, after David Qimḥi *ad loc*.

[24] After Prv 7:18.

[25] After Gn 41:42. The plural here as well as in the following line is probably *metri causa*.

[26] The thematic difference between Hebrew panegyrics from Spain and from the Orient is discussed in Rosen-Moked, 1985, 50–51, 120–121, 207–211.

the comparisons in lines 3–5 give a Bacchic touch to the introduction. To this is added the erotic language of the last strophe. From the formal point of view, it is well to note the different rhymemes in the *asmâṭ* and in the *kharja*. In the *asmâṭ* the rhymeme thus is *CvCv* realised as *–kênû*, i.e. as the final syllable is based on a suffix, the poet has added the final root consonant to enrich the rhyme.[27] In the *kharja*, on the other hand, it is *vCv* realised as *– ênû*.

The *Leitmotif* of the poem is sounded already in the *maṭla'*. In the first strophe, Ibn Qamni'êl's medical profession is alluded to, while in the second strophe the focus is on his name, *Mê'îr*. So far, the addressee and his qualities have been described in the third person, seemingly directed by the poet to the audience. In the third and fourth strophes, the poet is the spokesman of the audience, turning himself directly to the addressee and paying tribute to him. The qualities singled out in the third strophe—learning, generosity, fear of God—are more or less stock themes in Jewish panegyrics. Of greater interest is the fourth strophe, in which his noble ancestry and position are stressed. All of a sudden, a shift of perspective is introduced in the last strophe. We now watch a scene between Sovereignty, here portrayed as a woman, and the addressee: satisfied and dressed in the insignia of Sovereignty, he is lulled to sleep by her with the words of the *kharja*. This is a peculiar metaphor for the relationship to Sovereignty. It reminds us, however, of a panegyric dedicated to the Caliph al-Mahdî by the Abbasid court-poet Abû l-'Atâhiya (dead *c.* 825). In it, the submission of a slave-girl to the Caliph is used as a metaphor for the relationship between the Caliphate and the Caliph.[28] The differences are, however, even more striking than the similarities and reflect the different positions of the addressees: in the Arab poem, the Caliph who, because of his position, is entitled to the submission of his subjects, and in the present poem, a subject who is promoted. This is also the message of the whole of the fourth strophe with its allusion to the rise to power of Biblical Joseph by the quotation of Gn 41:43, an allusion that re-appears in the last strophe, where Gn 41:42 is cited. Perhaps also significant for the understanding of the poem is the quotation of Gn 26:3 also in the fourth strophe. In the Bible, these words are uttered by the Hittites to Abraham. The point here is that Biblical names are often applied to contemporary persons in medieval Hebrew poetry. The Philistines are thus more often than not to be decoded as "Berbers". Turning to the Hittites, they are obviously one of the codes for "Arabs" in the war poetry of Shemuel Ha-Nagid.[29] In the present context, the quotation from Gn 26:3 may then be interpreted as referring more generally to "Gentiles". If any one of the interpretations of the expression *filyólo alyéno* suggested above is correct, the tenor of the poem may then be that Ibn Qamni'êl was raised to a public position in a context in which such a position, according to convention, would have been unattainable for him as an outsider.

[27] For this device in medieval Hebrew poetry, see *EJ2*, s.v. *Prosody* (col. 1219). The variants *–kênû* and *-ḵênû* are irrelevant for the rhyme.

[28] The poem is discussed in Stetkevych, 1997, 28–31.

[29] For this, see Sáenz-Badillos & Targarona, 1999, 272–273.

THE *KHARJA* AS PART OF THE POEMS

The *kharja* of the anonymous poem epitomizes the theme of the poem, "love's labour's lost", while the *kharja* of the Hebrew poem epitomizes the theme of fulfilled aspirations. The *kharja* is then at the same time the point of departure of the poem and its witty and even frivolous epitome. Not only is the formal structure of the *kharja* different in the two versions, but they have also quite opposite meanings: in the Arabic poem, the addressee is rejected, in the Hebrew poem, he is embraced. Whatever the correct meaning of the word *bibáṭše* in the Hebrew poem, to replace it with *non mas* from the anonymous poem would turn the panegyric into a farce, just as *bibáṭše* would be quite impossible in the anonymous poem. There is thus no reason to "correct" (as has at times been done) either *kharja* after its sister. This would be lost if it were to be "corrected" in any of the poems considered here.

As for the transition to the *kharja*, it is introduced by references to time in both poems. Thus in the Arabic poem:

> For a long time she has attacked with her eyes, and notions of love have had their part *when* (*ḥîna*) she has sung and wept because of my desire:

In the Hebrew poem, we have:

> ... *From the day* (*miyyôm*) he was created her chain has been comely for his neck. Surely she rightly sings her most delightful song for her beloved:

As has been demonstrated by T. Rosen, such references to time are parts of a formulaic diction that frequently occurs in this type of poetry.[30] A kind of thematic link between the body of the Hebrew poem and its *kharja* is provided by *bosom* (*ḥêq*) which is introduced as a kind of clue to *śéno* in the *kharja* already in line 8, only to re-appear in line 18, the first line of the last strophe.[31] In the anonymous poem, on the other hand, no such element is discernible. There, however, a number of *topoi* from the body of the poem are repeated in the final strophe and, indeed, given their full explanation in the *kharja*. The result is that in either case the foreign-language *kharja*, an alien element in the poems, is integrated into them.

THE *MU'ÂRAḌÂT*

Bidmê gĕvî'ênû by Judah Halevi

The poem is a regular strophic poem, in so far as it has the customary thematic development, but the genre is not quite certain. The description in the third and fourth strophes suggests that it may be a description of both the beloved in a *ghazal* and of the *sâqî*, the cupbearer. If the suggestion for the rhyme-word in the missing line 16 is correct, it may even be a panegyric, *yiṣḥaq* then being a *double entendre*. What makes the poem formally peculiar is that the *maṭla'* and the *kharja* of the poem are

[30] Rosen, 1987, 119–123.

[31] This feature was for the first time observed by Stern in his article quoted above. It is further developed in Almbladh, 1992–1993b.

identical, i.e. the poem is a rare specimen of a Hebrew poem with a *kharja dosh 'amaláyn*.[32]

Form: *tâmm*, five strophes.
Rhyme scheme: AA bcbcbcaa dededeaa etc.
Rhyme in the *asmâṭ*: *-'ênû, -'ênû*.
Metre: → — — ∪ — — — / — — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — (6 or 7 + 10 or 11 syllables/line)
Heading: *walahu laḥn Pannû dĕrâkênû* ("By him, melody *Pannû dĕrâkênû*").
Genre: *khamriyya* (?), *ghazal* (?) *madîḥ* (?).
Text: Judah Halevi, 1971, vol.2, 326–327 (poem 117, = below *Text 3*).
Translation: –

Let us quench the fire in our body with the blood in our cups!

Come quickly with the water in the crystal bowls to drench a frightened heart! Alas! anguish roars in me like Pharaoh who, verily, has rebelled against me. Hither! that I do not faint! I will deliver <my anguish> to the flash in the cup, for that is a cure for our blow and in it is but pleasure.

(2)
When man's trouble beholds the sun in the bowl, it is broken as it, above the howling, spreads a light that grows stronger, quickly as lightning its rays bring fruit for power and salvation, our hosts of friends crying out: "Verily, you understand our thought!"

(3)
The appearance of the cherub anointed with oil[33] is like the sun at noon: every light bows down for you[34] and darkens, but you are a delight for the eyes, and God has anointed you with splendour and charm .... in the camp, and increase the host of our friends and make our salvation tens of thousand times greater!

(4)
The hosts in the sky learn beauty and charm and majesty from you, for your fame has been inscribed as has splendour, and yours is pleasure, yours is delight
.....you are exalted, yea, noble,
only you are our firmament.

(5)
What is the matter with you that you walk on earth—your dwelling is in the heart, for you have made the law of the heavenly lord your duty and your law as the heart loudly sings to water your love:

"Let us quench the fire in our body with the blood in our cups!"

There is no doubt that the poem was modelled upon *Pannû dĕrâkênû*. The poem has thus the same rhymeme in the *asmâṭ CvCv* as the model. Parts of the rhymes in the *aghṣân*, as well as of the vocabulary, are furthermore recycled, even in rhyme position. Thus the first strophe in the model rhymes *-raq* = *Bidmê* first segment of the second strophe (cf. *-ḥaq* first segment of the fourth), and *-reṣ* = *Bidmê* first segment

[32] The *kharja dosh 'amaláyn* is discussed in Zwartjes, 1991.
[33] For this translation, see David Qimḥi on Ez 28:14, quoting Ibn Janâḥ.
[34] Gn 37:9.

of the fifth strophe. Likewise *bârâq* and *mizrâq* are rhyme-words in both poems, as is *éreṣ*. To this should be added the allusions to the Joseph in both poems. As in the model, the first strophe is furthermore directed to the audience or to the readers who here are invited to enjoy the wine. In the second strophe, the beneficial effects of the wine are described. In the third and fourth strophes, the poet turns to the *sâqî* (if it be a *khamriyya*) whose blazing beauty is dwelt upon. The last strophe is also directed to him. It is worth observing that it is the heart that pronounces the *kharja* just as the masculine form of the word has been chosen. Here it is well to remember that the commonly held notion of the "female voice" of the *kharja* is grossly overrated. From a survey of the available secular Arabic *muwaššaḥât* it is possible to conclude that in 50 % of the poems the *kharja* has a male voice, 20 % a female voice, 25 % has neither a male nor a female voice, while the remaining 5 % are introduced by an imperative. The female voice dominates only among the 45 Arabic poems with a *kharja* in Romance, where a "she" introduces it in 36 poems. Such a survey is impossible to make of the Hebrew poems, but there is no reason to believe that the result would be different.[35]

The metaphors for the wine are those commonly found in wine poetry, i.e. *dâm* ("blood"), *máyim* ("water [in the crystal bowl]"), and *ḥéres* ("sun") as is the comparison with *bârâq* ("lightning"), as well as the metaphors for the wine utensils, *aggĕnôt shóham* ("crystal bowls"), *bârâd*, and *mizrâq*. *Ădôn 'éreṣ* in the last strophe should most likely be understood as another metaphor for the wine, viz. *ădôn 'éreṣ* = *ḥéres* = *yáyin*. The comparison of the *sâqî* with the sun is likewise a stock comparison that is developed throughout the description of him (lines 11, 14–15). Joseph is here suggested in line 11 by *every light bows down for you*, alluding to his dream in Gn 37:9. But, by the addition *and darkens*, it is not his rise to power that is alluded to but the traditions of his amazing beauty that is also one of the stock themes of the *sâqî*. The positive appreciation of Joseph's beauty is strange in a Jewish context, as his coquetry is severely blamed in rabbinical literature. In Islamic tradition, however, he is, among other things, at the same time a model of chastity and of male beauty. Here the allusion may even remind us of the homo-erotic Andalusian-Arab poems in which the beauty of the boy is now and then compared to Joseph's beauty.[36] Were it possible to be sure that *yiṣḥaq* ("he smiles/laughs") was the missing rhyme-word in the first segment of line 16, this would complete the description of the *sâqî*. But, then it would also be possible to view it as a proper name, transforming the poem into a panegyric.

In the last strophe, imagery from love poetry is introduced, whereby not only is the *maṭla'* re-interpreted but also *lĕhashqôt* that is repeated from the second line: *lĕhashqôt lêv ăsher ḥârâd : lĕhashqôt ahăvâtékâ*, "to drench a frightened heart": "to water your love". In this way the metaphor for wine is, finally, brought a step further in the *kharja*, viz. *dĕmê gĕvî'ênû* = *yáyin* = *ahăvâ*.[37]

[35] The survey is made after the material in Jones & Hitchcock, 1991, 160–191.

[36] For this, see Abu-Rub, 1990, 314, where examples from 11th century poems are quoted. Jewish and Islamic legends concerning Joseph are surveyed in *EJ2*, s.v. *Joseph*.

[37] The metaphors in Andalusian Hebrew wine-poetry and love-poetry are discussed in Schippers, 1994, 105–180. Whatever the proper meaning of *shóham*, it was interpreted as "crystal" by Ibn Janâḥ, s.v.

The most peculiar formal point is that the *maṭla'* appears as the *kharja* of the poem. This feature has so far been observed only in *zajal* 59 by Judah Halevi's contemporary Ibn Quzmân (dead 1160) just as it was to appear later in the *azjâl* of the Andalusian mystic al-Shustarî (dead in 1269). Another specimen of the same feature appears, however, in another poem by Judah Halevi, viz. the wedding-poem *Bô yĕdîdî bô lĕvêt bat nĕdîvîm.*[38] Another variant of it appears in a few of the *muwaššaḥât* by Todros Abulafia (Christian Spain, late 13th century). In a number of them, the introduction is thus a Hebrew paraphrase of the foreign language *kharja.*[39] The feature was, however, obviously never very popular: apart from the specimens already mentioned, it appears only in one—anonymous—Arab poem, *Shawq biqalbî 'âth.*[40] The reason for this lack of popularity among *muwaššaḥât* was, no doubt, that the feature was contrary to the one of the basic conventions of a *muwaššaḥâ*, viz. the opposition between the body of the poem in the classical language, be it classical Arabic or Hebrew, and the *kharja* in *laḥn* or in Romance.

Ozen lĕ'am evyôn by Aaron b. Joshua ibn al-'Ammâni (?)

The supposed author of this fragmentary poem, the physician Aaron b. Joshua ibn al-'Ammâni, was a person of some note in the Jewish community of early 12th century Alexandria. He was host to Judah Halevi during the latter's stay there in 1140, and Judah Halevi dedicated a number of poems to him.[41] One peculiar trait in the present poem is the shape of the *maṭla'* with three segments instead of two in the model. How this problem was solved in performance is difficult to say, although one possibility would be to repeat the tune of the first segment. The rhyme *-yôn* of the *maṭla'* and the *asmâṭ* instead of *-ênû* is also peculiar. As is customary in religious poetry, there is an acrostic indicating the name of the poet.

Form: *tâmm*, five strophes (?).
Rhyme scheme: A(A)A bcbcbcaa dededeaa etc.
Rhyme in the *maṭla':* *-yôn, -yôn, -yôn.*
Rhyme in the *asmâṭ:* *-yôn, -yôn*, each *simṭ* probably ending in *fîyôn.*
Metre:→ — — ∪ — — — / — — ∪ — — — / — — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — (*maṭla'* 6 + 6 + 10 syllables)
— — ∪ — — — / — — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — (6 + 10 or 11 syllables/line)
Heading: *l[aḥn] Pannû dĕrâkênû* ("Melody *Pannû dĕrâkênû*").
Genre:?
Acrostic: *'a(hărô)n ḥizqû*
Text: Schirmann, 1936, 279–280 (poem 13 = below *Text 4*). The poem is, however, very fragmentary, and only the last two strophes are complete.
Translation: –

[38] Judah Halevi, 1971, vol. 2, 320–321 (= poem no. 111).
[39] Almbladh, 1998.
[40] Ibn Bishrî, 1992, 58–59 (= poem no. 38).
[41] Judah Halevi, 1971, vol. 1 nos. 2, 8, 36, 67, 70 (coupled with letter no. 1), 80, 117, p. 207; vol. 2, 226 (?), 257, 258, 260, 262, 287. For Ibn al-'Ammâni, see Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 2, 245, 258–260, 264; vol. 5, 460–461, and *EJ2* s.v. *Alamani.*

Incline your ear and redeem an oppressed people, you who are exalted *to gather the dispersed of Zion*![42]

A sacrifice (consisting) of words from my lip I bring forth to you, them I carry
.....
.....
.....[*Zion*]

(2)
.....deceitfully they lay in wait against
.....with the edge of my sword I rise up to cut off
.....then shall dress *all* [*those who hate Zion*].[43]

(3)
.....from the wells of salvation .....speedily He ascends
.....your dwellings, and in [His ho]ly house .....those who seek your inhabitants. From the tabernacle of the Temple[44] *the Lord loves the gates of Zion*.[45]

You raise him to be a prince, his throne is like the sun before you, you make him the head of the peoples. In the house of God he is green like a fir tree, with fame you fertilize him as with the precious ointment on the top, from the slopes of Śiryon *it descends like dew on the mountains of Zion*.[46]

Shield of my salvation! Hasten it, God, in its due time! I will offer my sacrifices with shouts of joy every year in your tabernacle; before I leave I will rejoice at the consolations to a people that has changed,

and make you most high, *when the Lord turns again the captivity of Zion*.[47]

Though the poem is extremely fragmentary, a number of points can be made. The invocation in the *maṭla'* is directed to God and is a prayer for national redemption, which is apparently the basic theme of the poem. In the first line of the introductory *ghuṣn,* the poet offers his sacrifices of words, obviously in contrast to animal sacrifices. Judging from the fragments of the second strophe, it may have dwelt upon enemy attacks on Zion that are repelled. In the third strophe, the poet seems to have turned to Zion, describing her buildings (including the Temple). The fourth strophe —the customary place for the panegyric in a secular poem—is once more directed to God and obviously describes the triumphant Messiah. In the last strophe, finally, the poet once more prays to God for the speedy national redemption in his own lifetime that he will be able to offer proper sacrifices in the Temple. There is, finally, no

[42] Cf. Is 11:12.
[43] Cf. Ps 129:5. The words in square brackets are suggestions for restorations.
[44] So after Ben-Yehuda, 1960, s.v.
[45] Ps 87:2.
[46] Ps 133:3. Unvocalized, this *simṭ* presents a *double entendre* that is impossible to translate. It may be understood as Śiryon, which is another Biblical name for Hermon, or as *shiryôn*. In the second case, the *simṭ* can be translated "the precious ointment on the head, from the sides of the armour it descends like dew on the mountains of Zion", referring to the prince.
[47] Dt 26:19, Ps 126:1.

kharja, at least not as we know it from secular Andalusian poems, viz. a real or fake quotation introduced by a word of saying. Instead every *simṭ* obviously ended with a quotation from the Bible, chiefly from the Psalms.

The poem by Samuel

Nothing, except the name, is known about the author of this poem.[48] The reasons for referring it to this group are provided by the metrical scheme, the rhymes in the *asmâṭ* and the genre. It is, however, worth observing that the rhymeme in the *asmâṭ* vacillates between *CvCv* and *vCv* and thus differs from the rhymeme in the poems by Judah Halevi, where it is *CvCv* in the *asmâṭ*. As, however, it is *vCv*, realised as *-ênû* in the *kharja*, it is also possible to argue that it is its rhyme that is used. As is customary in this type of semi-secular or semi-sacred poems, there is an acrostic indicating the name of the poet, Samuel. Provided the poem was composed as an exact replica of the most likely model, *Pannû dĕrâkênû*, just two lines are missing, viz. the *maṭla'* introduced by a word beginning with *šîn* and the first *ghuṣn* introduced by a word beginning with *mêm*. While details on the author of the poem remain unknown, the addressee of the poem, David I b. Abraham Maimonides (dead 1300), is better known. He was the grandson of Moses Maimonides and succeeded his father, Abraham b. Moses Maimonides, as *Nâgîd* of the Egyptian Jewry.[49]

Form: *tâmm* (?), five strophes
Rhyme scheme: (AA) bcbcbcaa dededeaa etc.
Rhyme in the *asmâṭ*: *-ênû/-nênû, -ênû/ -nênû.*
Metre: → — — ∪ — — — / — — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — (6 + 9 or 10 syllables/line)
Genre: *madîḥ.*
Acrostic: *[šĕm]û'êl*
Text: Schirmann, 1965, 135 (poem 58 = below *Text 5*). The first lines of the poems are missing.
Translation: –

.....

.....exalted, manna from the fruit of his splendour ... for all who come and go; pluck, ye multitude, grain for nothing from our lord.

(2)

Ye multitude of Israel, yield honour and majesty forever to the lord, the *Nâgîd* of God's people, David grandson of Moses and exilarch, anointed on Har'êl[50] to be king over the whole peculiar people!—may God raise his throne to the circuit of heaven in our presence!

(3)

Lord endowed with His wisdom, he endows young and old among his people with wisdom, he is victorious, and his kingdom is from east to west, therefore they praise him with his

[48] See Schirmann, 1965, 134.

[49] On David I Maimonides, see *EJ2*, s.v. *David b. Abraham Maimuni*. It should be noted that the writings of the last scion of the Maimonides family to attain the rank of *Nâgîd*, David II (b. Joshua) Maimonides (dead 1415), often are ascribed to his 13th century namesake. Strangely enough an article covering the whole dynasty Maimonides is lacking in *EJ2*.

[50] Metaphor for Zion, after Ez 43:15.

people with a pleasant voice before our Lord's house: He who dwells in our dwelling chose him for king.

(4)

Come to the son of our lord, David, to the head of our exiled community, our master David, ye multitude and princes! Bow down to our king for the rest of our lives, all of us and our children and wives and infants!

(5)

Yinnon[51] of his age he is, a shepherd for all his people on good pasture; God sent him ... to let them rest on the good..."Wonderful" He called him,[52] "leader [...] good"

He is our anointed one [God's prince] among us![53]

If just the first two lines are missing, this poem is more or less a typical Hebrew panegyric from the Orient, in so far as it is monothematic. As the poem is preserved, it is wholly directed to the audience/the readers, who are exhorted to honour the *Nâgîd*. It is well to remember that whatever the origin of the office, the Nâgîd or *ra'îs al-yahûd* was by this time, the late 13th century, the temporal head of the Jews of Egypt, appointed by the authorities who also defined his functions. The most striking feature of the poem is, of course, its overt Messianic tone, which in its turn is determined by the position of the addressee, David Maimonides. It is here tempting to put this poem into the context of the ecstatic panegyrics by his court-poet Joseph ben Tanḥûm ha-Yerushalmî (1262–*c.* 1300) on the return of his patron from his exile in Acre in *c.* 1290. In these poems, he viewed the return of David Maimonides as a divine act of salvation for the Jewish people, and he is also said to envision the future Messiah in him. The style of the poem differs, on the other hand, from the poems by Joseph ha-Yerushalmî: as we saw, the poem discussed here is monothematic, while Joseph ha-Yerushalmî was an able poet in the Andalusian style.[54]

The poem, as it is preserved, is a description of the noble qualities of the addressee directed to the audience/reader, a feature stressed by the imperatives in strophes one, two and four. It is impossible from the formal point of view to say which poem served as the model for this panegyric. From the contents, however, it is likely that *Pannû dĕrâkênû* inspired the poet. Thus, the actual introductory words of that poem, *pannû dĕrâkênû*, are an allusion to Is 57:14 that has Messianic connotations. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that the name of the addressee and his ancestry are mentioned already in the second strophe. As in the panegyrics to David I Maimonides by Joseph ha-Yerushalmî, his ancestry is stressed, as is his wisdom, and no doubt "*king*" and "*kingdom*" and other expressions stressing royal insignia are used to connect the addressee with his Biblical namesake. Provided the emendation by the editor in the last strophe is correct, we even have more or less the

[51] = Messiah, according to Rabbinical interpretation of Ps 72:17.

[52] Cf. Is 9:5.

[53] Cf. Gn 23:6.

[54] Sheynin, 1988, 9–10, 118–119 (footnote 29), 121 (footnote 37), discussing Joseph ha-Yerushalmî's panegyrics to David Maimonides, and 1988, *passim*, where his poetical style is discussed.

same quotation of Gn 23:6 as in *Pannû dĕrâkênû*, viz. "*you are God's prince among us*":"*[God's prince] he is among us*". How this quotation is introduced is, however, difficult to say, as the final *ghuṣn* is fragmentary. It is, however, possible (though not very likely) to conceive of *qĕrâ'âhû* as governing also the final *simṭ*. If so, this may be seen as a *kharja* and then interpreted as uttered by God. In this case, God must be interpreted as joining the community paying tribute to the addressee.

Rabbû šĕšônênû lim'ôdh by Anonymous

Once more, we have a fragmentary poem, this time with what may be the first two strophes. This poem is referred to this group because of the metrical scheme, as well as the rhymeme in the *asmâṭ* that is the same as in the poems by Judah Halevi, *CvCv*. The most curious feature is that the name of the addressee is left out and substituted by *pĕlônî* ("NN"). A number of names would fit into the prosodic scheme, and it is of course impossible to suggest any of them, as there are no hints whatsoever as to the context of the poem. In the context of medieval Jewish poetry, however, the same feature appears in a number of panegyrics by Joseph ha-Yerushalmî. Two reasons for this feature there have been suggested, viz. either that he removed the original name when the addressee became an odious person or that he had prepared some ready or half-finished poems without any name of the addressee in expectation of selling them.[55] Neither argument is, however, convincing until additional material has been collected and the feature studied in the context of both Arabic and Hebrew poetry. Curious is also the apparent lack of an acrostic that would be expected in a poem like this, viz. a poem celebrating the birth and/or the circumcision of a patron.

Form: *tâmm*
Rhyme scheme: AA bcbcbcaa dededeaa etc.
Rhyme in the *asmâṭ*: *-nênû, -nênû*.
Metre: → — — ∪ — — — / — — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — (6 + 9 or 10 syllables/line)
Genre: *madîḥ*.
Text: Schirmann, 1965, 357 (poem 182 = below *Text 6*). Only the first (?) two strophes of the poem are extant.
Translation: –

Exceedingly great is our joy, our trouble has vanished!

How immensely we rejoice, all living men rejoice! To a noble and mighty prince, prince NN, a son has been born! Sorrow and disaster have reached those who said: "Surely he will die like Seled!"[56] He is pleasant for us,[57] his name is sweet for our tongue!

(2)

The heavenly stars and their constellations[58] are envious of each other, they are even filled with terror, for he who puts their light to shame has come, they praise without deception

[55] Sheynin, 1988, 260, 354–355 (footnotes 9 and 10).
[56] 1 Ch 2:30, i.e. he will die childless.
[57] Cf. Gn 3:16.
[58] Is 13:10.

(?)/openly (?)[59] for his glorious might is failing them. Through him we shall be comforted in our distress[60] and our sorrow.

Panegyrics celebrating the birth and/or the circumcision of sons to persons in high positions formed an important sub-genre in medieval Jewish poetry. Judging from what is left, we have here another monothematic panegyric of this type, celebrating the – obviously unexpected – birth of a son to the patron of the poet. Once again, it is most likely that *Pannû dĕrâkênû* formed the ultimate model for the poem. Thus the first *simṭ* more or less varies the first *simṭ* of *Pannû dĕrâkênû*: "*His name is honey for our palate and he is the desire of all of us who yearn*" : "*He is pleasant to us, his name is sweet for our tongue.*" Unlike the preceding poem, however, there are no direct Messianic connotations in the Biblical allusions found in it.

The poems as mu'âraḍât

All of the four *mu'âraḍât* of *Pannû dĕrâkênû* have lacunae which, of course, qualifies any discussion. In two of the poems, the rhymeme of the *asmâṭ* of the model, *CvCv*, has been preserved, viz. in *Bidmê gĕvî'ênû* and in *Rabbû śĕśônênû lim'ôdh*, while the system vacillates between *CvCv* and *vCv* in the poem by Samuel. On the other hand, the system in *Ozen lĕ'am evyôn* is peculiar, viz. *CvC* with *–yôn* as rhyme of the *asmâṭ*. This poem is also singular as regards the *maṭla'* with three segments instead of two in the model. Indeed, were it not for the note in the heading of the poem, it would have been doubtful to refer it to this group of poems. Furthermore, only *Bidmê gĕvî'ênû* has, beyond doubt, a *kharja* introduced by a verb of saying, i.e. the *sine qua non* of a *muwaššaḥa*, and only this poem can thus, strictly speaking, be classified as one. The two other, more or less complete poems should then rather be called *muwaššaḥa*-like poems, characterised by the same metrical scheme and rhyme as the model and integrated into the rich repertoire of strophic, sacred poetry.

Turning to the thematic of the poems, the close thematic relationship between Judah Halevi's poems is obvious. In both poems, Joseph figures as a model: in *Pannû dĕrâkênû* his rise to power serves as the model for the rise to power of the addressee, in *Bidmê gĕvî'ênû* the beauty of the *sâqî* is modelled after Joseph's beauty. To this is added the recycling of not only rhymes but also of words in rhyme-position. Indeed, it is as if Judah Halevi has elaborated the frivolous nature of the *kharja* of the model in this poem. It would even be possible to use this poem as an argument for the interpretation "*you have drunk*" of the word *bibáṭši* in the *kharja* of the model. As for the authors of the other *mu'âraḍât*, it is more likely than not that the Romance *kharja* of the model was nothing but gibberish to them, and thus its frivolity escaped them. What was left was the serene body of the poem celebrating the rise to power of the addressee. It is obvious that they took their point of departure in the Messianic connotations of the introduction of the model, i.e. that part of the poem that was most easily remembered and by which the poem was quoted. In what is left of the poem by Samuel as well as of *Rabbû śĕśônênû lim'ôdh*, we also have quotations and allu-

[59] For *kaḥad*, see Ben-Yehuda, 1960, s.v.
[60] Cf. Gn 5:29.

sions to the model. Taken together, this agrees with the earlier results of studies on *mu'âraḍât* of *muwaššaḥât*, viz. that not only metrical scheme and rhyme were recycled but motifs and quotations from the model might be transferred from the model to the *mu'âraḍât*.[61]

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[61] This point is studied in Einbinder, 1991. See also Almbladh, 1992–1993a, and Almbladh, 1998.

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Hebrew Infinitival Paronomasia

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Firstly, in this paper I discuss various patterns of the kind of paronomasia which is achieved by joining a "tautological" infinitive absolute (*inf. abs.*) to a verb of the same root, and, secondly, how these patterns relate to narration and discourse.[1]

The *inf. abs.* as an abstract noun expresses the bare idea of verbal action, apart from all modifications. Used paronomastically as an absolute complement, it lends emphasis to the entire clause.[2]

There are two, not easily available studies that claim to be based on a complete investigation of all relevant Biblical Hebrew passages,[3] namely A. Rieder (1872)[4] and B.L. Goddard (1943).[5] Rieder's study is short, 31 pp. in all, and focuses on *inf. abs.* in "Interjectionalsätzen", in which Rieder includes clauses in which the *inf. abs.* precedes a finite verb of the same root and in which cases "der zuerst völlig unbestimmt gelassene Verbalbegriff persönlich und zeitlich näher bestimmt werden" (p. 6).[6] Adhering to Ewald, he compares them with cases of stressed, fronted extraposition. He disagrees with Gesenius, who thinks that an *inf. abs.* that stands before its counterpart within the paronomasia always signifies strengthening of the verbal idea, while an *inf. abs.* standing after always signifies continuance. In contrast, he maintains that, whether the *inf. abs.* stands before or after the finite verb *or*, it has an adverbial sense, it strengthens the verbal idea. However, this strengthening, he concedes, may be understood in two ways, either as intensive or as an amplified extension of the verbal content. In the former case the *inf. abs.* regularly precedes, in the latter case it succeeds the other verbal form—and in the latter case the focus is not on the infinitive but on the finite verb, he says.

The list of passages in which the *inf. abs.* stands before the finite verb is divided into two parts (1) discourse, *Rede*, and (2) narration, *Erzählung*. Under discourse are

[1] Primarily, GKC (Kautzsch, E., *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as edited and enlarged by the late E. Kautzsch*, 2nd English ed. by A.E. Cowely, Oxford 1910) §§ 113*m*, 117*p*, treats *figura etymologica* in connection with the internal, non-infinitive object, but in a sense, as it is stated, the paronomastic *inf. abs.* represents a *figura etymologica*.

[2] See Waltke, B.K. & O'Connor, M., *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, Winona Lake, 1990, § 35.3.1*b*. The terms *prepositive* and *postpositive* for the position of the infinitive, before or after the other verb are here avoided, since they may give the impression that it is the *inf. abs.* alone, and not the doubling up, that effects emphasis.

[3] In addition to Solá-Solé's well-known, *L'Infinitif sémitique* (1961).

[4] *Die Verbindung des Infinitivus absolutus mit dem verbum finitum desselben Stammes im Hebräischen auf Grund sämmtlicher im Alten Testament vorkommenden Stellen*, Leipzig 1872.

[5] *The origin of the Hebrew infinitive absolute in the light of infinitive uses in related languages and its use in the Old Testament* (ThD, Havard Divinity School 1943).

[6] Cf. Hammershaimb, E., "On the so-called Infinitivus Absolutus in Hebrew" (FS, *G.R. Driver: Hebrew and Semitic Studies*, Oxford, 1963, 85–94), p. 89, n. 3.

listed a lot of various usages: solemn addresses, injunctions, questions, conditions, restrictions (with *'ak, raq* and *'æfæs*), as well as adversative clauses.[7]

In narration, however, a paronomastic *inf. abs.* is seldom found before the finite verb, and Rieder refers this fact to the rhetorical effect of the intensifying infinitive.[8] Altogether, there are only nine cases, he says: Gen 20:18; 27:30; Ex 13:19; Lev 10: 16, Jos 17:13; Jud 1:28, 7:19, 1 Sam 1:10 and Ezek 1:3.[9]

Next comes a section on the *inf. abs.* after the finite verb, and it is divided into two parts: *narration,* five occurrences,[10] and *discourse,* twenty-eight occurrences.[11] Of the adduced occurrences in discourse, *eight* are actually conditioned by the imperative, viz. Num 11:15 *horgēnī nā' hārōg* "kill me rather (at once)"; Judg 5: 23; Jes 6:9; 55:2; Jer 22:10 and Job 13:17 (=21:2; 37:2); in *six* cases *wayyiqtol* is involved, viz. Gen 19:9 *hā'æḥād bā' lāgūr wayyišpoṭ šāfōṭ* "this one came in as a sojourner and has done nothing but judge!", and Gen 31:15; Num 11:32; Jos 24:10; 2 Sam 3:24 and Ezek 25:12. In another two cases *weqataltí* is involved: Jer 23:39 and Dan 11:10 (?), and in two cases participles are found: Isa 22:17 and Jer 23:17.[12] Of the rest, a *qatal* precedes the *inf. abs.* in Num 23:11; 24:10; Jos 7:7 and Jer 6:29, and a *yiqtol* in Gen 46:4; Num 16:13; 2 Kings 5:11; Ezek 17:10; Zech 8:21 (a cohort.); Job 6:25 and Dan 11:13 (?).[13]

The scope of B.L Goddard's study (1943) was to investigate the various uses—not only the paronomastic one—of the *inf. abs.* in order to discover steps in the development of meaning and ultimately to trace a probable origin. He freely admits the relationship between the "intensifying" use of the infinitive and its "non-intensifying" uses, for instance that of constituting an internal object. The two constructions differ, however, he points out, inasmuch as the "non-intensifying" *inf. abs.* always follows the finite verb, while the "intensifying" *inf. abs.* generally stands before the finite verb (p. 23).[14]

Hence the evidence is divided into (1) *intensive use*, and (2) *non-intensive uses.*

[7] The one in Ex 5:23 Rieder aptly translates: (why was I sent) "Pharao plagt das Volk nur noch härter *wᵉhaṣṣēl lō' hiṣṣaltā 'æt-'ammᵉxā* aber retten tust du dein Volk nicht" (p. 10).

[8] „Es kann übrigens nicht Wunder nehmen, dass der Gebrauch dieser Structur hier ungleich seltener ist, als dort; da ja ein so affectvoller Ausdruck, wie es ohne Zweifel die eben besprochene hebräische Construction ist, weil zum rhetorischen Schmuck dienend, recht eigentlich in der leidenschaftlichen Rede an seinem Platze steht" (pp. 19–20).

[9] Drawing from Rieder, Goddard, too, refers to nine instances (p. 38).

[10] Num 11:32; Judg 4:24; 1 Sam 19:23; 2 Sam 3:24 and 13:19, (notwithstanding that Judg 4:24; 1 Sam 19:23 and 2 Sam 13:19 are rather to be regarded as a variety of the coordinated pattern; see below).

[11] Gen 19:9; 31:15, 46:4; Num 11:15; 16:13; 23:11; 24:10; Jos 7:7 (cf. GKC § 113*x*); 24:10; Judg 5:23; 2 Kings 5:11; Jes 6:9, 22:17, 55:2; Jer 6:29, 22:10, 23:17, 39; Ezek 7:14; 17:10; 25:12; Zech 8:21; Job 6: 25, 13:17 (=21:2; 37:2) and Dan 11:10, 13. Goddard, (*op. cit.* p. 27) adds Jer 12:17, though it rather belongs to the coordinated pattern; on the other hand, he, of course, disregards Judg 4:24; 1 Sam 19:23; 2 Sam 13:19, and the dubious Ezek 7:14, plus Job 6:25 (cf. GKC, §113*b*). As to the two occurrences in Daniel, cf. note in BHS!

[12] Two cases with preceding participles, Judg 11:25 and 20:39, should be analysed differently.

[13] On the basis of these examples, H.S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk Grammatik*, Stockholm, 1952, § 91*f* Anm, draws the conclusion that a *yiqtol* in this construction always refers to the future; cf., however, Num 16: 13.

[14] Poetically (?), one (Ps 126:6), or both (Isa 3:6, Jer 50:4?) infinitives may precede.

He disagrees with those who say that an *inf. abs.* standing after the finite verb serves to define and limit the action of the verb and takes pains to prove his point (pp. 22–28). Altogether, there are 468 occurrences of the intensive use of the *inf. abs.* with a form of the same root, he says, and in those comparatively few cases where the *inf. abs.* stands in rear position, it mostly highlights a *contrast*, as, e.g., in Num 23:11 *wᵉhinnē bēraxtā bārēx* "you have done nothing but bless them", where *blessing* is emphasized over against the anticipated *cursing*. Jer 6:29; 23:17 and Zech 8:21 excepted, there is little evidence for continuance as the primary sense in these cases, he says.

G. Goldenberg's article "Tautological infinitive"[15] is strangely enough not quoted by Waltke & O'Connor, though it is a most thorough linguistic analysis of the phenomenon of infinitival paronomasia. Goldenberg thinks that Ewald was right in his analysis of paronomasia with fronted *inf. abs.* as being parallel to expressive, fronted extraposition. He distinguishes between three types of infinitival paronomasia, namely, A in which, from a functional clause perspective, the infinitive is in extraposition, forming the topic of the sentence. This type is favoured in Biblical Hebrew and other languages that lack an empty pro-verb "to do", e.g., Judg 1:28 *wᵉhōrēš lō' hōrīšō* "but dispossessing—they did not dispossess them". This type is apt to express a contrast, which in turn brings about the common pattern: *inf. abs.* plus *lō'* or *'al* plus a finite verb, as above, or, it occurs in rhetorical questions, introduced by *hᵃ* , as in Gen 37:8 *hᵃmālōx timlox*.

In other instances, type B—mostly found in Aramaic—the "tautological infinitive" is tantamount to a cleft sentence. This type relates to a third, in Hebrew ubiquitously employed type, named C, which is distinguished by the fact that the *inf. abs.* and the verb it stands with form a *syntagm* with a strengthening effect. Of this type are primarily those sentences in which the paronomastic construction stands in contrast to its own negation, but also all other cases in which both forms constitute a syntagm of whatever shades of meaning, he says (p. 71). This seems to fit even those cases where an *inf. abs.* is placed after a verb of the same root—the imperative excepted. Simultaneously, it seems that in such cases the whole expression, at least in narration, allows a certain continuance.[16]

Another question addressed by Goldenberg is the grammatical case and syntactic status of what he calls the "tautological infinitive". In Ugaritic and Akkadian, the corresponding intensifying paronomasia makes the infinitive stand—not in the accusative—but in the nominative or possibly the locative, both ending in *-um*.[17] Golden-

[15] *Israel Oriental Studies* 1, 1971, pp. 36–85, repr. Goldenberg, *Studies in Semitic Linguistics*, Jerusalem 1998, pp. 66–115.

[16] Cf. Gibson, J.B.L., *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar. Syntax*, Edinburgh 1994, § 101*c*. For the views of various grammars on this question, see Riekert, S.J.P.K., "The Struct Pattern of the Paronomastic Co-ordinated Infinitives Absolute in Genesis", *Journ. of Northwest Semitic Studies*, 7, 1979, pp. 69–83, with reference to pp. 76f.

[17] Intensifying paronomasia in Akkadian: *amārum-ma ul āmar-šu* "I did not see him at all", cf. von Soden, W., *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*, Rome 1969, §§ 66*b*, 150*e*. In Ugaritic: *ġamā'u gam'itī* "verily you are thirsty"; cf. Sivan, D., *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*, Leiden 1997, p. 123.

berg points out that in Akkadian the infinitive, which ends in *-um,* cannot be qualified, whilst the infinitive in the accusative is susceptible of qualification. The former, he concludes, is parallel to the paronomastic Hebrew *inf. abs.*, whilst the latter is parallel to the *figura etymologica,* made up of an internal, non-infinitival object.[18]

Walkte-O'Connor choose to treat the *inf. abs.* under the headings of *(1)* nominal uses, especially absolute *and* adverbial complement, and *(2)* verbal uses, especially for a command or in place of a finite verb. It is pointed out that the *inf. abs.* as an "absolute complement", being in the nominative (cf. Ugaritic *ġamā' u gam'itī*), is to be analysed otherwise than the adverbial complement. Thus, an *inf. abs.* that stands in extraposition,[19] as in Gen 18:10 *šōv 'āšūv* "return, I shall", is not at all tantamount to an *inf. abs.* that stands as adverbial complement, as in 2 Sam 8:2 *waymadd^{e}dēm baḥævæl haškēv 'ōtām* "he measured them with a line, making them lie down".

Coordinated constructions are not dealt with by Goldenberg; he says only that in such cases the former *inf. abs.* functions as a syntactic prop for the latter (p. 64, n. 53). Goddard, however, in this treatise of the "non-intensive" uses (pp. 41ff.), begins with the cases in which two *inf. abs.* are joined to a finite verb (or participle). One set of instances, namely Gen 8:3; 12:9; 2 Chr 36:15; Jer 7:13, 25; 11:7; 25:3, 4; 26:5, 29:19; 32:33, 35:14, 15 and 44:4, is of the pattern **A B A'**;[20] and all but two of them (Gen 8:3; 12:9) involve *haškēm* as the "B" form, e.g., Jer 7:13 *wā'^{a}dabber 'alēhæm haškēm w^{e}dabbēr* "I spoke to you (earnestly and) unremittingly". With the exception of the passage in 2 Chronicles, this phrase is peculiar to Jeremiah.

Another set of instances follows the **A A' B** pattern which is said to be marked for continuance: "In every case the 'B' infinitive is epexegetical of the action presented by the finite verb, and just as in the first pattern the 'A' infinitive does little more than suggest continuity in the main verbal action" (p. 44), e.g., 1 Sam 6:12 *hāl^{e}xū hālōx w^{e}gā'ō* "lowing as they went". Other instances are Gen 8:7; Jos 6:9, 13 (Qr); Judg 14:9; 2 Sam 3:16; 15:30; 1 Kings 20:37; 2 Kings 2:11; Isa 19:22 and Joel 2: 26.[21] Joüon, however, thinks that the two infinitives represent actions simultaneous or quasi-simultaneous with the main action.[22]

Also, there are several variations from these standard patterns: some passages have what are commonly taken to be adjectives, viz. Gen 26:13 *wayyēlæx hālōx w^{e}gādēl* "he grew even greater";[23] Judg 4:24 (*qāšā*), 1 Sam 14:19 (*rāb*); 2 Sam 5:10 (*gādōl*) [= 1 Chr 11:9]; 1 Sam 17:41; 2 Sam 18:25 (*qārēb*).[24] In addition to what is

[18] Hammershaimb, *op. cit.*, p. 89, thinks that, since the ending *-um* can be analysed as adverbial, the *inf. abs.* in Hebrew too is most naturally to be explained as the object of the verb, even when it stands before it; but he does not touch upon the difference between infinitives in the locative and the accusative.

[19] Or, as an "absolute complement" according to Waltke-O'Connor.

[20] A (*finite verb*), B (*inf abs*), A' (*inf abs*).

[21] In these instances, the "continuity" in 1 Kings 20:37; Isa 19:22 and Joel 2:26 (together with Jer 12:17) is rather to be viewed as a qualifying one; cf. Waltke & O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, § 35.3.2*d*.

[22] Joüon, P., *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, Rome 1923, § 23*m*.

[23] In a metaphorical sense the *inf. abs. hālōx*, especially, serves to underline continuity. Sometimes this verb is represented solely by the participle *hōlēk* plus adjective, e.g., Ex 19:19; 2 Sam 3:1;1 Sam 2:26; 2 Sam 15:12 and 1 Chr 17:12, or a participle, Jon 1:11.

[24] In every one of these cases, however, the consonantal text allows an *inf. abs.* to be read.

stated by Goddard, it should be pointed out that instead of a second *inf. abs.* a finite tense is found in Jos 6:13a; 1 Sam 19:23; 2 Sam 13:19; 16:13; in 2 Sam 16:5 and Jer 41:6 a participle is found.

In contrast to Goddard, GKC, § 113*s*, states that those cases, in which a second *inf. abs.* is coordinated with the first, in principle belong to the (simple) type with the *inf. abs.* in rear position. Waltke & O'Connor treat this construction under *adverbial complement*, yet only half-way, since they state: "In this construction we can see the coordination of an intensifying infinitive (the paronomastic member) and an adverbial infinitive (the non-paronomastic member)" (§ 35.3.2*b*).[25] One may perhaps conclude that, while the paronomastic construction *per se* allows a certain continuance, the second infinitive expounds on the activity described by giving the cirumstances.

Rieder's list of coordinated paronomastic infinitives is not complete and not very accurate, since it indiscriminately mixes passages of coordinated *inf. abs.* with those in which an adjective, or even a finite form, takes the place of the second infinitive. The interesting point is, however, that he divides these evidences too, into narration and discourse. For *narration* he adduces 19 occurrences,[26] for *discourse* 15.[27]

In short, Goldenberg has apparently shown the correctness of Ewald's idea of fronted extraposition,[28] which is also corroborated by Akkadian and Ugaritic. For Rieder, the fronted *inf. abs.* expresses an intensive emphasis, whereas the emphasis of an *inf. abs.* in rear position appears as extensive. Goddard contests the idea of an extensive sense in simple constructions. He elaborates the analysis of the "non-intensive" paronomasia, in which the coordinated construction plays a great part. Waltke & O'Connor describe the coordinated construction as an intensifying paronomastic infinitive and an adverbial infinitive in combination.

However, thus far, no investigation has picked up Rieder's discourse perspective. It deserves to be noticed that the main types, simple and coordinated paronomastic infinitive, are essentially to be found in discourse and narration, respectively. The paronomastic use of the *inf. abs.* in direct speech has a rhetorical effect. Whenever an utterance is assertive, assertion is emphasized, and whenever an utterance presents something as questionable, possible or impossible, modality is underlined. Consequently, if the paronomastic *inf. abs.* in direct speech is rhetorically conditioned, it cannot simply be rendered by various stereotype translations. The frequency and various usages of emphatic paronomasia in discourse can be gathered from the Balaam narrative, Numbers, chs. 22–24:

[25] Brockelmann regards constructions with internal objects as a variant of paronomasia with *inf. abs.*; cf. his *Hebräische Syntax*, Neukirchen, 1956, § 93. From the fact that an internal object can be qualified, e.g., Gen 27:33 *wayyæḥ*^{a}*rad Yiṣḥāq ḥ*^{a}*rādā g*^{e}*dōlā*, and the *inf. abs.* cannot, it is tempting to draw the conclusion that the internal object is to be used in place of the *inf. abs.*, whenever the paronomastic object has to be modified; cf. Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, § 92*d*. This analysis, Goldenberg maintains, is contradicted, not only by the obviously different cases, but also by the fact the the two constructions are not mutually exclusive. Both appear without any interference in, e.g., Jes 22:18, *ṣānōf yiṣnofxā ṣ*^{e}*nēfā kaddūr* "he will roll you tightly like a ball", *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[26] Gen 8:3, 7; 12:9; 26:13; Jos 6:9, 13; Judg 14:9; 1 Sam 6:12; 14:19; 2 Sam 3:16; 5:10, 15:30; 16:5, 13; 18:25; 1 Kings 20:37; 2 Kings 2:11, 1 Chr 11:9 (= 2 Sam 5:10) and 2 Chr 36:15.

[27] Isa 19:22; 21:5, Jer 7:13, 25; 12:17; 25:3, 4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:14, 15; 41:6; 44:4 (= 7:25) and Joel 2:26.

[28] *Pace* Muraoka, T., *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew*, Jerusalem 1985, pp. 90f.

