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Liber Amicorum
Fabricio A. Pennacchietti
Dicatus

Fabio Gasparini, Federico Gobbo, Evgeniya
Gutova, Alessandro Mengozzi,
Marco Moriggi, Mauro Tosco
curaverunt

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Praefatio

Negli anni scorsi, almeno due volumi hanno tributato omaggio a Fabrizio Pennacchietti nelle sue vesti di studioso, collega e maestro nell'ambito degli studi semitici, nonché dell'interlinguistica e dell'esperantologia. Con questa nuova silloge, che gli dedichiamo per il suo 85° compleanno, non soltanto intendiamo reiterare l'omaggio e ribadire l'indiscussa eccellenza che Fabrizio ha raggiunto nei campi del sapere in cui il suo talento si è esercitato. Abbiamo una pretesa maggiore. Vogliamo dedicare i contributi qui raccolti all'amico Fabrizio, nel senso più profondo della parola.

Chiunque incontra Fabrizio percepisce di trovarsi di fronte ad un uomo di genio, ad un filologo di rara acribia, ad un intelletto aperto, curioso e visionario. Con la frequentazione e la compagnia di Fabrizio crediamo di aver sentito molto più di questo. Innanzitutto, abbiamo sperimentato un'amicizia sincera, schietta, paziente e dialogante. Parimenti, laddove molti uomini di ingegno indulgono volentieri a creare intorno a sé cenacoli di adulatori, Fabrizio ha sempre preferito la libertà di esprimersi, il confronto, la sintesi delle rispettive posizioni. Fabrizio sa guidare senza condizionare, consigliare senza forzare, convincere senza costringere, ascoltare senza giudicare.

Il nostro volume si articola in due sezioni. Nella prima (pp. 1-365) abbiamo raggruppato i contributi di quei colleghi che hanno inteso dedicare a Fabrizio articoli scientifici stricto sensu. In tutti affiorano chiaramente una serie di temi, argomenti e filoni di ricerca cari a Fabrizio e da lui fatti apprezzare ad amici e discenti. La seconda sezione (pp. 367-446) raccoglie note scientifiche brevi su singole sfaccettature dei saperi che Fabrizio ha coltivato, nonché ricordi e ringraziamenti di tenore più personale, che, nel loro generare un affettuoso contrappunto sui temi di dibattito scientifico, ben trasmettono al lettore lo spirito di questo volume.

A Fabrizio, per ciò che lui sa essere, per come lo esprime e per come noi lo sentiamo, dedichiamo con affetto questo libro.

14 dicembre 2023

Antaŭ iom da jaroj, aperis almenaŭ du honorigajn volumojn omaĝe al Fabrizio Pennacchietti pro sia esplorado, kaj profesie kiel kolego kaj home kiel majstro, en la fakoj de semidistiko, interlingvistiko kaj esperantologio. Per tiu ĉi nova verkokolekto, kiun ni dediĉas al li okaze de lia 85a naskiĝtago, ne nur ni volas konfirmi la omaĝon kaj reaserti la nedisputeblan eminentecon kiun Fabrizio atingis en la fakoj en kiuj lia talento sin esprimis. Ni fakte celas kontentigi pli altan postulon: ni volas dediĉi la kontribuaĵojn ĉi tie kolektitajn al la amiko Fabrizio, en la plej profunda senco de la vorto.

Kiu ajn spertis iun renkonton kun Fabrizio, ĉiu perceptis stari fronte al geni plena homo, al filologo rare kaj ege precizema, homo kun malfermita prudento, scivolemo kaj vivperspektivo. Tamen, per la kunestado kaj kompanio de Fabrizio ni estas profunde konvinkitaj, ke ni sentis multe pli ol tio. Unue, ni spertis amikecon kiu estis samtempe sincera, pura, pacienca kaj dialogema. Krome, dum multaj talentuloj vole cedas krei ĉirkaŭ si rondon de adorantoj, male Fabrizio ĉiam preferis liberecon sinesprimi, per la komparo kaj sintezo de la respektivaj pozicioj. Fabrizio scias kiel konduki sen kondiĉi, konsili sen imponi, konvinki sen devigi, aŭskulti sen prijuĝi.

Nia volumo enhavas du sekciojn. En la unua (pp. 1-365) ni grupigis la kontribuaĵojn de ĉi tiuj kolegoj kiuj intencis dediĉi al Fabrizio fakartikolojn striktasence. En ĉiuj el ili klare videblas serio da temoj, interesoj kaj esplorlinioj kies graveco klare rilatas al Fabrizio, kies amon kaj zorgon li transdonis al amikoj kaj disĉiploj. La dua sekcio (pp. 367-446) ofertas rikolton de mallongaj sciencaj notoj pri unu aŭ alia faceto de la homa sciaro kiun Fabrizio pritraktis, kaj ankaŭ memoraĵojn kaj dankvortojn laŭ pli personaj aliroj, kiuj, per la celo formi amsentan korespondon al la temoj de la scienca debato, bone transdonas al la leganto la spiriton de ĉi tiu volumo.

Al Fabrizio, pro tio kion li scias esti, pro la maniero en kiu li tion esprimas kaj pro la maniero en kiu ni sentas lin, ni dediĉas amsentoplene ĉi tiun libron.

la 14-an de decembro 2023

In recent years, Fabrizio Pennacchiotti's contributions to Semitic Studies, Interlinguistics, and Esperanto Studies have been acknowledged in at least two volumes, paying tribute to his role as a scholar, colleague, and teacher. With this new anthology, which we humbly dedicate to him for his 85th birthday, our intention goes beyond a mere reiteration of homage. We aim not only to reaffirm the indisputable excellence that Fabrizio has achieved in the fields where his talent initially flourished, but we also wish to dedicate the collected contributions to our dear friend, in the deepest and wholehearted sense of the word.

Those who have had the pleasure to meet Fabrizio have unmistakably perceived they were in the presence of a man of genius, a philologist of rare accuracy, an open, curious, and visionary intellect. Beyond these qualities, being in Fabrizio's company meant experiencing sincere, frank, patient, and conversational friendship. Unlike many men of genius who create exclusive circles of followers and flatterers around them, Fabrizio always preferred the freedom of expression, fostering comparison and synthesizing diverse perspectives. Fabrizio knows how to lead without influencing, how to advise and convince without forcing, and how to listen without judging.

*Our volume is divided into two sections. In the first (pp. 1-365), we have grouped together the contributions of those colleagues who intended to dedicate scientific articles in the strict sense. These articles explore themes, topics, and lines of research dear to Fabrizio, which he transmitted to his friends and students. The second section (pp. 367-446) collates short scientific notes on various facets of knowledge cultivated by Fabrizio, along with memories and *notae gratulatoriae* of a more personal nature. All these texts create a correspondence with the topics of the scientific debate, thus transmitting to the reader the deep significance of this volume.*

We affectionately dedicate this book to Fabrizio for who he is, how he expresses himself, and the profound impact he leaves on those who know him.

14 December 2023

Guttæ orientalis sapientiæ

Evgeniya Gutova et Marco Moriggi curaverunt

Sulla soglia del visibile sentire

Appunti di ermetismo arabo

Ezio Albrile

Ostanes is a legendary Persian sage of the Magi priestly circle, who figures frequently in a wide variety of texts on magical and alchemical subjects from Antiquity. The name Ostanes (from Old Persian *huštāna* “of good standing”) is well attested in sources from the Achaemenid period. One person bearing this name, a Magus who accompanied the armies of Xerxes in the early fifth century BCE, was claimed by some Greek and Roman authors to be the ‘historical’ Ostanes, who would have produced these writings (Plin. *Nat. hist.* 30.8). His renown depended chiefly on the fact that he was believed to have been the teacher of Democritus of Abdera. Although these traditions about Ostanes mainly emerge around the beginning of the Common Era or even later, they seem to be presupposed already in the works of Bolos of Mendes, in the second century BCE. It is in fragments of Bolos’ writings that the connections between Democritus and Ostanes on the one hand, and between both authorities and the beginnings of Alchemy on the other, find their earliest expression and, probably, their origin. In the *Book of Ostanes* or “Book of the twelve chapters of Ostanes the Wise on the science of the renowned Stone,” the Persian Magus is the protagonist of a visionary experience in which he will obtain the secrets of the alchemical practice. This would explain the relative paucity of texts actually ascribed to Ostanes—as opposed to passages in which he is invoked as authority, chiefly spells and recipes—as well as the fact that fragments invoking Ostanes as an authority show little to nothing that can be recognized as Iranian. On the contrary, they seem to be very much at home in Hellenistic Egypt.

Keywords: Ostanes, Iranian Magi, Hermetism, Alchemy, Visionary experiences.

1. Introduzione

Ostanes è un personaggio influente nella costruzione della tradizione ermetica (Albrile 2005: 1069-1083); figura mitica di sacerdote zoroastriano (Messina 1930: 28-29), il cui nome d’incerta etimologia (Preisendanz 1942: 1610-1612)¹ è il fondamento dell’immaginario esoterico e magico del mondo antico.²

¹ Cfr. Smith (“Ostanes”, in: <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ostanes>), con critica di Preisendanz (1942).

² Apul. *Apol.* 27; Plinio, *Nat. hist.* 30, 2, 8.