Balak sends for Balaam to come and put a curse on Israel: As Balaam refuses to come, Balak says: *kī-xabbēd 'ᵃxabbædxā mᵉ'ōd* "for sure, I will reward you richly" (22:17). Balaam goes. He beats his stubborn donkey, whose mouth is opened to say: *hahaskēn hiskantī laᶜᵃšōt lᵉxā kō* "Was I ever wont to do thus to you?" (22:30). When Balaam eventually arrives, Balak impatiently says: *hᵃlō' šālōaḥ šālaḥtī 'ēlæxā* "I sent for you, didn't I?" (22:37), and gets the reply:*'attā hᵃyaxōl 'ūxal dabber mᵉ'ūmā* "but I can't say (just) anything, can I?" (22:38). In the end Balaam actually *blesses* Israel, instead of cursing them. Balak angrily protests: *wᵉhinnē bēraxtā bārēx* "you have done nothing but bless them" (23:11). After Balaam's second oracle, Balak begs: *gam-qōv lō' tiqqåvænnū gam-bārēx lō' tᵉvārᵃxænnū* "neither bless them at all nor curse them at all!" (23:25). Nonetheless Balaam blesses Israel a third time, and Balak says: (I sent for you to curse my enemy) *wᵉhinnē bēraxtā bārēx zæ šālōš pᵉᶜāmīm,* "lo, you have done nothing but bless them these three times" (24:10).

Narration, however, shows a proportionally more frequent use of the coordinated usage, in which the two *inf. abs.* almost exclusively follow the finite verb—as already told, Rieder counts 19 instances in narration, as against 15 in discourse. Those listed under discourse, *Rede*, are mostly of the **A B A'** pattern, in which the verb *haškem* represents "B", as in Jer 7:13 *wā'ᵃdabber 'ᵃlēhæm haškēm wᵉdabbēr* "I spoke to you (earnestly and) unremittingly". All instances of this phrase (except 2 Chr 36:15) are from Jeremiah. What is more, they refer to the past, by *wā'æqtol* (7:13, 25; 25:3; 35:15; 44:4)[29] or *qātaltī* (11:7; 25:4; 29:19; 35:14), or *qātal* (25:4),[30] and are found in a kind of discourse that may be labelled "oral narrative", that is to say, in utterances of direct speech that do not refer to the immediate present; hence the form is actually narrative. This observation is important, since it considerably changes the proportions between discourse and narration in coordinated constructions.

The **A A' B** patttern, *hālᵉxū hālōx wᵉgā'ō*, with all variants: *wayyēlæx hālōx wegādēl* etc., occurs in narration—except for Isa 19:22; Jer 12:7 and Joel 2:26. In addition, it seems to be marked for description, in so far as the paronomasia with *inf. abs.* in rear position in narration *per se* allows a certain continuance, while the second infinitive (or adjective/finite verb) dwells on the activity by giving the cirumstances.

Altogether, from an aspectual and text-linguistic point of view, it would seem that narration and discourse differ with regard to the paronomastic use of the infinitive absolute, inasmuch as in discourse the function is to emphasize a point in the utterance by putting the *inf. abs.* in fronted extraposition, whereas in narration the syntagm constituted by the infinitive coordinated with another verb, or adjective, serves the need to expound and expand a situation. In short, one could say that paronomasia with *inf. abs.* in discourse mainly concerns quality, but in narration quantity.

[29] In Jer 32:33 *wā'æqtol* is substituted by an *inf.abs.*

[30] Jer 26:5 *'ānōxī šōlēaḥ 'ᵃlēhæm* ***w***ᵉ*haškēm wᵉsālōaḥ* deviates by the use of the particple and the *waw*.

Restrictive Relative Clauses in Classical and Modern New Persian and the Marking of the Antecedent

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There is one feature of the New Persian[1] relative clause that has attracted much interest, and that is the morpheme *-i* suffixed to the head nouns[2] of restrictive relative clauses. A restrictive relative clause is one that "determines and restricts the extension of the head", as opposed to a non-restrictive (or descriptive) relative clause, which "merely gives some additional explanation of it" (Gren-Eklund 1978: 53).[3] A restrictive relative clause thus restricts, or selects, one or several objects from among a generic unit or a plurality at hand. As Gren-Eklund (1978: 52) points out this restriction may be open, indefinite, not defining the number of objects selected, but rather leaving it open. On the other hand, the restriction may also be non-indefinite, specifying and identifying the object(s) selected. This distinction has proved to be relevant to the corpus studied here, as will be seen in the discussion to come.

The antecedent of restrictive relative clauses in Modern Persian is, with a limited number of exceptions, marked with the suffix *-i*, which also marks indefinite nouns not followed by a restrictive relative clause. Traditional descriptions of Modern Persian generally distinguish between two unstressed *-i* suffixes added to nouns. One of these suffixes, the *yā-ye vaḥdat*, is called an indefinite article by Lazard (1957: 66) and Boyle (1966: 16).[4] Lambton (1974: 3) simply calls it an "indefinite *-i*" and stresses in a footnote that "the student must not expect the application of the terms 'definite' and 'indefinite' in Persian to correspond exactly with their application in English". Windfuhr (1987: 533) describes this suffix in the following way: "Persian distinguishes between genericity and indefiniteness, which latter is marked by the clitic *i*. It occurs with count and mass nouns as well as with singular and plural. As such, it marks *restrictive selection* [the author's own italics] out of a generic unit or out of a plurality".

The other unstressed *-i* suffix, the *yā-ye ešārat* or *yā-ye ma'refe*, is the suffix added to the head nouns of restrictive relative clauses. In one of his earlier works, Lazard (1957: 68) describes it after the indefinite article *-i* as another enclitic

[1] The term "New Persian" is here used to denote the Persian language after the conquest of Islam, or rather after 850 A.D., written mainly in Arabic script. "Classical Persian" denotes this language down to the end of the 15th century, and "Modern Persian" is employed for the same language in the 20th century. The time between 1500 and 1900 A.D. is here described as the "transitional period" between the Classical and the Modern stages of the New Persian language.

[2] The term "antecedent" is also used further down in the article to denote the head noun of relative clauses.

[3] See also Comrie (1989: 138–139, 142–143) for a further discussion of the terms "restrictive" and "non-restrictive" relative clause. Comrie sees the restrictive relative clause as "more central to the notion of relative clause" than the non-restrictive, by him also called "appositive, descriptive, explanatory".

[4] See also Fouchecour (1981: 56).

particle *-i* which "a pour fonction de lier un substantif singulier ou pluriel à une proposition relative qui le détermine", but also notes that the suffix *-i* is optional when the head noun is accompanied by a demonstrative.[5] Boyle (1966: 76) stresses the different characters of the two *-i* suffixes by noting that, when a relative clause "is restrictive the antecedent takes the relative suffix *-ī* ..., not to be confused with the Indefinite Article". Lambton (1974: 77) also notes that "since ... *-i* is added to the antecedent where this is definite, it follows that there will be a confusion between a definite antecedent followed by the Relative ... *ke* and an indefinite antecedent to which the Indefinite ... *-i* has been already added, and that therefore ... *pesari ke* ... may mean 'the boy who' or 'a boy who'."

However, it has been argued and convincingly proved by Rubinčik (see Windfuhr 1979: 35–36), Hincha and Lazard that this "relative" *-i* is the same suffix as the indefinite suffix *-i*. Hincha (1961: 173) describes the function of the *-i* as that of "restriction". This restriction may take place either out of a generic unit or out of a plurality. The head noun of a restrictive relative clause is thus defined, or selected, by means of the relative clause.

Lazard develops this argument further in his article "L'enclitique nominal *-i* en persan; un ou deux morphèmes", where he also notes certain restrictions on the use of the *-i* added to antecedents of restrictive relative clauses. It is thus, he points out, impossible to add the *-i* to a head noun which is followed by an *eẓāfe* or by an enclitic pronoun, and the *-i* is optional when the head noun is preceded by a demonstrative[6] (Lazard 1966: 258). He concludes (*ibid.*: 263) that "il est possible de trouver à l'enclitique nominal *-i* dans tous ses emplois une valeur sémantique commune : celle d'un instrument de "sélection"." Lazard also gives a very brief historical survey, in which he suggests that the function of *-i* as a marker of the antecedent of restrictive relative clauses is fairly recent, but adds that a more careful investigation into this matter is necessary (*ibid.*: 264).

The opinion that the *-i* is one single morpheme is also adopted by Christian Lehmann in "Yā-ye ešārat: Zur Grammatik des persischen Relativsatzes", in which he concludes that "[i]ndefinite, spezifische Nominalien erhalten im Persischen ein *-i* suffigiert, unabhängig davon, ob sie als Nukleus eines Relativsatzes fungieren oder nicht. Nur solche Nominalien aber können Nukleus eines restriktiven RS.e sein" (Lehmann 1977: 104). As already pointed out, however, there are alternative constructions in which the head nouns of restrictive relative clauses do not necessarily take the suffix *-i*.

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the marking of the antecedent of restrictive relative clauses in a diachronic perspective in order to find out whether it is possible to determine when *-i* was introduced as a marker of the head noun of restrictive relative clauses, and how the grammaticalisation of this "indefinite" or "selective" *-i* as a marker of the antecedent of a restrictive relative clause proceeded. The use of other ways of marking the antecedent that were used in Classical Persian and are used in Modern Persian will also be described.

[5] See also Phillott (1919: 141–142).

[6] The term "demonstrative" is here used for what is a "demonstrative article" preceding the noun, rather than a "demonstrative pronoun" replacing the noun.

For this purpose, a number of texts dating from different centuries have been studied, and examples of restrictive relative clauses of the type in which there is no verb separating the relative clause from the head noun have been extracted. The texts are divided into four different periods of time, the early classical period from the 10th to the 12th century, the late classical period from the 13th to the 15th century, the transitional period of literary stagnation and re-awakening between the 16th and the 19th century, and the modern period, which is here defined as the 20th century.

Finally, a small supplementary investigation of the marking of the antecedent in spoken Modern Persian has been carried out by means of interviews, in which native speakers of Persian were asked to translate a number of sentences containing restrictive relative clauses from Swedish into Persian. In addition to the interviews, two one-hour sessions of free conversation in Persian were arranged, in order to record relative clauses in a natural speech situation. The purpose of this part of the investigation was mainly to establish whether the spoken language follows the pattern of the written language, which is the main object of study in the present article, or whether it has developed its own rules for marking the antecedents of restrictive relative clauses.

PATTERNS OF MARKING THE ANTECEDENT IN WRITTEN NEW PERSIAN

The relative clause is, like a number of other types of subordinate clauses in Persian,[7] introduced by the particle *ke*. The antecedent of a relative clause may be the whole previous clause or a noun phrase. The examples analysed here are all of the type in which the antecedent is a noun phrase, since it is only in this context that there is a marking of the antecedent. The head of the noun-phrase-type antecedent may be either a noun or a personal, a demonstrative or an indefinite pronoun.

In the following pages, the two different types of restrictive relative clauses described in the introduction, namely the *indefinite or open restriction* versus the *non-indefinite or specified restriction or selection* are distinguished. The relative clause may thus make an indefinite selection from a generic unit or a plurality, in which case the relative clause here is described as being "indefinite". The following are examples of such indefinite relative clauses from the material studied here:

Ex. 1, period 1:[8]

gu-y-and	*ke*	*be*	*har*	*xāne*	*ke*	*in*	*morġ*
say-G[9]-PRES 3 PL	CL LINK[10]	in[11]	each	house	CL LINK	this	bird

[7] See, e.g., Boyle (1966: 75–76).

[8] The figure 1 here indicates that the text belongs to the earliest period (10–12 cent.), 2 refers to the 13–15 cent., 3 to the 16–19 cent., and 4 to the Modern Persian texts. In all the examples, only morphemes with a grammatical function are analysed, not morphemes of derivation.

[9] G stands for a glide or a glottal stop between two vowels.

[10] The clause linker *ke* is used in New Persian to indicate several hypotactic relations, e.g., to introduce clauses dependent on verbs of saying or perception, relative clauses and final clauses.

[11] The preposition *be* can either be used for motion 'to' or location 'in' in Classical Persian. In Modern Persian, it mainly expresses motion, and it is also generally translated as 'to' below.

bāš-ad *div-ān* *dar* *ān* *xāne* *dar* *na-y-ā-y-and* (Tārix-e Bal. 12:2–3)[12]
be-PRES 3 SG demon-PL in that house in NEG-G-come-G-PRES 3 PL

'It is said that the demons do not enter any house where this bird is [found]'

Ex. 2, period 1:

aḥmaq mard-i *ke* *del* *dar* *in* *jahān* *band-ad* (Tārix-e Bei. 215:7)
fool man-INDEF CL LINK heart in this world tie-PRES 3 SG

'Foolish is the man who ties his heart to this world'

Ex. 3, period 1:

har *ke* *bā* *moxālef-e* *pādšāh* *dusti* *varz-ad*
each CL LINK with opponent-EẒ[13] king friendship cultivate-PRES 3 SG

u *ham* *az* *jomle-ye* *došman-ān-e* *pādšāh* *bāš-ad* (Qāb. 205:15–16)
PERS PR 3 SG[14] also from whole-EẒ enemy-PL-EẒ king be-PRES 3 SG

'Whoever cultivates friendship with the opponents of the king is also among the enemies of the king'

Ex. 4, period 2:

pas *šaxṣ-i-rā* *ke* *xodā* *maġẓub-e* *ġaẓab-e* *xᵛod*
thus person-INDEF-ACC TOP[15] CL LINK God disfavoured-EẒ wrath-EẒ own

gardānide bāš-ad *to* *xᵛāh-i* *ke* *bar* *u*
render-PERF[16] 3 SG PERS PR 2 SG want-PRES 2 SG CL LINK on PERS PR 3 SG

raḥmat kon-i (Axlāq 213:6–7)
mercy do-PRES 2 SG

'You thus want to have mercy on a person whom God has turned his wrath against'

Ex. 5, period 3:

aknun *be* *har* *'oqubat* *ke* *pādešāh-e* *'ālam-panāh*
now to each punishment CL LINK king-EẒ world-shelter

ravā *dār-ad* *mostoujeb-am* (Hezār 1192:7–8)
permissible hold-PRES 3 SG deserving-COP[17] PRES 1 SG

'I deserve whatever punishment the world-protecting king finds permissible'

[12] The two sets of numbers here and below refer to page (12) and line (2–3) in the text (headings are always uncounted).

[13] The *eẓāfe* is a particle linking genitive attributes, one or more adjectives or other attributes to the nucleus of the noun phrase. It may also link a preposition to its head.

[14] 'He' or 'she'; there is no gender distinction for any person in the pronoun system in Persian.

[15] The suffix *-rā* has traditionally been described as marking definite direct objects in Modern Persian. See, e.g., Boyle (1966: 16) and Lambton (1974: 4). According to Windfuhr, however, since there are not only definite direct objects without *-rā*, but since *-rā* is also compatible with indefinite *-i*, "[w]hat is marked by *rā* is not definiteness, but topicalisation or specificity" (Windfuhr 1989: 534). In Classical Persian, the indirect object is normally marked by the suffix *-rā*, which occurs less frequently on the direct object.

[16] In Modern Persian, the construction with the past participle + present subjunctive of the verb 'to be' is used to denote the past subjunctive, but in Classical Persian, the distinction between the indicative and subjunctive mood is not yet fully developed. The compound verb forms present perfect and past perfect are here denoted only as such, even though they consist of the past participle + present or past forms of the verb 'to be'.

[17] The term "copula" is here used only for enclitic forms of the verb 'to be'.

Typical of these examples is that the delimitation of the antecedent is made by the relative clause but not specified as to the exact individual member(s) of the generic unit that it affects. Exactly in what house(s) the bird is found is still, in spite of the restrictive relative clause, open and indefinite (example no. 1 above). However, the restrictive relative clause makes it clear that it is in the here unspecified or even unknown number of houses where the bird is found that one can be safe from the demons. They may be absent also in other houses, i.e. there may also be other methods of preventing demons from entering a house, but that is not the issue at stake. The statement given here is that from the generic unit 'all houses' an indefinite number of houses are designated as demon-proof, owing to the fact that a certain bird is found in those houses.

In the same way, without knowing how many persons will make friends with the opponents of the king, it is clear from example no. 3 that from the generic whole 'all humans' or maybe rather from the plurality 'all the subjects of a particular king' those who make friends with his opponents are selected or marked as enemies of that king. The king may have other enemies as well, but that is not the point made here. It is, however, completely clear that the indefinite number of persons singled out by the fact that they make friends with the opponents of the king, are the enemies of the king. It may even occur that the delimited class is empty, i.e. that nobody makes friends with the opponents of the king.

The same applies to examples no. 2 and 4 in which it is not specified who or how many persons there are who tie their hearts to this world or whom God has turned his wrath against. Likewise, in example no. 5, the punishment is not specified, but it is rather left open what kind of punishment, from among all the possible punishments, the king will find suitable.

The restrictive relative clause may also select one or more specific objects out of a generic unit or a plurality. We then have a non-indefinite restriction or selection, in which the individuals in the selected class are specified. It is in this case of absence of indefiniteness that it is sometimes unclear whether a relative clause is restrictive or non-restrictive (Gren-Eklund 1978: 52). Examples of such "non-indefinite" relative clauses are the following:

Ex. 6, period 1:

na-tars	*az*	*došman-ān-i*	*ke*	*pedar-at-rā*
NEG-fear-IMPER 2 SG	from	enemy-PL-INDEF	CL LINK	father-PR SUFF 2 SG-ACC TOP

halāk	*kard-and* (Tārix-e Bal. 18:19–19:1)[18]
destroyed	do-PAST 3 PL

'Don't fear the enemies who destroyed your father'

Ex. 7, period 1:

in	*šab*	*ke*	*digar*	*ruz*	*ḥasanak-rā*	*bar*	*dār*	*mi-kard-and*	*bu sahl*
this	night	CL LINK	other	day	NP-ACC TOP	on	gallows	IMP[19]-do-PAST 3 PL	NP

[18] Here the example starts on p. 18, line 19, and continues on p. 19, line 1.

[19] The morphemes *(ha)mi-* and *be-* are here glossed as "imperfective" and "preverb" when they function as verbal prefixes in the past tense in Classical Persian without any further analysis of the past-tense sys-

nazdik-e pedar-am *āmad* (Tārix-e Bei. 212:17–18)
close-EZ father-PR SUFF 1 SG come-PAST 3 SG

'That[20] night, before the day when Hasanak was to be hung, Bu Sahl came to my father'

Ex. 8, period 2:

gelim-i *ke* *bar* *ān* *xofte bud* *dar* *rāh-e*
carpet-INDEF CL LINK on that sleep-PAST PERF 3 SG in way-EZ

dozd andāxt (Gol. 52:10–11)
thief throw-PAST 3 SG

'He threw the carpet on which he had slept towards the thief'[21]

Ex. 9, period 4:

in *javān-i* *ke* *bā* *man-ast*
this young-INDEF CL LINK with PERS PR 1 SG-COP PRES 3 SG

va *ma-rā* *nanne-ye* *x^{v}od-aš* *mi-dān-ad*
and PERS PR 1 SG-ACC TOP mamma-EZ self-PR SUFF 3 SG IND-know-PRES 3 SG

ham-ān *ḥosein āqā* *pesar-e* *xadije-ast* (T.A. 74:7–8)
EMPH[22]-that NP son-EZ NP-COP PRES 3 SG

'This young man who is with me and regards me as his mamma[23] is that very Hosein Agha, the son of Khadije'

In these examples, one or several specified member(s) of a generic unit or a plurality are selected. In example no. 6, the person addressed is not to fear those enemies who destroyed his father. Out of the generic unit 'enemies', the restrictive relative clause thus selects or defines a number of individuals who are not to be feared without specifying their actual number or whether there are also other persons who are not to be feared. It was thus clear to the person addressed whom he was not to fear, provided he knew who killed his father. In the same way in example no. 7, of all the 'nights' that have occurred (the generic unit) or all those Beihaqi wrote about in his chronicles (a plurality), the night concerned here is designated by the restrictive relative clause, which also makes it clear that it was one single night that was selected by means of this restriction. In another context this very relative clause could be analysed as non-restrictive or descriptive, provided the night had been defined or singled out earlier. Also in examples no. 8 and 9, it is clear that one specific carpet

tem, since the distinction between the forms *kardand*, *(ha)mi-kardand* and *be-kardand* in Classical Persian has not been fully investigated, and the purpose of this article is not to analyse the verbal system. For a further discussion of tense, mood and aspect in Classical Persian, see Windfuhr (1979: 92–97). In Modern Persian (texts from the 20th century), where there is a grammaticalisation of the form with the *mi-* prefix to denote the imperfective aspect and the Ø- form to denote the perfective aspect, this distinction is made in the gloss. The *be-* form is no longer productive in Modern Persian.

[20] Lit. 'this'.

[21] In another context, the relative clause could here be seen as non-restrictive. The sentence would then be translated 'He threw a carpet, on which he had slept, towards the thief'.

[22] *Ham* preceding a demonstrative is emphatic, *ham-in* 'this very', *ham-ān* 'that very'.

[23] This word is also used for 'nanny', but the context makes it clear that the meaning 'mother' is intended here.

(8) or young man (9) is intended and selected or defined by the restrictive relative clause.

Restrictive relative clauses of the indefinite type

One may note in the examples above that there are several ways of introducing a restrictive relative clause of the indefinite type. It is not uncommon to introduce the head noun (or indefinite pronoun) with *har* 'each, every'. In many instances, the antecedent consists only of this indefinite pronoun. The head noun may also be introduced by the demonstrative *ān* 'that'. In other instances, the head noun itself, generally followed by the suffix *-i*, constitutes the antecedent. There are also the odd one or two occurrences of other patterns, but for the sake of clarity attention is here drawn to the main patterns, and patterns occurring three times or less are in the quantitative analysis grouped together as "other". In the following pages, the common patterns that were found in the investigated material are presented with examples. An attempt has been made to give enlightening examples from all the different periods of time mentioned above. The number of examples varies between one and three for the patterns, depending somewhat on the general frequency and somewhat also on the availability of clear examples not needing too much context.

har* + *ke

Ex. 10, period 1:

va	*be-guy*	*išān-rā*	*tā*	*har*	*ke-rā*	*az*
and	IMPER-tell-2 SG	PERS PR 3 PL-DAT	CL LINK	each	CL LINK-DAT	from

išān	*qovvat*	*hast*	*bi-y-ā-y-ad*	*va*	*har*
PERS PR 3 PL	strength	be-PRES 3 SG	PREV-G-come-G-PRES 3 SG	and	each

ke	*za'if*	*va*	*xord-ast*	*ānjā*	*be-bāš-and* (Tārix-e Bal. 12:16–17)
CL LINK	weak	and	small-COP PRES 3 SG	there	PREV[24]-be-PRES 3 PL[25]

'And tell them that every one of them who has got strength should come and everyone who is weak and small should stay there'

Ex. 11, period 2:

har	*ke*	*xun*	*be nāḥaqq*	*kon-ad*	*vei-rā*
each	CL LINK	blood	to unjust	do-PRES 3 SG	PERS PR 3 SG-ACC TOP

be	*dandān-e*	*mār*	*'oqubat*	*kon-am* (Dārāb. 238:12–13:2)
to	tooth-EẒ	snake	punishment	do-PRES 1 SG

'I will punish each one who spills blood unrighteously with the tooth of a snake'

[24] The morphemes *(ha)mi-* and *be-* are here glossed as "imperfective" and "preverb" when they function as verbal prefixes in the present tense in Classical Persian without any further analysis of the present-tense system, since the distinction between the forms *konand*, *(ha)mi-konand* and *be-konand* in Classical Persian has not been fully investigated, and the purpose of this article is not to analyse the verbal system. For a further discussion on tense, mood and aspect in Classical Persian, see Windfuhr (1979: 92–97). In Modern Persian (texts from the 20th century), where there is a grammaticalisation of the form with the *mi-* prefix to denote the indicative mood and the *be-* and Ø- forms to denote the subjunctive mood, this distinction is made in the gloss.

[25] Note the change in person.

Ex. 12, period 4:

har	*ke*	*dar*	*mi-zad*	*mariam*	*mi-goft*
each	CL LINK	door	IMP-beat-PAST 3 SG	NP	IMP-say-PAST 3 SG

xānum	*doktor-ast* (Šok. 176:11–12:4)
Mrs.	doctor-COP PRES 3 SG

'Whoever knocked on the door, Mariam said that it was Mrs. Doctor'

har + noun + ke

Ex. 13, period 2:

agar	*rāst*	*na-bāš-ad*	*be*	*har*	*'oqubat*	*ke*	*farmā-'-i*
if	right	NEG-be-PRES 3 SG	to	each	punishment	CL LINK	order-G-PRES 2 SG

sezāvār-am (Gol. 45:15)
worthy-COP PRES 1 SG

'If it is not right, I deserve any punishment that you may order'

Ex. 14, period 4:

māhi	*goft bāš-ad*	*har*	*jā*	*ke*	*tavānest-am*
fish	said be-PRES (SUBJ)[26] 3 SG	each	place	CL LINK	can-PAST 1 SG

mi-rav-am." (Māhi 21:16)
IND-go-PRES 1 SG

'The fish said, OK, I will go wherever I can'

har + indefinite pronoun + ke

Ex. 15, period 4:

porsid	*kodum*	*piyāle-foruši*	*goftam*	*har*	*kodum*	*ke*	*to*
ask-PAST 3 SG	which	cup-selling	say-PAST 1 SG	each	which	CL LINK	PERS PR 2 SG

be-g-i (Šok. 263:10–11)
SUBJ-say-PRES 2 SG

'He asked, which liquor store? I said, whichever one you say'

har + noun + -i + ke

Ex. 16, period 1:

har	*pādšāh-i*	*ke*	*u*	*bozorg*	*šode-ast*	*va*
each	king-INDEF	CL LINK	PERS PR 3 SG	great	become-PERF 3 SG	and

nām-e	*u*	*tā*	*qiyāmat*	*be*	*niki*	*mi-bar-and*
name-EẒ	PERS PR 3 SG	until	resurrection	in	goodness	IMP[27]-carry-PRES 3 PL

hame	*ān*	*bude-and*	*ke*	*vazir-ān-e*	*nik*	*dāšte-and* (Siyāsat. 218:2–3)
all	that	be-PERF 3 PL	CL LINK	minister-PL-EẒ	good	have-PERF 3 PL

'Every king who has become great and whose name is remembered as good until [the day of] resurrection has been one of those who have had good ministers'[28]

[26] The use of brackets here indicates that the verbal prefixes *mi-* and *be-* are not found in the present indicative/subjunctive in these instances. There is thus no specific morpheme that denotes the subjunctive mood here.

[27] See footnote 24.

[28] Lit. '...all have been those who have had good ministers'.

Ex. 17, period 3:

har *lebās-i* *ke* *ṭāleb-ān* *bar* *sabil-e* *hediye* *mi-y-āvord-and*
each garment-INDEF CL LINK aspirant-PL on way-EẒ gift IMP-G-bring-PAST 3 PL

qabul *mi-kard-and* (Selselat 38:9–10)
acceptance IMP-bring-PAST 3 PL

'They accepted whatever dress the students [of religion] brought as a gift'

Ex. 18, period 4:

har *farmāyeš-i* *ke* *dāšte bāš-id* *eṭā'at* *mi-kon-am* (H.M. 83:4–5)
each order-INDEF CL LINK have-PAST SUBJ[29] 2 PL obedience IND-do-PRES 1 SG

'I will obey any order that you give (lit. have)'

***ān*[30] + noun + ke**

Ex. 19, period 1:

ān *darviš* *ke* *zan* *kard* *dar* *kešti* *nešast* *va*
that dervish CL LINK woman do-PAST 3 SG in ship sit-PAST 3 SG and

čun *farzand* *āmad* *ġarq* *šod* (*Tazkerat* 93:5–6)
when child come-PAST 3 SG drowned become-PAST 3 SG

'A dervish[31] who marries sits [down] in a ship and when children come, he drowns'

Ex. 20, period 2:

va *kas-i* *dar* *in* *šārestān* *na-tavān-ad* *dar* *āmad-an*
and person-INDEF in this township NEG-can-PRES 3 SG in come-INF[32]

magar ān *kas* *ke* *farr-e* *izadi* *dār-ad* (Dārāb. 231:20–21)
except that person CL LINK glory-EẒ divine have-PRES 3 SG

'And nobody can enter this township except a person who has divine glory'

noun + -i + ke

Ex. 21, period 1:

ḥaqq-e *mehmān* *dāšt-an* *vājeb-ast* *va* *likan*
right-EẒ guest keep-INF necessary-COP PRES 3 SG and yet

ḥaqq-e *mehmān-i* *ke* *be ḥaqqšenāsi* *arz-ad* (Qāb. 42:5)
right-EẒ guest-INDEF CL LINK to gratitude be worthy-PRES 3 SG

'It is necessary to hold a guest in high esteem, but only a guest who is worthy of esteem'

Ex. 22, period 2:

āb-i *ke* *be* *šekam-e* *to* *nazdik* *gašt*
water-INDEF CL LINK to stomach-EẒ PERS PR 2 SG near become-PAST 3 SG

[29] The verb 'to have' has no present subjunctive form in Persian. In its place, the past subjunctive form is used.

[30] Also the colloquial form *un* occurs for *ān* in dialogues in Modern Persian texts.

[31] A holy man. The word literally means 'poor'.

[32] Persian has one form of the infinitive in which the ending *-an* is added to the past stem of the verb (*āmad-an*) and another one which consists only of the past stem (*āmad*). Boyle (1966: 69–70) calls them "Infinitive" and "Short Infinitive".

az pošt-e man be-xʷāh-ad gozāšt (Bahār. 117:17)
from back-EZ PERS PR 1 SG PREV-will-PRES 3 SG pass-INF[33]

'The water which comes close to your stomach will pass over my back'

Ex. 23, period 4:

kas-ān-i ke bā zendegi-ye kučnešin-ān āšnā'i dār-and
person-PL-INDEF CL LINK with life-EZ nomad-PL acquaintance have-PRES (IND)[34] 3 PL

be xubi mi-dān-and ke dāšt-an-e farzand-ān-e zokur tā če
in goodness IND-know-PRES 3 PL CL LINK have-INF-EZ child-PL-EZ male to what

ḥadd az nażar-e eqteṣādi va siyāsi barā-ye ānān
limit from view-EZ financial and political for-EZ PERS PR 3 PL

arzešmand-ast (Kuč. 103:4–6)
valuable-COP PRES 3 SG

'Persons who are acquainted with the life of the nomads know well[35] how valuable it is for them from a financial and political point of view to have sons (lit. male children)'

noun + ke

Ex. 24, period 1:

in ṭāyefe čun omid az in doulat bar dār-and[36] *bad-segāl-e doulat*
this clan when hope from this state side keep-PRES 3 PL bad-thinking-EZ state

šav-and va 'eib-hā ke dar pādšah va dabir-ān va 'āmel-ān
become-PRES 3 PL and fault-PL CL LINK in king and scribe-PL and tax-collector-PL

va tork-ān bāš-ad bar malā afgan-and (Siyāsat. 210:21–211:1)
and Turk-PL be-PRES 3 SG on assembly throw-PRES 3 PL

'When this group[37] loses hope in this state, they start to think evil about the state and disclose to the public the faults that are [found] in the king and scribes and tax-collectors and Turks'

Restrictive relative clauses of the specific type

Also in this category there are several ways of introducing the relative clause. Some of them coincide with the patterns above, and some of the patterns below are exclusively found in specific relative clauses, whereas the patterns with *har* +/- noun +/- *-i* + *ke* commonly used for indefinite relative clauses do not occur here.[38] The different patterns that are found more than three times in the investigated texts are as follows:[39]

[33] See footnote 32.

[34] There is no specific morpheme that denotes the indicative mood here. See also footnote 26.

[35] Adverbs are often formed by the preposition *be* + an abstract noun, e.g., *be xubi* 'well' (lit. 'in goodness').

[36] The compound verb *bar dāštan* means 'to take away, to remove'.

[37] 'This group' here refers to an indefinite number of worthy persons who are mistreated by the state, e.g., by not being given posts in the administration or by being left destitute.

[38] There are a couple of examples with *har* which approach the specific relative clause, e.g., *pas ja'far-rā be damešq ferestādand va be har šahr-i ke residi bozorg-ān-e ān u-rā esteqbāl kardandi*, 'Then Ja'far was sent to Damascus and in each town where he arrived its prominent [men] received him' (Siyāsat. 220:1–2).

[39] Patterns occurring three times or less are in the quantitative analysis grouped together as "others". Also

ān + ke

Ex. 25, period 4:

va ān ke band-rā negah mi-dāšt ān-rā kešid
and that CL LINK rope-ACC TOP look[40] IMP-have-PAST 3 SG that-ACC TOP pull-PAST 3 SG

az houl yā šāyad be in xiyāl ke digar xorus dar tale-ast (Šok. 427:18–19)
from shock or maybe to this thought CL LINK further cock in trap-COP PRES 3 SG

'And the one who held the rope pulled it, from shock or maybe thinking that now the cock is (caught) in the trap'

(ham)ān + noun + ke

Ex. 26, period 1:

pas be marv raft-am va az ān šoġl ke be 'ohde-ye
then to Marv go-PAST 1 SG and from that occupation CL LINK to duty-EẒ

man bud mo'āf x^{v}āst-am (Safar. 2:12)
PERS PR 1 SG be-PAST 3 SG leave ask-PAST 1 SG

'Then I went to Marv and asked [to be granted] leave from that occupation which was entrusted to me'

Ex. 27, period 1:

be sor'at rānd-im tā be fil deh resid-im ham-ān makān ke
to speed ride-PAST 1 PL until to NP arrive-PAST 1 PL EMPH-that place CL LINK

čand sāl qabl dar safar-e gilān ṣarf-e nahār šod (Nāṣer 9:20–21)
some year before in journey-EẒ Gilan consuming-EẒ midday meal become-PAST 3 SG

'We rode at speed until we reached Fil-deh, the very place where some years earlier (we) had [our] midday meal[41] during the journey to Gilan'

Ex. 28, period 4:

tekun bo-x^{v}or be-bin-am sag be-šāš-e be un 'araq
move IMPER-eat-2 SG SUBJ-see-PRES 1 SG dog SUBJ-urinate-PRES 3 SG[42] to that liquor

ke x^{v}ord-i to (Šok. 466:1–2)
CL LINK eat-PAST 2 SG PERS PR 2 SG

'Let me see that you move it. May a dog urinate in the liquor you drank' (with apologies for the example).[43]

(ham)ān + noun + -i + ke

Ex. 29, period 1:

kiyumarṣ ruy be-nehād be-d-ān nešān-i ke
NP face PREV[44]-place-PAST 3 SG to-G-that sign-INDEF CL LINK

here an attempt has been made to give enlightening examples from all the different periods of time mentioned above, according to the general frequency and the availability of clear examples not needing too much context.

[40] Together with the verb *dāštan*, *negah* gives the meaning 'to look after, to keep'.

[41] Lit. 'midday meal was consumed'.

[42] Vulgar language. Note also the colloquial 3rd person singular ending *-e*.

[43] In written dialogue. This was one of the examples that caused me to pay special attention to the spoken language.

[44] See footnote 19.

vei-rā *dāde bud-and* (Tārix-e Bal. 12:9)
PERS PRON 3 SG-DAT give-PAST PERF 3 PL

'Kiyumars set out for the sign that he had been given'

Ex. 30, period 4:

dar ham-ān do ruz-i ke be xāne-aš rafte bud-am
in EMPH-that two day-INDEF CL LINK to house-PR SUFF 3 SG go-PAST PERF 1 SG

hame-aš ṣoḥbat az bačče bud (Bačče 19:6)
all-PR SUFF 3 SG talk of child be-PAST 3 SG

'During the two days when I had gone to [stay in] his house, we talked about the child the whole time'[45]

in + ke

Ex. 31, period 1:

do 'ajab dide-am ... yek-i in ke bā malek hami-bin-am
two wonder see-PERF 1 SG one-INDEF this CL LINK with king IMP-see-PRES 1 SG

va digar ān ke bā malek-e ṭabarestān did-am (Siyāsat. 222:19–20)
and other that CL LINK with king-EẒ Tabaristan see-PAST 1 SG

'I have seen two wonders, ... one [is] this one that I see your majesty has got, and the other one [was] the one that I saw that the king of Tabaristan had'[46]

(ham)in + noun + ke

Ex. 32, period 1:

va az in qoum ke man soxan xʷāh-am rānd yek do tan
and of this group CL LINK PERS PR 1 SG word drive-FUT 1 SG[47] one two person

zende-and (Tārix-e Bei. 203:3–4)
alive-COP PRES 3 PL

'And of this group that I will talk about, one or two persons are [still] alive'

Ex. 33, period 3:

in xaṭar-āt-e bozorg ke bar sar-e hend jam' šode-and har gāh
this danger-PL-EẒ big CL LINK on head-EẒ India gathered become-PERF 3 PL if[48]

čāre-paẓir bāš-and čāre-rā bāy-ad dar peterbujġ va dar
curable be-PRES 3 PL cure-ACC TOP must-PRES 3 SG in Petersburg and in

moskou be-kon-and na dar hendustān (Siyāḥat. 201:14–16)
Moscow PREV-do-PRES 3 SG not in India

'These great dangers that have come upon India, if they are curable, they must be cured in Petersburg and Moscow, not in India'

[45] Lit. '... there was all the time talk about the child'.

[46] Lit. '... one this one that I see with the king and the other that one that I saw with the king of Tabaristan'.

[47] The periphrastic verbal construction *xʷāh*+personal ending followed by the short infinitive denotes categorical or definite future tense. The Persian compound verb 'to drive word' can be translated by 'to speak, to talk'.

[48] Lit. 'every place'.

Ex. 34, period 4:

in	*yāru*	*ke*	*gāh-i*	*mi-y-ā-y-ad*	*va*	*divār-hā-ye*
this	fellow	CL LINK	place-INDEF	IND-G-come-G-PRES 3 SG	and	wall-PL-EẒ

ḥojre-hā	*va*	*koridur-e*	*mā-rā*	*sefidkāri*	*mikonad*
cell-PL	and	corridor-EẒ	PERS PRON 1 PL-ACC TOP	whitewashing	IND-do-PRES 3 SG

bā	*man*	*rafiq-ast* (Varaq 12:23–24)
with	PERS PR 1 SG	friend-COP PRES 3 SG

'This fellow who sometimes comes and whitewashes the walls of our cells and corridor is a friend of mine'

(*ham*)*in* + *noun* + *-i* + *ke*

Ex. 35, period 3:

az	*in*	*rāh-i*	*ke*	*dar*	*āsiyā*	*ṭei*	*karde*
from	this	road-INDEF	CL LINK	in	Asia	travelling	do-PAST PART[49]

movāfeq-e	*qā'ede-ye*	*hendesi*	*mi-tavān*	*ḥokm*	*kard*
agreeing-EẒ	rule-EẒ	geometrical	IND-can-PRES (impersonal)	judgement	do-INF[50]

ke	*'anqarib*	*be*	*maqṣad*	*x^{v}āh-ad resid* (Siyāḥat. 201:2–3)
CL LINK	presently	to	destination	arrive-FUT 3 SG[51]

'By the road that he has passed through in Asia, one can, according to geometrical rules, conclude that he will soon arrive at his destination'

Ex. 36, period 4:

mi-rav-am	*āxar-e*	*juybār-rā*	*peidā*	*kon-am …*	*ham-in*
IND-go-PRES 1 SG	end-EẒ	brook-ACC TOP	visible	do-PRES (SUBJ) 1 SG	EMPH-this

juybār-i	*ke*	*tu-ye*	*ān*	*šenā*	*mi-kon-im* (Māhi 20:2–4)
brook-INDEF	CL LINK	in-EẒ	that	swimming	IND-do-PRES 1 PL

'I go to find the end of the brook … this very brook that we are swimming in'

noun + *-i* + *ke*

Ex. 37, period 1:

be	*vaqt-i*	*ke*	*mardom*	*xofte*	*bāš-and*	*to*	*bidār*	*bāš-i* (Qab. 39:2)
in	time-INDEF	CL LINK	people	sleep-PERF 3 PL		PERS PR 2 SG	awake	be-PRES 2 SG

'You will be awake at the time when others are asleep'

Ex. 38, period 2:

jamā'at-i	*ke*	*ān*	*xazāne-rā*	*dide bud-and*	*taqrir*	*kard-and*
community-INDEF	CL LINK	that	treasury-ACC TOP	see-PAST PERF 3 PL	assertion	do-PAST 3 PL

ke	*meṣl-e*	*ān*	*xazāne*	*hargez*	*kas-rā*	*na-bude bāš-ad* (Jāme' 255:5–6)
CL LINK	like-EẒ	that	treasury	never	person-DAT	NEG-be-PERF 3 SG

'The group of people who had seen that treasury asserted that nobody could ever have had a treasury like that'

[49] The past participle can, here and below, except *dur-oftāde* (ex. no. 41), which is an adjective, also be analysed as the present perfect tense, 3rd person singular, in which the auxiliary verb is omitted.

[50] See footnote 32.

[51] See footnote 47.

Ex. 39, period 3:

va mardom-i ke az laškar-e mā gorixte bud-and
and people-INDEF CL LINK from army-EZ PERS PR 1 PL flee-PAST PERF 3 PL

bāz dar ān ruz be mā molḥaqq gardid-and (Hezār 1155:6–7)
again in that day to PERS PR 1 PL joined become-PAST 3 PL

'And the people who had fled from our army joined us again on that day'

noun + ke

Ex. 40, period 1:

deraxt-hā-ye zeitun ke dar ānjā roste yeksar be ṭaraf-i
tree-PL-EZ olive CL LINK in there grow-PAST PART totally to direction-INDEF

ke bād mi-vaz-ad kaj o motamāyel gašte (Nāṣer 9:11–12)
CL LINK wind IND-blow-PRES 3 SG bent and inclined become-PAST PART

'The olive trees which have grown there have become totally bent in the direction in which the wind blows'

Ex. 41, period 4:

movarrex-in va jahāngard-ān va fāteḥ-in ke be irān va
historian-PL and traveller-PL and conqueror-PL CL LINK to Iran and

manṭaqe-ye balučestān āmade-and balučestān-rā sarzamin-e
region-EZ Balochistan come-PERF 3 PL Balochistan-ACC TOP land-EZ

dur-oftāde va xaṭarnāk dāneste va az mardom-e
far-fall PAST PART and dangerous know-PAST PART and from people-EZ

ān sāmān harās dāšte-and (Negāhi 232:22–24)
that homestead fear have-PERF 3 PL

'The historians and travellers and conquerors who have come to Iran and the region of Balochistan, have seen Balochistan as a remote and dangerous land and have feared the people who have their homesteads there'

superlative/ordinal + noun + -i + ke

Ex. 42, period 2:

noxostin xun-i ke andar jahān raft in xun
first blood-INDEF CL LINK in world go-PAST 3 SG this blood

bud (Dārāb. 238:7)
be-PAST 3 SG

'The first blood that was spilled in the world was this blood'

Ex. 43, period 3:

avval kas-i ke doulat-e engelis-rā bar xaṭar-āt-e in
first person-INDEF CL LINK state-EZ England-ACC TOP on danger-PL-EZ this

rāh moltafet sāxt nāpoleyun-e bozorg bud (Siyāḥat. 203:9–10)
road aware do-PAST 3 SG NP-EZ great be-PAST 3 SG

'The first person who made England aware of the dangers of this road was Napoleon the Great'

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL

In the quantitative analysis, the texts are divided into the four periods outlined above, namely the early classical period from the 10th to the 12th century, the late classical period from the 13th to the 15th century, the period of literary stagnation and re-awakening between the 16th and the 19th century, and the modern period, i.e. the 20th century. Examples of restrictive relative clauses in which the head noun ends in an *-i* have been omitted, since the orthography gives no indication as to whether there is an extra suffix *-i* added to such nouns or not. Examples in which different manuscripts differ as to the marking of the antecedent have also been omitted. Otherwise, for all practical purposes, the text editions have been trusted. In the texts from the 20th century, examples of *vaqti ke* 'when' (lit. 'at the time which') are also omitted, since *vaqti ke* has acquired the role of a temporal conjunction in Modern Persian.

The quantitative analysis treats the general and the specific relative clauses separately. The number of texts and pages from the four different periods have been chosen so as to be a representative selection of important literary prose works from the period and in order to give a total number of between 150 and 200 restrictive relative clauses for each period.[52] Owing to the different characters of the texts chosen, the number of indefinite versus specific relative clauses varies to a certain extent. The texts from the first period contain more indefinite relative clauses than those from later periods, since several of these texts belong to the *pand*-genre, giving general advice to rulers, princes, etc.

Indefinite relative clauses

Pattern	10th–12th cent.	13th–15th cent.	16th–19th cent.	20th cent.
har + ke	28 (26%)[53]	17 (25%)	4 (13%)	5 (14%)
har + noun + ke	16 (15%)	15 (22%)	13 (42%)	4 (11%)
har + indef. pronoun + ke	–	–	–	5 (14%)
har + noun + -i + ke	6 (6%)	9 (13%)	4 (13%)	4 (11%)
ān + noun + ke	5 (5%)	4 (6%)	1 (3%)	–
noun + -i + ke	38 (36%)	16 (24%)	5 (16%)	15 (41%)
noun + ke	4 (4%)	3 (4%)	1 (3%)	–
other	10 (10%)	3 (4%)	3 (10%)	4 (11%)

[52] In the end, the number of restrictive relative clauses from the first period turned out to amount to 205. The actual number thus varies between 166 and 205.

[53] The percentage figure given is of the total number of indefinite relative clauses from the actual period.

Specific relative clauses

Pattern	10th–12th cent.	13th–15th cent.	16th–19th cent.	20th cent.
ān/un + ke	6 (6%)[54]	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)
(ham)ān + noun + ke	35 (36%)	19 (19%)	15 (10%)	3 (2%)
(ham)ān + noun + -i + ke	2 (2%)	2 (2%)	7 (5%)	3 (2%)
in + ke	4 (4%)	–	–	–
(ham)in + noun + ke	20 (20%)	11 (11%)	5 (3%)	9 (6%)
(ham)in + noun + -i + ke	–	–	2 (1%)	2 (1%)
noun + -i + ke	24 (24%)	50 (51%)	93 (65%)	125 (78%)
noun + ke	2 (2%)	3 (3%)	9 (6%)	4 (2%)
superlative/ordinal + noun + -i + ke	1 (1%)	3 (3%)	3 (2%)	5 (3%)
other	4 (4%)	10 (10%)	8 (6%)	8 (5%)

The material can also be divided according to whether its structure follows formula 1 or formula 2 below:

1. **Noun phrase + *ke***
2. **Noun phrase + *-i ke***

The noun phrase may consist of a head noun, with or without attributes, or a personal, indefinite or demonstrative pronoun. It is also necessary to make a distinction between an antecedent in which the nucleus is a pronoun and one in which the nucleus is a noun. The pronouns do not normally take the ending *-i*; *har* 'each, every' and *u* 'he/she', for example, cannot add the *-i* suffix, and the demonstrative pronouns *in* 'this, this one' and *ān* 'that, that one' take the *-i* suffix only in colloquial Modern Persian. On the other hand, the plural forms *ānhā/ānān* 'they' occur with the *-i* also in literary style. In order to make this distinction between nouns and pronouns clear in the statistics, it is thus necessary to divide the relative clauses into two groups, one in which the nucleus of the antecedent is a noun and another in which it is a pronoun. If this division is made, we end up with the following alternatives:

1. **Noun phrase + *ke***
   - Nucleus of antecedent is a noun
   - Nucleus of antecedent is a pronoun
2. **Noun phrase + *-i ke***
   - Nucleus of antecedent is a noun
   - Nucleus of antecedent is a pronoun

[54] The percentage figure given is of the total number of specific relative clauses from the actual period.

Indefinite relative clauses

Pattern	10th–12th cent.	13th–15th cent.	16th–19th cent.	20th cent.
1. Noun phrase + ke				
Antecedent noun	27 (25%)[55]	24 (36%)	17 (55%)	5 (13%)
Antecedent pronoun	35 (33%)	18 (27%)	5 (16%)	11 (30%)
2. Noun phrase + -i ke				
Antecedent noun	45 (42%)	25 (37%)	9 (29%)	20 (54%)
Antecedent pronoun	–	–	–	1 (3%)

Specific relative clauses

Pattern	10th–12th cent.	13th–15th cent.	16th–19th cent.	20th cent.
1. Noun phrase + ke				
Antecedent noun	58 (59%)[56]	37 (37%)	33 (23%)	16 (10%)
Antecedent pronoun	13 (13%)	6 (6%)	2 (1%)	6 (4%)
2. Noun phrase + -i ke				
Antecedent noun	27 (28%)	56 (57%)	108 (75%)	137 (85%)
Antecedent pronoun	–	–	1 (1%)	2 (1%)

All restrictive relative clauses together

Pattern	10th–12th cent.	13th–15th cent.	16th–19th cent.	20th cent.
1. Noun phrase + ke				
Antecedent noun	85 (41.5%)[57]	61 (36.7%)	50 (28.6%)	21 (10.6%)
Antecedent pronoun	48 (23.4%)	24 (14.5%)	7 (4.0%)	17 (8.6%)
2. Noun phrase + -i ke				
Antecedent noun	72 (35.1%)	81 (48.8%)	117 (66.8%)	157 (79.3%)
Antecedent pronoun	–	–	1 (0.6%)	3 (1.5%)

PATTERNS OF MARKING THE ANTECEDENT IN SPOKEN MODERN PERSIAN

In the texts from the 20th century investigated above, some sentences belonging to spoken Modern Persian were found in dialogues written in colloquial style. While

[55] The percentage figure given is of the total number of indefinite relative clauses from the actual period.
[56] The percentage figure given is of the total number of specific relative clauses from the actual period.
[57] The percentage figure given is of the total number of restrictive relative clauses from the actual period. The reason for adding a decimal here is to be able to include very low figures with some exactness, e.g., 1 occurrence out of 175.

studying the texts, it was found that there seem to be quite substantial differences between the patterns used to mark the antecedent in the colloquial and in the literary language. In order to make a small, complementary investigation of spoken Modern Persian, interviews were carried out with three informants, all well-educated Iranians with Persian as their mother tongue, now living in Sweden.[58] In the interviews, the informants were asked to translate a number of sentences containing restrictive relative clauses from Swedish into Persian. In addition to the interviews, two one-hour sessions of free conversation in Persian were arranged with three other informants,[59] in order to record relative clauses in a completely natural speech situation.

In the free conversations, altogether 18 restrictive relative clauses were recorded, 4 of the indefinite type and 14 of the specific type. The two patterns occurring for the indefinite relative clauses are the following, which both occur twice:

un*[60] + noun + -*i* + *ke

Ex. 44:

un	*kes-i*	*ke*	*imān*	*na-dāre*	*ne-mi-tun-e*
that	person-INDEF	CL LINK	faith	NEG-have-PRES (IND) 3 SG	NEG-IND-can-PRES 3 SG

harf-ā-ye	*to-ro*	*qabul*	*kon-e*
word-PL-EẒ	PERS PR 2 SG-ACC TOP	accepting	do-PRES (SUBJ) 3 SG

'Those[61] who do not believe cannot accept what you say'

un* + -*i* + *ke

Ex. 45:

sai	*mi-kon-im*	*un-i*	*bāš-im*	*ke*	*nist-im*
atttempt	do-PRES IND 1 PL	that-INDEF	be-PRES (SUBJ) 1 PL	CL LINK	NEG-be-PRES (IND) 1 PL

'We try to be someone we are not'

Among the specific relative clauses, the patterns occurring are the following:

un* + noun + -*i* + *ke 6 occurrences

Ex. 46:

un	*ketāb-ā-i*	*ke*	*qoul*	*dāde bud-am*	*barā-t*	*āvord-am*
that	book-PL-EẒ	CL LINK	promise	give-PAST PERF 1 SG	for-PR SUFF 2 SG	bring-PAST 1 SG

'I brought you the books I had promised'

noun* + -*i* + *ke 4 occurrences

Ex. 47:

āšġāl-ā-i-ro	*ke*	*injā*	*rixt-i*	*jam*	*kon*
rubbish-PL-INDEF-ACC TOP	CL LINK	here	pour-PAST 2 SG	collecting	do-IMPER 2 SG

'Pick up the rubbish you threw here'

[58] All three came to Sweden as adults.

[59] Also persons who came to Sweden as adults, and whose mother tongue is Persian.

[60] The transcription of colloquial sentences is based on the pronunciation. However, the distinction between /q/ and /ɣ/ is retained, even though it is not phonemic in common Tehrani pronunciation.

[61] Lit. 'that person who'.

hamin + -i + ke 1 occurrence

Ex. 48:

ham-in-i	*ke*	*donbāl-eš*	*bud*
EMPH-this-INDEF	CL LINK	after-it PR SUFF 3 SG	be-PAST 3 SG

'The very one that she was looking for'[62]

un-ā + -i + ke 1 occurrence

Ex. 49:

un-ā-i	*ke*	*man*	*xarid-am*	*xošmaze-tar-e*
that-PL-INDEF	CL LINK	PERS PR 1 SG	buy-PAST 1 SG	tasty-COMP-COP PRES 3 SG[63]

'The ones that I bought are tastier'

un + noun + ke 1 occurrence

Ex. 50:

un	*yāru*	*ke*	*in*	*kār-ā-ro*	*mi-kard*	*xeili*	*zerang*	*bud*
that	fellow	CL LINK	this	deed-PL-ACC TOP	IMP-do-PAST 3 SG	very	clever	be-PAST 3 SG

'The fellow who used to do such things was very clever'

hamun + ke 1 occurrence

Ex. 51:

kodum?	*ham-un*	*ke*	*mā*	*did-im-eš*
which	EMPH-that	CL LINK	PERS PR 1 PL	see-PAST 1 PL-PR SUFF 3 SG

'Which one? The very one we saw'

Also in the data from the interviews the constructions *un/in + noun + -i + ke* and *noun + -i + ke* predominate. It may thus be argued that the colloquial language differs somewhat from the literary language when it comes to the marking of the antecedent of restrictive relative clauses, in that a demonstrative[64] co-occurs much more frequently with the suffix *-i* in colloquial Modern Persian than in literary style.

CONCLUSIONS

It is quite clear from the data presented above that it is not possible to determine when exactly the *-i* suffix was introduced as a marker of the head noun of restrictive relative clauses in Persian on the basis of New Persian texts, since it is already found in the very earliest New Persian, such as Bal'ami's *Tarjome-ye tārix-e Ṭabari* from the 10th century A.D. On the other hand, however, quite interesting conclusions can be drawn from the texts analysed here as to the increase in the use of this *-i* suffix, something that can be described as a grammaticalisation process.

The figures in the quantitative analysis which are of special interest to us are those in which the antecedent of the restrictive relative clause consists of a noun with or

[62] Not a complete sentence, uttered as the answer to the question: "Which book did you give her?"

[63] Inanimate subjects generally occur with a singular verb in Persian.

[64] See footnote 6.

without attributes, since there are many restrictions for the pronouns in taking the ending *-i*. One may, for example, compare the figures for indefinite and specific relative clauses from the first period, in which case it is noticeable that the *-i* is more common in the first case than in the second. For specific relative clauses, the construction *un/in + noun + ke* predominates in the early texts. This may indicate that the *-i* was initially used on indefinite antecedents in accordance with its use on any noun to mark indefiniteness, and that from there it spread also to mark any noun designated or selected by means of a restrictive relative clause. There is, in fact, some element of indefiniteness attached to all antecedents of restrictive relative clauses, since they are not delimited or specified in themselves, but rather by means of the relative clause. There may thus have been grammatical qualities also of head nouns of specific relative clauses which made them apt for adding the indefinite suffix *-i*.

It is also interesting to compare the figures for all restrictive relative clauses from the four different periods and to note how head nouns (generally preceded by a demonstrative) without the ending *-i* continually lose ground from 41.5% in the first period, to 36.7% in the second period and 28.6% in the third period, down to 10.6% in the fourth period. In the same way, the head nouns marked with an *-i* (but generally not preceded by a demonstrative) gain ground from 35.1% in the first period, to 48.8% in the second period and 66.8% in the third period, up to 79.3% in the fourth period. This tendency is especially strong in the specific relative clause pattern.

From the above figures, it may be argued that it is only in the Modern Persian texts that the grammaticalisation process of the suffix *-i* as a marker of head nouns of restrictive relative clauses is completed. In the texts from the 16th to the 19th century as many as 29.9% of the total number of antecedents whose head is a noun do not add the ending *-i*, whereas this figure for the 20th-century texts is only 11.8%. Thus, in the Modern Persian literary language, but not until then, the suffix *-i* is added to the head noun of a restrictive relative clause in an average of nine out of ten cases. It is also quite clear from the above that pronoun antecedents do not normally take the suffix *-i* in the literary language, either in Classical or in Modern Persian.

Since the investigation of colloquial Modern Persian does not pretend to be more than a complement to the main study, it is too early to draw any far-reaching conclusions about the colloquial language here. It has, however, been noted that both in indefinite and specific relative clauses the colloquial language seems frequently to employ the pattern of adding, or retaining, the demonstrative before the head noun, to which at the same time the suffix *-i* is added. Whether this trait is a continued retention of the predominant pattern for specific relative clauses in early Classical Persian (*ān/in + noun + ke*) with the addition of the *-i* or whether it is a secondary addition of the demonstrative is hard to determine. In any case, if it is a retention of the old pattern, it seems that it has also spread to indefinite relative clauses, in which it has never been common in the literary language. It is also only natural to find the colloquial language more explicit than the literary language, in this case by signalling the head noun both with the demonstrative and the *-i*.

A thorough study of the marking of the antecedents of restrictive relative clauses in the colloquial language would certainly be of great value for determining with certainty the differences between literary and colloquial Modern Persian. As for dia-

chrony, however, such a study would probably not give a clear picture of whether the demonstrative is retained or added secondarily, since we mainly have access to colloquial Persian only in the Modern period. On the other hand, it would be very interesting to study the frequency of the demonstrative before the head noun both in indefinite and in specific restrictive relative clauses, as well as, for example, what restrictions there are in the colloquial language when it comes to adding the suffix *-i* to various pronouns.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC TOP	topicalised direct object (accusative)
Axlāq	'Obeid-e Zākāni, X^{v}āje Nežām al-Din, *Axlāq al-ašrāf*
Bačče	Āl-e Aḥmad, Jalāl, *Bačče-ye mardom*
Bahār.	Jāmi, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Bahārestān*
Tārix-e Bal.	Bal'ami, Abu 'Ali Moḥammad, *Tarjome-ye tārix-e Ṭabari*
Tārix-e Bei.	Beihaqi, Abu al-Faẓl Moḥammad ebn-e Ḥossein, *Tārix-e Beihaqi*
CL LINK	clause linker
COMP	comparative
COP	copula
Dārāb.	Ṭarsusi, Abu Ṭāher Moḥammad ebn-e Ḥasan ebn-e 'Ali ebn-e Musā, *Dārābnāme-ye Ṭarsusi*
DAT	indirect object (dative)
EMPH	emphatic
EẒ	eẓāfe
FUT	future tense
G	glide
Gol.	Sa'di, *Kolliyāt* (extract from *Golestān)*
H.M.	Hedāyat, Ṣādeq, *Ḥāji Morād*
Hezār	*Hezār sāl-e naṣr-e pārsi*
IMPER	imperative
IMP	imperfective aspect
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
Jāme'	Rašid al-Din Faẓlullāh, *Jāme' al-tavārix*
Kuč.	Amānollāhi Bahāvand, Sikandar, *Kučnešini dar Irān, pažuheši dar bāre-ye 'ašāyer va ilāt*
Māhi	Behrangi, Ṣamad, *Māhi-ye siyāh-e kučulu*
Nāṣer	Nāṣer al-Din Šāh, *Divān-e Nāṣeri: ruzname-ye safar-e Farangestān*
NEG	negation
Negāhi	Afšār-e Sistāni, Iraj, *Negāhi be Sistān o Balučestān*
NP	*nomen proprium* (personal name)[65]
PAST	past tense
PAST PART	past participle
PAST PERF	past perfect tense
PERF	present perfect tense
PERS PR	personal pronoun

[65] Here used only for persons, and for unknown geographical names. Since well-known geographical names occur in the texts in forms more or less similar to those occurring in English, they have been annotated with their English equivalents (e.g., *engelis* 'England' and *hend* 'India').

PL	plural
PRES	present tense
PREV	preverb
PR SUFF	pronominal suffix
Qāb.	Keikāvus ebn-e Eskandar ebn-e Qābus ebn-e Vošmgir, *Qābusnāme*
Safar.	Nāṣer ebn-e Xosrou Qobādiyāni Marvazi, Abu Mo'in Ḥamid al-Din, *Safarnāme*
Selselat	*Silsilät-ul-Nässäb (Selselat al-nasab-e Ṣafaviye)*
SG	singular
Siyāḥat.	Zein al-'Ābedin Marāġe'i, *Siyāḥatnāme-ye Ebrāhim Beik*
Siyāsat.	Neżām ol-Molk (Abu 'Ali Ḥasan Ṭusi), *Seyar ol-moluk (Siyāsatnāme)*
SUBJ	subjunctive
Šok.	*Šokufāyi-ye dāstān-e kutāh dar dahe-ye noxostin-e enqelāb*
T.A.	Hedāyat, Ṣādeq, *Ṭalab-e āmorzeš*
Taẕkerat	'Aṭṭār-e Neišāburi, Farid al-Din, *Taẕkerat al-ouliyā*
Varaq	Bozorg 'Alavi, *Varaq pārehā-ye zendān*

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[66] The abbreviation H.Q. stands for the Hijra-calendar lunar (*qamari*) year, H.Š. denotes the Hijra-calendar solar (*šamsi*) year, and Šāh. indicates the "Royal" (*Šāhanšāhi*) calendar in use in Iran between 1976 and 1978. Unmarked years = A.D. Note also that the phonemes /ā/ and /s/ precede the phonemes /a/ and /š/ in the alphabetical order below, whereas initial ' ('ein), ṣ, ḥ, and other non-phonemic Arabic spellings are disregarded in the alphabetical order. The format of this part of the bibliography differs from that of the reference works above mainly owing to the fact that four different calendars are employed for the year of publication of the text editions, and in a number of instances there is no explicit year of publication.

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Risalat al-Ghufran, The Forgiveness Letter of Abu 'l-'Ala' al-Ma'arri, AH 363–449/973–1058[1]

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A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The first reference in Western scholarly literature to *The Forgiveness Letter* (*Treatise on Pardon*) was Reynold A. Nicholson's summary and translation published in several parts in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (JRAS) in 1899, 1900 and 1902. Nicholson encountered at the time much difficulty in understanding the context of some of the references in The Forgiveness Letter because he was unaware of the fact that The Forgiveness Letter was a reply to an earlier treatise/letter sent to Abul-Hassan al-Ma'arri by Ali Mansur Al-Halabi (of Aleppo, 692–1030), commonly known as Ibn el-Gareh. Much later, the corrected complete text of both treatises, based on several manuscripts, was put together in an annotated edition by Aisheh Abdulahman "Bint al-Shati", published as a dissertation at the University of Cairo in 1965.

Ibn el-Gareh's initial treatise consisted of two parts, and so was al-Ma'arri's response. Ibn el-Gareh was a literary scholar and tutor in the service of Abul Hasan al-Magrebi, a minister of the Fatemid Caliphate in Egypt. The first part of his letter is an attack on all the free thinkers who had their doubts concerning Islam. The second part is more personal, as he complains of his fate so near to life's end. al-Ma'arri's response to the first part concerns a description of Ibn el-Gareh's passage to Heaven after Judgement Day and his encounters there with many poets and scholars, including many of those whom Ibn el-Gareh had attacked in his treatise. Al-Ma'arri's reply to the second part is equally ironical, politely in detail rebuking Ibn el-Gareh's late repentance, after a lifetime spent in seeking secular pleasure.

About al-Ma'arri[2] it is told he was born as Ahmad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Sulaiman, in Ma'arrat al-nu'man near Halab (Aleppo, Syria) in an intellectual family of judges and scholars. He lost his sight at the age of four because of smallpox. He remains one of the few literary scholars who never opened his books with 'Bismillah!' as was the orthodox practice of the time. Nor did he ever adhere the common practice of undertaking a pilgrimage to Mecca as was required of most intellectuals. He never went to the Friday prayers, nor did he pay alms. He was a strict vegetarian, refusing to eat eggs, dairy products and even honey. His extra-ordinary command of the Arabic language remains to this day one of the highlights of Arabic literature. We need only to note in this context the unusual scheme of the 'Luzoommiyat',

[1] The present article is extracted from a major work in progress which was undertaken in co-operation with Professor Tryggve Kronholm.

[2] For details on his life and writings see Encyclopedia of Islam V:927–935.

which is a partial collection of his poems. In these poems the last two syllables of every line make up a double rhyme as opposed to the normal practice of monorhyming by just the last syllable.

THE DIVINE COMEDY

There are five major works which can be entitled "divine comedies" in history, viz.

1. *Arda Wiraz Namag* (The Iranian Divine Comedy)
2. The *Koran*
3. *Risalat al-Ghufran* (The Forgiveness Letter of Abu 'l-'Ala' al-Ma'arri)
4. Dante's *The Divine Comedy*[3]
5. *Misbah ul-arwah* (The Lantern of Spirits), most probably written by Shams ud-din il-Tughan Bardasiri.

These five works can be divided into two categories based on whether the trips to Heaven and to Hell are primarily conceived as physical transportation of the body, or as an illusory or dream-like vision. The Koran and The Forgiveness Letter both present scenarios of a real corporeal voyage. In fact The Forgiveness Letter takes much of its raw material from the Koran which claims that it is the actual body which travels to Heaven or Hell. However, al-Ma'arri uses a complicated strategy of irony to critique certain aspects of the Koranic representation of the world beyond. Two aspects of al-Ma'arri's representation are interesting. One is that although God is present all the time, he is for all intents and purposes never available, and functions as an absence. The second is that there is gigantic bureaucracy run by the Prophet Muhammad and his family which is very similar to temporal arrangements. For example, the system of patronage exercised on Earth is shown to be equally effective in Heaven: writing poems which are dedicated to high-powered personages in this heavenly bureaucracy can result in gaining favours and the forgiveness of one's sins, thereby assuring a passage to Heaven.

In addition, al-Ma'arri also uses the theme to discuss with a number of dead poets and scholars the more esoteric meanings, difficulties and implications of their work. al-Ma'arri places in Heaven a number of scholars whom the orthodox opinion of the time might have expected to meet in Hell. Through a discussion of their works and their paths to Heaven, al-Ma'arri in effect pleads for a forgiveness of these heretical poets by emphasising aspects of their works which could be accommodated within an Islamic viewpoint. There are a number of poets and scholars whom al-Ma'arri is anyhow cautious enough to place in Heaven, due to their strong blasphemy. When he places them in Hell, he subtly makes his irony clear through an exaggeration of punishments, which are meted to them. The strategy of exaggeration makes the punishments seem ridiculous in effect. One example is Bashar, the blind, eighth century Persian poet who was decapitated by the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdi on account of his heretical anti-Islamic poetry. al-Ma'arri places two Zabanieh—Angels inflict-

[3] On Islamic influence on Dante, see M.A. Palacios: Islam and the Divine Comedy, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1926/1968, London.

ing punishments on the damned in Hell—on either side of Bashar who kept his eyelids open with pincers so that he cannot avoid seeing the Hell itself. He also sees his own body suffering from a variety of punishments, and others being punished around him.

AL-MA'ARRI'S WORK HAS THREE BASIC FEATURES

First it is a defence of the people, and all free thinkers.

Secondly, he takes stand against all religions, which he names explicitly as 'business'.

Thirdly, he implies criticism towards the rulers of the time and their ruthless tyranny.

Hence, late in his life al-Ma'arri was accused of heresy, but he died before he could be tried. His work still has validity and force, and this can be seen in the silence, which to this day surrounds his work in the East.

The following poems illustrate that al-Ma'arri held a pessimistic view on the world expressing that life for him offered no refuge from suffering and misery.

Everyone takes steps of his own private journey of suffering and death,
and the wise among people, therefore, do not beget.
Just ask Adam, the father of our world,
as we are his offsprings' offsprings. And we are more crazy than him.
If the honey bees knew their honey would be taken away,
you would not see them making honey in the mountains.
Virtue is admired, but humans fall short of it,
either through weekness or indolence.
Surely, the Earth longs for a deluge,
So that it might be washed clean of its dirt.
Evil has multiplied on its surface,
so much that even the Sender (God)
and the Sent (the Prophet Muhammad) stand accused.
The ugly deeds of his people have multiplied manifold,
and so they have become like wolves wandering in the wilderness.
He who is brave on the day of the battle,
will surely find Death even braver.
Indeed sips of strong poison are drunk,
whilst it is other poisons which are soothing and clear.
Bring goodness with you, for in doing so you risk nothing!
Come with goodness, for one day it will be of use!

Diwan Luzum ma la yalzam (The Self-imposed Compulsion)

O my two dear friends,[4]
give me some consolation of the heart,
since bright hopes have vanished but darkness has still not been annihilated.
If you forget to remember the kindness of some,
please include me as one whom you remember.

[4] Arab poets traditionally addressed their poems to a friend in dual form.

It can happen that the night's darkness is as beautiful as the morning,
no matter how tightly the night has put on its black pallium.
While we ran at those nights for our amusements of youth,
the Najm[5] were petrified by their awe.
How much we want to sing the praise of that period,
while we now are forced to sing the laments of this period!
One would say that it was not I who described the black night,
whose darkness was at the zenith of its youth,
moon was still a child (i.e. Crescent), as a black bride, with necklaces of beads.
Sleep fled from my eyes as easily as security flees from the heart of a coward.
It seems that the cresent moon desires Pleiad and to embrace each other before parting.[6]
My friend told me while we were drowning in the sea of darkness,
as two Fargadan[7] appeared on the horizon:
"How can we, drowning as we are, be saved by those two stars,
drowned also in darkness and lost themselves?!
And Sohail,[8] the rose coloured star, like the cheeks of a beloved
and trembling like the heart of a lover,
is standing alone (in the sky) like a marked rider as if to challenge other riders,
its fast-blinking eye is like an angry man's.
The swords of enemies have bloodied him and the two Sha'ara (oars)[9]
are crying for him from pity.
His feet far behind him and his disability makes him like a walker without feet.[10]
And then darkness grows old,
and fearful of being abandoned in old age, dyes its temples with saffron.
And its dawn attacks 'Nasr-al-Wagi' with the sword and it resolves to fly.[11]
Then the land which I reach at 'first' twilight is full of buffaloes and wolves.[12]
And the traveller's eyes fall upon a water spring,
which is like an eye without an eye-lid (ruined and abandoned).
On the screen of Time, the blood of the two martyrs, Ali and his son,[13]
forever standing as proof (of their justice),
shows in the two glowing twilights of dawn and dusk.
This blood has stained the white cloak of Time,
demanding justice from God on Judgement Day.

Diwan Saqt az-Zand (The First Sparks of Tinder)

[5] Pleiads.

[6] The conjunction of Moon and Pleiad happens once a year.

[7] Bright stars, Ursa Minor (Little Bear) which the Arabs traditionally use in order to orient themselves.

[8] Suhail al-Yamanyyah, the Suhail of the South Canopus (of Constellation Carina).

[9] Sha'arā al-Uboor al Yamanyyah and Shira al-Gumaisa (bleary eyes).

[10] Refer to two stars which he regards as its feet.

[11] Al Nasr-al wagi, the Vega.

[12] Refers to Al Nasr-al-Tāyer (The Flying Eagle).

[13] Imam Ali the son in law of the Prophet Muhammad, and his son Imam Hussain.

An Arabic Dialect in Qamishli, II

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This is the second of two articles on an Arabic dialect in Qamishli. The first article, published in Orientalia Suecana, vol. XLVIII (1999), consisted of three texts with translations and a glossary containing some distinctive words. The second article, below, will shed some light on the grammatical features.[1]

On the basis of the texts mentioned above we can now establish some linguistic features characterising the dialect studied here. We have to keep in mind that all my informants, whether born in Qamishli or not, are Christians Neoarameans. These Neoarameans constitute the remaining group that escaped the massacre at the beginning of the last century.[2] They originate from Ṭūr ʿAbdīn,[3] e.g. Mardin and neighbouring villages (e.g. Bənēbīl, Qalʿət maṛa, Maḥsart, Xərbe, Qəlləf), Midyat and neighbouring villages (e.g. Ḥapsəs) and also from Diyarbakır and neighbouring villages (e.g. Qaraḇāš), Siirt and neighbouring villages (e.g. Bərke, Bisatun), Nusaybin and Āzəx. These towns and villages belong, linguistically, to the Anatolian Arabic branch,[4] a fact that is observable in this dialect. Other observable features, worth mentioning, are the influence of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) through the media, e.g. newspapers, radio and television. MSA is the language of education and schoolchildren come into contact with it already in the age of six. This is one reason why people use a lot of MSA words in their daily speech to show that they are educated. Radio and television play another important role, namely in the spread of the Arabic dialect of Damascus. A huge amount of radio and television programs are made in the Arabic dialect of the capital and, for people living in small towns far away from the capital, it is prestigious to show that they can speak this dialect. Last but not least, we would like to point out that the majority of the government officials in Qamishli are from the big cities of Syria such as Damascus, Hama and Hums. These families try to maintain their dialect to show that they belong to a higher social class.

[1] In giving a satisfactory description of the phonology, morphology and complete verb paradigms, I had great help from a young Christian female student, 22 years of age, in Uppsala. This informant was born in Qamishli but moved to Sweden when she was 12 years old. She speaks this dialect with her parents, brother and sister but with her grandmother she speaks Neoaramaic. Hence when the number for text and line is missing, this means that the word or phrase referred to is not attested in the texts but in a separate material from my interview with this young lady.

[2] About the massacre, see Yonan, G. 1978. *Assyrier heute. Kultur, Sprache, Nationalbewegung der aramäisch sprechenden Christen im Nahen Osten*. Verfolgung und Exil. Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker, Hamburg und Wien, p. 28.

[3] For the definition of the geographical area of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn see Hollerweger, H. 1999. *Turabdin, Living Cultural Heritage*, Linz, pp 56–57. See also Börge, G. 1992. *Från Ararat till Eufrat, Färder mellan nu och då*, Carlsson, Stockholm, p. 208.

[4] Jastrow, O. 1978. *Die Mesopotamisch-arabischen qəltu-Dialekte, I, Phonologie und Morphologie*. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 43:4) Wiesbaden: Steiner, pp. 318.

This in its turn affects the way in which Qamishli people talk to them, as will be seen below.

PHONOLOGY

The dialect studied here has three reflexes for the Old Arabic (OA) voiceless interdental fricative /***t̲***/. 1- /*t̲*/ > /*t̲*/ which means that /*t̲*/ is preserved, e.g. *məṯəl* "like, as" 1.1, cf. OA *miṯl*. "preserved" means that the phoneme has the same pronunciation as in the Arabic dialect of Mardin and, as mentioned above, our informants originate from the area of or around Mardin. In the Arabic dialect of Mardin, this interdental is preserved.[5] Yet the possibility of an influence from MSA should not be excluded because the examples with /*t̲*/ are not many and they are attested in words like *ḥādəṯ* "accident" 1.1, cf. OA *ḥādiṯun* and *əl-ḥādṯe* "the accident" 2.29. 2- /*t̲*/ is shifted to a voiceless dental plosive /t/, e.g. *ktīr* "much" 2.7, cf. OA *kaṯīrun*. 3- A shift to a voiceless dental sibilant /s/, e.g. *asəq* "I trust" 2.31, cf. OA *aṯiqu*. In the Arabic dialect of Damascus (DA) this interdental has two reflexes: /*t̲*/ > /t/ and /*t̲*/ > /s/.[6] The voiced interdental fricative /***d̲***/ has two reflexes. 1- /*d̲*/ > /*d̲*/, e.g. *ḏanb-i* "my fault" 1.9, cf. OA *ḏanbun*. 2- /*d̲*/ is shifted to a voiced dental plosive /d/, e.g. *ʾaḫadū-ni* "they took me" 1.13, cf. OA *ʾaḫaḏa* "he took". In DA this interdental has two reflexes: /*d̲*/ > /d/ and /*d̲*/ > /z/.[7] The OA voiced interdental fricative /***ḏ***/[8] has three reflexes. 1- /*ḏ*/ > /*ḏ*/, e.g. *mwaḍḍaf* "government official" 3.8, cf. OA **muwaḍḍaf*un. 2- /*ḏ*/ is shifted to a voiced velarised dental plosive /ḍ/, e.g. *ḍəhər* "noon" 1.2, cf. OA *ḍuhrun*. 3- /*ḏ*/ is shifted to a voiced velarised dental sibilant /ẓ/, e.g. *mwaẓẓaf* "government official" 3.1, cf. OA **muwaḍḍafun*.[9] In DA, this interdental has two reflexes: /*ḏ*/ > /ḍ/ and /*ḏ*/ > /ẓ/.[10] As we can see here, the same word is pronounced in two different ways by the same informant. This informant is trying to show that she is educated when she pronounces /*ḏ*/ as in MSA.

The OA voiced palato-alveolar affricate /***ǧ***/ is preserved, e.g. *ǧb-i* "my pocket" 1.5 cf. OA *ǧaybun* "a pocket".

The OA voiceless uvular plosive /***q***/ is also preserved, e.g. *qatle* "beating" 1.8, cf. OA **qatlatun*.

The OA short vowels /i/ and /u/ have merged into /ə/ in all positions, e.g. *qəṣṣa* "story; matter" 1.8, cf. OA *qiṣṣatun*, and *šəġəl* "work" 2.2, cf. OA *šuġlun*. An exception from this rule occurs in loan-words from MSA (or we may also say due to influence from MSA), e.g. *qirāʾa* "reading" 2.3, cf. OA *qirāʾatun*, and *muhəm* "important" 2.5, cf. OA *muhimmun*.

The diphthongs /*ay*/ and /*aw*/ appear both as in OA, which means that they are

[5] Jastrow, O. 1978. pp. 34.

[6] Grotzfeld, H. 1965. *Syrisch-Arabische Grammatik, Dialekt von Damaskus*, Wiesbaden, p. 7.

[7] Ibid.

[8] In the first article /*d̲*/ was written as /*d̲*/ and that due to a mistake that I discovered later, after publishing the article. The word where /*d̲*/ should be transcribed as /*ḏ*/ is *mwaḍḍaf* in text 3.8 and in the glossary under ***w***.

[9] According to Behnstedt, map 1, all three interdental fricatives are preserved in Qamishli.

[10] Grotzfeld, H. 1965. p. 7.

preserved, and as monophthongs, e.g. *bayt* "house" 2.4, cf. OA *bayt*^{un} and *ǧbək* "your pocket" 1.6, cf. OA *ǧayb*^{un}, and for /*aw*/, e.g. *yawm* "day" 1.14 and *yōm* "day" 3.4, cf. OA *yawm*^{un}. *šlōn* "how" 2.20 cf. OA **ʾayš-lawn*[11] "what colour".

This dialect shows a feature that is typical of the Mesopotamian Arabic *qəltu* dialects, namely lowering. Lowering, which means a shift of OA long vowels /*ī*/ to /*ē*/ and /*ū*/ to /*ō*/, occurs in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant or /*x*/, /*ġ*/, /*q*/, /*ḥ*/, /*ʿ*/, e.g. *ysēḥu* "they call upon" 1.5, cf. OA *yaṣīḥu* and *sōq* "market" 2.20, cf. OA *sūq*^{un}.[12]

Many grammatical features in this dialect show similarities to the Arabic dialect of Mardin.[13] But one of the important phonological features, namely *imāla*, that is very common in Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialects (qD), is becoming rare and is maybe already totally reversed. For some typical *imāla* words, we find two forms, e.g. *klēb* and *klāb* "dogs" cf. OA *kilāb*^{un} and *rǧēl* and *rǧāl* "men" cf. OA *riǧāl*^{un} but *basātīn* "gardens", where one may expect *bəsētīn*, as is the case in the Arabic dialect of Mardin.[14] The active participle m. sg. of the radicals *brk* shows a trace of *imāla* and that is *bērək* "sitting, unemployed" 2.12 cf. OA *bārik*^{un} "kneeling". Note that the pl. of *bērək* is *bārkīn* 2.32.[15] This leads us to assume that *bārək* and *bērkīn* can also be used.

MORPHOLOGY

The independent personal pronouns:

sg.	*ʾana* 1.1	pl.	*nəḥne* 2.8
	ənte 2.31/ *ʾənta* 3.4		*əntən*[16] 1.15
	ənti		*hənne*
	huwwe 1.8		
	hiyye 2.33		

The pronominal suffix of the 3rd pers. sg. m. is *-hu* after a vowel, e.g. *yḥəṭṭū-hu* "they put him" 3.8 and *-u* after a consonant, e.g. *ḍayyaʿ-u* "he lost it" 1.19.

The demonstrative pronouns:

sg.	*hāda* (m.) "this" 1.12	pl.	*hadōl* (c.) "these" 1.14
	hāy (f.) "this" 2.19		*hadōk* (c.) "those"
	hadāk 2.10/*hadāke* (m.) "that" 2.14		
	hadīk (f.) "that" 2.20		

[11] Jastrow, O. 1978. p. 119.

[12] Jastrow, O. 1978. pp. 63.

[13] Cf. Jastrow, O. 1981. *Die Mesopotamisch-arabischen qəltu-Dialekte, II, Folkskundliche Texte in elf Dialekten.* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 46:1) Wiesbaden: Steiner and Jastrow 1978.

[14] Jastrow, 1978, p. 321.

[15] The macron above the /*a*/ is missing in the text, in my first article, because of a mistake by me.

[16] In the texts even the form *ʾəntən* may occur. This is due to the pronunciation of the informant. But normally the /*ʾ*/ is omitted in initial position. For the same reason one may also find *ənte* and *ʾənta*.

For "there", we find *hawnīk* 2.32 and its long form *hawnīke* 1.9 and for "thus, like this", we find *hēk* 1.17.

The elative in this dialect has the same function and form as in MSA, e.g. *ʾarḫaṣ* "cheaper" 2.14, cf. *ʾarḫaṣᵘ*, and *ʾaṣᶜab* "harder" 2.25, cf. *ʾaṣᶜabᵘ*.

Interrogatives:

ayš/ʾayš "what" 1.8/2.2 cf. OA **ayyu šayʾⁱⁿ*[17]
ayn "where" 1.12
l-ayš "why" 1.14
mīn/məne "who" 3.6 (*mīn* is a loan or influence from DA)
šqadd "how much"
šlōn "how" 2.23
ayna "which" cf. OA **ayyu man*[18]
ēmat "when" cf. OA **ayyu mata*[19]

The enclitic copula is frequently used in the dialect studied here. This copula is marked by the suffixes ***-we*** for m. sg., e.g. *mudīr manṭaqa-**we*** "he is a governor" 1.17, ***-ye*** for f. sg., e.g. *mᶜalme-**ye*** "she is a teacher" and ***-ne*** for c. pl., e.g. *ǧūᶜānīn-**ne*** "they are hungry".

The enclitic particle ***-ze*** is used to mean "also, thus", e.g. *ana-ze* "me too" 2.18, *hadāk-ze* "that also" 2.10. The etymology of *-ze* is **zyēde* < OA *ziyādatᵘⁿ* "increase; addition". A parallel to *-ze* that is worth mentioning is that of Neoaramaic (named Ṭūrōyo by Jastrow) *-ste*, *-sti*. In the Kōsa and Mḥallami dialects the enclitic particle is *-zede*, *-zde*, *-ste*, while in Mardin, the enclitic particle is *-ze* "also".[20]

To express "belonging to" or possession, the genitive exponent with the radicals *tbᶜ* is used:

sg.	*tabaᶜu*	pl.	*tabaᶜən*
	tabaᶜa		*tabaᶜkən*
	tabaᶜək		*tabaᶜna*
	tabaᶜki		
	tabaᶜi		

E.g. *ha-l-məftāḥ tabaᶜa-we* "this is her key", *tabaᶜ məne-we ha-l-qalam?* "whose pen is this?", *ha-l-ᶜəlbe tabaᶜu-ye* "this box is his", *ha-l-maṣāri tabaᶜi-ne* "this money is mine". Note the use of the copula also here.

The most frequent prepositions in this dialect are:

la- "to, for" cf. OA *ila*, e.g. *la-bayt-i* "to, for my house" 2.1, *rāḥ la-ʾAlmānya* "he went to Germany".

ʾila is used to mean " until" when speaking of time or distance as measurement, e.g. *ḫalli-ya msakkara ʾila ma ʾarǧaᶜ* "let it (f.) be closed until I come back" 2.34. In 1.7

[17] Jastrow, 1978. p. 115.
[18] Jastrow, 1978. p. 117.
[19] Jastrow, 1978. p. 121.
[20] Jastrow, 1978. p. 301.

we find this example, *ballaš fi-ni bə-l-boksāt* ***īla*** *ma ʿəğəz* "he started punching me until he got tired". The lengthening of the *ī* here is just to show that it is stressed and that this specific action went on until something arose and interrupted it. In this example it was tiredness that arose.[21]

bi-/bə-/b- "in, on, at" has the same function as *fī* in MSA, while *fī* in this dialect is used as an existential particle, e.g. *bi-sanət ...* "in the year ..." 1.1, *bə-s-səğən* "in jail" 1.10, *qəltu b-qalb-i* "I said to myself (lit. I said in my heart)" 2.2, *bə-ṭ-ṭarīq* "on the road" 1.3. *b-ha-l-ḥāle* "in this condition" 1.12 (for *fī* as an existential particle see below).

ʿala, "on", e.g. *əd-dam hāda nəšəf ʿala ḥwās-i* "this blood had dried on my clothes" 1.13. A short form of *ʿala* which is prefixed to the subsequent word and where the *l* is assimilated to the following sun-letter is more frequent, e.g. *ʿa-š-šəġəl* "to work" 1.3, *rğaʿ ʿa-d-dəkkān* "come back to the shop" 2.35. With the personal suffixes, the forms are *ʿalayu, ʿalaya, ʿalayk, ʿalayki, ʿalay, ʿalayən, ʿalaykən, ʿalayna.*

mən "than" is used in comparative expressions like *ʾakbar mən-ni* "older/larger than me" and also to express "from, of", e.g. *ḫaṣam mən ğəmʿiyət-i ḫaməs lērāt* "he deducted five pounds from my weekly wage" 2.17, *kamaš-ni mən ʾīd-i* "he held (me from) my hand/arm" 1.6.

mšān sometimes pronounced *pšān* "for, to, for the sake of", e.g. *rəḥt ʾaʿabbi mazōt mšān taraktor* "I went to fill up the diesel for the tractor" 1.2, *mšān ət-taqāʿud* "for the pension" 3.4, cf. *mənšān*[22] in Central Syrian Arabic. This preposition is composed of *mən* and *šān*, where *šān*, according to Barthélemy, is derived from the OA root *šʾn*.[23]

The existential particle ***fī*** is used to express "there is/are", e.g. *fī hawnīke šərṭiyyēn* "there are two policemen there" 1.4, *mā fī ḥada yəštəġəl bə-d-dəkkān* "there is no one working in the workshop" 2.31.

VERB INFLECTION

The 1st pers. sg., in the perfect, very often has the ending *-tu*, e.g. *ṭələʿtu* "I left, I went out" 2.1, *dəḫəltu* "I went in" 2.1, *šəftu* "I saw" 2.1, *waqqaftu* "I stayed, stood" 2.2, *qəltu* "I said" 2.2. This is, as we know, one of the major features that characterise the Mesopotamian qD. But due to the influence from DA, through e.g. television and radio, we can find forms ending just in *-t*, e.g. *rəḥt* "I went" 1.2, *ʾaḫat* "I took" 3.1, cf. OA *ʾaḫaḏtu*.

The 3rd pers. pl. imperfect forms normally have the ending *-u*, e.g. *ysēḥu* "they call upon" 1.5, *yəṭləbu* "they ask, demand" 1.5, *yqūlu* "they say" 1.10. But in some

[21] Actually the informant pronounced the /i/ in this example extra long in an attempt to tell me that he was punched for a long time. One way to mark this lengthening in the transcription could be a rendering of three /i/s, *iiila*. However, this way of rendering long and/or stressed vowels could lead to misunderstanding.
[22] Grotzfeld, H. 1965. p. 168.
[23] Barthélemy, A. 1935. *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français, Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*, Paris, p. 802.

instances we find, in conformity with the dialect of Mardin, the ending *-n*, e.g. *yəḥkawn* "they talk, they say" 1.8, *yəftaḥūn* "they open" 3.5.

There are two vowel patterns for the strong verb in stem I, *-a-a-* and *-ə-ə-*. Below, the full paradigms of the strong verbs *qatal* "to kill" and *šərəb* "to drink" are given:

Perfect		*qatal*	*šərəb*	Imperfect	*yəqtəl*	*yəšrab*
		qatalət	*šərbət*		*təqtəl*	*təšrab*
		qatalt	*šərəbt*		*təqtəl*	*təšrab*
		qatalti	*šərəbti*		*təqtəli*	*təšrabi*
		qataltu	*šərəbtu*		*aqtəl*	*ašrab*
		qatalu	*šərbu*		*yəqtəlu*	*yəšrabu*
		qataltən	*šərəbtən*		*təqtəlu*	*təšrabu*
		qatalna	*šərəbna*		*nəqtəl*	*nəšrab*
Imperative	m. sg.	*qtəl*	*šrab*			
	f. sg.	*qtəli*	*šrabi*			
	c. pl.	*qtəlu*	*šrabu*			
Part. act.	m. sg.	*qātəl*	*šārəb*			
	f. sg.	*qātle*	*šārbe*			
	c. pl.	*qātlīn*	*šārbīn*			
Part. pass.	m. sg.	*maqtūl*	*mašrūb*			
	f. sg.	*maqtūle*	*mašrūbe*			
	c. pl.	*maqtūlīn*	*mašrūbīn*			

The forms of the derived verb stems are given below:

Stem	Perf.	Imperf.	Imper. 2 m. sg.	Part. act.	Part. pas.	
II	*fakkar*	*yfakkər*	*fakkər*	*mfakkər*	*mfakkar*	"to think"
III	*hāğar*	*yhāğər*	*hāğər*	*mhāğər*	*mhāğar*	"to emigrate"
IV	*ʾaḍrab*	*yʾaḍrəb*	*ʾaḍrəb*	*mʾaḍrəb*	*mʾaḍrab*	"to go on strike"
V	*tsakkar*	*yətsakkar*	*tsakkar*	...	...	"to be closed"
VI	*twāḍaʿ*	*yətwāḍaʿ*	*twāḍaʿ*	*mətwāḍəʿ*	*mətwāḍaʿ*	"to be humble"
VII	*nzaʿağ*	*yənzəʿəğ*	*nzəʿəğ*	*mənzəʿəğ*	...	"to be irritated"
VIII	*štaġal*	*yəštəġəl*	*štəġəl*	...	*məštaġal*	"to work"
IX	*ḥmarr*	*yəḥmarr*	*ḥmarr*	*məḥmarr*	...	"to become red"
X	*staʿmal*	*yəstaʿməl*	*staʿməl*	*məstaʿməl*	*məstaʿmal*	"to use"

The dialect studied here is influenced by the Arabic dialect of Damascus. This influence can be explained by the huge amount of television programs reaching almost everyone. It is also more prestigious to show that you can speak the dialect of the capital. Another reason for this influence is the direct contact with people originating from Damascus in Qamishli, e.g. government officials who were appointed by the government in almost every important official service. This phenomenon is quite clear in text 3, where a government official is involved, e.g. *ʾana b-aqḍar halla ʾaḥallī-k tsīr* ... lit. "I can now let you become ...". What one expects in this dialect is that mediæ *yāʾ* will take an *ē* in the imperfect, so that *tsīr* is expected to be pronounced *tsēr*. Another feature of influence is the present marker *b-*, which is prefixed to the imperfect in DA. In our texts we find several examples of this *b*-imperfect, e.g. *mā b-təstəḥi?* "are you (m. sg.) not ashamed" 3.6, *b-aqḍar* "I can, I am able to" 3.7, *b-yəḥkaw* "they speak" 2.2. This *b-* imperfect occurs normally, in the Arabic dialect of Qamishli, only in the phrase *b-aʿrəf* "I know" and *mā b-aʿrəf* "I do not know" 2.3 and only in the 1st pers. sg. This is a set phrase that, most probably, was

borrowed from the dialect of the capital. In all other cases, it is a direct influence, cf. summary below.

There is no difference in form and pronunciation between the direct and the indirect verbal object suffixes when considering these two examples, *yəḍrəb-ni* "he hits me" 2.3 and *farğā-ni l-ktāb* "he showed me the book" or "he showed the book to me", where *-ni* in the second example is an indirect object suffix for 1st pers. c. sg. Nevertheless, the indirect object suffix can also be expressed by *-l* + the personal ending, e.g. *yəʿmal-l-i l-waraqa* "he arranges the paper for me" 3.1, *ḥtafaz-l-i b-ʾaṣābīʿ-i* "he preserved/kept my fingers for me" 2.28. The table below shows in the first column the direct object suffix suffixed to a consonant and in the middle column suffixed to a vowel. In the third column, the direct object suffix, *-l-*, is shown. *-l-* has the same form both when suffixed to a consonant and to a vowel.

	qatal -C	*raḍḍa* -V	-C/-V
3 m. sg.	*qatal-u*	*raḍḍā-hu*	*yəʿmal-l-u*
3 f. sg.	*qatal-a*	*raḍḍā-ha*	*yəʿmal-l-a*
2 m. sg.	*qatal-ək*	*raḍḍā-k*	*yəʿmal-l-ək*
2 f. sg.	*qatal-ki*	*raḍḍā-ki*	*yəʿmal-l-ki*
1 c. sg.	*qatal-ni*	*raḍḍā-ni*	*yəʿmal-l-i*
3 c. pl.	*qatal-ən*	*raḍḍā-hən*	*yəʿmal-l-ən*
2 c. pl.	*qatal-kən*	*raḍḍā-kən*	*yəʿmal-l-kən*
1 c. pl.	*qatal-na*	*raḍḍā-na*	*yəʿmal-l-na*

SOME SYNTACTICAL OBSERVATIONS

Two verb modifiers are of special interest here, *ʿam* < **ʿammāl*[24] indicates a progressive aspect, e.g. *hāy məškəle ʿam tsīr ktīr ktīr* "this is a problem that occurs very often" 3.8, *əl-walad ʿam yākəl* "the boy is eating" and *kwā, kyā, knā,* e.g. *kwā yəšrab mayy* "here he is drinking water", *kyā təqra* "here she is reading" and *knā yġannaw* "here they are singing". *kwā, kyā* and *knā* are called "demonstrative copula" by Jastrow.[25] *kwā* and *ʿam* can be combined in one sentence, e.g. *kwā ʿam yəštəġəl* "here he is working".

The basic form of the relative pronoun is *əlli*, e.g. *ha-l-ʿālam əlli ʿam ysāfru* "these people that emigrate" 2.39. When the preceding word ends in a vowel and the following begins with a consonant the relative pronoun is reduced to *li*, e.g. *mʿalləm-i li-kān yəštəġəl ḥəddād* "my master who was a smith" 2.23.

In this dialect the use of the adjective *ktīr* varies depending on what one means: *ktīr* means "a lot, much" 3.5, *ktīr ktīr* means "very much" 2.7, *ktīr ktīr ktīr* "very very much" 2.37. However, the last example is not very common. There is another way of expressing "very much or very very much" and that is by extra lengthening and stressing the /ī/, e.g. *ktiiir*.

In negating verbal clauses, *mā* serves as a negation of the perfect and imperfect, e.g. *mā b-aʿrəf* "I do not know" 1.9, *mā darast* "you did not study" 2.4. For nominal clauses, *mō* (< **mā-hū* "he is not") is used for negation, e.g. *mō ʿayb ʿalayk?* "shame

[24] Barthélemy, A. 1935. p. 551.
[25] Jastrow, 1978. p.139.

on you! lit. "is it not shame on you" 3.6, *mō məškəle hāy* "this is not a problem" 2.19. The informant of text 3 uses *mō* for negating the imperfect, e.g. *mō yəktəb-əl-na mō yəʿmal-əl-na hiyye* "he will not write it (and) he will not do it for us". Bearing in mind that this is a 73-year-old lady who was born in Midyat we find it natural that her speech still contains substratum from the Anatolian Arabic, since *mō* is the particle used for negating the imperfect in some of these dialects, for instance, the Arabic dialect of Mardin.[26]

lā is used in negating two sentences, like *neither...nor* in English, e.g. *lā qal-li ʾayš tsawi ʾayš mā tsawi* lit. "he did not ask me what do you do or what do you not do" 2.20. *lā* is also used to negate the imperative, e.g. *lā baqa trōḥ la-ʿənd-u* "do not go to him any more" 2.18.