Diogene Laerzio (Proem. 1, 2), dopo un paragrafo dedicato all'origine orientale della filosofia³ in cui parla dei Magi tra i Persiani, dei Caldei presso gli Assiri e i Babilonesi, dei Gimnosofisti (*yogin*) presso gli Indiani, dei Druidi e i Semnotei presso i Celti e i Galli, sulla base di Ermodoro di Siracusa menziona tra i Magi, il primo dei quali fu Zoroastro, Ostanes, assieme ad Astrampsicos, Gobrias e Pazatas. Nessuna classe sacerdotale dell'antichità fu più famosa di quella dei Magi (Panaino 2011: 344-370; Panaino 2012; Panaino 2020). Divennero famosi perché furono seguaci di Zarathuštra; perché considerati i maestri di alcuni dei più grandi filosofi greci (Pitagora, Democrito, Platone) e perché furono i saggi che giunsero, guidati dalla stella, alla mangiatoia del neonato Salvatore a Betlemme; e infine perché propagarono il culto del Sole in India. Ma essi furono conosciuti anche con il nome di Caldei, il clero di Babilonia celebre per il suo occultismo; questo fu forse il motivo per cui il termine *magos* ebbe in greco un senso peggiorativo, nel senso di *goes*, "esperto nelle arti magiche". In verità i Caldei furono esperti di tutte le arti magiche, specialmente dell'astrologia, e furono famosi per la loro sapienza e per le loro conoscenze esoteriche.

In una cospicua serie di testi pseudoepigrafici o meno, di datazione tarda, i destini del grande Mago persiano, che avrebbe accompagnato Serse nella spedizione contro la Grecia, sono strettamente legati a quelli di un autorevole filosofo presocratico, Democrito di Abdera. Democrito, che le fonti più antiche vogliono discepolo di Magi e Caldei.⁴ In realtà si tratta di uno Pseudo-Democrito, i cui testi sono stati recentemente editi da Matteo Martelli (Martelli 2011, 2013). La figura di Democrito si fonde e si confonde poi con quella di un misterioso pitagorico "egiziano", Bolo di Mendes, da cui deriva la denominazione ibrida di Bolo Democriteo, autore di una silloge iatrochimica, i *Cheirokmēta*, "Rimedi artificiali".⁵ Bolo Democriteo, alchimista e mago (Wellmann 1899: 676-677), fiorì in Egitto probabilmente fra il 200 e il 190 a.C.; oltre ai *Cheirokmēta*, compose opere prettamente magiche (Festugière 1944: 197-199), *Thaumasias* "Prodigi", e si sarebbe occupato dei minerali e delle piante, della loro trasformazione e delle loro virtù terapeutiche in tre serie di scritti dedicati alle "Coltivazioni" o all'"Agricoltura" (*Geōrgika*), alle "Tinture" (*Baphika*) e alle "Terapie" o alle "Guarigioni" (*Iatrika*). Finalità dell'opera era rappresentare la manipolazione di minerali e piante a partire dalla coltivazione e "generazione" nella terra, alla creazione di "tinture" adatte alla trasformazione e alla terapeutica. Insegnamenti che sono alla base della conoscenza ermetica sull'*elixir*. L'*elixir* permetterebbe di "curare" le imperfezioni presenti nei minerali e riportarli alla perfezione che contraddistingue il più prezioso

³ Cfr. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1, 71.

⁴ Diog. Laert. 9, 34; Hipp. *Ref.* 1, 13, 2; Suda s.v. Democrito.

⁵ Columella *De re rus.* 7, 5, 17. Cfr. Eliade (1982: 129).

fra i metalli, l'oro. Il termine *elixir* è il calco dell'arabo *al-iksīr*, traslato a sua volta dal greco *xērion* “polvere disseccante”, utilizzato anche nei testi di medicina galenica per indicare un farmaco che guarisce ferite e ulcerazioni.

L'*elixir* è sinonimo di “pietra filosofale”, in arabo *ḥajar al-falāsifa* oppure *ḥajar al-ḥukamā'* “pietra dei saggi” (Ullmann 1971: 1114 a-b); l'idea di una pietra filosofale, una *lithos tōn philosophōn* che trasmuta i metalli in oro, nonché l'elaborazione di una mitologia sulla vita dei metalli proviene dagli scritti che gli alchimisti greci attribuivano a una condiscipola di Bolo Democriteo, Maria l'Ebreo e alla sua “scuola”. La preparazione dell'*elixir* è la parte fondamentale dell'operatività alchimica, è il momento in cui si completa l'opera alchimica. La sostanza ottenuta con tali manipolazioni non è infatti il metallo perfetto, ma quel corpo trasfigurato capace di trasmettere la propria perfezione a tutti le materie imperfette e malate”. Se queste sono i metalli vili, il piombo, lo stagno, si può produrre l'oro metallico, ma questa trasmutazione ottenuta nel corso dell'opera è una sconfitta per l'alchimista, poiché egli vuole ottenere una sostanza attiva, capace di trasmettere l'incorruttibilità, l'“immortalità” agli altri corpi (Pereira 1993: 96a-b).

Di fatto un rimaneggiamento di questi insegnamenti (Festugière 1944: 224-227) sarebbe compendiato nei *Physika kai mystika*, un trattato dove Bolo Democriteo appare quale adepto del Mago persiano Ostanes, che nel tempio di Menfi lo inizia al mistero degli antichi scritti (Preisendanz 1942: 1629). Secondo la narrazione di Giorgio Sincello, il Mago Ostanes si trovava nel tempio di Menfi perché inviato dai Re persiani a presiederne il culto. Nei *Physika kai mystika* si distinguono sostanzialmente tre componenti: un ricettario alchimico, un racconto di una evocazione, alcune esposizioni polemiche e dottrinali. Quello che oggi può definirsi un fenomeno paranormale è l'esito di una angosciata ricerca della verità; il sentimento che non si può giungere al vero con le sole proprie forze e che bisogna acquisirlo dalla rivelazione di un maestro divino o illuminato. Di conseguenza l'evocazione del maestro, della sua anima, o meglio del fantasma di Ostanes, svolge una funzione decisiva, così come il divieto di divulgare quanto appreso, o, almeno di non rivelarlo se non al proprio figlio. Infine, la scoperta, in un tempio, d'una stele contenente un segreto, sarà un ulteriore elemento che andrà a formare il quadro ideologico, mitico e rituale entro il quale si configurerà la tradizione ermetica (Albrile 2019: 12-23):

Avendo dunque appreso queste cose dal maestro sunnominato [Ostanes]... siccome... era morto prima che la nostra iniziazione fosse compiuta... io cercai d'evocarlo dall'Ade, e quando apparve, mi rivolsi a lui così: “Non mi dai nulla in compenso di ciò che ho fatto per te?” Ebbi un bel dire, egli mi osservò in silenzio. Siccome, però, io continuavo a interrogarlo, chiedendogli [di conoscere] il modo di combinare le nature, mi disse che gli era difficile parlare senza il consenso del suo demone, e pronunciò solo le parole: “I libri

sono nel tempio”. Dal momento che prima di morire egli aveva preso le sue precauzioni affinché questi libri non fossero conosciuti che da suo figlio, se avesse superato la più giovane età... Qualche tempo dopo, quando realizzammo la sintesi della materia e nel tempio tenemmo un’assemblea a cui seguì un banchetto festivo; improvvisamente, mentre entravamo nel sacello del tempio (*naos*), una colonna si ruppe, apparentemente senza rivelare nulla nel suo interno. Ma il figlio [di Ostanes] sosteneva che dentro di essa erano conservati i libri del padre, e subito ci accompagnò nel centro del tempio, accanto ad essa. E noi, chinandoci, ci meravigliammo, poiché avendo osservato tutto con grande attenzione, non riuscimmo a trovarvi che questo discorso, ottimo sotto ogni aspetto: “La natura si compiace della natura, la natura vince la natura, la natura domina la natura”.⁶

Il discorso di Bolo Democriteo manifesta le origini “parapsicologiche” del verbo ermetico, unite alla prima rivelazione sulla *physis*, la “natura”, qui intesa come “essenza”: l’aforisma andrebbe quindi risolto in questi termini: “L’essenza conosce se stessa, vince se stessa, domina se stessa”, il che ci riporta a una delle massime che può ritenersi il fondamento della gnosi ermetica (Quispel 1992: 1): “... colui che conosce se stesso conosce Tutto”.⁷

Anche se questo aforisma proviene da una traduzione armena della seconda metà del VI secolo delle *Definizioni* di Ermete Trismegisto ad Asclepio (Mahé 1976: 193-214; 1982: 393), opera della cosiddetta “scuola ellenizzante”,⁸ esso risale a un archetipo molto più antico. Di fatto questa massima pronunciata dal Mercurio “Tre-volte-grande” ha il sapore della sapienza greca, più che di quella egiziana. È la nota la scritta sul tempio di Delfi che intimava i visitatori a “conoscere se stessi” (*gnōthi sauton*). Ma non solo. Lo stoico Posidonio di Apamea nel libro *Sugli eroi e i demoni* insegnava come la natura dei demoni derivasse dall’etere permeante il tutto⁹; questo *daimōn* abitava l’uomo ed era *logos*, il principio attivo dell’universo, che è Dio¹⁰ ed allo stesso tempo è *pneuma*, il “soffio” vitale che alimenta l’intero universo.¹¹ Una famosa iscrizione incisa su un altare a Enoanda, cittadina ellenistica sull’altopiano della Licia, pregava un Dio ingenerato, dai tanti nomi, che era ovunque, come “etere onniveggente” (Lane Fox 1991: 175). L’aforisma ermetico è quindi più antico del discorso di Bolo Democriteo.

⁶ Ps.-Democr. *Physika kai mystika* 3 = Berthelot-Ruelle (1888: II, 42, 21-43, 21; III, 44-45); Festugière (1944: 228-229).

⁷ *Def.* 9, 4, trad. I. Dorfmann-Lazarev, in Scarpi (2009: 17).