SUMMARY

Many features in the Arabic dialect of Qamishli indicate an affinity with a *qəltu* dialect that belongs to the Arabic dialect of Mardin or the Mardin subgroup:[27]

– Preservation of OA /ǧ/
– Preservation of OA /q/
– Merge of OA /i/ and /u/ into /ə/
– Ending *-tu* in the 1st person c. sg. perfect
– Traces of an *-n* ending in the 3rd pers. pl. imperfect
– Indirect object suffix *-l-ən* "to, for them"

We know by now that influence from DA has affected the Aarabic dialect of Qamishli in many aspects. This influence in combination with traces of the Arabic dialect of Mardin, puts this Arabic dialect of Qamishli in an in-between position or maybe we can also say a transitional state. This can be shown by the following phonological and morphological features.

– The OA interdentals /ṯ/ and /ḏ/ have three reflexes each and the interdental /ḍ/ has two reflexes. These interdentals are preserved in the Arabic dialect of Mardin, while in DA they have two reflexes each, /ṯ/ > /t/ and /s/, /ḏ/ > /d/ and /z/ and /ḍ̣/ > /ḍ/ and /ẓ/.[28]

– The diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ have two reflexes each, namely /ay/ > /ay/ and /ay/ > /ē/ and /aw/ > /aw/ and /aw/ > /ō/. Once again, we see that we have two forms, where the first, preservation, represents the Arabic of Mardin and the second, monophthongization, represent DA.

–The loss or reverse of *imāla* is a major change in this dialect. As we have learned above, we have two forms of typical *imāla* words, e.g. *klēb* and *klāb* and *rǧēl* and *rǧāl,* but *basātīn* and not *bəsētīn* as one may have expected.

– The omission of the last *-u* in the 1st pers. sg. perfect, in some instances, is another

[26] Jastrow, 1978. p. 324.
[27] Jastrow, 1978. pp. 5 ff.
[28] Grotzfeld, 1965, p.7.

important feature of influence from DA, e.g. *rəḥt* and *ʾaḥat*. This feature is not widely used yet, but it tells us something about the direction of the change.

– The increasing use of *b-* imperfect is a typical phenomenon when talking to government officials, as in text 3, e.g. *b-təstəḥi* and *b-aqḍar*. It is worth pointing out that this phenomenon occurs often when talking to foreigners, people who one thinks are not from Qamishli. It is a way of showing a higher status.

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Arabic Loans in Swahili

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Quite a lot has been written on the history of Arabic, Arabs and Islam in eastern Africa, their influence on the peoples, languages and cultures of the region, and the status of Arabic and Islam there. Particular attention has been paid to the impact of Arabic on Swahili, the most widely spread indigenous African language south of the Sahara.[1] Emphasis in this essay has been laid on the question of Arabic loan verbs and their extensions in Swahili.

ARABIC LEXICAL LOANS IN SWAHILI

Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:321) rightly claim that "(t)he most visible sign of outside encroachment in Swahili is in lexis, and the largest identifiable set of borrowed lexis almost certainly stems from Omani Arabic in the last three centuries or so". Reinhardt (1894) has given an excellent description of this Omani Arabic dialect as spoken in East Africa during the peak years of Omani dominance there.[2]

The most exhaustive study of Arabic loans in Swahili is by Bosha (1993), one of the few researchers on the subject who are native speakers of Arabic. The studies undertaken so far on the influence of Arabic and/or Arabic loans in Swahili have concentrated on the loans as such, and on suggesting etymologies of mostly nouns (Krapf 1882, Krumm 1932 and 1940, Zawawi 1979). Relatively much has been written on the Swahili–Arabic script (e.g. Velten 1901, Allen 1945 and 1970, Polomé 1967, Imberg 1975). Those few who have attempted to give the etymologies of Arabic verbs have in some cases given the wrong Arabic verb form (VF) as the immediate source (e.g. Johnson 1939, Sacleux 1939). Arabic has 15 different verb forms. Swahili has borrowed from several of these verb forms. Imberg (1975) pointed out these shortcomings in his essay, and McCall (1969) in his long article a few years earlier analysed Krumm's classical work on Oriental loans (nouns) from a sociological and historical perspective on borrowing.

ARABIC NOMINAL LOANS

A large number of Swahili nouns are derived from Arabic roots. A very common way of producing Swahili lexis is to borrow the various forms already existing in

[1] For details see Baldi 1976 and 1988, Bennett 1978, Effat 1996 and 1997, Kettani 1982, Lodhi 1986*a*, 1986*b*, 1992*c*, 1994*a*, and 1994*b*, Lodhi and Westerlund 1999, Polomé 1967, Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993, Tucker 1946 and 1947, Wald 1985 and Whiteley 1967 and 1969.

[2] All the Arabic loans included in this essay are taken from the Swahili dictionaries mentioned in the bibliography. To determine the exact etymology of the Arabic loans in Swahili or their original forms is beyond the scope of this paper.

Arabic and swahilize them with an anaptyctic or epenthetic vowel (Polomé 1967: 166–176, Cassels 1984), e.g.

hisabu/hesabu (counting, accounts) > *mahisabu* (figures),
> *hisabati* (mathematics)
haraka (hurry), *harakati* (struggle)
safiri (to travel), *msafiri* (traveller), *safari* (a journey),
msafara (caravan)
fikiri (to think), *fikira/fikra* (thought), *fikara* (worries),
tafkira (reflections) .

ARABIC BROKEN PLURALS

Arabic broken plurals are also found as loans in Swahili, though few in number, as synonyms of swahilized plurals, e.g.

Swahilized singular	Swahilized plural	Arabic broken plural loan
binti (daughter)	*mabinti*	*banati*
sahaba (companion)	*masahaba*	*as-haba* (companions of the Prophet Muhammad)
sahibu (friend)	*masahibu*	*as-habu*
walad (child, boy)	*mawaladi*	*awlad*
	uladi (descendants)	

A small number of Arabic plurals also appear as singular nouns in Swahili and are pluralised as Bantu roots or stems, e.g. *muhajirina*, *mhajirina* (refugee), *mshirikina* (one believing in superstition, magic, etc.) and *mhifadhina* (conservative). Alternatively, some singular Arabic nouns are treated as plural and singular forms are derived from them, e.g. from Arabic 'mismār' (nail, pin) > Swahili *misumari* (pl.) > *msumari* (sing.).

ARABIC ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVAL PHRASES

"In Swahili there are few words which may be termed 'Adjectives'. There are, however, many ways of expressing an adjectival concept" (Ashton 1944:46).

Swahili adjectives of Arabic origin outnumber those of Bantu origin. Many of them are borrowed in the adjectival form whereas others are constructed or derived. Loans such as *dhaifu* (weak), *ghali* (expensive), *huru* (free), *laini* (soft), *maskini* (poor), *nadhifu* (pure), *safi* (clean) and about 50 more items belong to the first category. These are not inflected as is the case with the Bantu adjectives. Constructed or derived adjectives such as *-aminifu* (reliable, honest < *kuamini* to believe in, to trust) and *-badhirifu* (extravagant, prodigal < *kubadhiri* to squander, to waste) belong to the second, lesser category. Others are constructed from nouns, e.g. *fakiri* (a pauper) > *fukara* (poor). However, numerous other adjectival concepts are expressed by phrases constructed with swahilized roots of Arabic origin, e.g.

(*a*) Phrases based on the *-a* of relationship:

mtu wa haki (a just man) *-a* + noun
maneno ya kutibu (soothing words) *-a* + *ku*-infinitive
mlango wa saba (the seventh door) *-a* + cardinal number
nyumba za zamani (old buildings) *-a* + adverb

(*b*) Participle phrases based on the *-o* of reference as a relative particle:
gari iliyoharibika (a broken-down car)
vijana wasalitikao (infatuated young people)

(*c*) Using the possessive particle *-enye* (having) + obj.:
(mtu) mwenye mali (one having wealth, a wealthy person)
mti mwenye maradhi (a tree having sickness, a sick tree)

(*d*) Using other nouns:
watu tajiri (rich people)
mtawala dhalimu (oppressive ruler)

A large number of these loans (together with other Oriental and European loans) have been borrowed from Swahili into many other languages of Eastern Africa as indirect loans (Mbaabu 1985:49–53).

ARABIC LOAN VERBS AND THEIR EXTENSION IN SWAHILI

In the Bantu languages of East Africa in general, many prepositional concepts are expressed by the use of the so called Prepositional or Applied Form where in English prepositions are used (Ashton 1944, Polomé 1967, Lodhi 1985, Lodhi and Otterbrandt 1987). Frequently in Swahili and neighbouring languages, such prepositional verbs are derived from Arabic roots, e.g.

Watoto walituimbia nyimbo. The children sang songs to/for us.
kuimba (to sing), *kuimbia* (to sing to/for)

Simba amlimhurumia Panya. Lion showed pity on Mouse.
huruma (pity, compassion < Arabic), *kuhurumia* (to pity/have pity on)

The Swahili noun *huruma* is of Arabic origin (a metathetic form of *rehema* or *ruhuma*); and many prepositional verbs are derived also from adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs of Arabic origin, e.g.

safi/*swafi* (clean/clear) > *kusafisha* (to clean/clear) > *kusafishia* (to clean/clear with/for)

kusafiri (to travel) > *kusafiria* (to travel by)

kusafiri > *kusafirisha* (to transport/export) > *kusafirishia* (to transport/export by/with)

All Arabic loan verbs in Swahili are productive, i.e. they have one or more derivative or extended forms. There are no linguistic constraints on their extension, the only restrictions being semantic or logical.

(a) *Arabic loan verbs can be extended from swahilized nouns:*

hesabu (accounts/accounting) > *-hesabu* (to count) > *-hesabia* (to count for/with) > *-hesabika* (to be counted) > *-hesabisha* (to cause to be counted)[3]

Other examples of derivations from nouns formed from Arabic roots and taken randomly from *KAMUSI* (1981), are the following:

adabu (good manners) > *-adibu* (teach good manners) > *-adibika* (be good mannered) > *-adibisha* (make/force someone to learn good manners)

adhabu (punishment) > *-adhibu* (punish) > *-adhibika* (be punished) > *-adhibisha* (cause someone to be punished)

adili (righteous conduct) > *-adilika* (to receive moral training) > *-adilisha* (teach good morality)

dhamira, dhamiri (real intention) > *-dhamiri, -dhamiria* (intend seriously)

fikara/fikira (thought) > *-fikiri* (think) > *-fikiria* (consider) > *-fikirika* (be conceivable)

hamasa (enthusiasm) > *-hamasisha* (encourage)

jeraha (wound, physical damage) > *-jeruhi* (to wound)

safara/safari (caravan/journey) > *-safiri* (to travel) > *-safiria* (travel by/with/through) > *-safirisha* (to transport/export)

(b) *Derivations from Arabic adverbs are also possible:*

zaidi (more) > *-zidi* (to increase, intransitive) > *-zidisha* (to increase, transitive; cf. the noun *ziada*, increase/increment)

makusudi (intentionally) > *-kusudia* (to intend), from the swahilized singular noun form *kusudi* (intention) > *-kusudisha* (to insinuate)

(c) *There are also some derivations from Arabic adjectives:*

dhahiri (open/obvious) > *-dhihirisha* (show/demonstrate) > *-dhihirika* (be shown/disclosed)

bora (better) > *-boresha* (improve) > *-boreka* (be improved)

fukara (poor) > *-fukarisha* (impoverish) > *-fukarika* (be impoverished)

imara (strong) > *-imarisha* (strengthen/fortify) > *-imarika* (be strengthened)

safi (clean) > *-safisha* (to clean) > *-safishika* (be cleaned, become clean)

Arabic loans such as *dhahiri* and *bora* appear both as adjectives and as adverbs in Swahili. Other loans appear as both adjectives and nouns, e.g.

[3] This can be compared with the English noun/verb "record" > Swahili rekodi/rikodi (a/to record).

dhalimu (tyrannical; a tyrant) (cf. swahilized synonyms/nouns *mdhalimu*, pl. *wadhalimu*) > *-dhulumu* (tyrannize)

tajiri (rich/wealthy; trader/employer, swahilized pl. *matajiri*) > *-tajirika* (become wealthy) > *-tajirisha* (enrich)

The Arabic loanword *maskini* (poor; a pauper, beggar) giving rise to the verb *-maskinisha* (to impoverish), is one of the many recent derivatives met with in spoken Swahili, but they have not yet been standardised by the National Swahili Council (Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa/BAKITA). Single-word causative neologisms of this type, instead of phrases, abound in the language, especially in the modern usage which has to meet the increasing demands of modern technology, science and socio-politico-economic developments, e.g. *bora* (better, best) > *-boresha* (improve), *taifa* (nation) > *-taifisha* (to nationalize), *Kiswahili* (Swahili) > *-swahilisha* (to swahilize), *huru* (free) > *-hurisha* (to free/liberate), *hai* (alive) > *huisha* (to nurture/keep alive), *-staafu* (to retire, intransitive) > *-staafisha* (to make someone retire). Similarly, all such derived verbs may have a passive form, e.g. *-taifishwa* (to be nationalized), *-safishwa* (to be cleaned), *-boreshwa* (to be improved), *-staafishwa* (to be retired) and *-fukarishwa* (to be impoverished).

(d) *Swahili words may be derived from Arabic verbs in several ways. Some possibilities are as follows:*

ijṯahāḍa (Arabic Verb Form VIII Perfect)
Verb > verb > *-jitahidi* (to make an effort, to struggle)
Verb > noun > *jitahada* (effort, struggle)

ijṯihāḍ (Arabic Verb Form VIII Infinitive)
Verb > verb > *-jitihadi* (to struggle/try hard)
Verb > noun > *jitihadi/jitihada* (great effort, hard struggle)

There are other patterns of verbal derivation from Arabic elements such as

Verb > noun > verb (*intihan*, Arabic Verb Form VIII Infinitive)
mtihani (examination) > *-tahini* (to examine) > *-tahiniwa* (to be examined).

There are also several cases of swahilized Arabic verbs producing nouns:

-tahini (to examine) > *mtahini* (examiner), *mtahiniwa* (examinee).

The Arabic root 'jahada' also produces in modern standard written Swahili the noun *juhudi* (efforts) and in colloquial Swahili the derivative verbs *-juhudia* (to make an extra effort) and *-juhudisha* (to help/make someone to try hard), again not standardised yet. The Swahili verb *-jitahidi* (to struggle, to make an effort) is wrongly extended in Swahili by some non-native speakers of Swahili to produce a causative form in which the Arabic syllable *-ji-* is treated as the Swahili reflexive prefix, i.e. *-jitahidisha as in the following Swahili sentence of one Chagga-speaking informant from the Kilimanjaro region, "*Anajitahidisha *mwenyewe kuendesha maisha,*

atawezaje kuwasaidia watoto wa kaka yake? " (He himself is struggling hard to survive; how can he help the children of his elder brother?). The Swahili verb root *-jitahidi* has not yet been reduced to *-tahidi, and therefore the reduced causative verb *-tahidisha and the reflexive verb *-jitahidisha do not exist in the usage of first language speakers of Swahili.

Among a flora of extensions of non-native and non-standard Swahili verbs of Arabic origin is the reflexive causative *-jibidiisha (to force onself to make a great effort) derived from the noun *bidii* (effort, struggle), met with several times in the Swahili usage of the above informant, who like many other educated second language speakers of Swahili in East Africa could not distinguish between the very common Arabic loans *ahadi* (promise in general) and *miadi* (promise of meeting with reference to a particular time and place). A hybrid form *mhadi with the denotation of *miadi* was also met with in the Swahili usage of three Chagga speakers.

A couple of dozen Arabic verbs of different forms with the Arabic prefix *ta-* of Verb Form V are also found in both written and spoken Swahili. Some of these are also used as imperatives e.g. *Taaddab!*, *Taadabu!* (Watch your tongue! Don't be impolite!) and *Tahadhari!* (Be careful!).

-taadabu (be polite, also *-adibu*, *-adibisha*, make someone be polite, teach good manners)
-taadhimu (glorify, also *-adhimu*, *-adhimisha*)
-taakhari (to delay, also *-akhirisha*/*-ahirisha*)
-tabaruku (obtain/seek blessings, also *-bariki*)
-tafakari/*tafakuri* (think/consider, also *-fikiri*)
-tafsiri (translate, also *-fasiri*, and, as noun, translation)
-tahadhari (to be careful/alert)
-taharuki (to hurry, normally *-fanya haraka*, lit. to make haste)
-tahkiki (inquire/edit, also *-hakiki*, *-hakikisha*, also as a noun, inquiry, editing)
-taflisi (go bankrupt, also *-filisika*, *-filisi*/*-filisisha*, make someone go bankrupt, also, as a noun, bankruptcy)
Tafadhali! (Please!, Be nice! extended to *-tafadhalisha*, *-tafadhalika*)
-tarakimu (prepare figures/statistics, also as a noun, figures, statistics). This loan also has synonyms, i.e. *-rakimu* (to calculate) and *rakamu* (arithmetical figure, final figure, sum-total)
-tathmini (evaluate, also *-thamini*; also as a noun, i.e. evaluation, estimation)

There are also about twenty Swahili verbs formed from the Arabic Verb Form X (*istaf'ala*) with the Arabic prefix **sta**- (stative):

-staajabu (be astonished)
-staafu (retire)
-staarabika (to be cultivated/cultured < Arabic *st'ārab*)
-staftahi (eat breakfast, also noun)
-stahamali (to be patient, have patience, also *-stahimili*, *-himili*, also noun)
-stakabadhi (hand over, submit something to someone, also *kabidhi*, used also as a noun meaning "receipt')
-starehe (enjoy, also noun)

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Swahili and other Bantu languages of East Africa consulted for this research show current examples of both paratactic and hypotactic constructions with conjunctions and prepositions. The hypotaxis is preferred in both literary and colloquial Swahili and in many other Bantu languages of eastern Africa which borrow freely from Swahili. In all the three cases of structures with adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions, there is a marked tendency to use first Bantu constructions, followed by Arabic–Bantu phrases to be finally reduced to Arabic independent function words – this advanced use of Arabic loans simplifies Bantu syntax by reducing subordinate clauses to infinitive phrases (Lodhi 1994*a*).

There is an abundance of Arabic grammatical or structural loans in Swahili, however, syntactic Arabic intrusion in Swahili is not a widespread phenomenon, since it is limited to a few structures only in Swahili and other Bantu languages of the region, where no Arabic-based pidgin or creole variants, such as those in the southern Sudan (Thomason 1996:125–172), have developed. Swahili borrowed three new vowel sequences (*ai*, *au*, *ei*) and several consonants (*th*, *dh*, *kh*, *gh*) and consonantal combinations (*st*, *sht*) from Arabic, "But Swahili had if anything a substrate relationship to Arabic, and all these features are simply borrowed" (Nurse 1996:280). Nurse (1996:291) further concludes:

"(iv) The structures of Swahili cannot be shown to result from significant linguistic contact between Arabic speakers and Bantu speakers.

(v) Even in later periods it cannot be shown that Arabic speakers played any direct role in restructuring Swahili. The Arabic contribution to Swahili dates mainly from the last four centuries and is primarily lexical, with a limited number of nonlexical features having been introduced via the lexis. Although many of the nineteenth-century plantations were owned by Arabs, and led to conditions in which pidgins could well have existed, Swahili would have been the target language, and direct Arabic presence was probably minimal."[4]

In the 1860s, at the peak of the period of plantation economy based on imported slave labour, the working class population in Zanzibar Town consisting of both "free Swahili and slaves" was so integrated socially and linguistically that "it had become extremely difficult to make a distinction between them" (Sheriff 1987:149, referring to Menon 1978:43). Swahili was the target language of the slave population also, hence little "re-Bantuization" of Swahili took place in Zanzibar. It was in the interest of both the Arabic speakers and the Bantu speakers to maintain, or even develop further, the simplification of Swahili structures.

Though, among non-native speakers of Swahili, especially Christians and/or people away from the Swahili coast, there has always been a "tendency to use Bantu words which usually are cognate with the inland vernacular in which the Swahili speaker received his first education or with the Bantu languages which he currently uses in his narrow tribal circle" (Polomé 1967:166). There is no longer any con-

[4] Compare this with Mpiranya's (1995) arguments in favour of Persian influences in Swahili.

scious negative attitude developing towards Arabic elements of Swahili; on the contrary, Arabic continues to make important contributions to the development of the modern Swahili lexicon, and indirectly the lexicon of many other languages of eastern Africa.

Arabic is unique in this respect since the other major contributor languages in East Africa which came from the Indian Ocean (Persian, Cutchi/Sindhi, Gujarati, English and Portuguese) have contributed mostly nominals – there are less than 10 Standard Swahili verbs of English origin, and a few from the other contributor languages mentioned here, e.g. from Indic *kuchapa* (to print), with the applied form *kuchapia* and the causative *kuchapisha*, the rarely used verbs *kupinya* (to gin/work with cotton) and *kujangia* (to whisk), the imperatives *Aste!* (Slow down!), *Jao!* (Get lost!) and *Chup!/Chub!* (Quiet!, Shut up!), and the reduplicated adverb *aste-aste* (slowly, very slowly, carefully), from Persian *kusefidi* (to whiten, to polish) and the Arabic–Persian *Habedari!* (Look out! from *xabar-dār*!), commonly found in Iran and the Indian sub-continent.

Swahili has borrowed very few adverbs, adjectives, conjunctions or prepositions from languages other than Arabic, and this phenomenon has not been thoroughly studied yet.[5]

It would not be too sweeping a statement to suggest that in theory it is perfectly legitimate to use in Swahili any Arabic word of any word-class, because "Arabic is the 'Latin' of Swahili. And Persian was the 'Greek' in the past!"[6] However, it is English which is the largest contributor to Swahili today, but its contribution is limited to nominals belonging primarily to the fields of modern technology and science (Lodhi 1986*a*:256–260).

In East Africa, Arabic has never been more important than it is today when Arabic items in Swahili are increasing and are being automatically loaned into most other languages of the region (Polomé 1980, Lodhi 1986a Maina 1987). Arabic items in Swahili have not been properly documented or satisfactorily analysed in spite of several existing studies in this field (Krumm 1940, Ružička 1953, Imberg 1973 and 1977, Zawawi 1979, Cassels 1984, Bosha 1993).

However, Arabic loans are both important and popular. Some of the many hundreds of recent terms approved by the National Swahili Council are *mhifadhina* (reactionary), *msamiati* (vocabulary), *wakala* (bill of ladding), *mwakilishi* (elected representative), *dhidi ya* (against), *thaura* (political revolution), *mpinga-thaura* (counter-revolutionary) and *harakati ya tabaka* (class struggle) (Bosha 1993). These contributions have been by Swahili experts with Muslim backgrounds and knowledge of Arabic. Swahili lexicography necessitates at least a working knowledge of Arabic, especially when one does not have the Muslim background.[7]

The language typology in Tanzania and Kenya shows that Arabic appears in bilingual, trilingual, quadrilingual and plurilingual situations – seldom in monolingual!

[5] For details on Arabic structural loans, Arabic grammatical intrusion and Arabic-influenced hypotactic structures in Swahili, see Wald 1985, Lodhi 1994b and 2000:91–122.

[6] Lodhi (1994*b*:72) and M. H. Abdulaziz in his keynote address to the 2nd World Congress of African Linguistics, Leipzig, August 1997.

[7] See J. W. T. Allen (1945).

Until about three decades ago Arabic appeared in some multilingual shop notices, together with English, Gujarati and Swahili (Polomé 1980). Arabic has completely disappeared from auctions and marketplaces, and Arabisms such as *arbata-ashara* (fourteen), *khamso-ishirin* (twentyfive) and *sitaa-alf* (six thousand) have been replaced by the original Swahili or swahilized Arabic terms *kumi na nne*, *ishirini na tano* and *elfu sita* respectively. In the middle of the 1960s Arabic terms such as these were frequently used in the auctions just as Hindi/Urdu terms such as *do chai* (two teas) and *tiin kafi* (three coffees) were used in many restaurants

The efforts to encourage Swahilization in Tanzania and Kenya and to limit borrowing from English – except for stabilised anglicizations like *kesi* (case) and *kuripoti* (to report) – have increased drastically the number and frequency of both direct and indirect Arabic loans in East Africa, and in some cases even established English loans have been replaced with Arabic, Arabic–Bantu or purely Bantu elements in the fields of administration, law, mechanics and even Christian theology (*KAMUSI* 1981).

To the East Africans, Arabic is not only a foreign colonial language like English, but it is also, unlike English, an integral part of the Swahili language, literature and culture in general. Most Arabic loans are not considered foreign because of their high frequency and commonness. In the light of this fact, a positive change in the attitude to Arabic has been observed in recent years.

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Die koptischen Drachentöter als Lebensretter

OTTO MEINARDUS, Ellerau

I. DER DRACHE ALS ABBILD DES BÖSEN

Während der Drache in China das männliche Yang als schöpferische Himmelspotenz repräsentiert und dem Wasser und damit auch dem weiblichen Yin nahesteht, ist der Drache in den Religionen und Mythen des Vorderen Orients Symbol der Finsternis, des Bösen, der Nacht, für Drangsale und Plagen aller Art.

Die griechischen Göttersagen kennen zahlreiche Drachenkämpfe, wie z.B. Zeus gegen den 100-Drachenköpfigen Typhon, Apollon gegen den in Delphi hausenden Drachen Python, Herakles gegen die in den Sümpfen bei Lerna (Argolis) hausende Hydra oder der Kampf des korinthischen Sagenheldes Bellerophon gegen die feuerschnaubende Chimaira. Drachen spielen in der hellenischen Mythologie eine zentrale Rolle. Da gibt es die Drachen der Demeter, des Triptolemos, der Athena, die heiligen Schlangen des Asklepios und Trophonios die ebenfalls Drachen sind, wie auch jene der *cista mystica*.

Für die Ägypter wurde der Kampf des Guten gegen das Böse durch den Streit des Horus gegen Seth dargestellt, der in der Gestalt eines Fabeltiers mit krummer Schnauze, eckigen aufrechten Ohren und pfeilartigem, nach oben gerichteten Schwanz, auftritt. Noch in hellenistischer Zeit hatte Ptolemaios IV. Philopater den Erfolg bei Raphia 217 über Antiochus IV. von Syrien als Sieg des Horus-Königs über Seth verstanden.

II. DIE KOPTISCHEN DRACHENTÖTER

Eine direkte Kultübertragung des alt-ägyptischen Horus-Seth Kampfes auf das Bild der Überwindung des Drachen durch die Reiterheiligen der koptischen Kirche ist allein schon aufgrund der über 1000-jährigen Zeitdifferenz äusserst unwahrscheinlich. Es wäre auch fraglich ob die religiösen Charakterbilder der vorchristlichen „göttlichen Familie" von Horus und seinem Onkel Seth die Darstellungen der mittelalterlichen Drachentöter inspirierten.

Eine der ältesten koptischen Darstellungen eines Reiterheiligen zeigt Sisinnios (28. Baramudah) im Kampf mit seiner vor den Füssen des Pferdes liegenden Schwester Alabasdria die vom Satan befallen war. In der rechten oberen Ecke ist Alabasdrias Tochter mit Flügeln und mit dem Unterleib einer Meeresjungfrau und ein Kentaur mit einer Harpune (Kapelle 17, Bawit, 6. Jh.) (Abb. 1).

Es ist schon bemerkenswert, dass die Kopten denen es als *dhimmi* unter islamischer Herrschaft u.a. verboten war auf Pferden zu reiten, ganz bewusst ihre Heiligen in Reitergestalt als potentielle Drachentöter darstellten. Der Reiterheilige als Offizier und als achtungsgebietende Persönlichkeit symbolisiert seinen Kampf und Sieg über die Mächte des Bösen. Als solcher besitzt der Reiterheilige für die Kopten

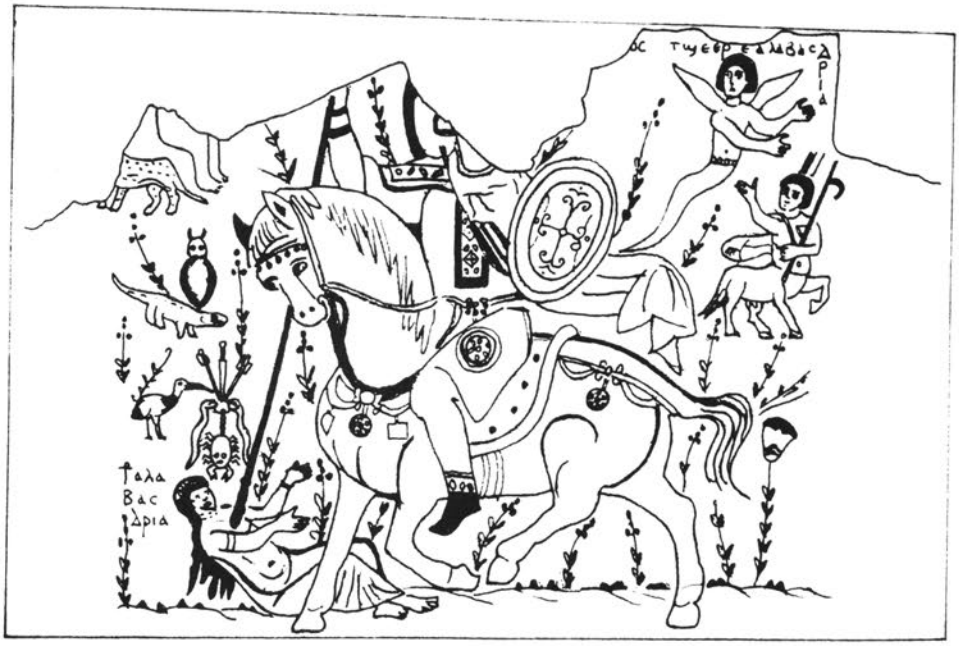

Abb. 1. St. Sissinios, Bawit (6./7. Jh.).

apotropäische Kräfte. Deutlich wird die Umgestaltung vieler koptischer Märtyrer aus dem 4. Jh. in mittelalterliche Reiterheilige bei dem populären Familien-Zyklus der Basiliden oder bei den beliebten Martyrologien des Julius von Aqfahs. So erscheinen z.B. in der St. Michaeliskapelle im Wehrturm des St. Makariusklosters im Wadi 'n-Natrun die fünf Märtyrer der Basiliden-Familie als Reiter (17. Jh). Es sind die hll. Eusebius (23. Amshir), Basilides (11. Tut), Justus (10. Amshir), Apoli (1. Masri) und Theoclia (11. Bashons). Ein anderer Zyklus von Reiterheiligen befindet sich in der Kuppel der unterirdischen St. Pauluskirche im St. Pauluskloster am Roten Meer (1713). Hier sind die folgenden Märtyrer als Reiter dargestellt: Sts. Julius von Aqfahs (22. Tut), Apater und seine Schwester Irene (28. Tut), Isidor, Sohn des Bandilaous (19. Bashons), Iskhiron von Qalin (7. Bauna), Jakob der Zersägte (27. Hatur) und Menas (15. Hatur). Ein weiterer Zyklus von Märtyrern als Reiter schmückt die St. Antoniuskirche im St. Antoniuskloster am Roten Meer (1232–33). Hier werden folgende Reiter mit ihren jeweiligen Märtyrerkirchen dargestellt: Sts. Claudius (16. Bauna), Victor (27. Baramudah), Menas (15. Hatur), Theodor Stratelates (20. Abib), Georg (23. Baramudah), Sergius und Bacchus (4. und 10. Babeh).

Die populärsten koptischen Drachentöter sind fraglos die beiden Reiterheiligen Georg und Theodor Stratelates, obwohl ihre Drachentöterfunktion sich erst im Mittelalter entfaltete. Auf der bekannten Theotokos-Ikone aus dem St. Katharinenkloster, Sinai (6. Jh.), flankieren die beiden unberittenen Soldatenheiligen die Gottesmutter mit Kind. In der koptischen Heiligenliteratur tritt zuerst der hl. Theodor als Drachentöter auf (20. Abib). Er stammte aus dem oberägyptischen Ort Shutb, 20 km südlich von Assiut (4. Jh.), und diente als Offizier (Stratelates) unter Kaiser Lici-

nius (307–323) in der ostanatolischen Stadt Euchaita (Theodoropolis). Dort opferten alljährlich die Einwohner einen Knaben dem Drachen. Als der Sohn einer armen christlichen Witwe dem Drachen geopfert werden sollte, erschien der hl. Theodor, tötete den Drachen und rettete das Kind. Später erlitt Theodor in Euchaita das Martyrium. (Theodor Stratelates ist nicht zu verwechseln mit Theodor dem Orientalen (12. Tubeh) der auch als Offizier aber gegen die Perser kämpfte und später das Martyrium in Ctesiphon fand).

Da die St. Georgsvita des koptischen Synaxars (23. Baramudah) über einen Drachenkampf schweigt ist es wahrscheinlich, dass im 14./15. Jh. die Drachenkämpferfunktion des hl. Theodor Stratelates auf den hl. Georg übertragen wurde. Andererseits ist es auch möglich, dass durch die Kreuzfahrer und westlichen Pilger das europäische Drachenkampfbild des hl. Georg von den Kopten übernommen wurde. Unter den ca. 55 Drachenkämpferheiligen nimmt der hl. Georg nach dem Erzengel Michael im Abendland den ersten Platz ein. Die ältesten Legenden über einen Drachenkampf des hl. Georg erscheinen als Prolog der Passion des Heiligen im Codex Monacensis (12. Jh.). Eine detaillierte Beschreibung der Befreiung der Königstochter die dem Drachen geopfert werden sollte durch den Reiterheiligen Georg ist in der von Jacobus de Voragine aufgezeichneten *Legenda aurea* (1263) gegeben.

Eine ikonographische Darstellung der St. Georgsvita befindet sich am nördlichen Altar der koptischen Marienkirche al-Mu'allaqah in Alt-Kairo. Über der Altarschranke zeigen 15 Ikonen (1777) das Wirken, Leiden und Martyrium des hl. Georg. Bis auf die Darstellung des Drachenkampfes entsprechen die Ikonen der St. Georgsvita die des koptischen Synaxars. Folgende Szenen werden gezeigt: St. Georg als Jugendlicher, sein Glaubensbekenntnis vor den Königen, seine Folter, seine Auspeitschungen, seine Vergiftungen, seine Marter mit dem Folterrad, sein Gebet vor den Thronen, sein Drachenkampf, seine Entkleidung, sein Gebet über dem Feuer, über den Toten, seine Heilung des Sohnes der Witwe, sein Gebet zur Wiederkehr Christi, die Zerstörung der Götzen und seine Enthauptung.

Zusätzlich der beiden Hauptakteure in der Rettung eines unschuldigen Knaben oder Mädchen verehren die orthodoxen Christen des vorderen Orients noch weitere rettende Reiterheilige, wie z.B. die hll. Demetrius, Behnam, Iskhirûn oder Abba Gabra Mänfäs Qeddus. Zweifellos lag die Nachfrage für zusätzliche Retter an den religionspolitischen Situationen während der osmanischen Herrschaft. Man sah in dem Drachentöter den heroischen Überwinder des politischen Bösen. In kryptographischer Form wurde dieses bedrohende Böse als jenes geflügelte, geschuppte, feuerspeiende Mega-Reptil mit Kamm und Raubtierfüssen dargestellt.

Hatten die Christen des 1. und 2. Jhs. den Drachen mit der Paradiesesschlange gleichgesetzt (Apk 20,1.2), so war das eine Anspielung auf die Christenverfolgungen des römischen Reiches unter dem Kaiser Domitian (95). Die Kopten übernahmen den politischen Charakter des Ungeheuers und sahen in ihm das Symbol des Antichristus, der Häresie und des Unglaubens. Die Märtyrer sahen ihr Leiden und Tod als Kampf mit dem Drachen, während die Kirchenväter in den Häretikern 'Kinder des Drachen' sahen.

III. ZUR IDENTITÄT DES GERETTETEN

Viel ist in den letzten Jahren über die Identität der kleinen Person die hinter dem Reiterheiligen sitzt gerätselt worden[1]. Sowohl von einem Mundschenk als auch von einer Prinzessin als „Mitreiter" haben Kunsthistoriker auf byzantinischen Ikonen und Wandmalereien des 15. und 16. Jhs. berichtet. Bei koptischen Ikonen findet man das Thema erst vom 18. Jh. Das Fehlen älterer koptischer Ikonen ist möglicherweise auf den koptischen Ikonoklasmus zur Zeit des Patriarchen Kyrillus IV. (1854–61) zurückzuführen, dem viele Tafelbilder zum Opfer fielen.

1. St. Georg und der „coffee-boy"

Dem bekannten Archäologen Adolphe-Napoléon Didron (1806–1867) konnten die griechischen Mönche weder vom hl. Athos noch jene von Meteora eine befriedigende Antwort über den „kleinen Sklaven" geben[2]. O. Enlart meinte die kleine Person hinter dem Reiterheiligen sei der Stifter der Ikone[3]. Von Zyprioten erfuhr der Byzantinist D. Talbot Rice die Legende des redlichen „coffee boy". Als der hl. Georg in einem Kaffeehaus verweilte erhielt er die Nachricht von der Bedrohung der Prinzessin. Daraufhin sattelte er sein Pferd. Um aber nicht ohne Erfrischung sich seiner Aufgabe stellen zu müssen, schwang sich der Inhaber des Kaffeehauses als „coffee boy" mit Kaffeekanne und Mundtuch mit auf sein Ross[4]. Diese Erklärung wurde von mehreren Byzantinisten, wie z.B. Mary Burn und A.H.S. Megaw auch akzeptiert. Eine der wertvollsten St. Georgsikonen mit dem kleinen „Mitreiter" ist jene berühmte, gestickte und mit Perlen und Edelsteinen besetzte Heiligenikone aus dem 16. Jh. im griechischen Hagiou-Pavlou-Kloster auf dem hl. Athos. Auf diesem Tafelbild erscheint der kleine Diener in typisch türkischer Kleidung mit einem Turban und mit einer reich verzierten Kaffeekanne in der Hand[5].

Nach einem Besuch im St. Katharinenkloster im Sinai empfahl D.R. Cowell in dem kleinen Jüngling hinter dem Reiterheiligen den islamischen al-Khadr zu sehen, besonders da sich diese ikonographischen Darstellungen auf das osmanische Reich beschränken[6]. Dass diese Gleichsetzung schon im 16. Jh. gang und gäbe war erklärt der folgende Bericht. Als Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, kaiserlicher Gesandter an der Hohen Pforte, 1555 die südliche Türkei besuchte, bemerkte er wie die Türken in Lachen ausbrachen wenn sie in griechischen Kirchen St. Georgsikonen mit dem Knaben hinter dem Heiligen sahen, in dem sie ihren eigenen 'Chederle' (al-Khadr) erblickten[7]. So reizvoll und auch zusagend diese Verknüpfung des Reiterheiligen

[1] Meinardus, O., „The Equestrian Deliverer in Eastern Iconography", Oriens Christianus 57, 1973, 142–155.

[2] Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne. Paris 1845. 372.

[3] Enlart, C., L'Art Gothique en Chypre. Paris 1899 I, 248 fig. 141.

[4] Rice, D.T., „The Accompanied St. George", Actes du VI^{e} Congrès Int. d'Etudes Byzant. Paris 1948, Paris 1951, II, 381–6.

[5] Huber, Paul, Athos, Leben, Glaube, Kunst. Zürich 1969, pl. 167.

[6] Howell, D.R., „Al-Khadr and Christian Icons", Ars Orientalis 8, 196?, 41–51. Zum Verhältnis des hl. Georg zum al-Khadr, Einssler, Lydia, „Mar Eljas, el-Khadr und Djrdjis", Ztschr. dtsch. Paläst. Vereins 1, 1894, 42, 65.

[7] Forster, C.H., F.O.B. Daniel, The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq. London 1881, I, 151.

mit al-Khadr auf den ersten Blick auch sein mag, so ergeben sich mit dieser Identifizierung jedoch mehr Fragen als Antworten zu dem Grundproblem.

Für J.B. Aufhauser war der junge „Mitreiter" jener Pankratios oder Pasikrates, der in Paphlagonien (Nord-Anatolien) bzw. auf der Insel Mytilene (Lesbos) von den Sarazenen gefangen genommen und anschliessend auf wunderbare Weise durch den hl. Georg befreit wurde. Diese Wunderberichte, so Aufhauser, entstanden zwischen dem 11. und 16. Jh. und lieferten das Material für die christliche St. Georgs-Ikonographie. Fraglos war dieses Motiv während der osmanischen Herrschaft von den Christen als *dhimmis* mit Genugtuung und Befriedigung aufgenommen. Die Vielzahl der Reiterheiligen-Ikonen mit dem „Mitreiter" bestätigt die weitgehende Popularität dieser ikonographischen Aussage[9]. Im Libanon und in Syrien hatte der kleine 'Sklave' der vom hl. Georg aus muslimischer Knechtschaft befreit wurde den Namen Amiras erhalten[10]. In Äthiopien, wo das Thema des Reiterheiligen mit dem „kleinen Burschen" in der Ikonographie des 19. und 20. Jhs. sehr populär war, heisst der Jüngling Sokrator, Sekratos oder Sekoras[11].

Zwei koptische Ikonen aus dem 18. und 19. Jhs. illustrieren das Thema. Die 1469 A.M. oder 1752/53 von dem Kopten Ibrahim an-Nasikh und dem Armenier Yuhanna Karabed gemalten Ikone trägt die Inschrift: „Mein Herr, König, Mari Girgis al-Malati, Morgenstern". Der kleine „Mitreiter" trägt eine gestreifte *galabiya* und hält in seiner rechten Hand eine Kaffeekanne, die auf seinem Oberschenkel ruht[12] (Abb. 2). Die zweite Ikone stammt aus der koptischen Wallfahrtskirche der Jungfrau Maria in Sakha bei Kafr al-Shaikh und wurde 1565 A.M. oder 1849 von Astasi (Eustathius) ar-Rumi al-Qudsi gemalt. Der in einem blauen Anzug gekleidete Diener des hl. Georg hält in seiner rechten Hand eine goldene Kanne (Abb. 3).

2. St. Demetrius und der Bischof

In der byzantinischen Welt ist der hl. Demetrius, Stadtpatron von Thessalonich, nach dem hl. Georg der bedeutendste Reiterheilige. Wiederholt hatte er die Stadt vor der Bedrohung durch die Ungläubigen retten können. Mehrere ikonographische Darstellungen zeigen den hl. Demetrius mit einem Geistlichen auf seinem braunen Pferd. Nach der Legende ist es der Bischof Kyprianos den der hl. Demetrius aus der islamischen Gefangenschaft befreite und nach Thessalonich führte. Dieses Thema erscheint auf mehreren melkitischen Ikonen[13]. Dargestellt ist hier der hl. Demetrius mit dem Bischof auf der Aussenwand des Exonarthex des Katholikon im Kloster Vatopedi auf dem hl. Athos (Abb. 4).

[8] Aufhauser, Joh. B., Das Drachenwunder des hl. Georg in der griechischen und lateinischen Überlieferung. Leipzig 1911, 3, 4.

[9] Hasluck, F.W. Christianity and Islam under the Sultans. Oxford 1929, I, 323, n. 2.

[10] Immerzeel, Mat, Syrian Icons. Gent 1998.

[11] Brief von Prof. S. Chojnacki, Addis Ababa, 29.12.1971.

[12] Mulock, C. & Langdon, M.T., The Icons of Yuhanna and Ibrahim the Scribe. London 1946, 31.

[13] Icons Melkites (Musée Nicolas Sursock). Beirut 1969, 186. Nr. 26,4.

Abb. 2. St. Georg von Mytilene, Ikone von Ibrahim an-Nasikh und Yuhanna Karabed, 1753.

Abb. 3. St. Georg, Ikone von Astasi ar-Rumi al-Qudsi, St. Marienkirche Sakha, 1849.

Abb. 4. St. Demetrius mit Bischof Kyprianos, Kloster Vatopedi, Athos.

3. St. Behnam und die Lautenistin

Im syrisch-orthodoxen Kloster des hl. Markus in der Altstadt von Jerusalem sah D.R. Howell eine Ikone mit dem syrischen Reiterheiligen Behnam und der Lautenspielerin Azâda[14]. In anderen Darstellungen rettet St. Behnam seine Schwester Sarah, die durch die Gebete des Einsiedlers Matthäus geheilt wurde. Von den Kopten werden die hll. Behnam und Sarah nur in der alten St. Menaskirche zu Alt-Kairo verehrt, wo auch ihre Reliquien ruhen (Kemet 2/1998). Der hl. Behnam spielt in der Frömmigkeit der Syrer eine bedeutende Rolle, wie der bekannte Dominikanerpater J.M. Fiey es einmal ausdrückte: „Unter den orientalischen Archetypen nimmt der hl. Behnam jene zentrale Position ein, die Tammuz für die Babylonier, Osiris für die Ägypter, Adonis für die Griechen und al-Khadr für die Muslime hatten und haben".

4. St. Theodor Stratelates und der Sohn der Witwe

Die Ikone des hl. Theodor erscheint der Darstellung des hl. Georg ähnlich, sein Pferd jedoch ist braun und der kleine „Mitreiter" trägt weder Kaffeekanne noch Mundtuch. Eine arme Witwe, der St. Theodor in ihrer Verzweiflung hilft, nimmt den Platz der Königin ein. Die St. Theodor Stratelates-Ikone entstammt der Werkstatt von Ibrahim an-Nasikh (1764) und schmückt die St. Marienkirche ad-Damshiriya in Alt-Kairo (Kemet 4/1998). (Abb. 5). Das moderne Andachtsbild des zeit-

[14] Howell, D.R. loc. cit.

Abb. 5, links. St. Theodor Stratelates, Ikone von Ibrahim an-Nasikh, 1764, Marienkirche ad-Damshiriya, Alt-Kairo. — Abb. 6, rechts. St. Theodor, Andachtsbild von Yusuf Girgis Ayad.

genössischen koptischen Ikonographen Yusuf Girgis Ayad zeigt den Reiterheiligen der die 'Paradiesesschlange' mit seiner Lanze ersticht. Im Vordergrund links ist der gefesselte Sohn der Witwe (Abb. 6).

5. St. Iskhiron von Qalin, ein Doppelgänger des hl. Georg

Die *vita* des hl. Iskhiron von Qalin (7. Bauna) beschreibt seine soldatischen Dienste beim Gouverneur Arianus aus Oberägypten und sein Martyrium wegen seines Festhaltens am Glauben zu Jesus Christus. Weder ein Drachenkampf noch die Rettung eines Jünglings, der als „Mitreiter" erscheint, werden in dem Bericht des Synaxars erwähnt. Offensichtlich hat hier der koptische Ikonograph Ibrahim an-Nasikh die Attribute des hl. Georg, den Schimmel, den Drachenkampf mit dem „coffee boy" mit Kanne und Mundtuch auf den hl. Iskhiron von Qalin übertragen. Die Ikone aus dem Jahr 1181 A.H. oder 1767 befindet sich in der St. Merkuriuskirche in Alt-Kairo (Abb. 7).

6. Abba Gabra Mänfäs Qeddus und der Hahnenflug

Eine ungewöhnliche Darstellung zeigt den äthiopischen Heiligen Abba Gabra Mänfäs Qeddus (13. Jh.) auf einem Hahn in einem Wolkenteppich reitend. Sitzend hinter ihm hält sich ein unbekleideter Jüngling am Haargewand des Heiligen fest, um mit ihm in den Siebten Himmel geführt zu werden[15]. Obwohl es eine Reihe von Legenden über wunderbare Himmelsreisen des Heiligen gibt, ist dieser Hahnenflug

[15] Die Ikone befindet sich im Ostkirchlichen Institut der Augustiner in Würzburg.

Abb. 7. St. Iskhiron von Qalin, Ikone von Ibrahim an-Nasikh, 1767, St. Merkuriuskirche, Alt-Kairo.