⁸ Si veda Dorfmann-Lazarev in Scarpi (2009: 5-6).

⁹ *Macr. Sat.* 1, 23, 7 = A 100 in Vimercati (2004: 92-93).

¹⁰ *Diog. Laert.* 7, 134 = A 55 in Vimercati (2004: 50-51).

¹¹ *Schol. in Luc. Bell. Civ.*, pt. I, *Comm. Bern.* 9, 578 = A 96 in Vimercati (2004: 90-91).

2. Il libro del Mago

Come si sa, l'apporto del mondo islamico nella diffusione della disciplina alchemica fu determinante (Halleux 1979: 64): dell'alchimia greca il Medioevo cristiano conservò solo una memoria limitata, non solo gran parte dei testi classici vennero tradotti dall'arabo, ma il mondo islamico creò i generi, i concetti, il vocabolario, imbastì i principali argomenti su cui dibatteranno gli alchimisti medievali (Travaglia 2010: 103-130). Il numero di autori è rilevante, solo il *Fihrist* dello sci'ita Ibn an-Nadīm (987 d.C.) cita centinaia di opere (Ruska 1924: 27; Halleux 1979: 64-70). Tra esse, un posto di rilievo è tenuto dal *Libro di Ostanes* – il cui titolo integrale suona “Libro dei dodici capitoli di Ostanes il Sapiente sulla scienza della rinomata Pietra” (Berthelot 1893: 119-123) – nel quale il Mago persiano è protagonista di un'esperienza visionaria.

Provato dal digiuno, dall'ascesi, dalla preghiera ininterrotta, Ostanes scende nella sua “notte oscura” in preda alla disperazione, prova visibile e necessaria per l'estasi finale. Grazie all'ascesi e alla meditazione egli si libera da tutte le passioni e da tutti i vincoli terreni. È la via che lo conduce al sogno rivelatorio. La visione quindi come segno, il cui significante, l'immagine, rinvia ad un significato metafisico, al campo delle verità eterne.

Forse trasmessa anche oralmente, la dottrina ermetica trova nel libro e nel sogno i suoi veicoli di trasmissione privilegiati: i libri sono creature dell'archivista degli dèi, e cioè di Ermete, il quale si manifesta in sogni rivelatori. I libri sono divini, dotati di una vita propria, e sono destinati a nutrire le anime, per salvare le quali dall'ignoranza sono stati redatti in caratteri impenetrabili, geroglifici, che il sogno può aiutare a decifrare. Sono libri e scritture che possono rammentare i “libri contrassegnati con caratteri sconosciuti, dei quali alcuni... contenevano formule concise di una lingua ideografica” di cui parla Lucio, il protagonista del romanzo apuleiano (*Metam.* 11, 17; 30), che in sogno vede Iside splendente nel Sole di mezzanotte.

Nelle aretologie isiache, cioè nelle “narrazioni dei miracoli” di Iside, Ermete è connesso con la dea quale scopritore della scrittura: la dea aveva scoperto con Ermete la scrittura, i caratteri sacri riservati agli iniziati, e la scrittura demotica destinata alla massa del popolo. Ma ciò che è contenuto nei libri sacri e segreti non è accessibile a chiunque, perché i libri scritti da Ermete sono destinati a pochi¹² e per questa ragione vennero nascosti, in attesa di essere ritrovati da uno o più “eletti”.

Nel sogno, un personaggio misterioso rivela ad Ostanes gli arcani del potere: sette porte magnificamente decorate serbano l'accesso ai tesori della conoscenza, ma per ottenerne le chiavi sarà

¹² *Corp. Herm.* 13, 13.

necessario sciogliere l'enigma di una ulteriore visione. Le chiavi infatti sono custodite da uno stranissimo animale composito, fornito di ali di avvoltoio, testa di elefante e coda di drago, e le cui varie parti si divorano a vicenda; si tratta di una variante polimorfa di quello che nei testi ermetici è noto come Ouroboros, il Serpente avvolto su se stesso, che inghiotte e divora la propria coda (Preisendanz 1940: 194-209; Sheppard 1962: 83-96; Luck 1999: 258-259, 372). È una delle più antiche figurazioni ermetiche, ai tempi in cui il verbo alchimico non si trasmetteva se non attraverso immagini, simboli e diagrammi (Albrile 2017: 62-66). Ostanes è terrorizzato dall'apparizione, ma il misterioso personaggio lo tranquillizza rivelandogli le parole con cui sottrarre le chiavi al mostruoso animale. Le chiavi permetteranno di accedere alle soglie che custodiscono i segreti del sapere: giunta all'ultima di queste porte, Ostanes si trova di fronte a una stele iridescente, dallo splendore abbacinante. Su di essa è scolpita un'iscrizione in sette lingue. La prima, in lingua egizia recita così:

Ti racconto l'allegoria del corpo, dello spirito vitale e dell'anima; studiala con acume e intelligenza e, se presti attenzione, capirai come realizzare ogni opera e conoscere tutto ciò che è nascosto. Il corpo, l'anima e lo spirito vitale sono come la lampada, l'olio e lo stoppino. Come lo stoppino non può essere usato in una lampada senza olio, così lo spirito vitale non può essere utile in un corpo privo di anima. Lo spirito vitale del corpo è il sangue, l'anima è il respiro, che si diffonde nel sangue e nel cuore, fino alle estremità del corpo: quest'ultimo, come sapete, è formato da carne, ossa e nervi. Sappi che se tu ospitassi lo spirito vitale solo nel corpo senza introdurvi l'anima, il corpo non avrebbe lucidità; sarebbe avvolto nell'oscurità. Quando fai entrare l'anima, il corpo s'affina, si purifica e assume un bell'aspetto. Comprendi bene ciò che ti descriverò, perché è una cosa importante e nessuno potrebbe essere guidato verso la scienza nascosta di cui parlo, se non conoscesse questo capitolo. Non vedi come il fuoco diffonde luce, raggi e splendore? Se gli versi sopra dell'acqua, lo splendore e la luminosità scompaiono e perde la capacità di recare luce. Se prendi fuoco e acqua, operando seguendo quanto scritto in questo libro, riuscirai a mescolarli e combinarli; nessuno dei due potrà più nuocere all'altro, e la loro unione raddoppierà il potere luminoso e irradiante di quando si trovavano nello stato originario. È così che dovrai iniziare ad operare, perché è così che hanno iniziato quelli che sono venuti prima di te. All'inizio, gli elementi originari erano il fuoco e l'acqua. È dall'accoppiamento di acqua e fuoco e dalla loro combinazione che si è formata la moltitudine dei corpi, alberi e pietre. È quindi opportuno che tu agisca seguendo i dettami della scienza originaria (Berthelot 1893: 120-121; testo arabo 83-84).

Un altro testo è inciso nella pietra, ed è sempre Ostanes a leggerlo. Esso parla di come la terra d'Egitto (Miṣr), pur essendo il luogo d'elezione per la scienza e la conoscenza, è in qualche modo mancante; necessita dell'aiuto dei sapienti persiani per poter eccellere in saggezza. Si narra, infatti, che un non ben precisato filosofo si rivolse ai Magi iranici per poter decrittare e comprendere il contenuto di un

libro ritrovato. Si tratta di una variante del racconto presente nello Pseudo-Democrito, secondo il quale il figlio di Ostanes ritrovava i libri del padre all'interno di una colonna di un tempio egizio.

Sempre scolpita nella stele, segue un'altra epigrafe; questa volta è un'"iscrizione indiana", verisimilmente in idioma sanscrito. Essa afferma di come le genti dell'India vantino origini molto antiche, e in passato avrebbero esercitato una forte egemonia sugli altri popoli; la posizione del Sole allo zenit, cioè perpendicolare all'osservatore, recherebbe forza e calore alla loro terra. Nonostante ciò, anch'essi sarebbero carenti di sapienza, che attingerebbero sempre dai Magi persiani.

Le restanti quattro iscrizioni risultano poi indecifrabili, poiché la pietra della stele apparirebbe deteriorata in più punti. Ostanes non potrà far altro che trascrivere le prime tre e meditare sul loro contenuto. Mentre è assorto nell'opera, una voce gl'intima di abbandonare il luogo, poiché le porte della conoscenza varcate, presto si sarebbero richiuse. Camminando a ritroso, Ostanes incappa in un nuovo personaggio, un vecchio d'incomparabile bellezza. Capiremo alla fine del racconto che sia il vecchio sia la prima misteriosa guida, altri non sono che personificazioni dello stesso Ermete, cioè Ermete Trismegisto, l'Ermete "Tre volte grande" equivalente di Thot, il dio egizio dalla testa di ibis, patrono della sapienza e della scrittura.