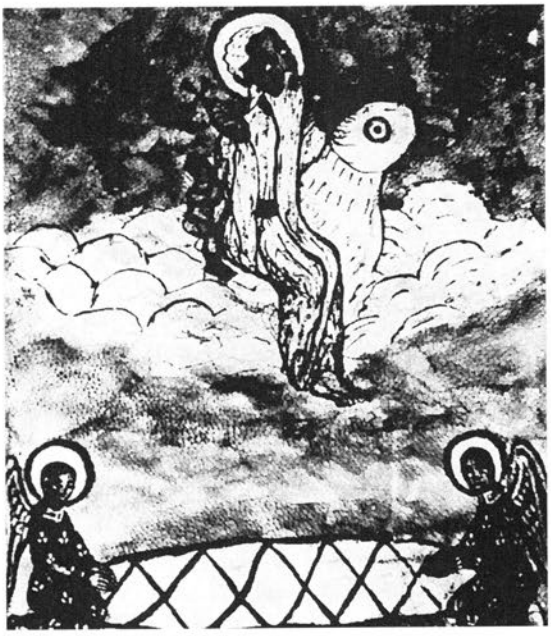

Abb. 8. Abba Gabra Mänfäs Qeddus und der Hahnenflug, Ostkirchliches Institut der Augustiner, Würzburg.

im äthiopischen Synaxar vom 5. Sanê, 12. Juni nicht aufgeführt. Auch habe ich bei meinen Besuchen auf dem hl. Zequala, der Wirkungsstätte des Abba Gabra Mänfäs Qeddus, keine Auskunft über diesen eigenartigen Hahnenflug mit dem Jüngling erhalten. In der Geschichte des 12. Wunders des Abba Gabra Mänfäs Qeddus wird erwähnt, dass ein Räuber einem Bauern einen Hahn stahl den er dem Heiligen opfern wollte. Jedoch nach seinem Diebstahl fing der Hahn im Leibe des Diebes an zu krähen. Nach dem Tode des Diebes entfloh der Hahn aus seinem Körper und begab sich in die Kirche, wo er drei Jahre verblieb[16]! Sollte diese Legende möglicherweise Anstoss für diese ikonographische Darstellung gegeben haben? (Abb. 8).

IV. ZUM KOPTISCHEN DRACHENTÖTER-KULT

1. Die Patrozinien

Die beliebtesten Kirchenpatrone Ägyptens sind die Drachentöter Georg mit 343 Kirchen in Ober- und Unterägypten, gefolgt von dem hl. Theodor Stratelates mit 23 Kirchen und dem hl. Iskhiron von Qalin mit 5 Kirchen. Zweifellos sind in den letzten 30 Jahren viele neue koptische St. Georgskirchen in Ägypten und in der koptischen Diaspora geweiht worden. Ausserdem sind in vielen Kirchen, die meisten haben mehrere Altäre, ein Altar dem hl. Georg oder dem hl. Theodor geweiht. (Timm, St., *Christlichen Stätten in Ägypten*. TAVO B, 36, 1979).

[16] Bezold, C., „Abba Gabra Mänfäs Qeddus", Nachr. d. Königl. Ges. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen, 1916, 78.

2. Wallfahrtsstätten

Die koptische Wallfahrt ist ein wesentlicher Bestandteil christlicher Frömmigkeit in Ägypten. Auch in diesem Rahmen spielen die Drachentöter, die Überwinder des Bösen, eine zentrale Rolle. Viele der populären und auch grossen Wallfahrten finden zu St. Georgskirchen oder Klöstern statt. Die 14 bekanntesten St. Georgswallfahrten sind:

Mit Damsis, Gharbiya, 17.–25. Misra (23.–31. August)
Birma (bei Tanta), 3. Bauna (10. Juni)
Maha'al Marhum (bei Tanta), im Abib (Juli)
Tukh an-Nasara (Shibin al-Kom), 19.–26. Baramudah (27. Apr.–4. Mai)
Minia al-Qamh (Sharqiya), im Abib (Juli)
Kafr Ayub (südl. von Minia Qamh), 11.–18. Abib (18.–25. Juli)
Shubra, Kairo im Tut (September)
Alt-Kairo, griech.orth. Panegyris 15. Baramudah (23. April) wird von vielen Kopten besucht.
Sadament al-Gebel (südl. von Medinet al-Fajum), Himmelfahrt
Biba (22 km südl. von Beni Suef), 7 Tage nach Himmelfahrt
Bani Mur (Abnub), 23. Baramudah (1. Mai)
Dair al-Awanah (bei al-Badari), 7. Hatur (16. November)
Dair al-Hadid (südl. von Akhmim), 7. Hatur (16. Nov.) & Himmelfahrt
Dair Mari Girgis, Damaqrat (südl. von Luxor), 1.–7. Hatur (10.–17. Nov.).

Zwei Wallfahrten sind dem hl. Theodor Stratelates geweiht:

Dair as-Sanquriah (südl. von Beni Mazar), Himmelfahrt
Dair Amir Tadros (westl. von Medinet Habu), Theben, 16. Tubah (24. Jan.).

3. Tätowierungen mit dem Drachentöter-Bildnis

Durch eine Tätowierung mit dem Bild des hl. Georg und dem geretteten 'Mitreiter' am Unterarm ist sich der Gläubige der apotropäischen Kräfte des Drachentöters in besonderer Weise immer bewusst. Neun unterschiedliche Tätowierungsmuster des Heiligen mit dem kleinen 'Mitreiter' hat John Carswell publiziert. Diese stammen aus der koptischen Tätowierungswerkstätte der Familie Razouk in der Christian Street zu Jerusalem. Sie zeigen den berittenen Heiligen mit einer Lanze und den kleinen 'Mitreiter' der ebenfalls mit einem Strahlenkranz dargestellt ist (Carswell, J., *Coptic Tattoo Designs*. Beirut 1958). (Abb. 9).

4. Zur Verehrung der Reliquien der Drachentöter

Im Rahmen der Wallfahrten erhalten die Reliquien der Heiligen eine besondere Verehrung. Die hölzernen Röhrenreliquiare, die in kostbaren Textilien und dunkelrotem Samt eingewickelt sind, liegen in den meisten Fällen unter oder bei den jeweiligen Heiligen-Ikonen. Gläubige nehmen diese Reliquiare in die Hände um den Segen des Heiligen zu empfangen. Die zeitgenössische Renaissance der koptischen Kirche mit ihren Hinweisen auf die ureignen Märtyrertradition hat den Reliquien-

Abb. 9. Zwei koptische Tätowierungen von Drachentöter und „Mitreiter" Motiven. Fa. Razouk, Jerusalem.

kult in allen Diözesen und Gemeinden stark begünstigt, was zu einer ständigen Vermehrung von Reliquien in den Kirchen geführt hat. Somit ist es unmöglich genaue Informationen über den Bestand von 'Drachentöter'-Reliquien zu geben.

Das erste Reliquien-Inventar in der koptischen Kirche wurde im 11. Jh. von dem alexandrinischen Diakon Mawhub ibn al-Mufarrag al-Iskandarani z. Zt. des 67. Patriarchen Kyrillus II. (1078–92) aufgestellt. Obwohl es seiner Zeit mehrere St. Georgskirchen in Ägypten gab, ruhten die St. Georgsreliquien in seiner Heimatstadt Lydda in Palästina (HPEC, II, iii, 358). Erst 300 Jahre später werden seine Reliquien in der St. Georgskirche zu Birma bei Tanta verehrt. Zur Zeit des Patriarchats von Matthäus I. (1378–1408) werden sie in das St. Samuelkloster von Qalamun überführt. Einige Jahre später, zur Amtszeit des Patriarchen Gabriel V. (1409–27) gelangten die Reliquien in die St. Georgskirche in Alt-Kairo (3. Bauna, 10. Juni; 16. Abib, 23. Juli), wo sie viele Wunder verursachten. In meinem Reliquien-Inventar (1999) führte ich 18 St. Georgsreliquiare und fünf St. Theodorreliquiare an[17]. Diese Angaben sind nicht vollständig und man kann davon ausgehen, dass die Zahl der Reliquien um ein Vielfaches grösser ist als angegeben.

V. ZUR KIRCHENPOLITISCHEN BEDEUTUNG DES DRACHENTÖTERS

Mit der Ausbreitung des Islam über die Gebiete des Vorderen Orients und Nord-Afrika wurde in den Städten und Provizen für die *dhimmi* das *millet-System* eingeführt. Die Christen wurden schärfer besteuert als die Muslime mit der Begründung, dass von ihnen auch kein Militärdienst im Heer des Sultans verlangt wurde. Auch waren sie gewissen Beschränkungen beim Erwerb von Grundstücken unterworfen. Wurden sie in einen Prozess gegen einen Muslim verwickelt, war es unwahrscheinlich, dass ihnen Recht zugesprochen wurde. Die Christen hatten eine bestimmte Kleidung zu tragen, die sie kenntlich machte. Mit Ausnahme des griechischen Patriarchen durften sie auch nicht auf Pferden reiten.

[17] Meinardus, O., Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity. Kairo, 1999, 315.

Die ärgste Härte jedoch war, dass ihnen seit dem Ende des 14. Jhs. oftmals die Söhne weggenommen und zwangsweise zum Islam bekehrt wurden um dann in der Janitscharentruppe des Sultans zu dienen. Ein Christ, der zum Islam übergetreten war, sei er unfreiwillig als Kind oder in Gefangenschaft, hatte die Todesstrafe zu gewärtigen, wenn er zu seinem alten Glauben zurückkehrte. So wurde hier und da sogar den Knaben erlaubt unter dem kanonischen Alter von 12 Jahren zu heiraten, weil ein verheirateter Knabe nicht für die Janitscharentruppe zwangsverpflichtet werden konnte. Diese Härte, die türkisch als *devshirm* und unter den Griechen als *paidomazoma* bekannt war, spiegelte sich in der christlichen Ikonographie des Drachentöters wieder der den Christenknaben vor den Janitscharen rettete.

Ramstedt and the Korean Geminates

ROY ANDREW MILLER

The systematic and often surprisingly trenchant denigration of the contributions of G.J. Ramstedt (1873–1950) to the study of Korean historical linguistics began in 1950,[1] and curiously enough has continued ever since, in one quarter of the academic scene or another. Even today, a full half-century after the fact, it is still alleged that "[i]n Korean studies, Ramstedt's impact has not been resistent to the effect of time. ... His *Studies in Korean Etymology* (1949) and their posthumous additions (1953–1982) are even more obsolete today [than his *Korean Grammar*, 1939], to the extent that no serious scholar would use them for anything but historiographical purposes."[2]

No one would deny that there are many problems with all the data, and particularly with the Korean citations, in the *Studies in Korean Etymology* (= SKE), as also in the three volumes of his *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft* (1957, 1952, 1966) (= EAS), which frequently recapitulate or cite lemmata from SKE. The former was rushed through the press during Ramstedt's final illness, while the latter was heroically salvaged from half-complete notes and drafts by the devoted P. Aalto, who did his best—and also in the process did Altaic linguistic scholarship a great service—valiently attempting to rescue Ramstedt's life-work on Korean from the near-oblivion into which otherwise it must necessarily have fallen.[3] Errors in lin-

[1] Typical was the savage attack on the SKE and its author by A. Sauvageot, *BSLP, Comptes Rendus* 1950, 228: "notre reproche vise sa méthode, qui nous paraît par trop insuffisante, et puis aussi son obstination ...". Nine years later the same scholar reviewed the first fascicle of the EAS in similar terms, complaining of its "déversement massif d'étymologies coréennes, dont certaines bravent l'imagination la plus fantaisiste, ne fait qu'accroître la confusion" (*BSLP, Comptes Rendus* 1959, 316–9). On these and other early criticisms of Ramstedt and his work on Korean, see also 'Korean and Altaic', *Journal of Korean Studies*, 5, 1984, 143–71.

[2] J. Janhunen, 'Two pioneers of Altaic studies in a biographical retrospective', *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* Bd. 55:1–3, 1999, 194. But traces of a certain circularity of argument, or at least of a double-standard of scholarly judgement, may be detected in the details behind Janhunen's wholesale rejection of Ramstedt's Korean studies. In another contribution he argues that "the results available from attempts to link ... Koreanic with Tungusic (Kim 1981) suggest a negative, rather than a positive, conclusion" ('Prolegomena to a comparative analysis of Mongolic and Tungusic', in: G. Stary, ed., *Proceedings of the 38th PIAC, Kawasaki, Japan, Aug. 7–17, 1995* [Wiesbaden: 1966], 209). But virtually all the Korean-Tungusic comparisons in Kim 1981 (= Kim Dong-so, *Hankuk'ŏ wa Tungus-ŏ ŭi ŭmun pikyo yŏnku*, Taegu, 1981) are copied without acknowledgement directly from the pages of the SKE; original with Kim are, at best, some six of his etyma, one of which is a lexeme for 'tobacco' that he would have us believe existed in Proto-Tungus (see *Journal of Korean Studies* 5, 1984, 150–51). Since almost everything in Kim 1981 is copied directly out of the SKE, how can Kim 1981 possibly refute what Ramstedt was attempting to demonstrate in the SKE?

[3] Aalto's accounts of the difficulties that he encountered as he set about the task of seeing Ramstedt's *Nachläße* into print, and his descriptions of the materials with which he was forced to work, are import-

guistic forms and their meanings abound in SKE, in EAS, and indeed in virtually all of Ramstedt's publications on Korean; they are the natural consequence of the circumstances under which he worked and the difficulties that surrounded the publication of his manuscripts. These errors are unfortunate, but they can be corrected. The question in evaluating Ramstedt's work on Korean historical linguistics today is not whether he made mistakes of this variety, but rather whether or not the body of his work as a whole is still of value, and especially whether or not his view of Korean as one of the Altaic languages may still be maintained, despite the volley of abuse that greeted it in mid-century and that surprisingly enough continues to be published, as we have seen, even today. I for one am of the opinion that both propositions are true; and propose in the present paper to document some of the reasons for this opinion, by directing attention to a specific detail of Ramstedt's historical-comparative analysis of Korean—only a small segment of his work, to be sure, but one that may well serve not only to illustrate the actual extent of Ramstedt's impressive insight into some of the involved problems of Korean historical phonology, but also to clarify the manner in which the limitations imposed by the sources with which he necessarily worked unfortunately in turn limited the scope of his findings.

The specific detail in question involves the historical origin of the series of New Korean (NK) initial stop consonants today termed *tōy.n soli* 'thick sounds'. These are tense, fortis, reinforced, glottalized geminates written (and romanized) *pp*, *tt*, *kk*, *ss* and *čč*. Since phonemes of this configuration are, among the usual inventory of Altaic languages, apparently unique to Korean, it naturally follows that the question of their historical origin is a matter of considerable interest and indeed of importance as well. How did these apparently unique Korean consonants arise, and where did they come from?

Ramstedt's comparisons of Korean with the other Altaic languages led him to the view that these Korean geminates in the main had come about through "an old contraction of two clusil sounds which have originally been kept apart by a short vowel" (*Kor. Gr.*, 5–6; similarly, EAS 1.43–46, § 12; 1.82, § 38). He did not rule out the other cases where close-juncture sandhi between originally separate morphemes may have been another sporadic source for these sounds. But the etymological examples he cited demonstrated his view that, in the main, they had resulted from vowel-loss and subsequent contraction, along the general lines of CVC > CC.

Among the many etymologies with which Ramstedt attempted to document his view, one in particular has more than withstood the test of time. It is still frequently cited, especially by Korean scholars (who however do not always credit Ramstedt with its discovery[4]), and it deserves special recognition not only because it illustrates

ant; see the 'Vorwort' in EAS 2 (1952); the 'Preface' in SKE II (= MSFOu 95:2) (1953), the 'Preface of the Editor' in *Additional Korean Etymologies* (= JSFOu 57) (1954), the 'Vorwort des Herausgebers' in EAS 1 (1957), and finally the 'Vorwort' in EAS 3 (1966). These contributions document over a decade of devoted dedication by one scholar determined to secure, as far as possible and against formidable odds, the scholarly reputation of another earlier master. With Aalto's passing away on 30 November 1998, a great chapter in Finnish linguistic science came to an end.

[4] An exception is Ch'oe Hak-kun, 'On the initial consonant groups of the Middle Korean Language', pp. 509–42 in his *Hankuk pang'ŏnhak*, vol. 2 (Seoul: 1988). Despite its numerous uncorrected printing mis-

the essentials of Ramstedt's proposed historical solution for the origin of the bulk of these geminates, but also because it demonstrates the major problems inherent in the materials available to us (if not to Ramstedt) for the study of this question.

This etymology is Ramstedt's comparison of NK *ttal* 'daughter' with Tungus Nanai *patalā* 'unmarried girl' (SKE 252; EAS 1.82, 159). Of the Korean form he wrote, "[it is] written *stal*, *ttal*, or *ptal*, according to the manner of the writer" (*Kor. Gr.*, 6). But it is clear that for Ramstedt the evidence of the Tungus cognates[5] he cited pointed to a proto-form of the shape **ptal* < **patal* underlying NK *ttal*.

What Ramstedt did not know, and what now remarkably validates his etymological perception, is that the form **patal* for this word is indeed attested in the phonogram writings of the Sino-Koryŏ bilingual glossary of 1102–1106.[6] For this word the much later texts of Middle Korean (MK), written in a peninsular adaptation of the ḥPhags-pa "universal phonetic alphabet" of the Mongol Empire, usually have *'stăl* (Nam[7] 975a); but the writing *ptăl* is also attested as early as 1514 (Nam 773b).

To elucidate all the details of the many interlocking phonetic, phonological, and orthographic vicissitudes that appear to account for these spelling variations in the MK texts, even to the extent that they are now understood, would take us too far afield from our principal theme. For the present it is sufficient to emphasize that, in the case not only of this word but also for many others, Ramstedt was able convincingly to elucidate the historical origin of a NK initial geminate by means of comparison with forms in other Altaic languages, forms that in turn substantiated his view that most of these NK initials had resulted from the reduction of a CVC sequence into CC. And, it must not be forgotten, in more than one other etymology, Ramstedt was successful in establishing protoforms that we now realize are in fact vindicated by forms attested in earlier Korean written records unknown to him. One could hardly ask for a more striking demonstration of the essential correctness of Ramstedt's approach, of his method, and especially of his etymological intuition.

We must always keep in mind, as we review this problem, that Ramstedt had no access to the extensive corpus of MK texts and lexica to which we today so often

takes and its frequently baffling English, this essay has the merit of giving Ramstedt full credit for his early insight into this problem, with particular attention to the 'daughter' etymology (pp. 525–26, 541); it may also serve the general reader as an introduction to the overall historical-linguistic problems posed by the Korean geminates. Ki-moon Lee, *Geschichte der koreanische Sprache*, Ubers. B. Lewin (1977), 109–10 discusses the phonological implications of the Old Koryŏ and MK attestations of the 'daughter' lexeme, but makes no reference to Ramstedt's etymology.

[5] The Tungus cognates, Nanai *patalā*, Ulca *patala(n)*-, Oroci *xatala*, and Oroki *patalā(n-)*, all glossed '*devuška, doč*", are now registered in V.I. Cincius, ed., *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskix jazykov* (Leningrad: 1975), 1.464; the connection there suggested with Neg. *xatalïma-* 'to go to spend the night (*xodit' nočevat'*)' is open to further study. An Oroki cognate *patala* is also registered in Ikegami Jirō, *Uiruta-go kiso goi* (Sapporo: 1980), 35, where it is glossed '*musume* (*mikon.no wakai onna*) [maiden; an unmarried young girl]'.

[6] W. Sasse, *Das Glossar* Koryŏ-pangŏn *im* Kyerim-yusa (Wiesbaden: 1976), 115, no. 154 has the text (also in Lee, op. cit., loc. cit.); but the first of the Korean forms in his column 'K' is a ghost-word.

[7] Nam = Nam Kwang'u [*Kyohak*] *Ko'ŏ sačon* (seoul: 1997). I must thank Prof. Dr. S. Rosén for having made a copy of this important new lexical tool, which replaces Nam, *Ko'ŏ sacon* (^{2}1972 and earlier editions), available to me.

turn as a matter of course. Nor were such even earlier, if more difficult, texts as the 1102–1106 Sino-Koryŏ bilingual known to him. If he had had these materials at his command, many of the problems concerning Korean historical phonology in general, and the geminates in particular, would surely have found more attractive solutions than he was able to reach within the limits of the materials available to him.

Perhaps the chief value to be identified in the 1982 publication[8] of many of the etymological notes that Ramstedt himself chose not to include in SKE lies in the view it frequently gives us of Ramstedt himself at work, especially as he struggled with the task of sorting and sifting possible Altaic etymologies for NK forms unassisted by the documentation that we now have available in the MK written records. More than one of his file-slips shows him unable to decide whether a given etymon had original **pk-* or **sk-* and hence also whether it went back to earlier **pVk-* or **sVk-*. Today we are more fortunate, since we may with relative ease and convenience document the shapes of these forms at least back to the middle of the 15th century.

Two specific cases in point merit brief description. PLM 66 shows Ramstedt wavering between reconstructing **skai-* or **pkai-* in order to explain NK *kkāy-* 'to wake up, be awakened, enlightened (as from a dream, or intoxication)'. The former reconstruction would have facilitated his putative comparison with WMo. *segere-* 'to recover one's senses, come to reason, become awake, conscious'. But because he was unable to document either of his possible proto-forms Ramstedt instead elected to omit this otherwise impressive Korean-Altaic etymology from his SKE.

Today we know that Ramstedt's first hunch was right. The verb in question is attested as MK *'skăy-* in a wide variety of texts, and mostly (as we might expect from the meaning of the form) in Mahāyāna contexts, where it becomes the canonical rendering for the notion of Buddhist enlightenment, beginning in 1449 (Nam 966a).[9] PLM 95 shows Ramstedt similarly unable to decide between **skur-* and **pkur-* in order to explain the geminate initial of NK *kkulh-* 'to bend the knee, kneel down, genuflect'. For either proto-form he was able to cite a likely Altaic cognate, but from his available NK evidence alone it was impossible to decide between the two. As a result, he again decided not to include the works in SKE. Had he known MK *'skul-* 'to kneel, bow down', well attested from the very start of the MK orthographic tradition (Nam 960b), he would surely have opted for **skur-* (our **skul-*) as further documented in OTrk. *sökür-* 'auf den Knien zwingen', WMo., MMo. *sögöd-* < **sökäd-* 'knien, auf den Knien stehen'.[10] The more we explore the etymologies of SKE, and especially the more we study the record of Ramstedt's often intuitive if necessarily tentative decisions concerning proto-forms, the more we must admire the manner in which, often in the face of great difficulties, he went about his self-imposed task of clarifying the phonological aspects of Korean linguistic history.

[8] PLM = Songmoo Kho, ed., *Paralipomena of Korean Etymologies* (MSFOu 182) (Helsinki: 1982).

[9] The story of Ramstedt's intuitive speculation concerning the earlier forms of NK *kkāy-* is told in *UAJb*, N.F., Bd. 15, 1997/98, 155–6.

[10] EAS 1.71; VGAS = N.N. Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen*, I (Wiesbaden: 1960), 30; Ch'oe 1988.520.

Of course, Ramstedt's lack of access to the MK written records interposed formidable obstacles between him and the achievement of his goals. The precise information they provide concerning the earlier shapes of many, or even most, of the initial geminates was not the only information now available from these records which Ramstedt could surely have exploited to good effect if he had had these materials at hand. They also preserve remarkable data concerning the suprasegmentals (tones, or pitch distinctions) of MK. In effect, this means that Korean is the only Altaic language for which such documentary evidence is available from a relatively early period.[11] It is surely no accident that the MK forms directly ancestral to a significant number of the geminate-initial NK forms for which we have convincing Altaic etymologies are recorded in the sources with the MK suprasegmental feature that the 15th-century texts mark with a single raised dot (and which we transcribe in the same manner, e.g. *˙skăy-*, supra). But at the same time, several other equally impressive etymologies involving this same feature have yet another MK suprasegmental indication, or none at all; and as a result the precise relation, if any, between these MK suprasegmentals and the language's course of development from Altaic remains to be clarified. At any rate, it nevertheless seems clear, even in our present imperfect state of understanding of the materials, that whatever the MK feature of pronunciation or articulation it was that corresponded to this suprasegmental feature, it probably had some connection, or at least a correlation, with the postulated loss of the original first-syllable vowel in at least many of these forms (i.e. **sVk- > ˙sk-*, etc.).

Also important for a wholly convincing presentation of several of these etymologies, many of them original with Ramstedt, that involve the NK geminate initials is a brief sketch of what is now understood of the overall Korean pattern of development of the original Altaic system of four liquid phonemes (Poppe's "Lateral- und Zitterlaute", i.e. in the usual notation Altaic **r*, **r_2*, **l*, **l_2*). This set of developments was fairly involved, with different Korean reflexes depending upon the phonological context of each of these four phonemes in the original language; but this in turn makes it possible in many instances to trace the separate identity of each of these original four phonemes even though NK now has only a single liquid phoneme /l/, realized as [l] or [r] depending upon its phonological environment,[12] an allophonic

[11] Suprasegmental data are also available concerning Japanese from even earlier periods; but their treatment in the literature to date has unfortunately been directed in such a manner as to throw next to no light upon the earlier stages of the language itself, or upon its genetic connections with other languages. This is particularly the case with the work of S.E. Martin and his two principal followers, S.R. Ramsey and J. Whitman, and is a consequence of Martin's *a priori* assumption that the Japanese language was historically self-generated, mostly by internal contractions and elisions, that it has no known external relationships, and that Altaic never existed. Most of the problems in the existing literature on suprasegmentals are discussed in 'Historical Pitch in Korean and Japanese', *Alt'ai Hakpo* 1, 1989, 75–141, where the little that may at present be advanced concerning the correlation of the Japanese and Korean early suprasegmental data with Altaic is surveyed; see also *Diachronica* 12:1, 1995, 75–84.

[12] A preliminary statement of the Korean reflexes for each of the four Altaic liquids was first published in 'Uri Fameba …', in: Stanca Scholz-Cionca, ed., *Wasser-Spüren, Festschrift für Wolfram Naumann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: 1997), 91 ff. These data cancel the received doctrine long considered canonical in contemporary Korean scholarship to the effect that "[i]m Koreanischen sind diese zusammengefallen und zu einem einzigen 'r' geworden' (Ki-moon Lee, op. cit., p. 20).

distribution that, as it happens, is without historical connection to any portion of the original four-liquid structuring.

Directly relevant to the present discussion (but by no means exhausting the inventory of cognates attesting the Korean developments of these original four liquids) are the following reflexes attested in Korean for forms in which one of these phonemes occurred between vowels in the original language:

1. *V*l*V > *-l-*:
MK *sŏ'li* > *sŏli* 'frost', Evenk. *sili*, Lam. *sīli* 'dew'; MK *pyŏlo* > *pyŏlu* 'inkstone, Mo. *bilegü* 'whetstone', Trk. *bile-* 'to sharpen, whet'.

2. *V*r*V > -ø-:
MK *:syŏy-* 'to turn white (of the hair)', MK *sŏy-* 'to turn white (in general)', Trk. *sarïγ* 'yellow', Chu. *šură* 'white', Mo. *šira* 'yellow', OJ *sirŏ* 'white'; late MK, NK *swi* 'pupa, maggots, larva', Trk. *sarïčγa* 'locust', Ma. *sere* 'maggot, fly's eggs', Evenk. *soro-* 'lay eggs (of insects)'.[13]

3. *Vl_2V > OKor. (= Old Koguryŏ, Old Silla, in phonogram writings) *š*, *s*; later MK, NK cognates represent continuations of other Old Korean linguistic strains and have instead *l*:
OKor.[14] †*koš* 'reeds', MK *:kol* 'coarse grass for mats', NK *kol* 'rush, reed', Trk *kašak* 'bulrush'; OKor. †*kaš* 'plough', MK *:kal-*, NK *kāl-* 'to plough', Trk. *kaši-* 'to scratch, cury-comb'.

4. *Vr_2V > *-l-*:
MK *koko'li*, *kokŭ'li* 'stem (of a fruit); nipple, teat', Trk. *köγüz* 'chest, breast', Chu. *kŏGŏr*, Mo. *kökün* 'breast, teat', Ma. *huhun* 'nipple', OJ *kököri*, *kökörö* 'breast, heart'; NK *akali*, *akuli* 'slit opening; mouth', Trk *aγïz* 'mouth', OJ *agĭtö-* (stem in

[13] This important Korean loss of inherited **-r-* between vowels is carefully to be distinguished from the so-called "Rule of medial **-r-* loss in pre-Old Japanese" that J. Whitman purports to demonstrate in P. Baldi, ed., *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology* (Berlin: 1990), pp. 511–45, with which it has nothing to do. Whitman's would-be Japanese-Korean cognates include large numbers of fantastic semantic confrontations (e.g., MK 'head', OJ 'eye'), late loans into Japanese from Korean ('melon') and Indic (OJ *mara* 'the evil one'), and forms that are phonologically impossible for the language-period to which they are assigned (OJ *doro* 'mud').

[14] The symbol † marks forms attested in early Korean written records transmitted in Chinese phonogram orthography. See the detailed account with citations of sources in *UAJb* 51, 1979, 1–54, especially p. 23, 'reeds', and p. 13, 'plough'; also more in 'Old Japanese and the Koguryŏ Fragments: a Re-survey' in: G. Bedell et al., edd., *Explorations in Linguistics, Papers in Honor of Kazuko Inoue* (Tokyo: 1979), pp. 348–68, esp. p. 354, 'plough', and p. 361, 'reeds'. W. Sasse, '*shih* as a Phonogram in Early Korean Writing', *Linguistics in the Morning Calm* (Seoul: 1982), 709–19 further studied both these words (p. 710–711, 'plough', p. 711, 'reeds'), and concluded that "[o]bviously the interpretation of *shih* as a liquid can no longer be accepted at face value" (p. 717). But a mere six years later, the monolithic imperium of the contemporary Korean school-tradition, still insisting that the phonogram *shih* somehow originally wrote [r] or [l], had managed to make its force felt even upon Sasse, who ultimately recanted in *Oriens Extremus* 32 Jhrg., 1989, 133–263, thus bringing to an end a remarkable if too-brief episode of European Koreanology operating free of the canonical norms generally imposed upon it by the Korean academic consortium. Since then little or nothing has been heard about this question either from Korean or European scholarship; apparently, it is now a case of *Seoul locuta, causa finita*.

denominal verb) OJ *agĭtöF-* 'to move the jaws; to come to the surface and grasp for air (of fish)', early MK *akito* 'jaw, chin; fish gills', NJ (dial.) *agota* 'jaw, chin'. But when original $*r_2$ appeared not between vowels but rather in morpheme-final position, MK > *t*':
MK *tot*' 'boar; pig', Trk. *toŋuz*, Osm. *domuz* 'swine'; MK *mut*' 'dry land; Festland', Trk. Osm. *buz* 'sehr feste, harte Erde, OJ *mutu* 'Festland' (glossing Chin. *lù* [Mathews 4191] 'continent').

Remarkably, and indeed in a very literal sense of the term significantly for the history of all the Altaic languages, it will immediately be noted how this four-way scenario of phonological developments for the original liquids in Korean, at the most distant eastern extreme of the Altaic domain, structurally parallels the four-way scenario necessary to account for the same original phonemes in Turkic, at the most distant western extreme of the same entity. The Turkic evidence makes it necessary to reconstruct four original phonemes in this portion of the original phonology. But so also does the Korean data. And the one interlocking postulation supports the other.

The fact in and of itself would of course be of historical linguistic importance. But in addition the scheme here sketched in all-too brief detail further makes it possible to recover, both from Korean on the one hand and from Japanese on the other, traces of a far-reaching original denominal verbal derivational feature involving both **-r-* and **-l-*. This mophological feature may be detected, and described in full, only through the comparative method and thanks to its recovery of these four original liquids. This is because, as it happens, the surviving surface manifestations of the system of liquids in all historically attested varieties of both Korean and Japanese is extremely meager. MK and NK both have only one surviving phoneme from this segment of the phonology, a unit usually transcribed /l/, with [r, l] allophones. OJ, MJ and NJ alike similarly have only a single surviving phoneme, usually transcribed /r/. Since the denominal verb derivations in question hinged upon a morphological differentiation of original **l* and **r*, it would by definition be impossible to recover the system from the evidence of any of these various later attested stages of Korean and Japanese; only comparison with cognate languages is able to reveal the operative pattern in its full detail.[15]

[15] The essential outline of the comparative evidence for this important inherited Altaic morphological-derivational feature, with **-l-* / **-Vl-* for transitive-factitive denominal verbs contrasting with **-r-* / **-Vr-* for similarly secondary neutrals or inchoatives, were set forth by Ramstedt in EAS 2.166, 194, 199, all passages that ultimately revert to his largely (but unfortunately) forgotten 1912 monograph *Zur Verbstammbildungslehre der mongolisch-türkischen Sprachen* (JSFOu 28–3.1–86). The Turkic evidence is now more clearly set forth in K.H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples* (Wiesbaden: 1995.161, 126); for that now available from Japanese, where internal voicing in the **-l-* formations distinguishes them from those with **-r-*, see *Languages and History* (Oslo: 1996), 128–30 (e.g., OJ *saka* 'an incline, a hill', cf. MTrk. *saka* 'foot of a mountain', OJ *sakar-* 'to be contrary, defy' (< **-r-*), but OJ *sagar-* 'to let down, let hang' (< **-l-*)). Ramstedt was frequently almost on the point of identifying the Korean versions of these two inherited derivational patterns for denominal verbs (e.g., EAS 2.167, 194). But since he had only NK lexical evidence with which to work, and even more importantly because he did not yet recognize that in these forms intervocalic Alt. **-r-* had yielded NK ø, while **-l-* yielded *-l-*, he was unfortunately unable to pursue his several perceptive etymological insights on forms relating to this question to their logical conclusion.

Examples of the historical employment of this original denominal verbal derivational feature are to be found *infra*. Naturally enough, because of their complicated scenarios of phonological development these formulations have been slow to take shape in the literature. But today, with their details in hand, it is now possible to apply their findings to the study of still other important Korean-Altaic etymological connections, in many of which the above clarification of the peninsular reflexes for the four original Altaic liquid phonemes plays a significant role.

A charge all-too frequently levelled against the hypothesis of a genetic relationship having once existed among all the Altaic languages, including in this context Korean and Japanese, takes the form of what may be termed the "basic vocabulary" argument. It argues that words for a certain relatively small number of realia are somehow so "basic" to human society and its communication that genetically related languages will necessarily share them in the form of easily identifiable cognates. Conversely, it is argued that if two or more now different languages do not preserve substantial evidence of such "basic vocabulary", it follows that they cannot be genetically related, no matter how much they may now appear to resemble each other in various different ways. Lists that have been drawn up of such allegedly "basic vocabulary" vary from school to school; but the numerals generally are highly favoured in this connection, followed by such supposed universals as 'water', 'sun', and of course body-part terms. Much has been made in the literature over the past several decades of the supposed failure of this or that Altaic language to share this or that "basic vocabulary" item with the other languages; but most of the debate has been conducted along simplistic translation-lines that render refutation quite as tiresome as it is unnecessary.[16]

Instead, our time and energy are now better directed toward a different, positive

[16] If the "basic vocabulary" argument were invoked against the Indo-European hypothesis in the same manner as it still too often is brought into the discussions against Altaic, most of our venerable I.-E. handbooks would have to be rewritten, all the way from Brugmann down to the present day. One example may be particularly relevant in the context of the present contribution. Our I.-E. colleagues have long had no problem with their perceived necessity for the reconstruction of at least three, or possibly four, different I.-E. words for 'water'. Nor is it ever suggested that the existence of so many different words in the original language for something so "basic" as 'water' in any manner reflects upon the validity of the I.-E. hypothesis. This three- or four-fold reconstruction for I.-E. 'water' has been "state of the art" in I.-E. studies ever since the classic days of its early flowering (as memorialized, e.g., in Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* [Chicago: 1949; ^{3}1971], 1.31, pp. 34–35). Now we are told that in their new version of Indo-European, T.V. Gamkrelidze & I. Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans* (ts. J. Nichols [Berlin: 1995]) "seem to have strayed light years away from whatever consensus the general run of Indo-European studies has managed to achieve" (J.P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans [:] Language, Archaeology and Myth* [London: 1989], 7). Nevertheless, whether light years away from Brugmann and Buck or not, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov's revisionist version of Indo-European on this point at least remains precisely where the classical Indo-Europeanists always have been: they too still find evidence for at least three different I.-E. words for 'water' (op. cit., pp. 162, 216; 238; 245; 579). Viewed against this background, it would be possible in the light of the data studied in the present paper to argue that Altaic on this single lexical score at least is far more supportive of the hypothesis of an original linguistic unity than is Indo-European. But that argument, though based on completely valid evidence, should itself be avoided, along with all other adumbrations and applications of what is best simply dismissed as the "basic vocabulary" fallacy.

goal, exploring what we may learn about the genetic inheritance of what very well may be "basic vocabulary" items such as 'water', 'sun', and 'foot' into Korean from Altaic, particularly since this will make possible the exploration of many of the available MK materials in the light of Ramstedt's view of the probable origin of the NK geminates. To focus here particularly on these vocalulary items does not imply an endorsement of the hypothesis of any particular historical-linguistic value attaching to these or any other supposedly "basic vocabulary" items. But at least it may go some distance toward answering the charges that continue to be levelled against the Altaic hypothesis from many quarters, at the same time that it further vindicates Ramstedt's original and perceptive insight into the genesis of these unique NK phonemes.

At first glance, OTrk. *sub* 'water', MTrk. *suv*, *suγ*, Tkm. *suv*, Chu. *šɨv* id., appear to represent an etymon isolated within Turkic among the Altaic languages. Only S.A. Starostin, *Altajskaja problema i proisxoždenie japonskogo jazyka* (Moscow, 1991), 28, 284 has ventured to connect it with WMo. *usu*, *usu.n*, Khal. *us*, Dag. *øs*, Mongr. *fužu* id., reconstructing an Altaic **subA* ~ **suwA*, despite the problems posed by the initials.[17]

[17] Starostin, like Poppe before him (*Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, 1955 [MSFOu 110], 31, regards the *f-* initial of the Monguor form as a "secondary," i.e., a sporadic development, mostly on the grounds that the MMo. written records in Chinese, ḥPhags-pa and Arabic orthography all have the form with vocalic initial, *usun*. But this is to overlook an obvious Tungus cognate, Manchu *fusu-* 'to sprinkle (water)', *fusuku* 'a sprinkling can'. (Interestingly enough, the verb *fusu-* is glossed in the Manchu-Korean lexicon of 1748 with NK *mul spuli-* (ed. Taegu 1982, p. 30b). If the Manchu form is related to the Mongolian lexical evidence for this word, including Monguor *fužu*, which it seems impossible to deny, then perhaps the evidence of the MMo. written records might be regarded as less significant than it has been held to be to date. It is important to remember that instances of a single form written both with and without initial *h-* < **p-* in the language of the *Secret History* are not by any means rare; see A. Mostaert, 'Quelques problèmes phonétiques dans la transcription en caractères chinois du texte mongol du *Iuen tch'ao pi cheu*' (= Louvain Chinese Studies, IV, Antoine Mostaert (1881–1971), C.I.C.M. Missionary and Scholar, Vol. 1, Papers [1999]), 260, for evidence supporting his conclusion that this Middle Mongolian initial was in the process of shifting to zero precisely at the period at which the Chinese transcription of the *Secret History* text was being composed, so that in this source at least, "[e]n effet, plusieurs mots s'y trouvent écrits tantôt avec l'aspiration initiale et tantôt sans elle." This being so, surely it follows that it is rash to leap to judgement concerning the "original" or "secondary" status of any given case of Monguor initial *f-* even when the corresponding lexemes in the *Secret History* have the form with vocalic Anlaut.

Further doubt must be cast upon any tacit assumption of a so-called "secondary" *f-* initial in this and many other parallel Altaic etyma because of certain documented limitations that restricted the graphic representation of MMo. *h-* in our various text-sources, explored in *JAOS* 82, 1962, 443–44. This important but mostly neglected discussion demonstrated that these limitations were partly the result of an historically ordered series of linguistic changes (early loss of **h-* before *-ö-*, *-ü-*, followed by loss before *-u-*, etc.), but also partly the result of involved routes of textual transmission for our sources. Over and above all that, for the 'water' word in Altaic, there are in addition the two impressive contributions by P. Pelliot to the history of this form, also generally ignored, going back to a note in *T'oung Pao* 28, 1931, 118, and amplified by him again in *T'oung Pao* 37, 1944, 99, note 1. In these two passages Pelliot showed that the evidence of the usually cited *Secret History*, ḥPhags-pa and Arabic documents for this word is actually and sharply contradicted by a Chinese text of the 12th century, which without question attests to the form *husu* 'water' "dans la Mongolie du Nord-Est". Under these circumstances, it is surely rash to ascribe the *f-* in the Monguor form to a non-historical "secondary" origin.

Furthermore, when we add to the comparative matrix Ma. *subu-* 'to slake (one's thirst)', and WMo. *subur-* 'to come down in drops, to trickle', contrasting them in turn with WMo. *usula-* 'to water animals,

Otherwise, the Turkic forms are routinely cited in the well-known anti-Altaistic polemic literature as an example of a presumably "basic vocabulary" item apparently not shared among any of the languages apart from Turkic, *ergo*, "Altaic does not exist." However, by implementing Ramstedt's insight on the genesis of the NK geminates, we may identify evidence for this root in a set of MK (and subsequently) NK denominal verbs whose meanings leave little or no doubt that we have here to deal with secondary morphological formations involving an underlying (and inherited) noun meaning 'water', a noun that moreover was of the same phonological configuration as, and hence surely cognate with, the Turkic forms cited above:

(1) NK *ppuli-* 'to rain slightly, sprinkle, shower; to water', MK *˙spuli-* (Nam 980b) 'to sprinkle, scatter water, tears, dew; to cry', in texts from 1449 on; i.e. **sub+li-*, a transitive-factive denominal verb in **+l-i-* to **sub* 'water'. Cf. OTrk. *suval-* 'to be flooded, irrigated'.

(2) NK *ppi-* 'to run low, drain away (of standing water)', MK *spuy-* (Nam 981a) 'to fall, drop, drip (of water); to dribble', in texts from 1481 on; i.e. **sub+ri-*, a neutral-inchoative denominal verb in **+r-i-* to **sub* with **-r-* > MK -ø-. Cf. WMo. *subur-* 'to come down in drops; to trickle'.

(3) NK *ppači-* 'to fall (e.g., into water); to leak out', MK *˙spa˙ti-* (Nam 976b) 'to drown, sink; to eddy, ripple; to engulf', in texts from 1449 on.[18]

Similarly, an inherited Altaic word for 'sun, sunlight' may be traced in Korean as follows:

(3a) NK *pyŏt'* 'sunshine, the warmth of the sun', MK *pyŏt'* (Nam 685a) id., cognate with Trk. *ayāz* 'bright, cloudless', Yellow Uighur *χajas* in *akχajas* 'fine weather', Chu. *ujar*, *ojar* 'fine weather', i.e. **pajār*$_2$, where MK, NK *-t'* is the regular reflex of original **r*$_2$ in this morpheme-final position;

(3b) NK *ččoy-*, MK *:pčoy* (Nam 787–88) 'to expose to the sun, to bask in, take the sun; to warm at a fire'; here the underlying pre-MK **poyot-* 'sun' (= **pajār*$_2$) has served as the basis for a denominal verb formation, with the added complication that in the course of its loss of the first-syllable vowel (**poyot-* > **pyŏt-*) the root-final

to irrigate', and *usud-* 'to become watery, soaked; abound in water' (< **-r-* !), while at the same time recalling the OJ adjective base *usu-* 'to be thin, watery (of liquids)', NJ *usu-i* 'id.', it becomes increasingly likely that we have to recognize in all these forms evidence for a slightly remodeled secondary version, attenuated by metathesis, of the **sub* 'water' of the Turkic domain. Nor is the Japanese adjective base cited the only evidence for the original presence of this root in the archipelago. Both the two oldest Japanese historical texts, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* of the 7th-century, record the names of two deities, one SuFidi, the other UFidi (for the *Kojiki*, transl. B.H. Chamberlain, 17–18; for the *Nihongi*, transl. W.G. Aston, p. 6 note 1). The earliest commentaries and glosses are anything but clear concerning both the etymology and meaning of these two very ancient denominations, but as Chamberlain remarked, "[t]he only thing that is granted by all is that the names in question refer to the mud or slime out of which the world was afterwards made" (p. 18). If 'mud or slime', then 'water' can hardly be out of the question either; and it would not be difficult to make the case that this curiously named, and equally curiously paired, set of primordial Japanese creation-deities somehow preserves a doublet-noun, **suF* ~ **uF*, i.e., allomorphs of the same original form, but with and without initial *s-*, that ultimately mirrors Altaic **sub* 'water'. That being so, we would then have one and the same Altaic etymon for 'water' attested in every portion of the Altaic linguistic domain, embracing in one way or another each of the language groups, both "inner" and "outer", of the much mooted Altaic linguistic unity.

[18] EAS 2.175, 86.

*-*t*- was already palatalized in MK to become *č*, so that the ultimately resulting NK form has the initial geminate *čč*-.

One further etymology along similar lines, also involving an etymon that in some circles might be regarded as "basic vocalulary", is especially instructive since it embraces a probable Old Japanese (OJ) cognate:

(4) NK *ttwi*- 'to leap, spring, bound, run, jump', MK *ptuy*- (Nam 869b) id., also 'dance, skip, frisk', in texts from 1482 on, i.e. a denominal verb formation in *+*r*-*i*- on **pat* 'foot', cf. NK *patak* 'bottom, sole (of foot, of a shoe)', MK *pa'tang* (Nam 641b) 'sole of foot, palm of hand, animal paw', Ma. *fatan* 'sole of foot; bottom', Nan. Ulč., Oroc. *pata* 'sled runner; butt-end', Neg. *patta* id., Evenk. *hat* 'foundation',[19] With this denominal verb formation it is more than tempting to compare OJ *wodör*- 'to leap, jump up', NK 'to dance', where the root-etymon *wod*- would correspond to **pat*. Clearly the Japanese and Korean formations are related, even though certain details remain obscure. The OJ *-d*- appears to indicate that the Japanese formation involved original *+*l*-, which would have voiced the preceeding *-t*-; but the Korean forms in *-y*- point to original *+*r*-. The OJ form first occurs in a text ascribed to an emigrant Korean poet of the Old Japanese period.[20] This might mean that OJ *wodör*- is an early loan from Korean into Japanese, and that as a consequence the *-*l*-, *-*r*- distinction established in other denominal verbal formations on the basis of voicing or non-voicing of a prior medial stop can no longer be traced in this form. Nevertheless, all the words involved in this etymology are important, especially since they preserve evidence that may only be explained as linking Korean and Japanese on the one hand with Tungusic on the other.

Misguided attemps to relegate the memory of G.J. Ramstedt and his contributions to Korean historical linguistics to obscurity will no doubt continue. The same forces that sought to besmirch his good name and scholarly reputation in the 1950s are apparently still active, and more than ready to continue the attack with undiminished vigor well into the new millennium. This is very unfortunate. Not only does it threaten to obscure the scholarly reputation of one of the truly great pioneers in this particular segment of historical linguistics, but it will also more likely than not frequently discourage younger and future students of the history of Korean, both in the West and in Asia as well, from studying his many publications. This would be the greatest pity of all; for, as we have tried to show here in very brief outline, for all their problematic passages, Ramstedt's contributions to Korean historical linguistics still have a great deal to teach us all.

[19] V.I. Cincius, TMS 2.328ab; VGAS 50. The gloss 'gehen' in Ki-moon Lee, *Geschichte der koreanischen Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 154 is in error; so also the gloss 'rim' in F. Kortlandt, 'The origin of the Japanese and Korean accent system', *Acta Linguistics Hafniensia* 26, 1993, 62. G. Doerfer, *Grundwort und Sprachmischung, Eine Untersuchung an Hand von Körperteilbezeichnungen* [= Münchner Ostasiatische Studien, Bd. 47] (1988), 187–90, remarks in connection with 'foot' words that "Urtü. **pad*+ erinnert lebhaft an indogerman. **ped*+," which can scarcely be denied, even if one wished to do so.

[20] On *Man'yōshū* poem 904 and its Korean authorship, see the author in *Wasserspuren* (cited note 12 supra).

The Cuneiform Tablet in Carolina Rediviva

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A single clay tablet with cuneiform script has for decades been in the permanent exhibition at the University Library, Carolina Rediviva, in Uppsala. This tablet has never been published, and it is placed in the exhibition in such a way that even the best specialists can hardly see anything of the text through the glass. Despite this fact, a reference can be found in J. Brinkman, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 35 (1983), 56 O.21, and 59 On.5, in which the tablet is said to be from the temple of the sun-god Šamaš in the city of Sippar. The date is given as the reign of Sîn-šar-iškun, year 3, 11th day of the month Nisan, and the probable source of the tablet is said to be an auction at Sotheby's in 1887, lot no. 79. The description below is by Olof Pedersén and the copy of the tablet has been made by Sverrir Ólafsson.