In verità non sembra che l'Egitto faraonico abbia conosciuto una qualsiasi forma di alchimia. Pare, invece, che l'alchimia ermetica si sia sviluppata come sottoprodotto dell'astrologia, basandosi sulla credenza nelle simpatie che legano ogni pianta ad uno dei sette metalli planetari. È ipotizzabile che nella prima metà del IV secolo d.C., nell'alto Egitto, forse nella città di Akhmim, una cerchia dalle finalità interreligiose avesse raccolto in una biblioteca libri vari, ermetici, neoplatonici, aristotelici, gnostici, cristiani, etc. frutto di un sincretismo filosofico (Viano 2005: 91-107) che avrà nel verbo alchimico il suo compimento. Una specie di "Loggia ermetica" (Quispel 2000: 170), un tiaso che aveva scelto Ermete Trismegisto quale eroe culturale e portatore di una rivelazione. Così qualche zelante adepto della Loggia ermetica si preoccupò, molto dopo la loro composizione, di vergare negli *Aigyptiaka* di Manetone una dedica apocrifa a Tolemeo Filadelfo, raccontando come Manetone non avrebbe fatto altro che trascrivere i libri storici di Agatodemone, chimerico figlio del secondo Ermete, il quale li avrebbe tradotti personalmente dalle iscrizioni lasciate dal primo Ermete nei tempi anteriori al Diluvio. Manetone godeva di una così vasta fama presso gli accoliti di Ermete che essi composero sotto il suo nome anche un poema astrologico.¹³ La letteratura ermetica in fatto di alchimia comprende scritti molto diversi: ricette per "tingere" le pietre e i metalli, opuscoli che basano le trasmutazioni sull'effetto delle simpatie (Röhr 1923: 75-76) e, infine, trattati nei quali l'alchimia è una dottrina mistica occultata

¹³ Syncell. *Chron.* 72-74, in Mosshammer (1984: 40, 26-41, 28).

dietro alla scienza della natura. Quest'ultima categoria di testi sembra di elaborazione tardiva, mentre le altre due vantano origini menfite, riassunte in una leggenda che, sebbene non attestata prima del IV sec. a.C., presuppone una conoscenza precisa di quella che era la vita religiosa dei templi egizi al tempo dell'invasione persiana. Un monumento egiziano illustra anche come potesse realizzarsi una tale coabitazione: si tratta della statua votiva del sacerdote di Sais Udja-Ḥor-Resnet, che Adriano fece portare dall'Egitto per ornare la sua villa di Tivoli e che ora si trova in Vaticano. I geroglifici che riassumono la biografia di Udja-Ḥor-Resnet raccontano come, nominato archiatra dallo stesso Cambise, egli fosse stato incaricato dal sovrano di riorganizzare il tempio della dea Neith a Sais. Inviato poi nell'Elam, ne venne richiamato da Dario I, il quale gli affidò la riorganizzazione delle scuole sacerdotali egizie e lo incaricò di codificare alcuni testi che altrimenti sarebbero andati perduti (Bresciani 1998: 247a-249a). La leggenda di un insegnamento impartito in un tempio di Menfi da un Mago zoroastriano quindi, lungi dall'essere inverosimile, concorda con alcuni fatti storici.

Una volta messo in luce quest'incontro del clero iranico con quello egizio nella valle del Nilo, sembra legittimo non separare dall'astrologia e dall'alchimia esplicitamente ermetiche quegli scritti che, pur attribuiti a Zoroastro, Ostanes o ad altri Magi, accampano anch'essi origini menfite o saitiche. Si tratterebbe quindi di un zoroastrismo egittizzato, secondo i moduli espressivi della tradizione ermetica: se da un lato Zoroastro, secondo una paraetimologia (Stausberg 2007: 187), sarebbe stato un abile manipolatore del fuoco sidereo, "incenerito mentre prega Orione",¹⁴ da un altro (Bussagli 1991: 324b) anche l'alchimia rivelava le proprie origini astrali, poiché l'elaborazione di valori gnoseologici e iniziatici relativi ai metalli traeva origine dal ferro meteoritico, che per la sua provenienza celeste era ritenuto forse più prezioso dell'oro, oltre che più raro. Un legame anche linguistico: in greco *sideros* significa sia "stella" che "ferro"; il fuoco sceso dal cielo, coagulato in un corpo minerale, può essere attraverso la manipolazione alchimica ricondotto alla sua origine divina, aurea.

Franz Cumont si domandava poi se i due Magi dipinti sui pilastri laterali della nicchia cultuale del *Mithraeum* ritrovato nella città partica di Dura Europos (ora conservato nel Museo dell'Università statunitense di Yale) fossero in realtà Zoroastro e Ostanes (Turcan 1975: 25): difficile dare una risposta affermativa, poiché essa rimane inevitabilmente confinata entro uno spazio intermedio, abitato da pallide astrazioni, incuneato tra l'acribia filologica e il desiderio di dare un'iconografia a due tra le più luminose figure della storia religiosa dell'Iran antico.

¹⁴ Ioh. Mal. *Chron.* in Bidez-Cumont (1938: 57-58, n. 3).

3. Trasmigrazioni

Torniamo al racconto del Libro di Ostanes. Abbiamo compreso che il seducente vecchietto altri non è che Ermete: egli infonde in Ostanes i segreti della saggezza ancora nascosti. Ma una voce altisonante irrompe nella conversazione; proviene dall'Ouroboros triforme, custode delle chiavi dei tesori della conoscenza: senza di lui non si può acquisire una vera sapienza, poiché è solo riconoscendo il suo potere che si potranno perfezionare gli insegnamenti celati nei discorsi dei saggi. Le parole della creatura non lasciano quindi indifferente il vecchio, che intima ad Ostanes:

Uomo! Recati da questo animale, donagli una mente al posto della tua, uno spirito vitale al posto del tuo, una vita invece della tua: allora si sottometterà a te e ti darà tutto ciò di cui hai bisogno (Berthelot (1893: 123; testo arabo 86-87).

La polimorfia del mostro uroborico è metafora dei tre elementi psico-fisici che compongono l'essere umano: la mente (l'avvoltoio), lo spirito vitale (l'elefante), la vita fisica (il drago). L'uomo deve cambiare, operare una metanoia, una trasformazione e sostituire le tre componenti dell'animale con le sue tre parti perfezionate dalla conoscenza. Sotto un certo punto di vista ciò può voler dire che l'involucro somatico è soggetto ad un interscambio delle componenti psico-fisiche, passibili di essere permutate e introdotte in un altro corpo. In altre parole significa trasferire il proprio principio cosciente in un altro corpo debitamente predisposto. Una sorta di immortalità acquisita nel dislocare le facoltà psichiche del soggetto in sempre nuovi corpi.

Questo appare evidente nelle ultime parole del vecchio Ermete, che incita Ostanes a portare a buon fine l'opera di trasformazione: da un corpo simile a quello del Mago dovranno essere estratti e sostituiti i tre elementi vitali; dopo aver così agito, il corpo sarà restituito, trasformato in una nuova esistenza. Tale tecnica trasmutativa consiste in una chimica misteriosa per la quale si estrae il principio vitale da un corpo vivente ed intelligente e s'immette definitivamente o temporaneamente in un altro corpo da cui precedentemente si sia allontanata l'anima. Secondo gli insegnamenti della moderna psicologia i più grandi casi di tali mutazioni o scambi, avvengono e si manifestano nelle follie, dove ordinariamente tra il contenente (corpo umano) e il nuovo contenuto (anima sostituita) vi è incompatibilità e squilibrio. Le sostituzioni di anime fatte magicamente sono operate creando una graduale proporzionalità tra l'anima che è immessa e il corpo che è stato privato dell'anima sua. Un'applicazione 'pratica' dell'assioma ermetico "Ciò che è in basso è come ciò che è in alto, e ciò che è in alto è come ciò che è in basso, per fare i miracoli di una cosa sola", posto quale incipit alla «Tavola di smeraldo» o *Tabula smaragdina* (Ruska 1926: 157-163, 177-195), il primo, riconosciuto, breve testo di

alchimia araba, contenuto nella parte finale del *Kitāb sirr al-ḥalīqa* o «Libro del segreto della creazione»,¹⁵ di cui ci occuperemo tra poco.

Di passaggio possiamo notare come tali concezioni si ritrovino, ritualizzate, nel *pho ba* (pronuncia *phowa*) tibetano, una pratica tantrica coeva sia all'induismo che al buddhismo. Genericamente può essere descritta come “trasferimento di coscienza al momento della morte”, “trasferimento del flusso mentale”, o “illuminazione senza meditazione”. Mentre in altri insegnamenti si può trovare un secondo metodo di *pho ba*, molto simile a quello che comporta il trasferimento della propria coscienza in un altro corpo (Child 2007: 70). Tutto si basa sulla comprensione della natura della mente, la consapevolezza e l'oggetto della consapevolezza stessa: la mente è entrambe le cose. La mente produce sia gli innumerevoli universi, sia i vari stati mentali che gli esseri sperimentano, e rimarrà attaccata ad essi finché non riconoscerà se stessa come innata chiara luce. Gli aderenti alle religioni basate sulla fede pensano che sia necessario un “io” perché gli è stato insegnato che non possono avere fiducia nella propria mente. Le religioni basate sulla fede manipolano le persone e fanno perdere loro la fiducia nella propria natura fondamentale, mentre l'ermetismo, in quanto fondato sull'esperienza, insegna l'opposto: la verità pervade ogni cosa, e tutti gli esseri sono un Ermete non ancora realizzato. L'esperienza della mente è completa assenza di paura, gioia e compassione attiva e niente può disturbare la vera essenza.

È interessante sottolineare come questi insegnamenti, riscritti in chiave melodrammatica, siano diventati oggetti di due film di un certo successo: *Operazione diabolica*¹⁶ del 1966 e il più recente ‘remake’ *Self/less*¹⁷ del 2015; in entrambi il protagonista trasferisce il suo ‘io’ cosciente in un altro corpo che crede ‘predisposto’ o ‘creato’ all'occorrenza. In realtà scoprirà che si tratta di un altro soggetto umano che più o meno involontariamente ha fatto da ‘cavia’ per il trasferimento. La versione del 2015 è più tragica e adattata alle attuali problematiche sociali: un ricco miliardario ammalato di cancro contatta un'organizzazione segreta, che promette di trasferire la mente in un nuovo corpo creato secondo i paradigmi ‘scientifici’ del moderno transumanesimo. Dopo alterne vicende, il ricco protagonista scoprirà con orrore che la propria coscienza non è finita in nuovo corpo, bensì in quello di un ex militare che si era venduto all'organizzazione per pagare le cure della figlia affetta da una grave malattia.

¹⁵ Per Ruska (1926: 124-139) è la versione più antica della *Tabula smaragdina*.

¹⁶ Tit. orig. *Seconds*, regia di John Frankenheimer, John Frankenheimer Prod.-Gibaltar Prod., USA 1966, 107'.

¹⁷ Regia di Tarsem, Singh, Endgame Entertainment-Ram Bergman Prod., USA 2015, 117'.

4. Visioni

Alcuni vorrebbero guardare alle opere culturali come un costrutto trasparente, del tutto disponibile alla negoziazione concettuale. La critica storica e filosofica è però un'altra cosa. Se non può dirsi che il verbo ermetico sia la matrice della religione, neanche questo può essere posto semplicemente all'origine di quella. Nel senso che, per filtrare all'interno del lessico religioso, i concetti ermetici devono, a loro volta, essere stati influenzati da quelli teologici, così da determinare un doppio flusso incrociato che, mentre 'ermetizzava' la teologia, teologizzava l'ermetismo. Quale dei due processi sia originario rispetto all'altro, è domanda fuorviante, che pure ha condizionato l'intera storia del pensiero ermetico, dal momento che presuppone esattamente ciò che non si dà – vale a dire la compattezza dell'origine, fin dall'inizio scissa in due direzioni diverse. Da questo punto di vista, l'ipotesi di una semplice successione cronologica è erronea, dal momento che i due movimenti non si susseguono nel tempo ma si accavallano tra loro. Già qui – in questa oscillazione ininterrotta tra ermetico e religioso – è possibile riconoscere una prima connotazione della problematica teologico-ermetica. Nessuna di queste interpretazioni risulta in sé del tutto falsa ma solo se inestricabilmente commista alle altre. Per apprendere di più su tale intreccio dobbiamo partire da un certo Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Umail at-Tamīmī (X sec.; Hofmeier 2002: 515), noto anche come al-Ḥakīm “il Saggio” oppure aš-Šaiḥ “l'Anziano”, aṣ-Ṣādiq “il Giusto” Ibn “Figlio” Umail, che nella corrottela latina diventa Senior Zadith Filius Hamuel, un nome di prestigio nell'universo alchimico del Medioevo latino. Senior è stato uno dei principali sostenitori dell'alchimia cosiddetta “allegorizzante” (Gilly 1999a: 213-215). La sua opera principale consiste in un lungo componimento poetico di novanta strofe (*Risālat aš-šams ilā al-hilāl*), del quale se ne conservano solo cinquanta nella versione latina (*Epistola Solis ad Lunam crescentem*; Manget 1702: 217a-b). E sempre nella versione latina disponiamo anche della metà circa del commento in versi di un'ampia opera, *L'acqua d'argento e la terra delle stelle*, che anche altri alchimisti arabi hanno glossato. In esso il versificatore latino si sforza di riprodurre il racconto introduttivo di Ibn Umail, in cui viene descritta la sua entrata nel tempio egizio di Busir, portato alla luce dai cercatori di tesori e viene fornita una accurata descrizione delle figurazioni alchimiche conservate al suo interno. Dall'originale arabo il traduttore latino riprende anche i disegni della tavola con figure allegoriche che accompagna il testo (Manget 1702: tav. III, fig. 12).

Il racconto introduce in una dimensione irrealistica (Manget 1702: 219b-220b): entrando nel tempio, cioè in uno spazio “teologicamente” definito, Senior viene colpito in particolare da una statua di un vecchio che reca nelle mani una tavola di pietra ornata di segni alchimici; circondano questa figura centrale altre statue e le immagini di nove aquile, con le ali spiegate e archi tesi fra gli artigli. Senior/Ibn Umail non fornisce il nome del saggio con la tavola sulle ginocchia, ma tanto dal racconto che dalla

descrizione si comprende che si tratta di Ermete Trismegisto. Una descrizione sovrapponibile a quella raccontata nel *Kitāb sirr al-ḥaliqa* o “Libro del segreto della creazione”,¹⁸ fraudolentemente attribuito ad Apollonio di Tiana (Balīnūs; Travaglia 2001: 19-20; Travaglia 2010: 116-117) e tradotto in latino a Tarazona da Ugo di Santalla come *Liber de secretis naturae et occultis rerum causis quem transtulit Apollonius de libris Hermetis Trismegisti* (“Libro dei misteri della natura e delle cause occulte delle cose tratti da [Pseudo] Apollonio [di Tiana] da uno dei libri di Ermete Trismegisto”; Gilly 1999b: 199) tra il 1119 e il 1152. Il *Kitāb sirr al-ḥaliqa* si chiude con la rivelazione della *Al-lawḥ alladī kāna min al-zumurrud*, la citata *Tabula smaragdina*.

Sia il testo arabo che quello latino del *Liber de secretis naturae* si aprono con il racconto di come l'autore Apollonio di Tiana/Balīnūs abbia ritrovato ciò che alla fine si scoprirà essere proprio la *Tabula smaragdina*. Nella regione in cui egli abitava, si ergeva una statua di Ermete sfavillante di colori (*multiplici colorum varietate prefulgens*), posta su una colonna di vetro, su di essa un'iscrizione invitava chi volesse scoprire i segreti della natura a scendere “sotto i suoi piedi”. Dopo tanti anni e lunghe meditazioni, Apollonio era riuscito finalmente a entrare nel sotterraneo alla base della statua ma, a causa della stanchezza e dell'oscurità si era addormentato, sino a quando un vecchio dalle sembianze umane, che in seguito si scoprirà essere il signore e fabbricante dei sogni, gli ordinerà di svegliarsi e di costruire una lanterna.

Balīnūs addentratosi nei penetrali della tomba di Ermete, incontrerà un personaggio dalle fattezze simili alle sue; alla domanda chi esso sia, la risposta sarà: “Io sono la tua Natura perfetta” (Travaglia 2001: 31-32). La “Natura perfetta” è una vecchia conoscenza nel mondo dell'ermetismo (Garin 1988: 45-46), c'imbattiamo in lei leggendo il *Picatrix*, noto prontuario magico, forse da Biqratis (Buqratis), nome dello stesso compilatore: *liber*, si legge nella versione latina, *quem sapientissimus philosophus Picatrix in nigromanticis artibus ex quampluribus libris composuit*:

Disse Ermete: Quando volli comprendere e portare alla luce i segreti del mondo e i misteri della creazione, mi chinai su di un pozzo profondo e oscuro da cui usciva un vento impetuoso, né riuscivo a scorgervi nulla a causa del buio... Mi apparve allora in sogno un uomo bello e di solenne autorità che mi parlò così: “Prendi una candela accesa e mettila in una lanterna di vetro affinché l'impeto del vento non la spenga. Mettila nella caverna e scava al centro di essa; troverai un'immagine; tirala fuori, ed essa farà tacere il vento del pozzo, e così potrai tenere acceso il lume. Scava quindi ai quattro angoli del pozzo, e ne estrarrai i segreti del mondo, la Natura perfetta e le sue qualità, nonché le generazioni di tutte le cose”. Gli domandai allora chi fosse. Mi rispose: “Sono la Natura perfetta... La

¹⁸ Per Ruska (1926: 124-139) è la versione più antica della *Tabula smaragdina*.

Natura perfetta è lo Spirito del filosofo e del sapiente collegato al pianeta che lo governa. È lui che gli apre le porte della scienza, che gli fa intendere le cose che altrimenti non si possono intendere, e da cui procedono le operazioni della natura...la Natura perfetta si comporta nel sapiente e nel filosofo come il maestro nei confronti del discepolo”.¹⁹

Il tema della “Natura” o “Indole perfetta” (*al-ṭibā’ al-tāmm*) è uno dei più avvincenti di tutta questa letteratura ermetica (Plessner 1954: 45-59). Essa è la *rūḥāniyya*, lo “spirito” (lett. “entità spirituale”), l’“Angelo del filosofo”, il nume che lo inizia alla sapienza. Ermete, desiderando conoscere i misteri dell’universo e le modalità della creazione, fermatosi un giorno nei pressi di un pozzo oscuro e ventoso, ha una visione: un uomo bellissimo e imperioso lo istruisce sul modo di entrare nel pozzo, nel quale scavando al centro avrebbe trovato un’immagine talismanica capace di chetare i venti, mentre dai quattro angoli avrebbe potuto estrarre la scienza dei segreti della creazione, delle cause della natura, delle origini e delle modalità delle cose. Alla domanda di Ermete l’apparizione si presenta come la sua Natura perfetta (*Naturamque completam*), equivalente cosmico del *Logos teleios*, il “Discorso perfetto” ermetico, realtà posta oltre l’anima cosciente da cui giunge l’ispirazione (Corbin 1949: 162). La discesa nel pozzo è la discesa nel sogno: essa comporta l’acquisizione di una gnosi, di una “conoscenza” attraverso una rivelazione, un tratto comune a tutta la letteratura ermetica, dal *Poimandres* alle sue origini in seno ai testi della religiosità iranica preislamica, lo zoroastrismo, come credevano Richard Reitzenstein e Hans Schaeder (Reitzenstein-Schaeder 1926: 112-114).

Dopo l’incontro con la propria “Natura perfetta”, Balīnūs vede la statua di un vecchio seduto su un trono d’oro con in mano una tavola di smeraldo e con accanto un libro. Si capirà solo a conclusione dell’opera che il vecchio è Ermete, la tavola è la *Tabula smaragdina*, e l’intero contenuto del *Liber de secretis* / *Kitāb sirr al-ḥaliqa* corrisponde a quanto è scritto nel libro. È la *cognitio matutina* di Ermete immerso nella preghiera in quel tempio che è il suo corpo e che è l’universo intero, allorché il sorgere del Sole risveglia l’anima a se stessa e introduce l’iniziando all’ascensione nello spazio interiore, nell’oltremondo. Qui i contenuti ‘teologici’ paiono confondersi con il messaggio ermetico: entrambi finalizzati all’acquisizione della coscienza di sé.