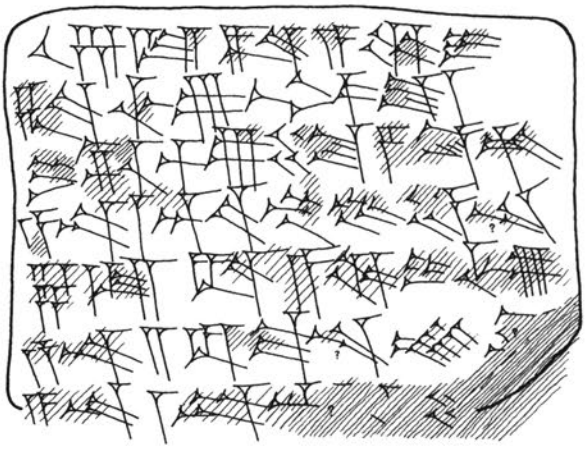
The source of the information published by Brinkman was certainly the catalogue of the University Library in Uppsala. In this catalogue, there is a Swedish translation of the information in German given in connection with the purchase of the tablet from Dr. Erich Junkermann, Prannerstraße 3, München, in his letter dated 2nd November 1931. The information from Junkermann is a word-by-word translation of the description of lot no. 79 in "Catalogue of a Collection of Inscribed Babylonian Terra-cotta Tablets, which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, auctioneers of literary property and works illustrative of fine arts, at their house, No. 13 Wellington Street, W.C., on Monday, the 14th day of February, 1887, at one o'clock precisely" (information concerning the catalogue kindly supplied by C. B. F. Walker at the British Museum). The descriptions of approximately the first half of the tablets in this catalogue were supplied by W. St. Chad Boscawen (a former employee of the British Museum); the second half of the tablets was left without descriptions. Lot no. 79 belonged to a group of 28 clay tablets (13 lots of single tablets with descriptions by Boscawen and 5 lots of groups of three tablets without descriptions) from Sippar purchased by a person with the German name Behrens. It is not known whether Junkermann took over just one tablet from Behrens or possibly several or even all of them.

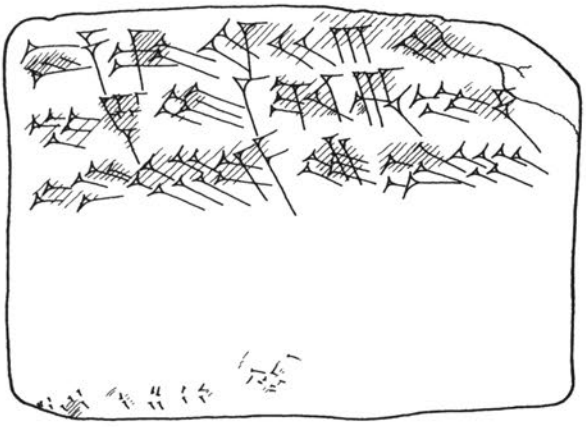
The problem is that the tablet (and there is only one!) in the University Library, now catalogued as "O okat. 90", is not the one described, but another Sippar text dating to the reign of Darius, year 7, 23rd day of the month Ajjar. The tablet with lot no. 96 in the above-mentioned catalogue from Sotheby's auction has a date and description identical with the tablet in Carolina Rediviva. This tablet was also among those acquired by Behrens. An exchange of the two tablets must have taken place between 1887 and 1931, probably by Behrens or Junkermann. Carolina Rediviva received tablet no. 96, together with the description of tablet no. 79, from Sotheby's earlier auction. Where tablet no. 79 is now to be found, we do not know. The general reliability of the catalogue information from Sotheby's including the descriptions by

Boscawen makes it probable that the tablet exists (or at least existed) in another collection. The authors of this article are preparing a publication of another group of Sippar texts from the same auction which have been in a Swedish museum collection since 1887.

The tablet below came from the largest Neo-Babylonian archives ever excavated, the ones from the administration of the Šamaš temple in Sippar, northwest of Babylon. After the British excavations directed by H. Rassam during 1881–82, local people continued excavating and offered their findings of tablets to the antiquites market, e.g. at the auction at Sotheby's in 1887, the source of the tablet to be presented here. A monumental catalogue, E. Leichty *et al.*, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Vols. VI–VIII, Tablets from Sippar 1–3 (1986–1988), has now been published, listing all the *c.* 30,000 clay tablets excavated by the British and now in the British Museum. Since its appearance, a number of dissertations and other studies have appeared, e.g. M. Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit* (Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 25, 1995) and A. C. V. M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and its Prosopography* (Uitgaven van het nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul 80, 1997), and even more are in progress. All this will form the basis for a detailed reconstruction of the complex social and economic history of the great temples in Babylonia, of which the small tablet here is just a tiny fragment.

Uppsala University Library, Carolina Rediviva, "O okat. 90". Clay tablet, unbaked. Dimensions: Height 37 mm, width 51 mm, thickness 21 mm. Unsealed.





Transliteration:

Obv. 1 15 gín kù.babbar *a-di-i*
2 kù.babbar igi-*ú ina pap-pa-su*
3 ^{lú}uš.bar-*ú-tu šá* iti.gud
4 *a-na* ^{md}utu-mu-mu sum-*na*
5 8 gín kù.babbar *a-di-i* igi-*ú*
6 *a-na* 2 5/6 ma.na taḫ$^{?}$ x[x]$^{?}$
7 *a-na* ^{m}ìr-^{d}[ḫa]r s[um-*na*]
Rev. 8 iti.gud ud 23 kam
9 mu 7 kam ^{m}*da-ri-mu-šú*
10 lugal tin.tir^{ki} lugal kur.kur

Translation:

(1–4) 15 shekel silver, in addition to the former silver, has been given as prebendary income of the weaver's prebend of the month Ajjar to Šamaš-šum-iddin.
(5–7) 8 shekel silver, in addition to the former, has been given for 2 5/6 mana xxxx to Arad-Bunene.
(8–10) The month Ajjar, the 23rd day, the 7th year of the reign of Darius I, king of Babylon and king of the countries.

This administrative document mentions two issues of silver, each to a textile craftsman connected with the Šamaš temple in Sippar. For the textile craftsmen in Sippar, cf. the essentially prosopographic study by Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, pp. 300–353. This type of document is quite well known in these archives. The tablet would, following the chronological tables in W. H. Dubberstein & R. A. Parker, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.—A.D. 75* (Brown University Studies 19, 1956, and later reprints), be dated according to the Julian calendar on the 29th of May 515 B.C.

Šamaš-šum-iddin is well known among the textile craftsmen in the texts from the temple archives in Sippar. He is mentioned by the titles of *ēpišānu* (performer of a

weaver's prebend), *išparu* (prebendary weaver) and *ašlāku* (washerman), from the 10th year of Cyrus to the 28th year of Darius I, as is clear from the 37 references listed in chronological order by Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, pp. 347–348, cf. p. 302. Arad-Bunene (actually two different persons, each mentioned once) is also mentioned as a textile craftsman with the title of *išpar kitê* (linen weaver) during the reign of Cambyses, according to Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, p. 316.

The first issue of 15 shekel, i.e. 120 grams, silver was for the prebendary income of the weavers of the temple in Sippar. It was often paid in silver, but sometimes also in other products. The second issue of 8 shekel, i.e. 64 grams, silver was for the costs of 2 5/6 mana, i.e. 1.4 kg, of a material of importance for the textile craftsmen. Partly parallel texts would as a possibility suggest that this material was *gabû* (alum), e.g., *gab-bu-ú* or *gab-bi-e*, but the remains of the signs do not easily allow of such an interpretation.

Beobachtungen zu Veränderungen im Wortschatz des Türkeitürkischen ausgehend von zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern

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EINLEITUNG

Es ist bekannt, daß der Wortschatz einer Sprache im Laufe der Zeit gewisse Veränderungen erfährt. Diese Veränderungen treten deutlich hervor, wenn Wörterbücher unterschiedlichen Erscheinungsdatums einem Vergleich unterzogen werden. Je größer die Zeitabstände zwischen den Erscheinungsdaten der Wörterbücher sind, desto tiefer können die Veränderungen im Wortschatz liegen. Ein Vergleich eines der ältesten Wörterbücher der türkischen Sprache, des *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk* (im weiteren DLT), mit der letzten Ausgabe des 1998 von Türk Dil Kurumu (TDK) herausgegebenen *Türkçe Sözlük* (im weiteren TS) läßt die Veränderungen in bezug auf Phonetik, Morphologie und Wortschatz über einen Zeitraum von nahezu 1000 Jahren deutlich erkennen:

DLT	TS
közetdeçi (74)	gözetici
kirgüçi (68)	girici
elig (37)	elli
bürge (26)	pire
aşnu (12)	önce
ugan (133)	kadir

In dieser Untersuchung wird auf der Grundlage von zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern der Versuch unternommen, die Veränderungen im Wortschatz des Türkeitürkischen in einem Zeitraum von ca. einhundert Jahren festzustellen.

QUELLEN UND METHODE

Die erste Quelle der Untersuchung ist das *Deutsch-türkische Wörterbuch/Almanca-Türkçe Sözlük* von Karl Steuerwald (1974, im weiteren DTW).[2]

Betrachten wir das Quellenverzeichnis des 1974 erschienenen Wörterbuchs etwas näher, so fällt auf, daß 33 von den 56 aufgeführten Werken in den Jahren zwischen 1950 und 1972 veröffentlicht wurden. Der größte Teil der wiederum diesen 33 Werken als Quelle dienenden anderen Wörterbücher[3] stammt jedoch aus der ersten

[1] Ich möchte Herrn Kemal Güler für seine Hilfe bei der Überprüfung des Deutschen herzlich danken.

[2] Vom selben Autor stammen zwei weitere Wörterbücher sowie eine dreibändige Monographie über das Türkeitürkische (Steuerwald 1966, 1972, 1963-1966).

[3] Z.B. Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-i Türki*, Dersaadet 1317 (1900); Ali Seydi, *Lugat-i Ecnebiye*, Dersaadet 1327 (1910); Kelekiyan, Diran, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*, Constantinople 1911; Redhouse, James W., *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Constantinople 1921.

Hälfte bzw. aus dem ersten Viertel dieses Jahrhunderts. Somit spiegelt Steuerwalds Wörterbuch, bei dessen Vorbereitung – wie der Autor im Vorwort bemerkt – auch die Präferenzen der unterschiedlichen Altersgruppen der Gesellschaft mitberücksichtigt wurden (s. DTW, V), im Großen und Ganzen das Wortgut der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts wieder.

Die zweite Quelle der Untersuchung ist *das Deutsch-türkische Wörterbuch/Almanca-Türkçe Sözlük* von Yaşar Önen und Cemil Şanbey (im weiteren ATS), das 1993 von TDK veröffentlicht wurde. Von den im Quellenverzeichnis aufgeführten 35 Werken wurden 24 zwischen 1980 und 1990 veröffentlicht. Die ältesten Werke darin sind *Almanca-Türkçe Büyük Lugat* (1944) und *The Concise Oxford Turkish Dictionary* (1959). Ein Grund für die Wahl dieses Wörterbuches als zweite Quelle ist der Umstand, daß das DTW eine der Quellen des ATS darstellt. In bezug auf das Wortgut vertritt das ATS die zweite Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts, während das DTW die erste Hälfte repräsentiert.

Untersucht wurden die Einträge unter dem Buchstaben „A" des DTW (79 Seiten). Dieses Kapitel macht ca. 20% des Gesamtwerkes aus. Die türkischen Entsprechungen und Erklärungen deutscher Stichwörter in diesem Kapitel wurden mit denen der gleichen Stichwörter im ATS verglichen, um die Veränderungen im türkischen Wortschatz festzustellen. Verglichen wurden vor allem diejenigen Einträge, die im DTW belegt, im ATS aber nicht vorzufinden sind. Die Ergebnisse sind nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten in Gruppen eingeteilt und zum besseren Verständnis werden für jede Gruppe fünf ausgewählte Beispiele vorgestellt. Es ist zusätzlich angegeben, ob die türkischen Entsprechungen des jeweiligen deutschen Stichwortes im TS belegt sind oder nicht.

Bei der Durchsuchung wurden nur solche *termini technici* mitberücksichtigt, die in der Alltagssprache gebräuchlich sind, d.h. solche, die nur Vertretern des jeweiligen Fachgebietes vertraut sind, wurden nicht beachtet.

UNTERSUCHUNG

Bei der Analyse wurde den Verben ihrer entscheidenden Rolle in der Sprache wegen eine besondere Beachtung beigemessen.

Wir haben festgestellt, daß phraseologische Verben, d.h. Verben, die aus einem nominalen und einem verbalen Element zusammengesetzt sind – insbesondere solche, die mit dem Hilfsverb *et-* gebildet werden – nicht mehr so beliebt sind wie früher. Ein Teil dieser analytischen Bildungen, die im DTW noch häufig sind, tritt im ATS und TS nicht mehr in Erscheinung. Die verschwundenen phraseologischen Verben sind durch ihre genuin türkischen, meist synthetischen Äquivalente ersetzt worden:

	DTW	**ATS**	**TS**
abberufen werden	irtihal etmek	ölmek	ölmek
abschaffen	bertaraf etmek	ortadan kaldırmak	ortadan kaldırmak
abstürzen	sukut etmek	düşmek	yuvarlanmak, düşmek
ankommen	muvasalat etmek	varmak, yaklaşmak	varmak, ulaşmak
(sich) ansammeln	teraküm etmek	toplanmak,yığılmak, birikmek	yığılmak, birikmek

Hier sind nur diejenigen Entsprechungen der deutschen Stichwörter im DTW angegeben, die im ATS und TS fehlen. Die im ATS und TS angegebenen Entsprechungen stimmen meistens mit den zuerst aufgeführten im DTW überein. Jedoch kann, wie es beim Stichwort *abzielen* „istihdaf etm., hedef tutmak; gaye edinmek; kastetmek, amaçlamak" der Fall ist, die Reihenfolge umgekehrt sein. Dies deutet wohl darauf hin, daß die damals bekannten und geläufigen Verben dieser Art ihre Stellung entweder den genuin türkischen Verben bzw. den besser verständlicheren türkisierten überlassen haben.

Das Fehlen mancher phraseologischer Verben im ATS und TS hängt wohl unmittelbar damit zusammen, daß ihre nominalen Bestandteile entweder nicht eingebürgert wurden oder außer Gebrauch gekommen sind. So werden Nomina wie *deraguş, demontaj, işaa, nebean, adsorbe, tebenni, tereşşüh, gars*, die phraseologische Verben mit *et-* bildeten, im TS nicht aufgeführt und andere wie *tephir, ihtisar, nesih, müdevver, ihtida, tanassur, iştikak, riyazet, iare, mesaha* mit dem Hinweis *eski* („veraltet") versehen.

Vor allem beim Gebrauch der Bildungen mit arabischen Nomina des Typs *mezidün fih-*, die unter phraseologischen Verben prozentual eine bedeutende Stellung einnahmen, ist ein sichtbarer Rückgang festzustellen. Sie mußten denen mit Nomina des Typs *mücerred sülasi* gebildeten, zumeist synthetischen Formen weichen:

	DTW	**ATS**	**TS**
abdampfen	tebahhur etmek	bir yerden uzaklaşmak	buharlaşmak; sıvışmak
Abdampf lassen	tephir etmek	(Abdampf „buhar")	buharlaştırmak
andrängen	tehacüm etmek	hırsla birinin karşısına çıkmak	hücum etmek, saldırmak
ausrüsten	teslih etmek	donatmak,silahlandırmak	silahlandırmak
anschießen (zu Kristallen)	tebellür etmek	yaralamak, saldırmak	billurlaşmak, belirmek

Auch zahlreiche nominal abgeleitete (nicht-phraseologische) Verben sind als Ergebnis partiellen oder völligen Verlusts der Bedeutung des dem Verbstamm zugrundeliegenden Nomens außer Gebrauch gekommen. Während im ATS an ihrer Stelle andere Wörter auftreten, sind im TS entweder nur noch der ursprüngliche nominale Stamm oder verschiedene Ableitungen belegt:

	DTW	**ATS**	**TS**
abböschen	şevlendirmek	---	(şev)
abstimmen	tertipleştirmek	ayarlamak	(tertiplenmek)
abtönen	nüanslamak	resme renkle nüanslar vermek	(nüans)
auswalzen	safihalandırmak	bir konuyu gereğinden fazla uzatmak	(safiha)
autorisieren	salâhiyetlendirmek, yetkilemek	yetki vermek	(salahiyet vermek, yetki vermek)

Es ist zu beobachten, daß die Verben, die nach türkischen Regeln gebildet sind, wegen der geringen Geläufigkeit der Bedeutung des Stamms oder der Anfügung eines unpassenden Suffixes nicht die entsprechende Verwendung finden konnten. Im TS werden für diese Wörter die im ATS verwendeten Entsprechungen wiedergegeben:

	DTW	ATS
abändern	değişkemek, bir kısmını değiştirmek	biraz değiştirmek
abwägen	oramak, ölçüp biçmek	tartmak, hesap etmek, ölçmek
autorisieren	yetkilemek, salahiyetlendirmek	yetki vermek, salahiyet vermek
(sich) abmühen	seğirdeşmek,didinmek	kendisini yormak, zahmet çek-
abirren	çivmek, çavmak, amaçtan şaşmak	yolunu şaşırmak, sapmak

Das Fehlen dieser Verbformen im ATS und TS weist auf Ablehnung hin. Wird der Bau dieser Formen näher untersucht, ist festzustellen, daß ihre Stämme bei den Muttersprachlern nicht genügend Assoziationen hervorrufen. Wenn auch das Wort *orak* „Sichel" allgemein bekannt ist, ist sein Verbstamm *ora-* nicht jedem geläufig. Das Wort *savuncar* „Verteidiger" konnte wegen des nicht geläufigen Suffixes keine Akzeptanz finden, obwohl es von dem bekannten Verbstamm *savun-* abgeleitet wurde.

Auch zahlreiche nominale Ableitungen von türkischen Stämmen konnten sich nicht durchsetzen. Den Beweis hierzu liefern die fehlenden Eintragungen im ATS und TS vieler im DTW aufgeführten Formen wie *sanaka (Aberglaube), yasan (Absicht), soğrumsama (Adsorption), bilimtay (Akademie), tapınç (Anbetung), varsayıl (angenommen), saldırım (Anpöbelung), tarımsa (Ansiedlung), savuncar (Apologet), belitke (Axiomatik)*

Die nach arabischen bzw. persischen Regeln gebildeten oder aus diesen Sprachen kopierten Konstruktionen haben ihre Stellung zum größten Teil an türkische Neologismen verloren, oder ihre Gebrauchsfrequenz ist erheblich zurückgegangen. Abgesehen von wenigen im TS als *eski* bezeichneten Ausnahmen sind derartige Strukturen nicht mehr gebräuchlich, wenn auch ihre einzelnen Bestandteile noch zum aktuellen türkischen Wortschatz gehören:

	DTW	ATS	TS
abgesehen	sarfınazar	dışında, -den başka	sarfınazar, sayılmama, dikkate almama
Abglanz	lisanıhal	yansımış, akseden ışık	lisanıhal, hal diliyle
Ausspruch	kelamıkibar	söz, hikmet	kelamıkibar, özdeyiş
absolut	alelıtlak	kesin, mutlak, kayıtsız şartsız	alelıtlak, koyuvererek, bırakarak, genel olarak
(Vor-) Ahnung	hissikablelvuku	önsezi, önceden seziş	önsezi

Wortverbindungen finden im allgemeinen keine Anwendung mehr, wenn mindestens einer ihrer beiden Bestandteile außer Gebrauch gekommen ist. Diese Verbindungen sind somit im TS nicht belegt. Wie die folgenden Beispiele zeigen, sind die aus dem Arabischen und Persischen kopierten bzw. nach den Regeln dieser Sprachen gebildeten *termini technici*, die in der Alltagssprache geläufig waren, meistens durch Entlehnungen aus europäischen Sprachen – in erster Linie aus dem Französischen – ersetzt worden:

	DTW	ATS	TS
Akademie	encümenidaniş	bilimsel kurul, akademi	akademi
automatisch	zatülhareke	kendikendine işleyen,otomatik	otomatik
Atom	cüzü layetecezza	atom, en küçük parça, zerre	atom, zerre
Autopsie	fethimeyyit	otopsi	otopsi, teşrih
Äquator	hattıistiva	ekvator	ekvator, eşlek, istiva hattı

Schon seit der Tanzimatzeit gibt es eine kontroverse Diskussion um die Eliminierung der arabischen und persischen Elemente, vor allem der nach arabischen und persischen Regeln gebildeten Konstruktionen im Türkischen. Eine Zusammenfassung und Synthese der bis dahin stattgefundenen Diskussionen finden wir in dem im Jahre 1911 erschienenen Aufsatz *Yeni Lisan* von Ömer Seyfettin, in dem er zu diesem Thema folgendes anführt: „Arapça ve Farsça kaideleriyle yapılan bütün terkipler terk olunacak. Tekrar edelim fevkalade, hıfzü's-sıhha, darb-ı mesel, sevk-i tabii gibi klişe olmuş şeyler müstesna ..." (Andı, 58). Ein Blick in die Wörterbücher der letzten Zeit zeigt uns, daß nicht nur die damals von Ömer Seyfettin als Klischee bezeichneten, sondern auch noch im DTW verwendeten Konstruktionen zum größten Teil durch die genuin türkischen Entsprechungen ersetzt worden sind.

Zahlreiche mit ursprünglich arabischen bzw. persischen Elementen nach türkischen Regeln gebildete Wortverbindungen wurden durch auch lexikalisch zum größten Teil genuin türkische Konstruktionen ersetzt, wobei bei der Bildung dieser neuen Konstruktionen ihre Vorgänger oft als Muster gedient haben:

	DTW	ATS
abtrennbar	tefriki kabil	ayrılabilir
anrüchig	suî şöhretli	adı çıkmış, kötü ün sahibi
automatisch	bizatihi müteharrik	kendi kendine işleyen, otomatik
Armenfürsorge	içtimai muavenet	sosyal yardım
authentisch	ihticaca salih	doğru,gerçek, güvenilir

Ein gewichtiger Grund für die Wandlungen im türkischen Wortschatz war die Verminderung arabischer Elemente. Diese Verminderung ist im ATS und TS unter anderem auch dadurch in Erscheinung getreten, daß dort von mehreren Ableitungen arabischer Wörter oft nur eine aufgenommen wurde. Der Umstand, daß heute die Nuancen der nicht mehr geläufigen Ableitungen oft nicht von jedem wahrgenommen werden, führt zu falschen Verwendungen, die ihrerseits eines der zahlreichen Themen in Zeitungsartikeln über Sprachfehler darstellen:

	DTW	ATS	TS
abwechselnd	münavebet ile, nöbetleşe, mütenavip	nöbetleşe, sıra ile	münavebe, mütenavip, nöbetleşe
Aufschub	mühlet, mehil, imhal, tehir, teehhür	süre, müddet, vade, geri bırakma, erteleme	mühlet, mehil, tehir, teehhür, erteleme
Auszug	hicret, muhaceret	yola çıkma, göç etme	muhaceret, göç, hicret
Abbitte	özür, itizar, mazeret	özür dileme, af dileme	özür, itizar, mazeret

Ein weiterer Grund für die Reduktion arabischen Wortguts im Türkischen war die Vernachlässigung oder die völlige Aufgabe von Synonymen. Viele Wörter, die im DTW belegt sind, sind im ATS nicht mehr vorhanden. Der Umstand, daß die Wörter

von der eben erwähnten Gruppe wie *melfufen, üful, itizar, iştira, bidayet* im TS mit dem Hinweis *eski* wieder auftauchen, bedeutet nicht viel, denn wir haben es hier mit einem allgemeinen Wörterbuch zu tun (s. Kocaman, 112):

	DTW	ATS	TS
Abbau	tasfiye, tenkihat, tensikat	içten çıkartma, azaltma	tasfiye, tensikat
Ableben	irtihal, vefat, ölüm, üful	ölüm, vefat	irtihal, vefat, ölüm, üful
Abgesandte	haberci, ulak, sai, öndüç, posta, tatar	elçi, ulak, görüşmeci	haberci, ulak, tatar, posta
anbei	ilişik olarak, leffen, melfufen, merbutan	birlikte, ekli, bağlı olarak	melfufen, birlikte
angeboren	*cibillî, fıtrî, hilkî, vehbî, tabiî, vilâdî, natürel, doğuştan*	*yaratılışta mevcut, doğuştan*	*viladi, natürel, tabii, fıtri, doğuştan*

Neben den aus europäischen Sprachen neu eindringenden Wörtern im wissenschaftlichen Bereich werden auch ihre türkischen Entsprechungen angegeben, was als ein Zeichen für hohes Sprachbewußtsein und Bestreben nach Bildung von türkischen Entsprechungen gedeutet werden kann:

	DTW	ATS	TS
Anämie	fakrüddem, kansızlık, anemi	kansızlık, anemi	kansızlık, anemi
Adaptation	uyarlama, tetabuk, adaptasyon	adaptasyon, uyarlama,	adaptasyon, uyarlama
Analogie	benzerlik, benzetme, müşabehet, nispet, kıyas, analoji	benzerlik, benzeşim, örnekseme, uyma, analoji	benzerlik, benzetme, müşabehet, nispet, kıyas, analoji
Anthologie	müntahabat, seçmeler, antoloji	antoloji	müntahabat, seçmeler, antoloji
Akkusativ	mefulünbih	belirtme durumu, akkuzatif	belirtme durumu, akkuzatif

Bei den Bildungen mit arabischen und persischen Affixen ist paralell zum Funktions- und Produktivitätsverlust der Affixe eine Erstarrung eingetreten. Die Affixe in den folgenden Beispielen aus dem DTW sind nicht mehr produktiv und daher werden derartige Wörter im TS oft mit dem Hinweis *eski* versehen: *begayet, becayiş, behemahal, bertaraf, lâahlakî, diğerbin, aleyhtar, semerdar, istihfafkar, mebzulen, mufassalan, leffen, merbutan.*

Auch die zweisilbigen Elemente persischer Herkunft wie *-şinas, -ane,* und *-amiz* haben an Produktivität eingebüßt und Zusammensetzungen mit diesen Elementen sind abgesehen von wenigen erstarrten Formen wie *kadirşinas* durch nach türkischen Regeln gebildete Wörter ersetzt worden: *gayr-endiş-lik ~ özge-ci-lik, tafra-füruş ~ tafra-cı, hadna-şinas-lık ~ zorba-lık, müstebit-ane ~ müstebit-çe, zorbalıkla, hakaret-amiz ~ hor gör-ücü, aşağıla-y-ıcı.*

Der Gebrauch arabischer Plurale, der im ersten Viertel des Jahrhunderts im Türkischen noch sehr häufig war, ist ab dem zweiten Viertel des Jahrhunderts zugunsten des türkischen Suffixes *-lar / -ler* deutlich zurückgegangen. Abgesehen von wenigen Ausnahmen wie *tadilat, emlak, esbap, zevat, zevahir,* die zumeist als Kollektivum fungieren oder stilistischen Wert haben, sind die arabischen Pluralformen gänzlich außer Gebrauch gekommen.

Der Schwund eines Wortes aus dem Wortschatz ist oft nicht nur auf das jeweilige Wort begrenzt geblieben. Auch seine Ableitungen mit türkischen Suffixen sind oft außer Gebrauch gekommen, z.B. *desise-ci, teşrih-çi, şeamet-li, vüsat-li, halecan-lı, mümteni-lik, dehri-lik, müdekkik-lik.*

Diese beiden zweisprachigen Wörterbücher DTW und ATW, von denen das er-

stere den Wortschatz der ersten Hälfte, das letztere den der zweiten Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts repräsentiert, haben gezeigt, daß zweisprachige Wörterbücher für die Untersuchung der Veränderungen im Wortschatz des Türkeitürkischen wichtige Quellen darstellen können. Ein weiteres Ergebnis dieser Untersuchung ist, daß das DTW für das Wortgut des heutigen Türkeitürkischen nicht mehr repräsentativ ist und daß das TS im Rahmen der Erstellungsprinzipien eines allgemeinen Wörterbuches noch einmal überarbeitet und verbessert werden sollte.

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Book Reviews

Robert E. Goodwin, *The Playworld of Sanskrit Drama*. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1998. xxii+217 pp.

The Playworld of Sanskrit Drama is a collection of essays and articles published during a six-year period, forming an interpretive study of seven representative Sanskrit dramas. The book consists of seven chapters: (1) The Playworld of Sanskrit Drama, (2) Aesthetic and Erotic Entrancement in the Śakuntalā, (3) Dākṣiṇya and Rasa in the Vikramorvaśīya, (4) Kālidāsa's Metadrama, (5) The Divided World of the Mudrārākṣasa, (6) Paradise in a Prison Cell, and (7) Cārudatta in Love. There is also an appendix with an outline of the *rasa* system and a glossary of Sanskrit terms.

The book opens with an introduction, in which the methodology, influenced by various forms of criticism and structuralism, is presented. Goodwin contrasts different attempts to analyse Sanskrit drama with his own approach, emphasizing the audience's emotional involvement in the feelings of the *nāyaka* (the protagonist or hero of the drama).

Chapter 1 outlines the subject and introduces the idea of "the playworld". However, owing to a certain lack of structure, Goodwin's arguments are sometimes difficult to follow.

The object of Sanskrit drama is to unfold *rasa*: the spectator's (*prekṣaka*) experience of "tasting" specific emotional states created by the characters on stage. There are eight basic human emotional states (*bhāva*) which can be portrayed on stage, and eight corresponding *rasas* for the audience to experience. It is stated in *Naṭyaśāstra* that for the spectator to experience an ideal dramatic response, an emotional temperament (*anurāgitā*) is necessary, as is being learned in different *śāstras*, having refined organs of sense and being skilled in logical thinking, etc. (*NŚ* 27.53–55). The spectator should experience the emotions portrayed by the actor. The desired result is the play's success (*siddhi*), which is divided into two types: human (*mānuṣī*), where the audience is openly and physically engaged in the play, and divine (*daivikī*), where the response is more sophisticated and silent. The *daivikī* type corresponds to the state of rapture called *rasāsvāda*. These two terms are a main concern of the book.

Goodwin states that the implications of *rasāsvāda* or *daivikī siddhi* can be brought out only if one considers the connection between the "aesthetic rapture" and the emotional involvement of the audience. The poetician Abhinavagupta spoke of an "identification" (*tanmayībhāvana*) with poetic subjects that can be experienced only by someone with a "concordance of heart" (*hṛdayasaṁvāda*). This is the "man of feeling" (*rasika*) or of "heart" (*sahṛdaya*): the ideal spectator, one who can fully "taste" the emotions manifested in the play. According to Goodwin, the *nāyaka* is the idealized projection of the *sahṛdaya*: "... he is a feeler rather than a doer, a sensibility rather than a mind, a sentimentalist easily fatigued by demands that promise no emotional reward". Goodwin's approach stresses the audience's identification with the *nāyaka/sahṛdaya* and emphasizes sentiment as "the key to understand the *rasika* psychology". He puts the Sanskrit drama as an ideal of play or sport (*līlā, krīḍā*) and connects it with certain poeticians' notion of the "poetic universe" (*kāvyasaṁsāra*), a sort of "playworld" created by the poet to delight himself and the *rasikasahṛdaya*. The *rasikasahṛdaya* enters this ideal playworld through his cultivated sensibility.

Goodwin summarizes the first chapter by concluding that the poeticians created a world to fulfil the demands of *rasa*, defined as the "aesthetic parallel to *līlāmokṣa*-liberation through play". The central element of this playworld of Sanskrit drama is the heroine (*nāyikā*), who incarnates the power (*śakti*) to enrapture. Without her, there would be no playworld, nor any *rasa* for this playworld to encompass. She embodies the female principle (*Śrī*) and thus becomes a symbol of auspiciousness.

In Chapter 2, Goodwin takes a closer look at the aesthetic/erotic rapture or entrancement in Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*. According to Goodwin, this play provides us with "the most profound mythic rendition of the *rasika's* encounter with the *Śrī* of his imagination" and states that "no other heroine in Sanskrit drama is so profoundly enhanced as the object of aesthetic gaze". Through a close reading of the play, Goodwin reveals the concept of *līlā*, *siddhi* and *rasāsvāda* and reflects upon the implications of the *rasika's*, i.e. the king's, love-encounter with Śakuntalā.

Chapter 3 deals with another of Kālidāsa's plays, *Vikramorvaśīya*. Goodwin concentrates on the king's poetic reflection at the end of the second act and the concept of *dākṣiṇya*, the "playful aristocratic eti-

quette", which, according to him, "must exist side by side with an ideal emotional intensity (*rasa*)". He also discusses an interconnection in the king's poetic verse between the ethos of courtly love and the poetics of *rasa*.

Chapter 4 is devoted to Kālidāsa's drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* and its function as a "metadrama". In that perspective, the play shows a connection between the erotic fantasy and the audience's aesthetic experience. When viewed as a drama, it provides a more realistic glimpse of court life without the ordinary idealistic features. Goodwin focuses on both these aspects, revealing the relation between the aesthetic experience and the real-life whereabouts of the *sahṛdaya*.

The subject of Chapter 5 is the play *Mudrārākṣasa* by Viśākhadatta. Here, Goodwin's analysis is both ideological and aesthetic, involving issues like power and authority and the relationship between emotion and intelligence. In his sensibility and sympathy, the *nāyaka* of this play is himself a *rasika*. He is sentimental and loyal towards society, and his relation to the *nāyikā* is of a highly aesthetic nature. His desire and longing for her becomes a symbol of a door to the world of emotional freedom.

Chapter 6 focuses on two plays written by Bhāsa: *Svapnavāsavadattā* and *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*. The reason for Goodwin's interest in these particular plays is that they combine social and political confrontations, which affect the *nāyaka's* sensibility, with Bhāsa's poetic and elaborate illustration of love and erotic emotion. Goodwin examines this "balance of perspectives". Bhāsa's perspective of love is more comic and practical than that of Kālidāsa, which displays the contrast between love and duty. In *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, play or sport (*līlā, krīḍā*) overcomes the negative forces of reality and duty, whereas in *Svapnavāsavadattā* the concept of play is more problematic, because it also involves ethical implications. Hence, the plays are complementary, offering different views on the nature of the play-world.

Chapter 7 discusses the play *Mṛcchakaṭika*, attributed to the king Śūdraka. The love between the Brahmin merchant Cārudatta and the noble prostitute Vasantasenā has been praised by critics for being pure and strong. Śūdraka is also praised for the way in which he constructs plots and for his poetic verses. But, Goodwin argues, critics have "hardly scratched the surface" of the play. In his opinion, there are several important issues concealed in the play. He raises questions such as: How realistic can a melodrama be? How did the contemporary audience understand a play that "celebrates the ascendancy of an obscure 'man of heart' who never acts in his own behalf, though he spends a remarkable amount of time lamenting his condition"? Cārudatta's social status makes the *sahṛdaya* of this play different from most dramas. They are normally kings, and their sensibility and emotional capacity as *rasikas* "represents the privilege of power and sets the standard of taste and feeling for the whole society". Cārudatta would then represent the situation of what Goodwin calls "real-life *sahṛdayas*".

These studies of seven important Sanskrit dramas provide us with an interesting angle on certain issues of *kāvya*, such as the concept of *kāvyasaṁsāra*, the poetic universe, laid down by Ānandavardhana and other poeticians. This "poetic universe" is what Goodwin calls "the playworld of Sanskrit drama". Goodwin transcends the common formal criticism of the genre.

The sociological and aesthetic status of the *sahṛdayarasika* is examined through a combination of close reading and continuous contextual reflection. Goodwin's long experience as a teacher of Sanskrit literature and his deep understanding of the Indian cultural complex is evident throughout the book. It will no doubt form an important contribution to this field of study. Though there is a risk of over-interpretation, with too many implications exposed in a certain play, it is the intriguing story of the "man of heart and feelings" and his "playworld" that makes this book a fascinating and different approach to Sanskrit poetics.

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Language in Society – Eight Sociolinguistic Essays on Balochi. Ed. Carina Jahani, Uppsala, Department of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala 2000. v+131 pp.

Balochi, the principal language of the Baloch people, represents the struggle of many minority languages in the face of globalisation and mass communication. However the maintenance and development of this language face a combination of difficulties rarely encountered together.

1. The Baloch homeland spans three countries, Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan, in each of which the Baloch constitute a minority.
2. Balochi has three main dialect groups making it difficult to reach an agreed standard.
3. There is neither a long literary tradition nor a generally accepted script.
4. Speakers of Balochi have a low level of literacy (in any language).

The papers of this book describe and analyse the position of the language not only in the Baloch homeland but also in significant Baloch communities elsewhere. The maintenance and development of oral and written language is a shared theme of all contributors, whose tone varies between hope and despair. Overlapping topics are:

- the problems of attempting a standardised form of writing
- the need for mother tongue education
- language maintenance and shift in Baloch communities in and outside Balochistan
- resistance poetry calling for social justice
- the need for Baloch cultural activity and networks.

Elfenbein, Axenov and Moshkalo all describe attempts at the development of a Balochi script. Although the script used in Pakistan (by far the main centre of literary activity) is the Persian/Urdu script based on Arabic, there have been attempts to develop written Balochi through the use of a Roman-based script, the Cyrillic script and the Turkmen script.

Elfenbein describes his encounter with Gul Khan Nasir, Baloch nationalist, poet and politician. Though an Urdu and Persian scholar, Gul Khan determined to write only in Balochi and became very interested in the development of an agreed form of Roman script. Elfenbein along with Gul Khan and friends reached consensus on two significant points: the exclusion of cultural and religious questions from the deliberations and a one-to-one correspondence in letter and phoneme. They also had a near agreement on choice of dialect. When Gul Khan later became Minister of Education in Pakistani Balochistan an opportunity arose to make the Roman script official. But opinion was divided and Gul Khan's proposal never reached a vote.

Elfenbein's discussion reveals a number of issues which hamper the development of a standard: the Muslim cultural issue, the choice of script itself, the choice of dialect and the many orthographic conventions to be agreed including diacritics, vowel representation, and the use of phonetic or phonemic representation.

Axenov and Moshkalo both discuss the Balochi language in Turkmenistan. The first alphabet used by the Turkmenian Baloch was Roman-based. Axenov quotes from a speech by Stalin translated into Balochi and written in a Roman-based script. However, there was no further development of written Balochi until the late 1980s when a teacher, Mammad Sherdil, and his friends developed a Cyrillic-based script. Axenov describes his collaboration in the project. Again the deliberations foundered on questions of representation. However, in the early 1990s there was a limited positive outcome. Balochi language texts in Cyrillic script were published and official permission given for a small experiment in mother tongue education.

Moshkalo describes in some detail the dialect of the Turkmenian Baloch. He notes a measure of Soviet support for Baloch education and cultural expression in the face of the majority Turkmen language and culture. In contrast, the Republic of Turkmenistan now does little for the minorities within its borders. Moshkalo highlights the need for help from international organisations and Baloch organisations elsewhere.

Mother tongue education in Pakistan is discussed in contributions by Tim Farrell and Eunice Tan working in depressed areas of Karachi.

Tan reflects on practical experience of a women's literacy project. Students were first taught literacy in their mother tongue Balochi, and after three months Urdu was introduced alongside. Two important considerations in the preparation of reading material were cultural suitability and relevance to the women's lives. Primers catered for the needs of both the linear reader with phonic skills and the global reader with

'whole-word' strategies. Tan emphasises the need for vocabulary to be current and representative, the dialect to be as close as possible to that of the user, stories to be appealing and predictable with meaning and enjoyment the key objectives.

The writer bemoans the fact that Balochi readers are discouraged from writing by unnecessarily difficult writing conventions and the perception that literary activity is the domain of the scholar. In direct contrast, Tan highlights the need for writing to commence at the very early stages of literacy. Tan's model provides practical and useful guidelines, although offering no easy solutions. It is a source of inspiration for all concerned with adult literacy programmes.

Tim Farrell continues the theme of mother tongue education. Citing parallels in the sociolinguistic literature, Farrell sees the maintenance and vitality of the language as dependent on several interconnected developments:

- The domains in which the language is used need to be extended to the formal domains of education, administration and business. Further, instead of seeing Balochi as inappropriate in formal domains, the Baloch need to view the use of their language in these domains as socioeconomically advantageous. The writer draws attention to the change in language attitude when Welsh became essential for many educational and administrative posts, but this seems a weak parallel in view of differences in the literacy and literary tradition.
- The most effective instrument for extending domain is mother tongue education.
- The development of a recognized standard is an essential precursor to the language's use as a mode of instruction. Conversely mother tongue education would seem the most likely vehicle to advance and disseminate standarization among the wider public.

Admitting the complications surrounding the choice of dialect, Farrell stresses that even after standardisation there would be a need for tolerance of dialect difference in both speaking and writing. Farrell's arguments have a strong sociolinguistic base. Nevertheless, the developments he suggests would require much greater cooperation amongst progressive Baloch.

Carina Jahani's paper describes the investigation of language maintenance and shift amongst the Iranian Baloch who settled in Sweden following the Islamic Revolution. She obtains her data through a postal questionnaire in which the trilingual subjects were asked to assess their language proficiency in Balochi, Persian and Swedish. The difference in adult male and female education is reflected in lower levels of proficiency for female literacy in Balochi and Persian. Women also show lower proficiency in oral Persian, suggesting that in Iran women had less contact with spoken Persian than men.

It is in Swedish that the teenagers show marked contrasts with the adults. Swedish is the strongest language of teenagers in all skill areas, reflecting their greater integration in the dominant culture than that of adults. Jahani's well-documented study demonstrates a strong single-generational shift from Balochi to Swedish. Whereas parents and children communicate with each other largely in Balochi, siblings use mainly Swedish amongst themselves. The role of identity and marriage patterns in language maintenance and shift is also investigated.

Lodhi describes another community living outside the Baloch homeland, namely in East Africa. The community has existed since 1821 when the Sultan of Oman hired Iranian (mainly Baloch) mercenaries to invade East Africa. Thus began a tradition of the Baloch soldier serving first with the armed forces of Zanzibar and later with the British and German colonial forces. Settling in Kenya and Tanzania, the Baloch became Swahili speakers and worked as traders and government servants. Often intermarrying with local Muslim women, they considered themselves Baloch even when negroid in physical appearance. With Africanization in the 1960s and the forced diaspora of 'Asians', Baloch from the coastal towns tended to settle in the Persian Gulf region. The Islamic Revolution later triggered a movement in the opposite direction with a new influx of Iranian Baloch to East Africa. Lodhi notes that these migrations were responsible for a rejuvenation of Baloch communities in East Africa and the Gulf States.

Dashti reviews Baloch nationalist poetry ranging over the half century up to 1985 and explores the close links between Baloch poetry, history and politics. From the early twentieth century Baloch intellectuals were inspired by the burgeoning rise of nationalism in Asia and Africa. However demands for a sovereign Balochistan have been frustrated. The writer traces the resistance of the Pakistani Baloch to the domination of central government (from 1947 onward) which culminated in three quashed uprisings.

Against this background the poetry of the Pakistani Baloch is discussed, in particular that of Gul Khan Nasir, Sayyid Hashimi and Ata Shad. Gul Khan's career detailed in Elfenbein's essay, spanned the closing years of British rule and the birth of the new state into which Balochistan was unwillingly merged.

Unfortunately no excerpts of Gul Khan's literary output are quoted although his socialist leanings deeply affected the next generation of poets.

In conclusion there is much in these papers to challenge the linguist and to whet the appetite of those with a more general sociolinguistic interest in language and ethnicity. For those unfamiliar with Baloch matters the volume provides ample background material and maps.

Despite acknowledged difficulties, implicit hopefulness runs through the essays. The ultimate future of the Balochi language depends, however, not only on language development initiatives, fundamental as they are, but on the speakers themselves. It is their perceptions about themselves and about language which shape their language behaviour.

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Gilgit, Pakistan

Yoshinobu Endo, *The Verbal System of Classical Hebrew in the Joseph Story: An Approach from Discourse Analysis* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 32) Van Gorcum & Comp. B.V., Assen 1996. xiii+350 pp.

Chapter 1 of this revised, University of Bristol (UK), doctoral thesis from 1993 reviews earlier research as three different approaches: aspectual, historical-comparative, and text-linguistic, with the remark that "it is unwise to say that those views are mutually exclusive" (p. 26). Apparently, this is a sound judgement, but it should be borne in mind that the approaches are not wholly comparable, as they do not all attempt to solve the same problem, and in cases in which the same problem is shared, the solutions are different. Although this book's subtitle is "An Approach from Discourse Analysis", in fact it would seem that Endo favours the historical-comparative approach, with the discourse function of the different verbal forms viewed as a consequence of their morpho-syntactic meaning.

The vexed problem of the Hebrew tenses is resolved by adopting the fixed-tense theory supplemented by Bauer's theory of two sets of both conjugations, totally separated in tense; the notion of aspect is re-interpreted as a contrast between stable/non-sequential (action stops) and unstable/sequential (action is carried on), making tense and sequentiality the pivotal points of the investigation.

Concerning the sequential forms *wᵉ-qtl* and *wa-yqṭl*, acceptance of the notion of an early Hebrew preterite **yaqṭul* and a present-future **qāṭal*, is decisive for the subsequent discussion. On p. 27, the results of the investigation are foreshadowed: "In fact, one may acknowledge that broad temporal opposition such as past vs. non-past and/or some proposed aspectual oppositions such as complete vs. incomplete, perfective vs. imperfective, etc., are marked by the verbal forms"; and "In the light of the historical-comparative approach at least the possible distinction between the preterite *yaqtul* 'short form' and the imperfect *yaqtulu* 'long form' may be taken into account, because of its existence in other cognate languages, though this distinction is not always clearly marked in the Hebrew prefixed conjugation. At the same time, the suffix conjugation seems to have had a similar double function (i.e. the perfect QATAL and the so-called 'future' QATAL) perhaps by analogy". Endo also quotes with approval (pp. 16 and 25) Rainey's analysis, whereby *yaqṭul* has a dual function: (*a*) preterite continuative (= sequential) and (*b*) jussive, originally developed from the imperative.

Chapter 2 is concerned with utterances consisting of one verbal clause. Participial clauses are left out of the discussion. The correctness of this decision is debatable, because in direct speech participial clauses ubiquitously refer to what is just happening, and thus the participle actually features a verbal content. Incidentally, it is also debatable whether in Gen. 48:2, *hinnē binḵā yōsēp̄ bāʾ*, the last word is a perfect, as claimed by Endo, or a participle (see p. 39, n. 11; Even-Shoshan's concordance, etc.).

The broad connection of *qtl* with the past tense is pointed out and several aspectual parameters are adduced. All these parameters, including stative and fientive, are put on the same level, although one cannot possibly establish the opposition punctual vs. progressive without having something fientive to start with. That is to say, a hierarchical arrangement of these properties would have appeared more fruitful. Also, it seems venturesome, to say the least, to establish durative situations (states and processes), as opposed to non-durative situations (events), as a sort of basic aspectual opposition (p. 45).

Regarding tense/aspect, it is maintained that both *qṭl* and *yqṭl* can be used for durative situations (states and processes); and non-durative situations (events). Thus, it is concluded that "the search for polar opposition between the suffix conjugation and the prefix conjugation in one-clause verbal utterance [sic] is impossible" (p. 48). Consequently, the verb in Gen. 42:1, *lāmmā tiṯrā'ū* "Why are you staring (impf.) at one another?" (Endo's translations, where available, are used throughout this article) is considered stative, durative, progressive and maybe even habitual (pp. 49f.)! Here, it would have been more fruitful had Endo distinguished between subjective aspect and *Aktionsart*, i.e. the objective mode of action, whether a verbal form is conclusive, non-conclusive, durative, frequentative, etc.

Concerning *yqṭl*, we are told that the word-order rule that "jussive takes first position" is violated in, e.g., Gen. 43:29, *ʸᵉlōhīm yoḥnᶜḵā bᶜnī* "May God be gracious (impf.) to you, my son". Once again, it is stressed that the position of the verbal form is not linked to a semantic function (p. 46). However, the logic is faulty. Two scholars, Niccacci and Talstra, are quoted to the effect that a *yiqṭōl*, whether morphologically jussive or not, beginning a clause or preceded only by a volitive, must have a jussive function, and then it is claimed that Gen. 43:29 disproves this. All that it, in fact, does is to exemplify the use of the imperfect as jussive in non-initial position, which, although not normal, is not that uncommon.

At p. 49, Endo claims that *'im-tittēn* in *'im-tittēn ᶜērāḇōn ᶜaḏ šolḥèḵā* (Gen. 38:17) is both interrogative and volitive: "Will you give (impf.) a pledge until you send (inf.c) it?" (p. 46). But it is more likely that *'im* here is basically conditional: "(I shall accept your kid) only if you give me a pledge until you send (it)" (cf. NJPS "You must leave ..." and Endo's note 45 at p. 49), in which case there can be no element of "volition" on the part of Judah. Also, at pp. 60–61, Endo suggests that the imperfect in Gen. 29:35, *happaᶜam 'ōḏè 'æṯ-ʸᵉḏōnay*, "may be 'durative' because of the inherent meaning of each word or of an adverbial in the clause", even though it is difficult to think of many adverbs more "punctual" and less "durative" than *happaᶜam*.