Quella osservata da Senior nella *Epistola Solis* è quindi una variante della *Tabula smaragdina*, una *Tabula chemica*, una lastra marmorea divisa in due metà da una linea nel mezzo (Hofmeier 2002: 518-519). Su una delle due metà, verso il basso, è dipinta l’immagine di due uccelli i cui petti si toccano. Le ali di uno sono recise, mentre l’altro le conserva entrambe. Ciascuno di essi tiene stretta nel becco la coda dell’altro. I corpi dei due uccelli formano un Ouroboros, tenendosi l’un l’altro, appaiono come in

¹⁹ *Picatrix* 3, 6, 1-5.

un cerchio, immagine del “due in uno”. Sopra il capo di quello in volo sta un cerchio, e sopra entrambi, in cima alla tavola, vicino alle dita del vecchio saggio che regge la tavola, è dipinta una Luna crescente, al lato di essa è tracciato un cerchio, simile al cerchio accanto ai due uccelli in volo. Il totale di questi simboli è cinque.

Sull'altra metà della tavola in pietra, in cima, vicino alle dita del vecchio, è dipinta l'immagine di un Sole con due raggi, a simboleggiare il mistero alchimico del “due in uno”, e vicino ad essi c'è un altro Sole con un raggio discendente. Queste per Senior sono le “tre luci”. Tali raggi circoscrivono un cerchio nero, un terzo del quale è separato dal resto. Questa terza parte ha la forma della Luna crescente, poiché il suo interno è bianco e il cerchio nero lo circonda. Di conseguenza anche qui abbiamo cinque figure. Forse tutto l'affabulare di Senior/Ibn Umail sono i ricordi di una visita a un tempio egizio mescolati con necessità alchimiche (Hofmeier 2002: 520). Come stiano in realtà le cose non è dato saperlo. Ciò che sappiamo è che nella figura poetizzata da Senior troviamo, onnipresente, l'Ouroboros, la più antica immagine alchimica rivisitata nella forma dei due volatili avvinti per le zampe, a simulare la forza propulsiva che ciclicamente torna su se stessa.

Senior nomina Ermete alla stregua di un “re greco”, depositario di un sapere arcano: il suo fuoco arde ma non brucia (Manget 1702: 221a), di fatto è l'affermazione del suo contrario, mentre il segreto di ogni cosa risiede nell'acqua, principio generativo (Manget 1702: 226b, 229a). L'“Uovo di Ermete” è l'oro cercato dai filosofi (Manget 1702: 220a), un cibo che rende immortali, preparato a partire dalla spiritualizzazione dei quattro elementi (Manget 1702: 228a), l'Uovo è un'immagine in miniatura del *kosmos*, un mondo animato, vivente, una sorta di microcosmo in cui ogni singola parte corrisponde agli elementi del tutto. È lo *Hen to Pan* alchimico (Lindsay 1984: 270, fig. 39): al centro troviamo la terra, mentre attorno stanno le acque celesti (cfr. Mantovani 1982: 437-438), che gli alchimisti alessandrini identificano con l'Oceano cosmico, poi l'aria e infine il fuoco celeste che avvolge il mondo in una sfera ignea, fiammeggiante.

Sempre Ermete afferma che il segreto del due è l'uno: “la terra ha due corpi e l'acqua due nature, l'opera al bianco (*albedo*) e quello al rosso (*rubedo*) sono in realtà una sola” (Manget 1702: 233b). Nell'alchimia la trasformazione è segnata da un limite fra un primo e un dopo ontologicamente diversi, e tale limite sta tra la *nigredo* e l'*albedo*. Il vero mutamento è rappresentato dal biancore dell'alba, dal ritorno della luce, dal cadere della rugiada, dal volo della colomba, che annunciano la risurrezione dopo la fase nera della morte, della putrefazione e della calcinazione. Ciò che segue, la *rubedo*, la *iōsis*, è soltanto un ulteriore perfezionamento, ma non più qualcosa di radicalmente nuovo e diverso, come era avvenuto per l'*albedo* (Michelini Tocci 1981: 52-53). Alchimicamente, dunque, la creazione non sarebbe altro che un passaggio dalla materia caotica alla luce, cioè dall'oscurità plumbea allo splendore dell'Oro.

L'umidità terrestre, sospesa nell'aria e impregnata dei raggi della Luna, si scioglie nei raggi del Sole dando vita a due essenze androgine sottili: Ermete, l'essenza delle trasmutazioni, è il sale, agente della fissazione. Insieme, dopo aver dato vita alle piante sotto forma di rugiada, esse penetrano nella terra, dove diventano il seme dei metalli. L'adepto s'identifica con Ermete (Zolla 1989: 71-76), il fluido principio androgino della realtà. Ermete dapprima è assopito e si astraе dal mondo della veglia per sognare i giusti sogni. Il suo corpo sottile affiora nel sogno come un caduceo. Sopra di lui aleggia il principio della luce e del calore. Ermete Trismegisto, il leggendario fondatore dell'alchimia, personifica quindi il mistero primordiale della natura, il principio del fuoco, che avvolge nella sua fiamma gli opposti essenziali: Sole e Luna, maschio e femmina, zolfo e mercurio, che danno luogo all'unità androgina in ogni atto di concezione e nascita in natura.

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Childhood, mystery and the idea of a self in Uday Prakash's memoirs

Alessandra Consolaro

This article focuses on some very short stories by Uday Prakash published as 'autobiographies.' Three of them are in the short story collection *Tirich* ("The poisonous lizard") first published in 1989; five autobiographical sketches are found in the collection *Aur ant meṃ prārthnā* ("And, finally, a prayer") first published in 1994. The focalization on the child character produces an indeterminacy that engages in a delightful game with the final ratiocinations of the first-person adult narrator, especially when the child faces traumatic experiences. In these micro stories, time, space and emotions scroll like a film, moving from within the memory and shaping the self in very mysterious ways. At a metanarrative level, writing appears as a journey on the path of memory, from the past towards the present and perhaps even leaping into the future.

Keywords: Hindi literature, autobiography, Uday Prakash, childhood.

1. Fragile memories

As Freud already pointed out at the beginning of the 20th century, retrieving moments and—chosen or suffered—experiences in early childhood is far from easy, as it deals with the particular defence mechanism that is repression. Individuals remember very little of their early childhood: pleasant experiences were used for the development of the ego and of the personality, while the unpleasant ones are preferably removed. This leads to the widespread assumption that memory betrays us, because it tends to reconstruct events, to reorder them according to causal connections that did not exist in reality. Subjectivist conceptions replace the events as they unfold, an idealization, perhaps due to the fact that structured content is easier to remember than fragmentary and insubstantial impressions. Even the sharper and more 'realistic' memories, at least in appearance more related to the cognitive act, can transform over time and dilate until they take on a dimension in which emotional play and imagery replace image. Memories are the basis of a person's self-narrative, an internalized, evolving story of their own life, which constitutes their personal identity. This raises the issue of the authenticity of memory and the impact it has on personal identity (Vidal 2022). Another commonplace

is that the fantasy world and the real world coexist in the child. Yet, the notion that the empirical world is more real than the inner one is shaken if we do not adhere to a positivistic worldview. It is worth pointing out that the perceptible surface of reality in India may have, for cultural reasons, a different extent than in Europe. In the Indian Vedanta world view, for example, the world we experience every day is not necessarily considered true, but it can be understood as just the result of a deep misunderstanding (Pellegrini 2011).

These issues are very much present in Uday Prakash’s writing. Perhaps no other writer has as much influence on contemporary Hindi fiction as this independent writer who has never bowed to the conventions of the mainstream Hindi literary field. Born in Shahdol (Madhya Pradesh) in 1952, he is one of the most eminent contemporary writers in the Hindi literary scene, and although he calls himself primarily a poet, many Hindi writers of the younger generation claim that his short stories and the novel *Pīlī chatrī vāli laḍkī* (“The Girl with the Yellow Parasol”) have exercised a deep influence on their writing. Uday Prakash’s works have been translated into numerous Indian and foreign languages and his style shows many influences from South American authors such as Jorge Luis Borges and Gabriel García Márquez, to the point that it has been often considered an Indian version of magical realism (Ghirardi 2021).

In his stories, the intersectionality of private and public is very marked. The false and the true, fantasy and the real, dream and reality, past and future are all intertwined to such an extent that it is not possible to identify and separate them properly. Uday Prakash’s fame is due to his affabulatory ability and irony, that can convey a hint of positivity even in extremely hopeless situations. He tells stories about his time and society trying to peek into their darkness, always emphasizing his opposition to the system. Human fears, insecurities, resentment towards injustice are reflected in the characters he creates with a deep sensibility.

2. Autobiography/ies

Uday Prakash had nurtured a project to collect the autobiographical sketches he had written in the course of time, but changes in the socio-political life of his country made his attention focus on other issues, and so far he has not published his autobiography (personal communication in an interview, May 2021). This article focuses on a group of overtly autobiographical sketches by Uday Prakash, very short stories published as *Ātmakathya* “Autobiographies.” In these texts he makes a creative use of childhood memories. The focalization on the child character produces an indeterminacy that engages in a delightful game with the final ratiocinations of the first-person adult narrator, especially when the child faces traumatic experiences. In these micro stories, time, space and emotions scroll like a film,

moving from within the memory and shaping the self in very mysterious ways. Three of them appeared in the short story collection *Tirich* (“The poisonous lizard”), first published in 1989 (Prakāś 2001, here in alphabetical order):

Aprādh “Crime” (19-22)

Dibiyā “The little box” (15-18; Engl. tr. Prakash, Hueckstedt and Tripuraneni 2003: 88-92).

Nelkaṭar “Nailcutter” (11-14; Eng. tr. Prakash 2003: 205-209).

Five more autobiographical sketches are found in the collection *Aur ant meṃ prārthnā* (“And, in the end, a prayer”), first published in 1994 (Prakāś 2006a, here in alphabetical order):

Ātmakathya “Autobiography” (9-26)

Dopahar “Afternoon” (48-51)

Khaṃḍit striyām, Nehrūjī aur astācal “Broken women, Nehruji and twilight” (39-47; Birkinshaw 2017)

Philm – “The film” (27-31)

Sahāyak – “The helper” (32-38; Eng. tr. Prakash and Hueckstedt 2003: 30-38)

Another autobiographical text by Uday Prakash was published in *Pratilipi* with the title *Kavitā aur deś se darbadar / Exiled from Poetry and Country* (Prakash and Soni 2008). Technically it is not a memoir, as it is published as a comment to the poem *Tibbat* “Tibet,” yet it includes anecdotes from the writer’s childhood narrated in rich details.

For Uday Prakash, an autobiographical element is often the seed for a story. For example, *Dattātrey ke duḥkh* (“Dattatreya’s sorrows,” Prakāś 2006b) is a set of darkly funny scenes reflecting on 21st century Delhi, linked together by a quietly cynical, desultory narrator called Vinayak Dattatreya, whose personality looks very much like Uday Prakash himself. And there is a first-person narrator in both *Mohandās* (Prakāś 2009; Consolaro 2011) and *Maimḡosil* (Prakāś 2006b), the latter even being a freelance Hindi writer. Are these narratorial voices autobiographical? To some degree, absolutely. Uday toiled for years and years as a freelance journalist and filmmaker to support himself as a Hindi writer—no comfortable academic posts for him, a decided outsider from the literary establishment—and it was not an easy life at all. To that extent, Vinayak Dattatreya is based on autobiography. But these ‘authorial intrusions’ are not simply a hint to Uday’s own life: they are part of the urgency, play, and formal innovation in the stories.

3. Thanatological memoirs

It is difficult to label Uday Prakash's autobiographical writings according to a fixed literary genre. In the title I used the term 'memoir.' This is generally understood as a subgenre, insofar biography or autobiography tells the story of a whole life, while a memoir focuses on a particular event, or time, emphasizing touchstone moments and turning points from the author's life. Sometimes memoirs are considered as life narratives where the focus is not on the author's private life, but rather on historical events in which s/he was a witness or an actor. While memoirs usually tend to be predominantly descriptive, they often turn out to be a reading of the soul, of memories, of important moments in a person's life. Here I have used the term in the broad meaning of any nonfiction narrative writing based on the author's personal memories.

A striking element in Uday Prakash's autobiographical sketches is that they often offer the description or the study of death and dying, and the psychological mechanisms of dealing with them: autobiography is a thanatology.

Ātmakathya, for example, starts with the reverberation of the sound of approaching death. The reminiscence of the experience of drowning, an event happened when the narrator was about eight years old, introduces the uncanny notion that death has been a constant companion in his life. The child was saved by a woman who was doing her laundry in the river. The adult narrator comments, with a humorous twist, "Since, I have always loved women very much," but at the same time adds that "not even willingly can I make death something humorous," as "after that event death has always been around me, breathing very close to me" (12).

The episode leads to a constant presence of death in everyday life: "Death is a serious, inevitable presence that overwhelms consciousness, thoughts, and senses. It is the soul of truth" (12).

The consciousness of the fragility of human life leads to an articulated musing about the function of arts, literature and creative activity at large. Art is a search for immortality: "Every creative art - music, dance, science etc.—is at one level the living efforts of human against this final culmination. That is, artists are in a sense the only remedy of death. Deep human efforts to move beyond death, to cross out death" (12).

This is even more important as illness and death are the constant markers of the narrator's existential condition. In *Ātmakathya* (Prakāś 2006a: 12-13) he states "I have constantly witnessed death since my childhood:" when he was about 12 years old, his 37 years old mother died of cancer, as narrated in the short story *Nelkaṭar* (Prakāś 2001: 11-14). In *Dariyāi ghorā*, a short story collection first published 1982 (Prakāś 2010) he talks about his father's death, happened when he was 17 years old, and his grandfather's illness and death, at 45. They all died of cancer. In the narrator's family nobody

crossed the line of 47 years of age. This is why he feels close to death, and states: “I am almost 40 now and, in my life, there are two words: death and cancer.”

4. Death, pain and violence

In *Ātmakathya* Uday Prakash reflects about death and states that “the truth is that a person’s last death happens when s/he disappears from the memory of others. Therefore, my father, mother, lover’s last death will happen with my death, when their existence that is present in my memory will end” (Prakāś 2006a: 14-15). Living with death, though, is no easy game, on the contrary, it is a cruel condition for a child. When his mother died, Uday Prakash felt like the world had been shaken: he felt like dying himself, as life has no meaning any longer. But the thought of his sister, six years younger than him, kept him alive. He felt the responsibility to take care of her. As an adult narrator, he senses that he remained alive for many years just in order not to leave his sister alone. Later, when father died, elder brother was already married, he had his own family. At that time, the narrator feels that he and his little sister were left alone and orphan. It was the time when he received psychiatric treatment for almost one year, and he started playing “the death game:” “Often I would close my eyes, stop my breath, and I would die. As long as my sister would not panic and break into tears, I was not alive. Perhaps I was looking for confirmation of the fact that I existed in the pain generated that another person felt deep inside through that drama.” (Prakāś 2006a: 16).

Sometimes we need to be violent to others in order to feel that we are alive. In *Kavitā aur deś se darbadar / Exiled from Poetry and Country* Uday Prakash reflects on the presence of violence in children’s life. Children’s games often involve cruel practices towards animals: “For example, catching large butterflies or moths and tying empty matchboxes or other stuff to their tails with bits of string. Tying little cardboard boxes to black beetles and then filling them up with pebbles to test the strength of our living trucks.” Children enjoy the pleasure of putting a pinch of salt on leeches “and then stretching them out and pinning them onto a wooden board and playing them like an ektara.” Cruelty is condemned as an uncivilized behaviour, in some contexts, but it is not recorded as such when it is part of children’s plays and when it is perpetrated by the hegemonic society. Uday Prakash’s musing results in a strong condemnation of the invisibility of violence that comes from the powerful ones: “I often think that there are so many cruelties in tribal societies... cruelties towards other living beings... but when you compare it to the massacres and wars and the destruction of the environment and people perpetrated by these so called advanced and modern civilizations, doesn’t their violence seem like child’s play?” (Prakash and Soni 2008).

5. Dream, life, and creativity

The final part of *Ātmakathya* (Prakāś 2006a) shifts to a discussion about Hindi literary criticism and the reception of Uday Prakash's work in the Hindi literary field. The author argues in defense of his position as a free-lance artist. He is about 40 at the time of writing, but he feels the urge to complete his "autobiographies" as he is worried about the approaching "age line." In fact, as I already mentioned, all his family members in the past generations have died before turning 47 and he feels death approaching. He states that he wants to complete also a film that he has been thinking about for quite a few years. This is the topic of another memoir, titled *Philm* ("The film;" Prakāś 2006a: 27-31).

Uday Prakash's narrative style is often characterized by indeterminacy, that creates a dense atmosphere. The first-person narrator is not an eye-witness of the events: even if he is present there is an obstruction to his seeing/hearing. He must rely on the information given by other people who are/were present in the event. This leads to subjunctive indeterminacy in the speculations and conclusions of the first-person narrator, who might suffer from loss of memory.

In *Philm*, dream and real life, future expectations and memoirs of the past intermingle. Human life loses determination, as the world is turned into a fictional representation of an indetermined script by a set of actors who are not even aware of being actors. The film is "a real proof of some unreality!"

In another autobiographical writing Uday Prakash declares that he is not able to read any story which does not have dreams or illusions. He attributes this to the narrative style of traditional epic poems like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, that he learnt since his childhood, as they are very popular also in their representations in village festivals. In later life, he developed this taste for fantastic and magic in his literary and cinematic frequentations. "If you've noticed, lies and truth, imagination and fact, dream and reality, past and future are all mixed up in all my stories. To the extent that it is impossible to recognize and extricate them from each other. Even for me" (Prakash and Soni 2008).

This immediately calls to mind the Advaitic notion of the world being an illusion, as the unqualified Brahman is the fundamental reality underlying all objects and experiences, while the appearance of empirical individuality is ascribed to *avidyā* "ignorance" and *māyā* "illusion" (Brooks 1969; Fost 1998). For the artist, though, the attempt to unmask the mechanism and the magic of artistic creation are closely connected. As in renown Italian dramatist Luigi Pirandello's *Six characters in search of an author* (Pirandello and Davico Bonino 1993), the narrative has a 'meta' dimension, decomposing the dramatic structures. The story shows a transition from person to character, from having form to being form. The communication is based on the transmission of untrue messages, which do not respond to being because they are impossible to classify in the speech convention. Relationships are

compromised from their very beginning and this leads to a loneliness to which there is no solution, that artistically is shown in the creation of traumatic scenes in which all the characters want to live an authentic life but relive anguish and guilt.