By the adduction of a number of translations (pp. 53f. and 57), not to disprove (as McFall did) but to prove the relative correspondence between form and tense (viz. that *qṭl* stands for past and *yqṭl* for non-past), the study runs the risk of confusing the tense value of Hebrew verbal forms themselves with those of English translations and of disregarding recurrent exceptions, chiefly stative verbs (*zāqantī* "I am old") and performatives (*nišbaᶜtī* "I hereby swear").

From a rightly felt disapproval of the common description of *qṭl* as perfective and *yqṭl* as imperfective (since modal *yiqṭōl* may refer to a situation as a single whole; see p. 55, n. 56), it is concluded, rather strangely, that in one-clause utterances *qṭl* corresponds to past and complete, while *yqṭl* answers to non-past and incomplete. The possibility of an incomplete past is not discussed.

Chapter 3, on utterances consisting of two verbal clauses, introduces the main topic of the thesis, viz. sequentiality. Since sequence is expressed by *wa-yqṭl* and *wᵉ-qṭl* forms, it would seem imperative, from a historical-linguistic point of view, to decide whether these forms differ in origin from the simple forms. In fact, the inverted tense values of the sequential forms point in this direction, and at the beginning Bauer's historical-linguistic analysis was apparently approved of. At this stage (pp. 69f.), however, the attitude is more cautious and the historical-linguistic analysis is not elaborated upon. It is merely stressed that the sequential function lies in the verbal form, not in the *wāw*, and the possible distinction between two different *wāw*'s, an unmarked one and a strongly sequential one (corresponding to Arabic *fa*), is rejected accordingly.

The discussion centres on utterances with *qṭl* and *yqṭl* and, separate from these, *yqṭl* followed by *wᵉ-qṭl*. It is concluded (pp. 72 and 79) that word order is of no semantic consequence beyond that of topicalization. As to tense/aspect with *qṭl* and *yqṭl*, no further observations are adduced in addition to those made for one-clause utterances. The conclusion reached at pp. 62ff. is repeated, namely, with action verbs *qṭl* corresponds to the simple past or perfect; in performative utterances it answers to the present; with stative verbs it may answer to all three tenses.

The only example of *yqṭl—wᵉ-qṭl* in a two-clause utterance within the corpus is Gen. 50:25, *pāqōḏ yiṗqōḏ ʸᵉlōhīm 'æṯkæm wᵉhaᵅlīṯæm 'æṯ-ᶜaṣmōṯay mizzè* "(When) God will surely take care (inf.ab. + impf.) of you, you shall carry my bones up (pf.cs.) from here". In this passage *wᵉhaᵅlīṯæm* does not oppose *yiṗqōḏ*, in tense or in aspect. Instead, there is a relationship between them that makes them mutually dependent. This observation widens the discussion (pp. 95ff.) to embrace sequential and non-sequential relationships (section 3.5). It is maintained that *yiṗqōḏ* in Gen. 50:25 is non-sequential, but "functions semantically as a stepping-stone (or circumstantial clause)" (p. 95), for the following sequential *wᵉhaᵅlīṯæm*. The definition runs: "non-sequential (stable): it stops the flow of the story, standing still: se-

quential (unstable): it lets the story flow on, looking forward to the next clause" (p. 96, n. 46; cf. p. 118, n. 2: "unstable [sequential]: it tends to flow toward the following clause, trying to link with it"). However, in our view—and, as is admitted (p. 82), in the view of most translations—it would rather seem that *yipqōḏ* looks forward to the next clause; the more so as *wᵉhaᵃlīṯæm ʾæṯ-ʿaṣmōṯay mizzè*, which we would, therefore, render "(God will indeed visit you) so that you take up …", closes the adjuration, with v. 26 merely adding that Joseph died, was embalmed, and placed in a sarcophagus. *Pāqōḏ yipqōḏ ˣᵉlōhīm ʾæṯkæm* is no more a circumstantial clause than *wēʾlōhīm pāqōḏ yipqōḏ ʾæṯkæm* (v. 24) is.

Imperatives and jussives are also regarded as non-sequential, e.g. *hōṣīʾūhā wᵉṯi ārēp* "Bring her out (impv.), and let her be burned (impf.)" (Gen. 38:24*b*). It is conceded that there is a verbal chain involved, but still "it is difficult to classify the wəYIQTOL form with modal sense (i.e. jussive) as a sequential form. In this case some translators observe that the second clause is consequential. This may be correct in the deeper sense" (p. 94). To this, it may be objected that a construction made up of a volitive form with a conjoined jussive or cohortative, expressing the purpose or imagined consequence of the request, definitely seems to let the story flow on, especially as the jussive or cohortative may alternate with a perfect consecutive. Also, it is difficult to agree with the apparent distinction between sequential and consequential; rather the latter is simply a subset of the former (compare the structural identity of *if/when … then* clauses).

Chapter 4 is devoted to three-clause utterances. An introduction explains the arrangement of the material. There are three options: (*a*) three juxtaposed clauses; (*b*) two clauses form a sequence and one stands independently; and (*c*) all three clauses form a sequence. The discussion concerning word order, tense and aspect is advanced little, although we see some clear inconsistency in the analysis and formalism employed.

Chapter 5 deals with syntactic relationship among verbal forms, whether sequential or not, in multiple-clause utterances. It is, accordingly, an elaboration of section 3.5. Word order and tense/aspect are now totally disregarded in order to concentrate on sequentiality.

So far, it has been shown that *qṭl* broadly answers to past and complete and *yqṭl* answers to non-past and incomplete, but as to *wᵉqāṭal* it has only been shown that it does not oppose *yqṭl* in tense and aspect. The distinction between *qṭl* and *wᵉqāṭal* is instead one of sequentiality, a feature that is said to be inherent in the verbal form itself, not the conjunction (which is optional). The isolated (or non-sequential) present–future *yiqṭōl* has its sequential counterpart in *wᵉqāṭal* and the isolated past *qāṭal* has its sequential counterpart in *wayyiqṭōl*, which is found only in multiple-clause utterances (in Endo's corpus).There is an elucidating analysis of sequential forms in a future-modal context in Gen. 43:9: *ʾim lōʾ hᵃḇīʾōṯīw ʾēlèḵā wᵉhiṣṣaḡtīw lᵉpānèḵā wᵉḥāṭāʾtī lᵉḵā kol-hayyāmīm* "If I do not bring him back (pf.) to you, and set him before you (pf.cs.), then let me bear the blame (pf.cs.) before you forever". It is argued (pp. 126ff.) that *hᵃḇīʾōṯīw* in the first clause is sequential, non-past, and it is concluded that in some usages *qāṭal* takes the same value as *wᵉqāṭal*. Crucial to the interpretation of the Hebrew verbal system presented here is the assumption that there are two different sets of forms, isolated and sequential (irrespective of preposed *wāw*), not only in the prefix-conjugation but also in the suffix-conjugation.

Endo moves on to a discussion (section 5.3) of what he calls, albeit loosely (see p. 130, note 29), the "circumstantial clause" that functions as a semantic "stepping-stone" for the following clause. His first example is Gen. 39:14*b*: *bāʾ ʾēlay liškaḇ ʿimmī wāʾæqrāʾ bᵉqōl gāḏōl* "He came in (pf.) to me to lie (inf.c.) with me; so I screamed (impf.cs)". To call the first clause circumstantial strikes us as unhelpful and would seem to make sense only if Joseph, in the version of Potiphar's wife, either just happened to be coming along looking for sex or was in the habit of sleeping with her. Instead, the first clause, which specifies Joseph's "sporting" preference (v. 14a), is very clearly, on Endo's definition (see above), "sequential" with the following clause, which clearly functions as its consequence ("so I called out"). Indeed, this relationship seems to be accepted by Endo (p. 130), so why complicate the issue by calling the first clause a "circumstantial clause in the [s]equential [c]ontext" rather than just "sequential"? Endo's analysis here is all the more curious as he proceeds to argue that the first clause in Gen. 39:15*b*, *wayyaᵃzōḇ biḡḏō ʾæṣlī wayyānos wayyēṣēʾ haḥūṣā* "he left (impf.cs.) his garment besides [*sic*] me, and fled (impf.cs.), and went (impf.cs.) outside", could, but should not, "be understood as an attendant circumstance for the main incident that he fled" (pp. 130f.), even though it is evident that the leaving of the garment is absolutely central (and not even remotely circumstantial) in the chain of events that Potiphar's wife narrates. Moreover, it would have been perfectly clear, had Endo brought v. 15*a* (*wayhī ḵᵉšomʿō …*) into the picture, that in *wayyaᵃzōḇ* the *wāw* is apodictic, introducing the first of three actions that Joseph

performs on hearing the screams of Potiphar's wife. Furthermore, it is not at all evident that "if the speaker wants to relate the incident of Joseph's leaving his garment as an attendant circumstance for his escape clearly, he may use the suffix conjugation for the first clause", as it is not certain that the use of either *ʿāzaḇ* or *wᵉʿāzaḇ* in place of *wayyaʿazōḇ* would have made the clause circumstantial.

Following his redefinition of the circumstantial clause, Endo next turns his attention to what he calls the "goal/explicative" clause and presents plausible evidence that *(wᵉ)qāṭal* functions as a closure to *wayyiqtōl* and *yiqtōl* as a closure to *wᵉqāṭal*. For example, in connection with the sequence *wayyiqtōl—(wᵉ)qāṭal*, he explains, at the very end of the relevant section (5.4.1): "One might say that ... the suffix conjugation can function as a full stop in the final position of the sequence by its non-sequentiality in the past context". At p. 150, he claims that "the final suffix conjugation indicates the current relevance of a past situation", but it is uncertain what this can mean, beyond the trivial, and Endo would have been better off sticking to the "full stop" argument. Even so, though, the evidence that he marshals is not always convincing. For example, in Gen. 41:12, *wannᵉsappær-lō wayyiṗtor-lānū ʾæṯ-ḥᵃlōmōṯēnū ʾîš kaḥᵃlōmō pāṯār* "so we told (impf.cs.) him our dreams, and he interpreted (impf.cs.) our dreams for us, to each one he interpreted (pf.) according to his own dream", it seems more probable that the use of *qṭl* in the "goal clause" is not in itself explicatory or resumptive; rather, it is contingent on the inversion of the introductory clause in a final clause, which, in an envelope structure does indeed mark a kind of "full stop", but in a primarily literary, not a morpho-syntactic, way.

Endo finds no instances in his corpus of such sequences, ending in a "goal clause", in the context of the present. Instead, *inter alia*, the well-known example of Gen. 2:6 is discussed (pp. 154–60), *wᵉʿēḏ yaʿalè min hāʾāræṣ wᵉhišqā ʾæṯ-kol-pᵉnē hāᵃḏāmā* "But streams come up (impf.) from the earth and water (pf.cs.) the whole surface of the ground". If the only sequential form in the past is *(way)yiqṭōl* and the only sequential one in the non-past is *(wᵉ)qāṭal*, how is such a passage to be interpreted? "[T]he only alternative left for us is to see a present tense in these clauses. Probably this sequence as a whole is an example of 'historical present' ... used to imply a customary sense, and also used as a stylistic device to produce a [*sic*] vividness." (p. 156).

Rejecting an aspectual understanding, Endo asserts that "it is reasonable to say that a durative or customary sense is not indicated, but implied by *yaqtulu* as a present (or non-past) form, which can be used as a historical present in the past context" (p. 160). However, if the alleged present–future *yiqṭōl* may not so infrequently be employed for the past, why should *yiqṭōl* be defined at all as a present–future? Moreover, the structure and meaning of v. 6 could have been greatly elucidated by taking into account the preceding half-verse (2:5b): *kī lōʾ himṭîr ʸᵃḏōnay ˣᵉlohīm ʿal hāʾāræṣ wᵉʾāḏām ʾayin laʿaḇōḏ æṯ-hāˣḏāmā*. Structurally, *wᵉʿēḏ yaʿalè min hāʾāræṣ* closely matches (contrastively) *kī lōʾ himṭîr ʸᵃḏōnay ˣᵉlohīm ʿal hāʾāræṣ*, just as *wᵉhišqā ʾæṯ-kol-pᵉnē hāˣḏāmā* matches *wᵉʾāḏam ʾayin laʿaḇōḏ æṯ-hāˣḏāmā*. Note, finally, that the examples that Endo chooses, Gen. 2:6, 24, 29:3 and Job 1:4f., are all from a narrative context, even though Endo's thesis is supposed to be based on the analysis of direct speech.

Endo discerns a "circumstantial" clause and "goal" clause together at Gen. 43:21–22 (p. 161), where he correctly states that *wᵉḵæsæp̄ ʾaḥēr hōraḏnū ḇᵉyāḏēnū lišbor-ʾōḵæl* (22*a*) rounds off a "single sequential literary unit" that comprises a statement by Joseph's brothers. However, he appears to miss the obvious point that the clause just quoted reflects v. 20*b* (which Endo merely mentions, but does not quote, in a footnote), *yārōḏ yāraḏnū battᵉḥillā lišbor-ʾōḵæl* and, therefore, deprives the reader (and presumably himself) of any reason *why* v. 22*a* should function in the way described. Incidentally, Endo's rendering of the last clause of *wᵉhinnē ḵæsæp̄ ʾîš bᵉp̄ī ʾamtaḥtō ... wannāšæḇ ʾōtō bᵉyāḏēnū* as "so we have brought it back in our hand" and his claim that "the first ... clause functions as a circumstantial clause (i.e. reason) for the following clause" is improbable and is not shared by, e.g., NJPS or NEB.

Endo goes on to discuss chains of isolated (non-sequential) forms in the past (pp. 162ff.), e.g. Gen. 31:7*a*, *waˣᵃḇīḵæm hēṯæl bī wᵉhæḥᵉlīp̄ ʾæṯ-maśkurṯī ʿᵃśæræṯ mōnīm* "But your father has cheated (pf.) me, and changed (pf.) my wages ten times", and in the future/modal (pp. 169ff.), e.g. Gen. 50:5, *wᵉʿattā ʾæʿᵃlæn-nāʾ wᵉʾæqbᵉrā ʾæṯ-ʾāḇī wᵉʾāšūḇā* "Now therefore, please let me go up (coh.). And bury (coh.) my father. And I will return (coh.)". Rightly, *wᵉhæḥᵉlīp̄* is described as what is otherwise called "perfect with simple *waw*". A matter that could have been discussed concerns how the alleged non-sequential combinations *hēṯæl ... wᵉhæḥᵉlīp̄* and *ʾæʿᵃlæ ... wᵉʾæqbᵉrā ... wᵉʾāšūḇā* differ from their sequential counterparts **hēṯæl ... wayyaḥᵃlēp̄* (which actually occurs in Sam.) and **ʾæʿᵃlæ ... wᵉqāḇartī ... wᵉšaḇtī*. True, a "strong semantic binding force", even in non-sequential clauses, is mentioned (p. 168), but there is no reference to an observation such as Davidson's (*Hebrew Syntax*, §58) that a speaker, when describing a

series of events, may continue in the *qāṭal* for a clause or two, especially if the verbs alternate or contrast with the idea of the first verb.

At p. 167, Endo concludes a discussion of the "antithetical two-member chain" by commenting on the difference between *wᵉlō'-qāṭal* and *wᵉlō'-yiqṭōl* in the following sequence (2 Sam. 2:28): *wayyiṯqaᶜ yō'āḇ baššōpār wayyaᶜamᵉḏū kol-hāᶜām wᵉlō'-yirdᵉpū ᶜōḏ 'aḥᵃrē yiśrā'ēl wᵉlō'-yāsᵉpū ᶜōḏ lᵉhillāḥēm*. If one agrees that *yaqṭul* had a preterite continuative function, then Endo's comments are well argued: "Here, *wə* + *lō'* YIQTOL (probably a short form of the prefix conjugation) is used in the third clause, which is followed by *wə* + *lō'* QATAL. It may be reasonable to say that the prefix conjugation, which is negated, is used here because of its sequentiality in the past context. That is, the negative action of this third clause is not the final one for the narrator. Thus, if the narrator still wants to continue a sequence after a negative utterance, it is possible to negate the prefix conjugation by *wə* + *lō'* YIQTOL (short form) instead of using *wə* + *lō'* QATAL."

However, returning to the main topic, there are problems with Endo's view of non-sequential relationships. The suffix forms in the conditional sentence in Gen. 44:22 are, uncontentiously, analysed as sequential (pp. 172f.): *wᵉᶜāzaḇ 'æṯ-'āḇīḇ wāmēṯ* "(If) he left (pf.cs.) his father, his father would die (pf.cs.)". Likewise, one might have thought that at Gen. 42:20, *wᵉyē'āmᵉnū ḏiḇrēḵæm wᵉlō' ṯāmūṯū*, the final clause must be either dependent on the immediately preceding one ("be verified *so that* you do not die", as, e.g., NJPS) or, less probably, on the first clause, not cited by Endo ("bring your brother … so that your words can be verified *and so that* you do not die"). Yet Endo claims: "The first clause is Joseph's general announcement … the second clause can be taken as its embodiment/explication rather than its consequence" (p. 170). This seems to be twisting both English usage and the facts of Hebrew to an extreme, simply in order to accommodate the view that *yiqṭōl* is not a "sequential" form. The possibility that the (con)sequential relationships in this verse are actually conveyed only by *wāw* (*wᵉyē'āmᵉnū*, *wᵉlō'*) is not considered.

It is asserted (p. 176) that constructions of the type *wayhī kahᵃrīmī qōlī* (Gen. 39:18) are characterized by a special prominence on the temporal circumstance after the introductory *wayhī* or *wᵉhāyā*, comparable to a cleft sentence, as in "it was I who did it". But is introductory *wayhī* or *wᵉhāyā* really an emphatic construction? In the above example, it may be felt natural to discern a certain stress on *kahᵃrīmī qōlī*, but in other passages the attempt to find a stress on the adverbial element seems far-fetched. It would have been helpful if identical passages with and without introductory *wayhī* or *wᵉhāyā* had been discussed.

Moreover, contrary to what is stated (p. 179), the difference between introductory *wayhī*/*wᵉhāyā* and its function as a predicate verb is not only that the former is followed by a "temporal deixis". We know that in narration introductory *wayhī* is used to secure a narrative chain of *wayyiqṭōl*'s and, simultaneously, to signal a new episode. These facts are surely also relevant to the use of *wayhī*/*wᵉhāyā* in fragments of direct speech.

At pp. 184–86, where Endo presents a number of apparent instances of *wᵉhāyā* with past reference and *wīyhī* with future/modal reference, it can, of course, be argued, with Endo, that *wᵉhāyā kᵉhapnōṭō* at 1 Sam. 10:9 initiates a new narrative sequence. But it is odd that this should occur so soon after the formally identical structure (but with *waw*-consecutive) has been employed to the same effect (v. 7: *wᵉhāyā kī ṯāḇō'nā*), and two MSS rightly prefer *wayhī* at v. 9. (Similarly, in his discussion of *pæn māṣā'* at 2 Sam. 20:6 [pp. 305–305], Endo fails to mention that two MSS read *yimṣā'*.) And at 1 Sam. 13:22, it is surely not so much the use of *wᵉhāyā*, with simple *wāw*, that is at issue as that of *wᵉhāyᵉṯā* (again with simple *wāw*) in the preceding verse (where it signals a change to incidental information, which continues through verse 22). Note, as Endo does not, that the *wāw*-consecutive structure starts again in verse 23, with the resumption of the main storyline. With regard to *wᵉhāyā kī qām happᵉlištī* at 1 Sam. 17:48, a profitable comparison could have been drawn with *wᵉhāyā kī hirbᵉṯā lᵉhiṯpallēl* at 1 Sam. 1:12 (cf. Jan Joosten, "Workshop: Meaning and Use of the Tenses in 1 Samuel 1", in Ellen van Wolde [ed.], *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible: Papers of the Tilburg Conference 1996* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997], pp. 72–83 [74]). Endo leaves out of discussion at this stage Gen. 38:9, *wayyēḏaᶜ 'ōnān kī lō' lō yihyè hazzāraᶜ wᵉhāyā ᶜim-bā' 'æl 'ēšæṯ 'āḥīw wešiḥēṯ 'arṣā lᵉḇiltī nᵉṯon-zæraᶜ lᵉ'āḥīw* (presented at p. 274), where *wᵉhāyā* clearly marks the beginning of a new unit that describes the consequences of Onan's knowledge (curiously, though, the following clause, *wayyēraᶜ bᵉᶜēnē ᵓᵈōnay ᵓšær ᶜāśā*, which clearly refers back to this unit [i.e. v. 9*b* rather than 9*a*], uses *wayyiqṭōl* again, as though v. 9*b* were in some way bracketed off).

In the summary of and remarks on this chapter (pp. 188–90), there is a discussion of the function of sequential vs. non-sequential forms. Both can be used to begin and to round off an episode. Usually, a

non-sequential form furnishes background, while a sequential form features a foregrounded event. Nonetheless, it is asserted that the division background vs. foreground does not simply correspond to the choice of verbal form (*qāṭal* or *yiqṭōl*) and consequently is to be considered a secondary phenomenon.

Chapter 6 discusses syntactic relationship in volitive clauses. As jussives, imperatives and cohortatives are equivalent in function, there is, of course, no need to discuss which of them is used in particular one-clause utterances, and therefore the discussion turns directly to their syntactic relationship with a following clause. There are several options, as exemplified, *inter alia*, by the following texts. 1. Gen. 37:14 (impv.-impv.): *lækkā-nāʾ rᵉʾē ʾæṯ-šᵉlōm ʾaḥèkā wᵉʾæṯ-šᵉlōm haṣṣōʾn wᵉhᵃšîḇēnī dāḇār* "Go now (impv.). See (impv.) about the welfare of your brothers and the welfare of the flock and bring word back (impv.) to me". The imperative is considered a non-sequential form (p. 193). 2. Gen. 44:33 (juss.-juss.): *wᵉʿattā yēšæḇ-nāʾ ʿaḇdᵏkā taḥaṯ hannaʿar ʿæḇæḏ laʾḏōnī wᵉhannaʿar yaʿal ʿim ʾæḥāw* "Now, therefore, please let your servant remain (juss.) instead of the lad a slave to my lord. But let the lad go up (juss.) with his brothers". "[T]hough one may say that the jussive itself is a non-sequential form, it could also appear in a sequence (as a two-member chain) where a strong semantic binding force functions" (p. 206). 3. Gen. 45: 9 (impv.-*wᵉqāṭal*): *mahᵃrū waᵃʿlū ʾæl ʾāḇī waˣmartæm ʾēlāw kō ʾāmar binkā yōsēp* "Hurry (impv.), and go up (impv.) to my father, and say (pf.cs.) to him: 'Thus says (pf.) your son Joseph'". A succession of events is involved, but Endo's formalism implies that there is no sequential relationship between *waᵃʿlū* and *waˣmartæm* (p. 211). 4. Gen. 41:34 (juss.-*wᵉqāṭal*): *yaᵃʿśè parʿō wᵉyāpqēḏ pᵉqīḏīm ʿal-hāʾāreṣ wᵉḥimmeš ʾæṯ-ʾæreṣ miṣrayim bᵉšæḇaʿ šᵉnē haśśāḇāʿ* "Let Pharaoh take action (juss.) and appoint (juss.) overseers in charge of the land, and organize (pf.cs) the land of Egypt in the seven years of abundance". It is reasonably held that the jussive provides preparatory information "one step away from the main line", while the *wᵉqāṭal* expresses the speaker's main intention (p. 214).

A special section (6.6) is devoted to *wᵉqāṭal* as a "pseudo-independent" form. The point is that in a sentence like Gen. 33:10*a* it is claimed that *wᵉlāqaḥtā* functions as an imperative and is, to that extent, non-sequential, but also as indicator of another command, request, etc. to follow (therefore, sequential): *ʾal-nāʾ ʾim-nāʾ māṣāʾtī ḥēn bᵉʿēnæḵā wᵉlāqaḥtā minḥātī miyyādī [qaḥ-nāʾ æṯ-birkātī]* "No, please, if now I have found (pf.) favour in your sight; Then take (pf.cs.) my present from my hand. [Please take (impv.) my gift]" (note that the bracketed section corresponds to v. 11*a*).

Chapter 7 deals with narration or, though this is not explicitly stated, those parts of the text in the third person that constitute the words of the "Bible writer" himself as narrator, i.e. narrative proper.

First, some introductory remarks recapitulate the findings so far, namely, word order is solely a means of focusing on a clause constituent; *qāṭal* stands for the past and *yiqṭōl* for the non-past; the contrasts *qāṭal* vs. *(way)yiqṭōl* and *yiqṭōl* vs. *(wᵉ)qāṭal* are not at the level of ordinary tense/aspect distinctions but represent a "discourse phenomenon" and are best described as a contrast between the non-sequential and sequential, ultimately expressing the contrast stable vs. unstable. Secondly, in the treatment of the narrative material it is said, to begin with, that tense is affected—at the translation level—by various literary units that make up a text. These units may be delimited formally as *wayhī*, *hinnēh*, etc. or functionally into off-line material vs. on-line material. By this is meant the contrast between "various kinds of supportive, descriptive, and depictive material" and "the backbone or storyline material" (p. 237). What characterizes material of either kind grammatically is not discussed, nor is the possibility of an aspectual opposition between motion and rest indicated in the contrast foreground vs. background; it is only restated that the "dichotomy [off-line/on-line] does not simply correspond to the choice of the conjugations" (p. 237).

First to be dealt with is non-sequential *qāṭal* in backgrounded material. Much space is devoted to Gen. 37:36: *wᵉhammᵉḏānīm mākᵉrū ʾōṯō ʾæl-miṣrayim lᵉpōṭîpār sᵉrîs parʿō śar haṭ-ṭabbāḥîm* "And the Midianites sold (pf.) him in Egypt to Potiphar, Pharaoh's officer, the captain of the bodyguard". Endo's analysis may be summarized as follows. There is no semantic link between this verse and the preceding verses, since they differ as to geographical context, but there may be a contrast involved, namely the brothers' deceitfulness in regard to Joseph's fate—if so, there is a linkage to the preceding verses. There is another possibility, viz. that this verse—the last in ch. 37—is anticipatory to ch. 39, where the Joseph story is resumed after the Judah–Tamar episode, and, if so, it is off-line. But still the passage may be connected to 37:26–28, where it is already stated that Joseph was taken to Egypt, and in that case the clause may be "a goal (full stop) clause of this thread (i.e. the episode of selling Joseph). If so, it may be on-the-line material from this point of view" (p. 239). But it seems that the author is faltering. This is understandable. Recurrently, Endo has stated that word order has no semantic significance, and he has not even touched

upon the idea that *qāṭal* may have the value of stativity (rest). Thus, he has dispensed with the only available means of solving the problem, namely, by paying heed to the preposed subject followed by a *qāṭal*, the normal way of furnishing a circumstance of consequence for a whole episode.

Next, sequential *wayyiqṭōl* clauses employed to feature foregrounded events are ubiquitous in Hebrew storytelling: one simply links successive events into strings. To this common description, the objection is raised that these events may be simultaneous or, at least, overlapping, and therefore the term "successive" should be understood at a syntactic rather than a purely semantic level (pp. 244–52).

More striking is the discussion of *wayyiqṭōl* as an ending form, because here we have a sequential form which—contrary to definition—stands without a following clause. An example given is Gen. 37:34, where the clause beginning with *wayyiṯ'abbēl* concludes an episode (pp. 260ff.): *wayyiqra' ya'aqōḇ śimlōṯāw wayyāśem śaq bemoṯnāw wayyiṯ'abbēl 'al-bēnō yāmīm rabbīm* "And Jacob tore (impf.cs.) his clothes and put (impf.cs.) sackcloth on his loins and mourned for (impf.cs.) his son many days". This phenomenon entails a special literary effect, so it is argued, of "literary reverberation" or "cliff-hanger", giving a hint that something is to happen afterwards; or the form, thus used, simply fades out the scene (p. 263). This appears to be bending the data to fit the theory, when the simplest solution would be to treat *wayyiqṭōl*'s (or, in the future, *we'qāṭal*'s) as "continuative" forms (continuing the narrative that *precedes*) or, perhaps better, "integrative" forms (signalling that what follows is part of a larger narrative unit, which would accommodate the common use of *wayyiqṭōl* at the very beginning of a unit) rather than primarily "sequential" (i.e. signalling that the clause following the *way-* functions as a kind of condition for the following clause, which is, apparently, Endo's conception). For example, *wayyæḥ'azaq hārā'āḇ bə'æraṣ miṣrayim* at the end of Gen. 41:56 depicts, it is contended, the situation when people came from all around to buy grain from Joseph and is thus to be viewed as backgrounded (p. 267). However, to the present writers it would rather seem that the clause is backgrounded only because it continues another backgrounded unit, with which the verse begins: *we'hārā'āḇ hāyā 'al kol-pənē hā'āraṣ*. The repetition of *rā'āḇ* and *'æraṣ* marks, stylistically, the closure of this unit.

Endo also claims (pp. 270f.) that *wayyiqṭōl* is backgrounded in "temporal clauses", such as Gen. 38: 12*a*: *wayyirbū hayyāmīm wattāmoṯ baṯ šūa' 'ēšæṯ yəhūḏā* "And after a considerable time (impf.cs.) Shua's daughter, the wife of Judah, died (impf.cs.)". Here, the term "temporal clause with *waYYIQTOL*" may be appropriate from the perspective of translation, but syntactically such "temporal clauses" simply reflect the general predilection for the use of verbs in Hebrew and the paucity of adverbs (so that an adverbial phrase like "after a long time" is expressed as "and the days increased"). Similar comments apply to, for example, cases of "preview/explication/insertion by waYYIQTOL" (pp. 276–80), where *wayyiqṭōl* introduces information that does not appear to flow sequentially from one "on-line" segment to another. However, differences between one language and another in the syntactic representation of a semantic relationship (here, broadly, "subordination") should not be exploited for the syntactic description of either language, which should proceed from careful internal examination of one language, taking care not to confuse the categories of the descriptive meta-language with those of the language being described. But, in fact, as we have seen, in Endo's analysis semantic categories are constantly added in the description of narrative sequences on the basis of translation equivalents, whereas most probably *wayyiqṭōl* in all the passages cited expresses the sequence of narrative flow as the narrator saw it. Indeed, there is no convincing example of "waYYIQTOL for Off-the-Line Material" (pp. 266–79). Endo's appeal on p. 279 to GKC, §111*d*, in support of his contention that such an example is to be found at Gen. 37:21, *wayyišma' rə'ūḇēn wayyaṣṣīlēhū miyyāḏām*, because the first *wayyiqṭōl* clause "is subordinate in sense to the following" (in other words, what the writer might have said in English is: "when R. heard he rescued him"), confuses the level of Hebrew narrative syntax, where *wayyišma'* is clearly "on-line", with that of logico-semantic analysis of the narrative structure. Although Endo himself explicitly makes a similar distinction (p. 296: "Sequentiality or non-sequentiality should strictly be described as a syntactic function, not as a semantic function"), his book is pervaded by this kind of confusion (and is not, of course, helped by the kind of comment found in GKC); had the narrator wished to express a subordination and a new narrative unit (albeit one that could hardly be called "off-line"), we might have found, for example, *wayhī ka'ăšær šāma'*, as in v. 23.

Endo then discusses sequential forms followed or preceded by non-sequential forms (pp. 282–92), of which the first group comprises *qāṭal* or nominal clause plus *wayyiqṭōl* (i.e. non-sequential/backgrounded element first), e.g. Gen. 38:30, *we'ʾaḥar yāṣā' 'āḥīw […] wayyiqrā' šəmō zāraḥ* "And afterward his brother came out (pf.) […] and he was named (impf.cs.) Zerah". It is stated that only the first clause is

"one step away from the main line" (p. 283) and that the subsequent, *wayyiqṭōl*, clause does not "retain … (or depend … on) the preceding tense value" and cannot, therefore, have a pluperfect significance.

The second group is that in which a *qāṭal* or nominal clause follows *wayyiqṭōl*, e.g. Gen. 37:11, *wayᵉqannᵉʾū-bō ʾæḥāw wᵉʾābīḇ šāmar ʾæṯ-haddāḇār* "And his brothers were jealous (impf.cs.) of him, but his father kept (pf.) the matter in mind", or Gen. 41:8, *wayᵉsappær parᶜō lāhæm ʾæṯ-ḥᵉlōmō wᵉʾēn pōṯēr ʾōṯām lᵉparᶜō* "And Pharaoh told (impf.cs.) them his dreams, but there was no one who could interpret (ptc.) them to Pharaoh". In both cases, the second clause rounds off a unit.

Endo's discussion of "sequential" or "non-sequential" forms in narrative would have benefited from attention to the well-known distinction in Arabic (and also Hebrew) grammar between verbal and nominal sentences (see, e.g., GKC, §141*f*; Mats Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose* [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Semitica Upsaliensia, 12; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wicksell International, 1990], pp. 41–42; M. Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997], p. 182; J.A. Haywood and H.M. Nahmad, *A New Arabic Grammar of the Written Language* [second ed.; London: Lund Humphries, 1965], p. 99). Commonly, the noun-introduced subject + *qāṭal* clause is considered as backgrounded (cf. GKC §§140, 142), whereas the verb-introduced *wayyiqṭōl* clause is considered as foregrounded, but this observation is not discussed in the present study; indeed, nowhere in the assessment of grounding are any formal criteria presented. In many cases, the use of *qāṭal* (or better, so as to include nominal and participial clauses, the non-use of *way*+V+S+COMP) is a result of syntactic choice, namely the switch to a "nominal clause", which is itself a result of the narrative dynamic. For example, although it is clear that Gen. 41:50, *ūlᵉyōsēp̄ yullāḏ šᵉnē ḇānīm*, introduces a switch in narrative to "off-the-line" material (until verse 52), this switch is not marked *primarily* by the use of *qāṭal* (*yullāḏ*); it is rather the switch in word order from the dominant *way*+V+S+COMP to (prep. +) noun-fronting (mentioned by Endo at pp. 240 and 289) that carries the narrative impact here and in the other instances of "off-the-line" *qāṭal*, for example, Gen. 37:36*a*, *wᵉhammᵉḏānīm māḵᵉrū ʾōṯō ʾæl miṣrāyim*. Incidentally, it is difficult to see how *ūlᵉyōsēp̄ yullāḏ šᵉnē ḇānīm* can be non-sequential or independent, according to Endo's definition, when the following verse, *wayyiqrāʾ yōsēp̄ ʾæt-šēm habᵉḵōr* (Gen. 41:52), does indeed have an "explicit temporal and/or logical sequential relationship" (p. 238) with it.

Chapter 8, comparatively short, is devoted to tense in the subordinate clause, that is, a clause that forms a component of another clause. It is stated (p. 299) that at first sight it may seem that the criterion for verbal form in the subordinate clause is the same as that which applies to the main clause, namely, in the past *qāṭal* or *wayyiqṭōl* and in the non-past *yiqṭōl* or *(wᵉ)qāṭal*. As is well known, Hebrew has no sequence of tenses. Thus, *qāṭal* answers to present and past perfect, and *yiqṭōl* to future and past future, e.g. Gen. 43:25*b*, *kī šāmᵉʿū kī-šām yōḵᵉlū lāḥæm* "for they had heard (pf.) that they were to eat (impf.) a meal there". This state of affairs suggests, so it is argued, that the choice of verbal form should not be regarded from the narrator's viewpoint, but from the vantage point of the immediate participant(s). This analysis, attractive as it may be, is far-reaching, and actually comes quite close to the relative-tense theory, where the standpoint of the speaker is shuttled up and down a fixed time-scale depending on what time is intended. Also, it shares the weakness of this theory concerning instances where *yiqṭōl* depicts iterative, customary or habitual activity in the past; or, are those instances of a "historical present" (cf., for instance, Judg. 6:5; 9:25; 14:10; 1 Sam 1:10; 2:19)?

Chapter 9 summarizes the findings.

Curiously, as we have frequently illustrated, Endo employs text linguistics without taking whole texts into consideration, as if whole texts would obscure the true state of things. Moreover, the text-linguistic conception of grounding seems to have been misunderstood: grounding does not primarily determine the choice of verbal form but certainly indicates the function of that form. Both word order and choice of verbal form are decisive in interpreting a clause in respect of grounding. If grounding and word order are dismissed as unimportant, significant criteria for the function of verbal forms are overlooked.

By giving priority to utterances in direct speech, owing to their assumed resemblance to real speech, Endo automatically excludes an accurate elucidation of the role of narration in language. Rather, it is assumed that factors irrelevant to one-clause utterances in direct speech are irrelevant to narration, too. In the end, this approach leads to confusion (see our comments on Endo's treatment of Gen. 37:36, presented in Chapter 7).

The bias for a solution based on tense in fact results in a revival of the old fixed-tense idea—loosely

combined with some historical-linguistic theory—without addressing the ultimate *crux*, why the sequential forms assume inverted tense values (leaving a vague reference to historical linguistics out of account). Furthermore, the focus on action verbs entails that stative verbs are never discussed in a diachronic perspective: why do they behave differently from action verbs?

Basically, what is put forward is a tense system linked to a so-called aspectual contrast between "stable" and "unstable", manifest in the contrast between non-sequential and sequential forms:

past/complete: non-sequential *qāṭal*; sequential *(way)yiqṭōl*;
non-past/incomplete: non-sequential *yiqṭōl*; sequential *(wᵉ)qāṭal*.

On the surface, Endo's system may seem completely interlocked, but there are weaknesses. Morphologically, he has not properly shown, from a historical-linguistic point of view, that jussive *yiqṭōl* (<**yaqṭul*) is stable (= non-sequential), but in the shape of *(way)yiqṭōl* the same form is unstable (= sequential). The discussion of aspect seems somewhat unstructured, and the close connection between past and complete and non-past and incomplete, appears unwarranted. Also, Endo does not discuss the possibility of an incomplete past.

It is hard to see why a volitive form, followed by a conjoined, volitive form or a perfect consecutive, should not be sequential. Moreover, sequential forms that end a unit and chains of non-sequential, "pseudo-independent" forms acting as though they were sequential arouse suspicion that sequentiality, as Endo defines it, is not after all the distinctive feature of the Hebrew verbal system. Conditional clauses illustrate this point. A *qāṭal* in a protasis referring to the future (= non-past, sequential) agrees with the theory (cf. Gen. 43:9, quoted above [Ch. 5]). However, the use of a *qāṭal* in a protasis referring to the past has to invoke the category of "pseudo-independent" *wᵉqāṭal* in the apodosis, (cf. Gen. 33:10, quoted above [Ch. 6]), and a *yiqṭōl* in a protasis referring to the future (= non-sequential) would presumably be regarded in the same light, e.g. Num. 32:29, *ʾim yaʿabᵉrū … ʾittᵉkæm … ūnᵉṯattæm lāhæm* "if they cross over with you … you are to give them". Finally, in spite of his assertion that sequentiality is a syntactic and not a semantic function, Endo recurrently dwells upon semantic and stylistic effects.

In the end, it would seem that for Endo there are no sequential forms as such, since sequentiality is not a morphological matter, and ultimately there is no connection between form and function—which makes his theory difficult to prove or to disprove.

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Johann E. Erbes, *The Peshitta and the Versions: A Study of the Peshitta Variants in Joshua 1–5 in Relation to Their Equivalents in the Ancient Versions*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Semitica Upsaliensia, vol. 16, Uppsala 1999. Pp. 374.

Handbooks on Old Testament textual criticism often provide sweeping generalizations about the textual affinities of the ancient versions, usually providing very little evidence in support of their claims. However, it is only to the degree that such generalizations are based on careful analytical work that they have any actual value. It is this sort of thorough analysis that Erbes has provided for the first five chapters of the Book of Joshua in the book presently under review. His work is impressive in terms of its scope, its well-developed method, and the care with which it has been executed. This book makes a significant scholarly contribution to the study of the Syriac text of Joshua.

Erbes' work on Joshua originated as a Ph.D. dissertation completed under the supervision of Prof. Tryggve Kronholm in the department of Asian and African languages at the University of Uppsala in Sweden. Erbes previously published, in 1991, the Syriac text of Joshua for the Leiden edition of the

Peshitta. His work on the Leiden edition makes him uniquely qualified to undertake the study of Peshitta variants for this Old Testament book, since there is probably no one more familiar with the Syriac textual materials for Joshua than he. In what follows I will first describe briefly the method and organization of this volume and then venture to offer a few evaluative comments about it.

Most of this book consists of a methodical examination of each of the 459 Syriac variants for the first five chapters of Joshua that are found in the Leiden edition. In each case Erbes first presents and discusses the evidence of the Hebrew text, the Peshitta, and the other ancient versions. He then sets forth for each variant the conclusions that the evidence permits. In all he deals with some 3,000 versional details, affecting approximately 15% of the text of Joshua. The versions taken into account, in addition to the Peshitta, are the Greek Septuagint, the Aramaic Targum, the Coptic, the Ethiopic, and the Latin Vulgate. The Arabic and Armenian versions are excluded. Erbes' main conclusions concerning the Peshitta of Joshua are as follows: this version probably dates to the second century of the Christian era; the Peshitta of Joshua usually agrees with the MT and only on rare occasions with the LXX; there is no influence on the Peshitta from the Targum; there are some indications of affinity between the Peshitta and the Ethiopic version; the Vulgate provides little insight for the purposes at hand, while the Coptic is helpful in the analysis of medieval Greek readings. Erbes' general conclusion is that the Peshitta of Joshua makes only a modest contribution to the work of the modern textual critic of the Hebrew Bible. When compared to the MT, most of its variants are due, he thinks, to translation technique.

There are several strengths to Erbes' work that give it enduring value. First, it collects the textual data necessary for evaluating the Syriac text of Joshua 1–5. A wide range of materials is presented, including not only the Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic, and Greek evidence, but also the Latin, Coptic, and Ethiopic. Furthermore, Erbes has not restricted himself to the biblical text found in the standard printed editions. Wherever possible he has consulted the variant evidence as reflected in *apparati critici* of those editions and in various manuscripts as well. The breadth of his work is impressive. Anyone undertaking serious work on the Syriac text of Joshua cannot afford to be without this volume.

Second, Erbes' work is characterized by a judicious evaluation of the oftentimes-difficult textual issues that are involved. Erbes gives us the reasoned opinions of a seasoned text critic. But he is willing to go only so far as the evidence permits, resisting the temptation to stray beyond the parameters of the facts (cf., e.g., pp. 67, 77, 141, 183, 210, 218, 228, 244, 285). His sensitivity to the limitations of the extant evidence, and his willingness to let the material speak for itself as much as possible, are admirable traits in a field where it is not uncommon to find elaborate theories built on rather limited evidence.

Third, Erbes' work is characterized by a level of accuracy that is very difficult to achieve in this type of detailed work. As those who have done similar work realize all too well, it is easy for a modern scholar to commit the very types of scribal error that he is attempting to correct in ancient manuscripts. However, I have noticed very few typographical mistakes in this work. Only rarely is there a misspelling of a Greek, Syriac, or Coptic word. A bit more frequent are missing accents or subscripts from Greek words. But given the multilingual nature of the book and the ample opportunity for error to creep in, what is remarkable is that so few such mistakes are to be found.

There are a few areas where one might raise minor questions, however. First, there is the complexity of presentation that is adopted in the book. Erbes uses a complicated and sometimes unfamiliar system of abbreviations for describing the textual data. This means that the book is difficult to read, and an impatient reader might give up all too easily. I don't see how this problem could have been completely avoided, given the nature of the material. But if a greater degree of simplicity in the presentation could be achieved that would be in the best interests of the readership.

Second, there is a terminological problem that occasionally surfaces in connection with how the ancient versions are described in relationship to the Masoretic text. Usually Erbes is careful here, speaking of versional readings that agree with what he appropriately refers to as "the equivalent of the MT." This in fact is his preferred expression for describing the agreement of a version with the MT; on the average the expression occurs on almost every other page. On other occasions he acceptably says that a version "shares" the MT reading (p. 241), or is "equal" to the MT reading (p. 312), or is "parallel" to the MT reading (p. 123). But at other times Erbes speaks of an ancient version as "following" the MT, or "leaning" on the MT, or being "based on" the MT, or being "influenced by" the MT, or having the MT as its "parent," or "siding with" the MT, or being "patterned after" the MT, or being "a direct translation from" the MT," or "relying on" the MT, or "rendering" the MT, or "imitating" the MT, or "importing from" the MT (cf., e.g., pp. 23bis, 25bis, 95, 143, 178, 182, 186, 188, 193, 206, 229, 230, 238, 252, 254^{3x}, 275, 295,

309, 318[bis], 320[bis]). Such language is anachronistic. Since the MT is later than the ancient versions, it is improper to speak of these versions as following the MT, even though they may be following a Hebrew *Vorlage* that agrees with the later MT. A more precise use of language would be preferable here.

Third, an occasional minor lapse manifests itself. For example, the Syriac word *māryā* should be glossed as "the Lord," not "God" (p. 143). And the abbreviation "A.D." should consistently precede, not follow, numerals for dates (cf. pp. 35, 37[bis], 39, 47).

But all things considered, this is a remarkable book. It enables us to see more clearly the nature of the Syriac version of Joshua and to determine its proper role in the textual criticism of this book. Erbes plans to extend his work to the remainder of Joshua, a task which may require yet another three volumes. When that task is completed, we will have for Joshua one of the most thoroughgoing analyses of the Syriac text that exists for any book of the Peshitta. What is yet needed in modern Peshitta research are similar studies of the textual composition and translation techniques of the other books of the Syriac Bible, executed with an equal attention to detail and an equal control of the materials and issues involved. With his study of Joshua 1–5 Erbes has provided an excellent example of how the work should proceed. We wish the author all success in his future endeavors!

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Nashwān ibn Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-ʿulūm wa-dawāʾ kalām al-ʿarab min al-kulūm*. Ed. Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī, Muṭahhar ibn ʿAlī al-Iryānī and Yūsuf Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh. 12 vols. Dār al-Fikr, Damascus & Dār al-Fikr al-Muʿāṣir, Beirut 1999.

The author of this comprehensive lexicon of the Arabic language, Nashwān ibn Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1178), was a native of Yemen and a judge (*qāḍī*) by profession. Like al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945), the well-known author of *al-Iklīl*, before him, he had a keen interest in the history of South Arabia, partly because he claimed descent from the old Himyarite kings. This interest manifests itself in numerous places in the present lexicon,[1] and it also led him to compose his famous poem known as *al-Qaṣīda al-Ḥimyariyya*.[2] Among his other extant works, mention should be made of *al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn*,[3] which gives a survey of religious denominations.

This is the first time that this lexicon has appeared in its entirety. The critical edition of Professor Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéen (d. 1953), of Uppsala, published in 1951–3, reached only the letter *jīm*. Another edition, in 1951, made by the Yemenite scholar ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jarāfī, ended with the letter *shīn*, as did the edition published in 1983 by Wizārat at-Turāth al-Qawmī wa-th-Thaqāfa in Muscat, Oman. Neither of the two last-mentioned editions offers a satisfactory text. The present reviewer published a critical edition of six sample texts in his PhD dissertation on the relationship between the MSS of the first half of *Shams al-ʿulūm*, i.e. down to the end of the letter *shīn*. A detailed description of all extant MSS was also included.[4]

[1] The information on South Arabia in *Shams al-ʿulūm* was compiled and edited by ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḥmad under the title of *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-ʿulūm* (Leiden: Brill, and London: Luzac, 1916).

[2] Published under the title of *Mulūk Ḥimyar wa-aqyāl al-Yaman*, together with a commentary probably also stemming from Nashwān, entitled *Khulūṣat as-sīra al-jamiʿa li-ʿajāʾib akhbār al-mulūk at-tabābiʿa*, edd. ʿAlī ibn Ismāʿīl al-Muʾayyad and Ismāʿīl ibn Aḥmad al-Jarāfī (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa as-Salafiyya, 1378 [1958–9]).

[3] Ed. Kamāl Muṣṭafā (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat as-Saʿāda, 1948).

[4] *The Manuscripts of Parts 1 and 2 of Shams al-ʿulūm by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī: A Study of Their Relationship* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1997).

The edition under review contains firstly the editors' introduction (vol. 1, pp. 1–18, paginated in Arabic letters, and pp. 1–30), in which a brief description is given of the life and work of Nashwān and the religious and political circumstances of his time. It is followed by a description of *Shams al-ʿulūm* and the historical, geographical and linguistic facts it offers. The introduction continues with a survey of the MSS of *Shams al-ʿulūm* and of previous editions, an account of the method of editing followed and, at the end, ten pages of facsimiles from the MSS used by the editors. The remainder of vol. 1 and volumes 2–11 contain the text of *Shams al-ʿulūm* (covering 7369 pages). The bibliography is at the end of vol. 11, pp. 7401–27.

The indexes, prepared by the publishers, Dār al-Fikr, occupy the whole of vol. 12. They include quotations from the Koran, hadiths and other Islamic traditions, names of individuals, religious groups, books, places, and plants, astronomical and juridical terms, proverbial and poetical quotations, an index of the lexical material (pp. 441–873), and finally, on pp. 877–[891], indexes of terms related to Yemen (*al-Yamāniyyāt*): names of individuals, place-names, Yemenite words (*alfāẓ yamaniyya*), and names of tribes and plants.

The text of *Shams al-ʿulūm* is presented in a clear layout, thus enabling the reader to find easily the word or words he is looking for. In addition to variant readings, the footnotes contain references to the Koran, works of hadiths, poetical works, proverbial literature, other Arabic lexicons, etc. The editors have also supplied valuable historical notes on the text, including references to old South Arabian inscriptions.

The following MSS were used to establish the text (the order is that in which they appear in the list of sigla, p. 20). First, the two El Escorial MSS, nos. 34 and 603 (forming together an almost complete copy of the work), which are used as the basis. Secondly, the MS(S) in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo, probably 30 *lugha*, in 3 vols. Thirdly, a MS from the Maktabat al-Imām Yaḥyā, now in the Library of the Great Mosque, Sanaa. Fourthly, three MSS in Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya, Sanaa. Fifthly, the Tübingen MSS, complete in four parts. Sixthly, the two Berlin MSS (in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabt.). Seventhly, three MSS from the British Library (formerly in the British Museum), referred to as L 1, L 2 and L 3 (in vol. 1, p. 136, n. 1, their sigla appear as Br 1, Br 2 and Br 3). Eighthly, the Yale University Library MSS, Landb. 689, vols. 1–3. The MSS Huntington nos. 8 and 9 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, are described as being MSS of *Shams al-ʿulūm*, both in the survey of the MSS, p. 12, no. 2, and in the list of sigla on p. 20. These MSS do not contain *Shams al-ʿulūm*, but rather the abridgment *Ḍiyāʾ al-ḥulūm* by Nashwān's son, Muḥammad ibn Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī. In fact, a facsimile on p. 30 of a MS of *Ḍiyāʾ al-ḥulūm*, the origin of which is not stated in the caption, shows the title-page of MS Huntington no. 8. Finally, it should be added that it would have been helpful and clarifying if the sigla of the MSS had been given also in the description of the MSS on pp. 10–13, thereby following a quite common practice among editors in the Arab world.

The choice of the two El Escorial MSS, which were written in 627–8/1228–30, as the basis for the edition seems sound. They contain the almost complete text of *Shams al-ʿulūm*, transcribed by Jumhūr al-Hamdānī, himself a grammarian of some distinction, and they are richly (and nearly always correctly) vocalized and comprise a number of corrections. The corrected text seems to contain only a few errors.

The examination of the established text has been restricted to three different passages. The text has been compared in particular with the El Escorial MSS acerabe 64 (my abbr.: E 1) for the first two texts, and 603 (abbr.: E 2) for the third text, since these MSS were used as the basis by the editors. In a few instances, remarks on readings found in the other MSS have been added, and also some additional references to parallel passages. Where the reading of MSS E 1–E 2 has seemed preferable to that of the established text, the reading in question is quoted, preceded by the imperative "read". The line numbers refer only to lines with text in the edition. Readings of *Ḍiyāʾ al-ḥulūm* are quoted according to the Bodleian Library MSS Huntington 8 and 9.

The first examined text covers the first chapter of *Kitāb al-khāʾ*, which deals with words having *khāʾ* as their first radical letter and identical second and third radical letters. The text is to be found in vol. 3, pp. 1663–1691.

P. 1664, col. 2, line 7: read *jarūzā* for *ḥazūzā*. The hemistich is found in MML 1/441 (*jrz*), while both verses are quoted in *K. al-ʿAyn* 6/64. P. 1665, col. 1, 5–6: *al-khalla tadʿū ilā s-salla* is a proverb, see *Majmaʿ al-amthāl* 1/241, *al-Mustaqṣā* 1/315. P. 1665, col. 2, lines 3 and 4: read *r* for *z*, and *al-khurr* for *al-khuzz*. P. 1666, col. 2, 10: read *al-khibba* for *al-khabba*; cf. p. 1668, col. 1, 7. P. 1667, col. 2, 5: read *bi-ḥamḍ* for *bi-ḥimḍ*. P. 1668, col. 2, 5: read *siyatayhā* for *siyyihā*; cf. *aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ* 4/1687. P. 1671, col. 2,

12: E 1 reads *minnā* for *minka* in this verse (no. 8) from the *Muʿallaqa* (*khafīf*) of al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥilliza. This reading, which appears also in some of the other MSS and in *Ḍiyāʾ al-ḥulūm*, should at least have been mentioned in a note. P. 1672, col. 1, 11: *wa-l-khashāsh ṣighār aṭ-ṭayr*, which is a marginal correction in E 1, should be moved to a point immediately after the verse on p. 1672, col. 2, line 3. P. 1673, col. 1, 2: read *la-qulta* for *la-qultu*. P. 1674, col. 2, 12: E 1 reads *Abū ʿUbayda* in place of *Abū ʿUbayd*. P. 1675, col. 2, 3: change the misprint *khālalahū* to *khāllahū*. P. 1676, col. 2, 1–5: change, line 1, *zāy* to *rāʾ*, line 2, *al-khazīz* and *al-ʾakhizza* to *al-kharīr* and *al-ʾakhirra* respectively, and, line 5, *bi-akhizzati th-thalabūt* to *bi-akhirrati th-thalabūt*; cf. *aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ* 2/643 (*khrr*). P. 1676, col. 2, 11: read *musaddas* for *sds*. P. 1677, col. 1, 5: read *ghanīnā* for *ʿanīnā*. P. 1677, col. 1, 6: read *wāfirātin* for *wāqirātin*. P. 1679, col. 2, 7: read *khushashāʾ* for *khushshāʾ*; cf., ibid., lines 11–12: *al-ʾaṣl fīhā* [i.e. *fī fuʿlāʾ*]: *fuʿalāʾ*, *bi-fatḥ al-ʿayn*. P. 1679, col. 2, 10: read *al-muzzāʾ* for *al-murrāʾ*. P. 1680, col. 1, 7: read *faʿʿālun* for *fuʿʿālun*; cf. the entry *khammān* in vol. 3, p. 1918, col. 2, 11. P. 1681, col. 2, 9: read *ʾidhā* for *ʾidh*. P. 1682, col. 1, 5–6: the verse (*wāfir*) by an-Nābigha adh-Dhubyānī is to be found in his *Dīwān*, p. 222, and also in *K. al-ʿAyn* 4/145. P. 1682, col. 1, 5: read *wafrin* for *waqrin*. P. 1682, col. 2, 1: E 1 reads erroneously *ʾidh* in place of *ʾidhā*. P. 1683, col. 1, 3: read *wa-khaṣūṣiyatan* for *wa-khaṣūṣatan*. P. 1684, col. 1, 10: read *khiffū* for *khuffū*, cf. *al-Fāʾiq* 1/387. P. 1685, col. 2, 3: E 1 reads *yaku* for *taku*; *Ḍiyāʾ al-ḥulūm* has the latter reading. P. 1687, col. 1, 13: E 1 reads *ʾillā ʾanna* in place of *ʾidh ʾinna*. On line 14, change *ḥafīfatan* to *khafīfatan*. P. 1688, col. 2, 5: read *huzila* for *hazula*; cf. *Lisān* 11/219 (*khll*). P. 1690, col. 1, 10: read *ʿankum* for *ʿalaykum*; cf. *Lisān* 1/344 (*khbb*). P. 1691, col. 1, 5: read *qunb* for *qtb*. P. 1691, col. 2, 2: omit *min al-laḥm* (the preceding word should be read *washīqatan*).

The second text comprises the first chapter of *Kitāb as-sīn*, which treats words having a *sīn* as their first radical letter and identical second and third radical letters. The text is to be found in vol. 5, pp. 2897–2935.

P. 2897, col. 1, 5: read *wa-s-sadd* for *as-sadd*. P. 2897, col. 2, line 6: read *mā* for *man*. P. 2897, col. 2, 8: read *as-sudd* for *wa-s-sudd*. P. 2897, col. 2, 10: E 1 alone reads erroneously *Zayd* for *Yazīd*. P. 2898, col. 1, 5: read *aḍ-ḍamma* (masc. acc.) for *bi-ḍ-ḍamm*. P. 2898, col. 1, 7: read *wa-s-sadd* for *as-sadd*. P. 2898, col. 2, 13: read *sanbatin* for *sanbatun*. P. 2899, col. 2, 1: read *wa-faras* for *faras*. P. 2899, col. 2, 3: read *wa-yuqālu* for *yuqālu*. P. 2899, col. 2, 6: add the letter *hāʾ* after *wa-min khafīfihī*. P. 2900, col. 1, line 8, and col. 2, lines 1 and 5: read *wa-s-sudd* for *as-sudd*. P. 2902, col. 1, 9–11: the tradition is quoted in *Lisān* 2/537 (*fṭḥ*). P. 2902, col. 1, 13: read *li-shuʿth* for *ash-shuʿth*. The tradition (lines 13–14) is quoted in *Lisān* 3/209 (*sdd*). P. 2902, col. 2, lines 1 and 2: read *wa-yuqālu* for *yuqālu*. P. 2902, col. 2, 4: read *wa-s-sudda* for *as-sudda*. P. 2902, col. 2, 9: read *wa-surratu l-wādī* for *surratu l-wādī*. P. 2903, col. 2, 10–11: the verse (*khafīf*) has also been attributed, apparently wrongly, to *Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, see his *Dīwān*, p. 89 (incl. n. 4), and *Jamharat al-lugha* 1/70 (with further references). P. 2904, col. 1, 11: read *an-niṭaʿ* for *an-niṭʿ*. P. 2904, col. 2, 3: add the letter *rāʾ* before *as-sirr*. P. 2905, col. 1, 10–11: the poem (*ṭawīl*) is by ʿUrwa ibn Ḥizām, see *Lisān* 11/341 (*sll*). P. 2906, col. 1, 2: read *lidatuhū* for *lidātuhū*. P. 2906, col. 1, 14: read *li-stiwāʾihā* for *li-stiwāʾihī*. P. 2906, col. 2, 5: read *hamūza* (acc.) for *hamūzi*; cf. al-Ḥuṭayʾa, *Dīwān*, p. 139. P. 2908, col. 1, 7–8: this verse (*kāmil*) ascribed here to Asʿad Tubbaʿ may be identical with one ascribed to Umayya ibn Abī ṣ-Ṣalt, see *Dīwān*, p. 47, *Lisān* 7/766 (*thʾṭ*, with *balagha* in place of *nāla*). P. 2908, col. 2, 9: E 1 reads *mā* for *wa-mā*. P. 2909, col. 1, 5: read *sananika* for *sananaki*. P. 2909, col. 2, 3: E 1 omits *yuqālu*. P. 2909, col. 2, 10: read *khuṭūṭuhumā* (the pronoun refers to the preceding *ar-rāḥa* and *al-jabha*). P. 2910, col. 1, 6: read *fa-yaruddu*. P. 2910, col. 1, 8: read *al-maʿmūl*. P. 2911, col. 2, 13: E 1 reads *tāʾibun* (or *thāʾibun*) for *qāʾidun*; note that *Ḍiyāʾ al-ḥulūm* reads *thābitun*; cf. Jamīl, *Dīwān*, p. 139, with reading *thāʾibun*. P. 2912, col. 1, 3: read *li-l-ibil* for *al-ibil*. P. 2912, col. 1, 6: read *yuḥtamalu* for *yuḥmalu*. P. 2912, col. 2, 4: read *al-wadaka* (acc.) for *bi-l-wadaki*. P. 2912, col. 2, 11: read *wa-jamʿuhū* for *wa-jumiʿat*. P. 2914, col. 2, 6: E 1 and the other MSS read *wa-jaʿala* for *thumma jaʿala*, which agrees with the authorized edition of the *Koran* (32:8). This variant should at least have been mentioned in a note. P. 2916, col. 1, 8: E 1 reads *samūmuh* for *samūmuhū*. P. 2919, col. 1, 5–8: for the tradition, see *an-Nihāya* 2/346. P. 2919, col. 2, 6–7: read *lā ḥarra* (or *ḥarrun*) *yuʾdhī*; cf. *Dīwān al-adab* 3/100, where *yawmun sajsajun* is explained in a similar way with repetition of *yuʾdhī*: *lā ḥarrun yuʾdhī wa-lā qurrun yuʾdhī*. P. 2919, col. 2, 8: the tradition, "*al-jannatu sajsajun*", is also quoted in *MML* 3/64: "*inna ẓilla l-jannati sajsajun*", *aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ* 1/321 (*sjj*), *an-Nihāya* 2/343, and see especially *Tāj al-ʿarūs* 6/30 (*sjj*). P. 2921, col. 2, 18–19: for the tradition, see *an-Nihāya* 2/389. P. 2922, col. 1, 1: read *al-khaṭāʾiṭ* for *wa-l-khaṭāʾiṭ*. P. 2922, col. 1, 7: read *wa-s-safsāf min* for *as-safsāf min*. P. 2922, col. 2, 12: read *yataʿaqqadu* for *yanʿaqidu*. P. 2924, col. 1, 7: read *al-ibila* for *al-ibili*. P. 2925, col. 1, 4: read

al-kanahbulī for *al-kanahbalī* (both written without *yāʾ*). P. 2925, col. 1, 14: read *zandaka* for *zanduka*, as the preceding word, *surra*, is an imperative, as is clear from the imperative explaining it, *ʾaṣliḥhu* (the *sukūn* above the *ḥāʾ* in the E 1 indicates that it is an imperative), on line 15; the whole sentence should thus be read as follows: *yuqālu: surra zandaka fa-ʾinnahū ʾasarru, ʾay: ʾaṣliḥhu fa-ʾinnahū ʾajwafu*; cf. *aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ* 2/683, and especially *Tāj al-ʿarūs* 12/10. P. 2925, col. 2, 2: read *saffu l-khawṣi: nasjuhū* for *saffa l-hawḍa* (masc.): *saḥḥahū*. P. 2925, col. 2, 8–9: for the citation of Ibn Durayd, see his *Jamharat al-lugha* 1/134 (*skk*). P. 2926, col. 2, 10: read *ʾaḥsana* for *ḥassana*; cf. *aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ* 5/2139 and *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq*, p. 54; the reading *ḥassana*, which is found in the Tübingen MS, should have been quoted in a note. P. 2927, col. 2, 2: read *safiftu* for *safaftu*. P. 2928, col. 1, 7: E 1 reads *wa-ʾinnī* for *thumma ʾinnī* in the text, which latter agrees with the authorized edition of the *Koran* (71:9); *wa-ʾinnī* should at least be quoted in a footnote. P. 2929, col. 1, 4: E 1 reads *musiffun* as against *musiffin* in the text. P. 2931, col. 1, 1–3: the tradition is also quoted in *Lisān* 13/222 (*snn*). P. 2931, col. 1, 3: read *nuqiṣa* for *naquṣa*. P. 2931, col. 1, 6: read *shātamahū* for *shāqqahū*. P. 2931, col. 2, 15: read *minhā* for *fīhā*. P. 2934, col. 1, 4–6: the tradition is quoted in *Lisān* 8/434 (*sghsgh*), and in *al-Fāʾiq* 2/181. P. 2935, col. 1, 8–10: the tradition is quoted in *Lisān* 8/156 (*sʿʿ*).

The third text to be examined covers the first chapter of *Kitāb al-lām: Bāb al-lām wa-mā baʿdahā min al-ḥurūf fī al-muḍāʿaf*. It is to be found in vol. 9, pp. 5951–81.

P. 5951, col. 2, 10–12: the verses (*rajaz*) are also quoted in *Lisān* 1/245 (*thwb*), where they are ascribed to Maʿrūf ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, i.e. aṭ-Ṭalīq al-Marwānī (d. *c.* 400/1010; *GAS* 2/693–4). P. 5951, col. 2, 10: E 2 reads the plural of *thawbun* with *hamza* instead of *wāw*, i.e. *ʾathʾubā*; cf. *al-Munṣif* 1/284, where the hemistich is quoted to illustrate the change of *wāw* to *hamza* in *ʾathʾubun*. P. 5951, col. 2, 11: read *ar-raʾsu* (nom.) for *ar-raʾsa* (acc.). P. 5952, col. 2, 2: read *ʾujriya mujrā* for *jarā majrā*. P. 5952, col. 2, 4: read *yuqālu* for *wa-yuqālu*. P. 5952, col. 2, 12–13: for the tradition, see *an-Nihāya* 4/223. P. 5953, col. 2, 6: the verse (*rajaz*) is ascribed to "a man from Hudhayl" in *Khiz. al-adab* 11/421, and as-Sukkarī 2/651; read the verse as follows: *ka-lladhi tazabbā zubyatan fa-ṣṭīdā*. P. 5953, col. 2, 9: the name of Jarīr is written above the line in E 2, thus probably added by someone other than the copyist, so it might have been quoted in a note instead. As correctly pointed out by the editors, the subsequent verse (*kāmil*), on lines 10–11, stems from al-Akhṭal; see his *Dīwān*, p. 44, *Lisān* 2/349 (*flj*), 14/233 (*ḥzw*), and 15/245 (*ldhy*). P. 5954, col. 1, 2: read *li-qawlika* for *ka-qawlika*. P. 5954, col. 2, 4: E 2 reads *mātū* as against *qutilū* (*Koran* 3:168) in the established text, which agrees with the authorized Koranic text; the variant should at least have been mentioned in a note. P. 5954, col. 2, 8: add with E 2 *taʿālā* after *ka-qawlihī*. P. 5954, col. 2, 12: read *ḍawṭarin* (without final *yāʾ*). P. 5955, col. 1, 1: change the letter *lām* to *ʾalif*. P. 5955, col. 1, 14–15: the verse (*kāmil*) is by Saʿd ibn Malik (*GAS* 2/154, n. 1), see *Khiz. al-adab* 1/467, *Lisān* 2/409 (*brḥ*), and Sīb. 1/58. P. 5956, col. 1, 15 – col. 2, 5. The text has become confused here; in place of *wa-yajūzu r-rafʿu … taʾthīm*, read as follows: *wa-yajūzu r-rafʿu ka-qawlihī: lā umma lī ʾin kāna dhāka wa-lā ʾabu. Wa-ʾin kāna mā baʿda "lā" marfūʿan rufiʿa l-maʿṭūfu, ka-qawlihī, taʿālā: "wa-lā taʾthīmu", wa-ka-qawli sh-shāʿiri: "lā nāqatun lī fī hādhā wa-lā jamalū"*. Note the reading *"rufiʿa l-maʿṭūfu"*, found in E 2 and its descendants, in place of *"rufiʿa l-maʿṭūfu ʿalayhi"* (on p. 5956, col. 2, 3–4), which is found in the other MSS. The word *taʾthīmu* is *al-maʿṭūf*, because it stands after the co-ordinating conjunction *"wa-"* in this quotation from Koran 52:23 (*"lā laghwun fīhā wa-lā taʾthīmun"*), while *"laghwun"* is *al-maʿṭūf ʿalayhi*; see Ibn ʿAqīl, *Sharḥ*, p. 418 (on verse 544). P. 5956, col. 2, 7–8: the verse (*wāfir*) is by Umayya ibn Abī aṣ-Ṣalt; see his *Dīwān*, p. 52 (vv. 13 and 19), *Khiz. al-adab* 4/494, *Lisān* 12/6 (*ʾthm*). P. 5957, col. 1, 6: E 2 and its descendants read *ʾījāb* for *al-ʾijāb*. P. 5957, col. 2, 9: add *ta-llāhi* before *taftaʾu*; note that *Shams al-ʿulūm* reads *taftaʾu* as against *tafta'ū* in the authorized Koran edition (12:85). P. 5958, col. 1, 6: the hemistich is from a poem (*rajaz*) ascribed to, among others, Shihāb ibn al-ʿAyyif, see *Khiz. al-adab* 10/89–90. P. 5958, col. 1, 8: the verse (*rajaz*) is by Abū an-Najm al-ʿIjlī, *Dīwān*, p. 33, *Lisān* 5/112 (*qfndr*). P. 5960, col. 1, 9: read *mujtamaʿatu l-fawākihi* for *mujtamaʿu l-fawākihi*. P. 5960, col. 1, 12: read *luffin* for *liffin*. P. 5960, col. 2, 8: read *ʿan* for *min*. P. 5961, col. 2, 14: read *milazzī* (spelled without *yāʾ*) for *milazzun*. P. 5962, col. 2, 6: read *ʾIbyana* (diptote acc.); cf. the entry of this proper name in *Shams al-ʿulūm* 1/682. P. 5963, col. 1, 6–8: the tradition is to be found also in *Tāj al-ʿarūs* 7/88 (*lḥḥ*), *Lisān* 2/577 (*lḥḥ*), 3/50 (*lkhkh*), and an-*Nihāya* 4/236, 243. P. 5963, col. 2, 15–16: the verse by Ibn Muqbil is to be found in his *Dīwān*, p. 387; it has also been ascribed to Jirān al-ʿAwd an-Numayrī, see his *Dīwān*, p. 42. P. 5963, col. 2, 16: read *wa-rijrijun*. P. 5964, col. 2, 7: read *limmatin* for *lammatin*; cf. the entry *al-Limma* on p. 5960. P. 5965, col. 2, 5: read *mulabbin* for *labbin*. P. 5967, col. 1, 7: read *yuraddadu*; cf. *aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ* 1/337 (*ljj*). P. 5967, col. 2, 12: E 2 reads erroneously *al-luhluhatu*, which

could have been mentioned in a footnote. P. 5968: footnote no. 3 is missing. P. 5969, col. 2, 8: read *al-ʿujma* for *al-muʿjama*. P. 5971, col. 1, 14: read *laddahū* for *ladda*. P. 5971, col. 2, 11: read *al-khalā* 'fresh herbage', cf. *MML* 5/205. P. 5971, col. 2, 14: read *jaḥāfiluh* for *ḥajāfiluh*. P. 5972, col. 1, 7–8: the verse (*ṭawīl*) is by Zayd ibn Kathwa al-ʿAnbarī, see *Lisān* 15/215 (*kthw*). P. 5972, col. 1, 9: read *bi-l-ʾafniya* for *bi-l-ʾaqbiya*. P. 5974, col. 1, 9: read *lazāzan* for *lazazan*. P. 5974, col. 2, 13: read *labubta* for *lubibta*. P. 5975, col. 1, 8–9: the tradition about ʿUmar is quoted in *Lisān* 5/369 (*ʿjz*). P. 5975, col. 1, 9: read *lā tuqīmū* for *lā yuqīmū*. P. 5975, col. 2, 5: add *yuqālu* before *ʾalaṭṭa*. P. 5976, col. 1, 11: for the attribution of the verse to Abū Khirāsh, see also as-Sukkarī 3/1346, *Khiz. al-adab* 7/190, *Lisān* 12/104 (*jmm*). P. 5976, col. 2, 9: read *wa-lajjaja* for *lajjaja*. P. 5977, col. 2, 16: read *muḥtaddun* for *muḥtasidun*, and *mā lahū* for *māluhū* (?); cf. *MML* 5/203. P. 5978, col. 2, 11–12: the verse (*wāfir*) is by Miskīn ad-Dārimī (d. 89/708; *GAS* 2/323), *Dīwān*, p. 66, Sīb. 1/307–8. P. 5979, col. 2, 5: read *yubayyin* for *yubin*.

As the reader may notice, quite a number of the corrections above concern the omission of the conjunction *wa-*. It may seem futile to record such minor deviations; however, the impression of the reviewer is that Nashwān was very regular in the use of the conjunction, to the extent that one can say it forms part of his style. If the MSS used as the basis had been more unreliable, then the situation would have been more complicated, but since they are of very good quality, as pointed out by the editors in the introduction (vol. 1, pp. 13–14), it is a good rule to follow them strictly unless there are strong arguments for not doing so.

As for the vocalization, it can be remarked that there is a general trend among editors of classical Arabic lexicons (in the Arab world) to supply the vowel signs (including *shadda* and *sukūn*). The user-friendly approach of this edition would have been further enhanced if the vowel signs had been supplied more lavishly than has been done.

Despite the errors in the edited text explained above, the appearance of this complete edition of *Shams al-ʿulūm* will be welcomed by anyone who is interested in Arabic language and culture, and in particular by those dealing with South Arabia and its long, fascinating history.

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Azerbaijani-English Dictionary. Ed. Musayev, O. İ. Azerbaijan State Institute of Languages, Baku 1998. XXV+ 646 pp.

In theory, the old Cyrillic alphabet used for the representation of the Azerbaijani language has been replaced by a modified Latin script already as early as 1992. This was a direct result of the declaration of Azerbaijani independence in 1991 and the subsequent reorientation of the country towards the West, which was further strengthened by president Heydar əliyəv's historical 1997 petrol treaty with foreign investors. However, the English language is only gradually gaining ground against Russian. The vast majority of Azerbaijanis are still Russian-Azerbaijani bilinguals, and it is only very slowly that fluency in English begins to spread from Baku's first Mc Donald's restaurant, progressive circles such as parts of the military, students and scientists into the broader layers of society. The retardation of this progress is illustrated by the fact that by far the most Azerbaijani publications, including newspapers and novels, are still appearing in the old Cyrillic script and the 1996 first edition of the dictionary under review here was set in Cyrillic letters, too. In adapting the country to the new cultural and political phase, the need for a comprehensive Azerbaijani-English dictionary is self-evident. Professor Musayev's dictionary is by far the largest of its kind. Its about 45,000 entries (from which several thousand doubles have to be subtracted because of their erroneous twofold qualification as nouns and adjectives, about which see below) cleary exceed the few thousand elements of basic vocabulary that are included in any previously published small Azerbaijani-English dictionary. This size makes Professor Musayev's book into a working basis for anybody dealing with translations from Azerbaijani into English. This function is a logical consequence of the publishing house being Azerbaijan's foremost translation institute. Most of the vocabulary needed to translate any Azerbaijani text of medium difficulty and technicality will be found in Musayev's dictionary.

The dictionary tries to create distance to the Soviet period. This can be seen from many features, most visibly from its exclusive use of the Latin alphabet, but also from the high-quality paper and cover materials instead of the usual cheap ones that were common in Soviet dictionaries.

Given the fact that this dictionary is a daring pioneer work in the development of the Azerbaijani-English dictionary tradition one is often dazzled by the large amount and the by and large great reliability of the entries. Notably there is a huge amount of Azerbaijani idiomatic expressions with adequate English translations. However, there are weak sides, too. For instance, the treatment of abbreviations is rather disappointing. A tiny number of them is given in a separate list of only one page in an appendix. Even indispensable everyday abbreviations as *və s.* "for instance" or *c.* "volume (of a book)" are not included in this alibi list (nor, what is even more disappointing, can they be found in the main alphabetic section of the dictionary). On the other hand, we learn that FİFA and UEFA are apparently among the most "commonly used abbreviations in Azerbaijani", although their relation to the Azerbaijani language is perhaps less direct than abbreviation of the above mentioned type. This list is of no use if one attempts to read Azerbaijani texts from the Soviet period, since Russian abbreviations are not included, even if they were widely used even in Azerbaijani. Also many Azerbaijani abbreviations stemming from that time will be looked for in vain. Not even *Baksovet*, the name of the famous old Soviet municipality building and a central metropolitan station of Baku, is listed, although its use survives the collapse of the Union that gave it its name to this day. On the other hand, a foreign private enterprise such as British Petroleum is listed with its own abbreviation. The choice of abbreviations is seemingly determined by the political and economic preferences of the editor rather than by more objective criteria.

The political orientation of the dictionary makes itself evident also in the composition of the non-abbreviated entries. Words such as *dobávka* "second helping" and *parošók* "detergent", which are still of widespread use in Azerbaijan, are suppressed, probably for the sole reason that they are Russion by origin. This considerably diminishes the practicalness and usefulness of the dictionary, since a full understanding of conversations and texts will be possible only with the additional painstaking effort of identifying potential Russian loanwoards, perhaps even by guessing at their spelling, and looking them up in a dictionary of Russian.

Another drawback of the dictionary is the lack of information about the pronunciation of Azerbaijani words. For the large portion of the vocabulary that was borrowed from Russian an indication of word stress should have been included, since a correct pronunciation of these words is only possible if the stressed syllables are known. For instance, it is not specified in Musayev's dictionary whether in Russian

loanwords such as *paroxod* the vowel of the second syllable is pronounced as *a* or as *o*. Since the accent of this word is on the last syllable (as one can learn from other sources), the pronunciation should be *a*; but in the absence of a mark for stress, the reader of Musayev's dictionary cannot know this. Although this seems to be another case of bias against the Russian language, even for Azerbaijani words the marking of the word stress would have been essential, since there are exceptions to the generally prevailing rule that places it on the last syllable. For instance, *Gagauzca*, "in the Gagauz language", has its stress on the penultimate syllable (see the *Vurğu Lüğəti*. Baku 1993). The choice of the editors not to include word stress in the dictionary entries perhaps reflects the fact that it is destined primarily for the hands of native Azerbaijanis and not so much of foreigners. This is perhaps also the reason behind one methodologically seriously insufficient property of the dictionary. It consists in the practice that as good as every substantive is also classified as an adjective. Thus, for instance, there are two separate entries for *dövlət*: "state" as a noun and "state" as an adjective. However, *dövlət* grammatically belongs rather to the class of nouns. This can be seen from the third person possessive suffix appearing behind nouns before which *dövlət* is placed, such as *dövlət dil-**i*** "official language" (literally, "state language"). ***-I*** is the third person possessive suffix. All the examples quoted in Musayev's dictionary for *dövlət* being an adjective are of this kind. On the other side, if adjectives are placed in front of a noun in Azerbaijani, there is (apart from a number of exceptions) no possessive suffix on the qualified noun: *böyük* "great" and *dövlət* becomes *böyük dövlət*, not **böyük dövlət-**i***. The mistaken classification of most nouns as also being adjectives at the same time is perhaps a consequence of interference from the editors' target language, English, where, as opposed to Azerbaijani, there is no morpho-syntactical difference between "state (noun)" and "state (adjective)", etc. This explanation seems even more likely in view of the fact thet no dictionary from the Soviet period ever makes this mistake.

To sum up, the usefulness of the dictionary suffers a little bit from its desperately trying to ignore the vital Russian-dominated period of Azerbaijani language history. This has as its consequence that many aspects of Azerbaijani linguistic reality is also ignored, since the Russian-dominated era continues to be important. Nevertheless, given the huge pioneering work the editors had to master in composing the dictionary, the result is impressive.

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The Turkic Languages. Eds. Lars Johanson and Éva Ágnes Csató. Routledge Language Family Descriptions. Routledge, London 1998. XXIII + 474 pp.

This review is dedicated to the memory of KARL HEINRICH MENGES, who introduced me to the realm of Turkic Studies far beyond the Ottoman sphere.

The publication under review has been badly needed for a long time. It is a collective work carried out by eighteen different scholars (cf. "List of Contributors", xii), each of them a specialist in the fields of study covered by the respective chapters. The most recent book comparable in scope and detail was written roughly 40 years ago (PhTF 1959). During the four decades that have passed since, the classification of this language family has undergone some substantial changes and much research has been done on hitherto less known or unknown languages, some of which will have become extinct in the near future. Additionally, this is the first overall introduction to Turkic Studies to comprise extensive comments (especially on syntax) based on a linguistic approach.

The book was conceived as a reference book for Turcologists, interested readers, and as a textbook for undergraduate or graduate courses (cf. Preface, xiii). The present reviewer used large parts of it in a seminar on Turkic Studies, where each student had to read a paper on one chapter, much to the benefit of the whole group, who were highly motivated by the subsequent discussions of the papers. The book also has

a special didactic value with regard to moderately advanced students, in that it clearly shows that in many respects our knowledge is not at all certain, that on many problems there is not just one single view and that views are liable to change. This is especially true of those chapters that deal with the early history of Turkic peoples, their migrations, the question of their being related to other Altaic peoples, and etymology.

After various lists (Maps and Figures, Tables, Contributors), the Preface and Acknowledgements, a map of the Turkic languages, Notes and Transcription and Symbols, List of Abbreviations of Grammatical Terms (viii–xxiii) there are six introductory chapters (1–137) and twenty-one descriptions of individual languages or language groups, both historical and contemporary (138–452). At the end of each chapter there is a selection of relevant titles ("References and Further Reading"). The language chapters all have the same basic units, thus enabling readers to compare one single phenomenon throughout the whole range of Turkic languages. This book has become even more useful for extracting comparative information by the editors' adding a great number of cross-references. An Appendix (453–455) shows various 20th century forms of scripts used for Uzbek, Kazakh, and Uighur. A detailed index of themes, subjects, and terms (457–474) facilitates using the book. Each linguistic feature occurring in a language has an entry under the heading of this specific language.

The opening chapter serves as a general introduction: Hendrik Boeschoten, "The Speakers of Turkic Languages" (1–15) sketches the development of old and less old literary languages, the historical divisions of groups, notably the one of the Oghuz group between the Sunnī and the Shī'ite creeds as well as the divisions caused by Soviet islolationism, the various ethnic groups within Turkey, and speakers of Turkish outside Turkey. The main part of this chapter is devoted to the various Turkic languages, their geographical distribution, and, most important of all, the estimated numbers of speakers (cf. 13, Table 1.1, and comment, 3). This is especially welcome, since except Bainbridge 1993 there has been no reference work providing data on first-language speakers of Turkic worldwide.

Peter B. Golden, "The Turkic Peoples: A Historical Sketch" (16–29) presents us with the history of the Turkic peoples up to the 20th century, starting from earliest times (4000–3000 B.C. is given as a rough date of the existence of the "Altaic community", the origins of which, however, remain unclear, and 3000–500 B.C. as the time when Ancient Turkic must have emerged from the Altaic community). Although the stress lies less on early modern and modern history, the main developments of these periods are mentioned as well. Golden skilfully combines historical analysis with etymology. One could say that on these few pages he has put together the gist of his earlier work (Golden 1992) in a form that is fairly easy to read and perfectly suits the purpose.

Lars Johanson, "The Structure of Turkic" (30–66), unlike linguistic research of the typological kind, aims at a "more unbiased and differentiated description" (30) of the basic structure of Turkic, which is also common to other "Eurasian languages of the Altaic and Uralic types". There are three main subchapters, i.e. phonology (called "sound system" throughout the volume), morphology, and syntax. In the present review we can only mention some of the rich and very elucidative details, e.g., that morphophonological variation in stems can be found in umlauting processes in Uyghur (baš → bėšim, 32 with cross references to two subsequent chapters) or that labial harmony should rather be regarded as a real vowel assimilation (33). The sub-chapter on "Prosodic Phenomena" (34–35) deals with pitch and stress accent and the "interacting changeable dynamic stress accent", which "tends to fall on the first syllable, and seems to be the original factor of intersyllabic progressive sound harmony and of rhyme patterns in Old Turkic poetry". When talking of Arabic loanwords, Johanson posits that the representation of one Arabic root by various forms (hkm: hikmet, mahkeme, etc.) is "unproductive in the Turkic languages that incorporate the loanwords in question" (37). This raises the question, however, of words derived from Arabic roots that do not occur in Classical Standard Arabic like, e.g., some late Ottoman derivations in *–īyet*. "Verbals" discusses, among others, the problem of actionality vs. aspect in connection with postverbal constructions and stresses the fact that some verb forms can be finite as well as non-finite, in which case they "do not have identical meanings in these different syntactic functions. This has often been ignored by grammarians" (42–43). Consequently two sub-chapters are devoted to finite and non-finite forms, the former being divided into Intra-terminals, Post-terminals, and Terminals, the latter into Action nouns, Participles, and Converbs. "Syntax" first deals with "Nominal Phrases" (49–52), which from the basic fact that Turkic is head-final or left-branching develops the concepts of Genitive constructions, Compounds, Adjective Phrases, and other NPs. "Predications" (52–57) discusses Actancy Patterns and distinguishes between first actants, second actants (in the case of transitives they are direct objects, in the

case of intransitives they are complements by means of adverbial cases or postpositions) and third actants (indirect objects). A highly interesting feature occurs in "Diathetic patterns", i.e. that Chaghatay, Uzbek and Uyghur can combine passive verbs with accusative-marked direct objects (čâyni ičildi), in which cases "first actant suspension by means of the passive is combined with direct object topicalisation by means of the accusative" (55, with a cross-reference to the paragraph on topics 58). We can add that in Middle Ottoman texts near the level of prose generally called *orta nesir* we find the same phenomenon. However, it is not yet clear if this occurs more often in provincial texts than elsewhere. "Finite Clauses" gives a thorough introduction into the functions of word order, topicalisation, the focus position, and especially the relationship between position and specificity (57–60). "Non-finite clauses" distinguishes between action clauses, coreferential and other relative clauses, and discusses the different possibilities of how to express the first actant as well as converb clauses (60–66).

András Róna-Tas, "The Reconstruction of Proto-Turkic and the Genetic Question" (67–80) first defines the concept and aims of reconstructing a proto-language and gives a rough chronological limit of when Proto-Turkic may be assumed to have started, i.e. the regional beginning of the Neolithic Period, ca. 4500–4000 BC. The second question is the one of the last discernible *urheimat*, which apparently coincides with the habitat of the Turks "before the dissolution of the Ancient Turkic unity", i.e. "west and central Siberia and the region south of it" (68). In "A Sketch of Proto-Turkic" (69–76), Róna-Tas discusses the phonological, morphological, and lexical peculiarities of Proto-Turkic reconstructed with the help of existing Turkic languages as well as loans known from neighbouring language groups.

"Proto-Turkic and the Genetic Question" (76–79) is a well-balanced description first of the Turkic-Mongolic relationship uncontested by all scholars, which does not completely rule out a very early common proto-language. According to Róna-Tas this is possible despite the material being "very scanty" (76–77). As elsewhere (see, e.g., his publications mentioned in "References and Further Reading", 79) he is more critical against the larger Altaic Hypothesis and rejects the Nostratic Hypothesis altogether (77) and eventually presents the contacts and/or the genetic relationship posited by some scholars between Proto- Turkic and Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Uralic, and other Language Families (78–79).

Lars Johanson, "The History of Turkic" (81–125) first sketches the two early splits in the development of the Turkic group, the one of the Oghur/Bulghar and the Arghu/Khalaj split, which have led to the diversity to be encountered in the historical languages (81) as well as the classification generally accepted among Turcologists and language contacts (82–83). The "Periodisation" takes into account today's predominant view of Karakhanid as belonging to the Ancient Turkic period rather than to the middle one (85), "Validity and Variation" (87) extends the well-known concept of the transregional character of Chaghatay to all major literary languages prior to the second half of the 19th century and discusses the opposite phenomenon for the youngest period. "Diachronic Phonology" (88–111) distinguishes between primary stems and suffixes. Proving the existence of the 'closed *e*' and the opposition of *i* vs. *ï* is somewhat difficult and Johanson also quotes the view that there was a neutral *i* phoneme like in Mongolian before discussing the problem of the long vowels. In what follows we find a detailed description of vowels and consonants in their historical development. One of the many sub-chapters is devoted to suffix vocalism, one of Johanson's own fields of study (107–108). An issue less frequently encountered in introductory works is the general discussion of "Phonological Adaptation of Lexical Copies" (110) as well as "Accent and Intonation" (111). "Morphology" stresses, among others, some features common to all Turkic languages like postverbs (113–114), the "Versatility of Thematic Suffixes", i.e. the ability of suffixes to mark finite forms, action nouns, and/or participles (114) and "Aspect Formation", comprising a detailed analysis of intraterminality and post-terminality (114–116). Due to foreign influence some languages tend to copy syntactic and lexical items (118–119, 120–121). A very stimulating table (Table 5.1) shows the Oghuz and non-Oghuz differences in the basic lexical stock (120).

András Róna-Tas, "Turkic Writing Systems" (126–137) is a short overview of the manifold scripts used in the Turkic World, the stress lying on the ancient period.

Marcel Erdal, "Old Turkic" (138–157) gives a combined description of the runiform, Uyghur and Karakhanid texts, but makes special mention of features typical of just one of the three. A number of items of verbal morphology and syntax presented here are also to be found at some later stages of Turkic, cf., e.g., 149: "The absence of the accusative suffix is not related to non-specificity ... Definiteness and specificity are not expressed by case marking" (see Römer 1998).

Árpád Berta, "Middle Kipchak" (158–165) equally sums up materials written in various scripts over a vast geographical area between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, the best known of which are the

Mamluk-Kipchak texts and the Codex Cumanicus. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the texts contain many Oghuz elements that are difficult to discern.

Hendrik Boeschoten and Marc Vandamme, "Chaghatay" (166–178): The introductory parts of this chapter (166–169) give a vivid picture of the problems we are confronted with when talking about Chaghatay, and one of the best definitions of this language is "a succession of stages of written Turkic in Central Asia" (166). Therefore the authors extend its formative period to Khwarezmian Turkic (167) and link it to Uzbek and Uyghur, but they clearly criticise the tendency prevalent in the republics of the former Chaghatay area to "claim Chaghatay as the ancestor of their own brand of Turkic" (169, cf. the same issue in the chapter on Uzbek, 357). A most welcome clarification of the complex developments is to be found in the table on p. 168 (Figure 9.1, Relations of Chaghatay with other written varietes).

Celia Kerslake, "Ottoman Turkish" (179–202) along with the following chapter on Turkish (cf. below) is the most detailed description of one single language, given the wealth and importance of texts. Its introductory parts deal with the historical developments (Kerslake draws the readers' attention to a fact mentioned remarkably seldom, namely, "No dictionaries of Ottoman Turkish had been produced except by foreigners for foreign use" (180)), terminology and the periodisation (Old, Middle, and New Ottoman; 181), in which part she also briefly touches upon stylistic features (182). When talking about how voicedness vs. unvoicedness was represented by the Arabic script, it is certainly true that *-(y)Ub/p* was "usually spelled with *b*" (186), but there is ample evidence from Middle Ottoman texts near the level of "orta nesir" that unvoicing had already taken place. In the sub-chapter on syntax Kerslake pays special attention to the Persian-type clauses and NPs, as well as the role of Arabic verbal nouns (199–201). By ending the chapter with "Turkification of Ottoman Syntax" (201–202) the author links it to:

Éva Á. Csató and Lars Johanson, "Turkish" (203–235). After a very short introduction the authors analyze the sound system and morphology and give detailed tables of possessive and case suffixes as well as personal pronouns (210–211). With finite forms the focus is laid upon aspecto-temporal forms (214–215), and non-finite forms are divided into verbal nouns, verbal adjectives, and verbal adverbs (these latter comprising conditionals as well; 216). Ample room is given to relative clauses, the syntax of case-marking (219–221), and especially a detailed analysis of the constituent order, the structure of "topic preceding comment", and the various types of sentences and non-finite clauses ("The Sentence", 223–233). This is the only chapter whose "References and Further Reading" section gives additional information on bibliographies and linguistically orientated journals (234) besides a selection from the relevant literature, which is due to the fact that Turkish is the best documented of all Turkic languages (see also 203).

Bernt Brendemoen, "Turkish Dialects" (236–241) before going into some details, presents a very critical analysis of the present situation of Turkish dialectology, which is characterized by a lack of scholarly activity especially in Turkey due to political and social reasons. Therefore the classification of the dialects is still "rather tentative" (237).

Bernt Brendemoen, "The Turkish Language Reform" (242–247) sketches the main motives, aims, and developments of this unique process, focussing on the Türk Dil Kurumu and its activities. He also briefly comments upon the Sun-Language Theory and on the debate on whether Atatürk believed in it or not (244) and not only gives an overview of the situation after 12 September 1980, but also shows that we tend to forget how the language reform has estranged the Turks of Turkey from the rest of the Turkic world, and mentions new ideas to create a common Turkic literary language (246).

Taking Modern Turkish as a starting point for the description of the modern Turkic languages the following chapters are arranged according to the classification of the various language groups.

Claus Schönig, "Azerbaijanian" (248–260) and "Turkmen" (261–272): Schönig stresses the long common history Azerbaijanian shares with Ottoman and Turkish (248), which also becomes clear from some forms mentioned later on (e.g., the converb *-jAK*, 'as soon as', 256). Schönig gives many tables with paradigms (the same is true for the Turkmen chapter) and discusses the copies from Persian in the chapters on syntax and lexicon (259–260). He traces back the written Turkmen language to the 18th century (261).

Gerhard Doerfer, "The Turkic Languages of Iran" (273–282) presents us with the findings of the Göttingen expeditions (1968–1976), which not only turned over our notions of the expansion of the Azerbaijanian area, but also resulted in the discovery of the Khorasan Turkic dialect group and, most important for the classification of the Turkic languages, in the recognition of Khalaj as a successor language of Arghu, first mentioned in a central Asian Manichaean source of 759–780 (276–277). Doerfer gives sev-

eral comparative tables to show the differences between the Oghuz dialects and the Khorasan Turkic varieties and discusses the main linguistic features of Khalaj (280–281).

Now move on to the Kipchak languages:

Árpád Berta, "Tatar and Bashkir" (283–300), contains a fairly high number of tables with paradigms, and "West Kipchak Languages" (301–317) comprises Kumyk, Karachay-Balkar, Crimean Tatar, and Karaim (301). Out of the many details in this chapter we can only mention one instance, namely the fact that Karaim may have number agreement between attribute and head, which reminds one of the two lines in a late Uyghur folksong (*aqlar bulït örläp kökiräp, qaralar bulït örläp kökiräp*, cf. Menges 1995:108, who takes this for a proof of the *-t* in *bulït* being a plural and adds two other similar examples).

Mark Kirchner, "Kazakh and Karakalpak" (318–332) and "Kirghiz" (344–356): There is a close affinity between the languages described in these two chapters and there has been considerable terminological confusion as to the name Kazakh (318). With the different representation of vowels in the Cyrillic alphabets used by Kirghiz and Kazakh, the similarites between the two are blurred (346). Whereas in Kazakh and Karakalpak there are numerous lexical copies from Persian and Arabic in the urban vocabulary, which have come in through Chaghatay mediation (327), there are very few conjunctions and no right-branching clause subordination (328). There is, however, Mongol (18th century) and Russian influence on the vocabulary (330).

Éva Á. Csató and Birsel Karakoç "Noghay" (333–343) describes this South Kipchak language, whose first recorded text in the Arabic script dates from 1883 (333), and which splits into three main dialects (343).

Hendrik Boeschoten, "Uzbek" (357–378) first discusses the mixed character of Uzbek, which it has inherited from Chaghatay (357). Special stress is laid on the formation of verb forms, finite and non-finite (cf. Table 22.4, Thematic suffixes) and on aspects ("Tense, Aspect, Mood", 367–369).

Reinhard F. Hahn, "Uyghur" (379–396) and "Yellow Uyghur and Salar" (397–402): Besides being spoken by most Uyghurs of China, Uyghur serves as a *lingua franca* for many nationalities living in Xinjiang (397). There are many Iranian and Arabic copies which have entered via the Chaghatay literary language, and Uyghur splits into three main dialects (394–395). The Yellow Uyghurs (Western Yughur), probably descendants of the Uyghurs who moved to Western China in the ninth century, must not be confused with the Mongolian-speaking Eastern Yughurs (397). Differently from earlier beliefs, the language of the Yellow Uyghurs is closely related to the South Siberian languages (398), whereas Salar may be related to Oghuz and may have been influenced by Southeastern and Northwestern languages (400).

Claus Schönig, "South Siberian Turkic" (403–416): Of the various languages contained in this group two have become extinct, among them Qoybal (403). Schönig gives interesting details on the different constructions of relative clauses within this group (415). The lexicon is strongly influenced by more than one layer of Mongolian (415).

Marek Stachowski and Astrid Menz, "Yakut" (417–433): A number of tables (Tables 26.1.–5) illustrate the vocalism and the case suffixes of Yakut, which differs greatly from all other Turkic languages. Some constructions with *ikki* as a coordinator of two nouns (432) reminds one of the Mongolian use of *qoiar*.

Larry Clark, "Chuvash" (434–452) gives a very consistent overview of the only extant representative of the Bulghar group. One of the most striking features of Chuvash is the plural in *-sem* which follows possessive suffixes and precedes case markers (434).

To sum up, as we have tried to show, *The Turkic Languages* is an extremely well-organised book, which is rich in detail but nevertheless always is readable. Nobody interested in Turkic Languages will be able to do without it.

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