We can examine these features in the story *Sahāyak* (“The helper;” Prakāś 2006a: 32-38), about the narrator’s father—a character named Father—who is introduced as a person who “was always eager to help others,” but also as a drunkard: “as soon as it got dark Father would always get out the booze” (all English quotes from Prakash and Hueckstedt 2003: 30-38). The narrator is an adult character, who introduces the incident contextualizing it in the social milieu where Father lived, with an ironic take on Father’s generosity: “Even if people didn’t really need his help, Father was still usually able to find some way to help them out. [...] Many people simply didn’t have many problems, or they knew they were perfectly capable of solving them. People like them made fun of Father.”

As in most of the memoirs by Uday Prakash, soon the focalization shifts on the child character. The narrated event is about a night when Father almost died. He was trying to help some people who were risking their life in the flooding river using his tractor’s headlamps so that the boatmen could see their way back to the village. Suddenly there was a landslide and the tractor slid into the water, remaining half submerged. Father was risking drowning.

The readers are not told exactly what happened: after some time, the child is taken home by a servant and we are only informed about his writhing and wriggling, his crying and panicking. The narration records what the ten years old child hears (screaming, yelling, a lamentation, crying coming from our house), sees (lanterns scurrying here and there, the feeble light of the lantern, darkness and the flooding river) and guesses (perhaps the boat had overturned, perhaps the tractor was on the slope of land above the ghat, either the brake slipped open, or the tractor gear somehow suddenly went into neutral). His knowledge of the facts depends on what somebody said: some say that when it happened, Father was sitting down, drunk and sitting. Somebody else claims that fortunately, the tractor’s wheel got stuck in a sandbar.

Paralyzed with fear, the child looks in the darkness, trying to discern: “What I saw that night has always stayed fresh in my memory like a troubling picture. A night in the dark fortnight, a rain that had fallen steadily for days, the swirling noise of the frothing, foaming river rising between its bank. And far out, in the middle of it all, paralyzed with fear, Father’s head. Absolutely still.” In his anxiety he feels suffocating: “I felt as if a huge empty space had suddenly filled my heart. It was like a balloon that had been blown up, but it was empty, it had no air in it.” But the most painful experience is the sense of helplessness that is not individual, but pervades all the people in the village: all the people could do was nothing more than run back and forth. Mother too, crazed and crying, was just an

observer. "I was undergoing the most horrible experience of my life, I, too, was no more than a spectator."

The story has a happy ending but this event is a lesson for the young narrator, that will mark his whole life experience: "Perhaps that was the day I learned we can all only be the observers of each other's dire emergencies." The reader is not told how Father got saved. The text ends with an anticlimax that emphasizes the impotence of the narrator, whom the servant tries to calm in a paternalistic attitude: "Much later, lanterns and the sound of people talking were heading toward our home. Manohar said, "Stop crying now. Father's coming."

6. The poetics of indeterminacy

The indeterminacy of perceptions, sensations and emotions is a recurrent element in Uday Prakash's memoirs, often creating a poeticism that can be retrieved in his writing in general, where there is an uninterrupted fusion of factuality and imagination and historical figures and events are enclosed in a fantastic and dreamlike atmosphere.

This is particularly evident in *Ḍibiyā* ("The little box;" Prakāś 2001: 15-18; English quotes from Hueckstedt and Tripuraneni 2003), where the first-person narrator, an eight years old child—now an adult—captures a spot of light in a tin little box. He tells about the enigmatic and magical attraction he felt for the designs created on the floor by sunbeams penetrating through holes in the damaged roof of the house. For a long time, he had tried in vain to catch these "sun-circles," but every time the sunbeam "leapt upon" his closed hand. Finally, one day, when he was alone in the kitchen, he caught a beautiful circle of sunbeams. The ray of light was "alive and magical" and the child drew it to the other side of the kitchen with a fan, put it in a tin box, closed the lid, and never opened it again. Since, he has kept this secret treasure as a proof of his experience of having a pet piece of light.

Many years later, the adult narrator reflects on this experience and ponders whether or not to take the risk to open the box and show its content to the world. He is not willing to use it in order to establish his credibility: talking about that or showing his treasure would put to risk his possession of the light spot, and the whole mysterious experience would be lost. At the same time, there is no guarantee that people trust him: some may believe in his experience, but other might not, or at least not fully, as adults never believe it when one recounts such incidents from one's childhood. In the end the narrator cannot solve the dilemma whether it is worth taking the risk to open the box. The narrator states: "I had decided, then, never to tell anyone else about any such incident that happened to me which they would not believe." Yet, paradoxically, he is now writing about it, challenging the impossibility of reaching a successful communication.

In the short story *Dopahar* (“Afternoon;” Prakāś 2001: 48-51) as well there is a focus on the poetic quality of the experience one can have through indeterminacy. The focalization on the child is once again paired with the afterthought of the adult protagonist. The smell of a melon perceived out of season opens the whole range of sensations of summer afternoon, the heat and the sound of the bazaar, in a synesthetic fusion of smell, ear and view. In this story the child narrator is positioned so that he cannot have a full view of the scene, and even this information is given with indeterminacy: “perhaps I was sitting alone on a distance, as was my nature.” He could only see the back of all the people sitting in the courtyard. Actually, it is this very positioning as an outsider that allows him to experience the scene with a difference.

7. The impossibility to forget

Khaṇḍit striyām, Nehrūjī aur astācal (“Broken women, Nehruji and twilight;” Prakāś 2001: 39-47; Engl. quotes from Birkinshaw 2017) is apparently a memoir about lost love. When the narrator, a village boy, was around eleven or twelve, a friendship developed between him and a city girl who had come to the village. While all the adults were taking their siesta in the hot May afternoons, they both cycled into the fields. The girl was learning how to bike, and they developed a secret happy world, where they were alone together in the fields, visiting ancient statues and laughing: “We both laughed a lot. I laughed at her fear and her try for independence. What she laughed at, this even today I don’t know.” Soon the reader finds out that the memoir is also about a historical episode: Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru’s death, on 27 May 1964. While all other temporal references are left indeterminate, this is the only precise date in the text, even more so because it marks a personal and collective tragedy: the news of Nehru’s death hits the country and at the same time destroys this childish yet very serious world.

A relevant narrative strategy is the contraposition of light and darkness. The story is set in the blinding glare of the heatwave of the month of May. In their peregrinations in the fields the young protagonists find a plethora of ancient statues that lie scattered in the river and in the fields, suggesting the existence of a seducing yet uncanny past, that the child cannot fully understand. In this luscious surrounding there are signs of decadence: most of the beautiful female bodies are mutilated, the river is now a “smallish stream,” but it must have been a very large river in the past. In the title the term that I translated simplifying it as ‘twilight’ is *Astachal*, the name of the mythical western mountain behind which the Sun takes refuge at night. After Nehru’s death the girl—the sun in the boy’s life—disappears: the children are separated and for almost three decades the narrator has had no contact with the girl, even if he maintains the urge to communicate with her. He keeps on nurturing the idea that one day they might meet again, and he is convinced that she too reciprocates his love.

But just like after sunset there is only darkness, subsequent life does not seem to have been happy for either protagonist. The adult narrator states: "I came to find out for sure that the girl had done an MA in History. She always got things quickly. Then she had fallen in love. After this she got sick. I also found out that she started smoking, and had become very thin. Another thing I found out was that she had many times asked people about me. She had collected all information about me." The reader does not know about the narrator's adult life, but it is clear that his wish to find again the bliss of past happiness is bound to be frustrated, while there is no hope to get a liberating oblivion.

The lack of forgetting, the impossibility of forgetting is one of the central themes of this piece: "This too is a rule that after learning to ride a cycle it is practically impossible to forget. This is the worst part of the theory." The concluding line allows us to generalize the whole country this sense of decline as well as the impossibility to forget the past: "Maybe I was talking of the broken statues, Nehruji and Astaachal..." The ancient civilization is destroyed, but also the recent past shows a downward parable. Internal evidence places the adult narrator in 1990 or 1992, a time when the crisis of the Congress was evident and communal tensions and the radicalization of politicized religious identity was becoming a serious problem for India.

Another memoir about losing and forgetting, focusing on the experience of mother's death, is *Nelkaṭar* ("Nailcutter;" Prakāś 2001: 11-14; Engl. tr. Prakash 2003: 205-209). Here the first-person narrator is a nine years old child, and the reported incident happens the day before Mother's death. Mother cannot speak, due to a tracheostomy, and communicates through gestures. The story is about a particularly intimate moment that mother and son spend together, the boy cutting her nails with a nail cutter. During this delicate exchange the child has a foreboding of death, or more precisely, perceives how life is abandoning Mother: he notices that mother's fingers are "exceedingly thin," the skin is "yellowish," "thin, like kite paper. No, not even yellow—old ivory. And very cold. With a cold that lifeless things have, like chairs, tables, door leaves or bicycle handlebars. And how had her hand become so light? Where had all its weight gone?"

Nevertheless, the meeting is full of laughs and smiles. Only, when Mother touched the child's hair and wants to say something, he stops her. "If she had spoken, she would have asked why I hadn't taken a full bath, why I hadn't washed my hair, why I was covered in dust, and why I hadn't combed my hair." This is how the narrator misses the possibility to hear his mother's voice for the last time.

After finishing the manicure, the child puts the nail cutter under his pillow. But since he has not been able to find it again, even if he has looked for it in the past and keeps on looking for it in the present. Mother dies during the night. The "forgetfulness" that leads to the loss of the nailcutter is symmetric to the child's disregard for Mother's desire to say something. The adult narrator concludes

that “Things never get lost. They stay right where they are. With their complete existence and full weight. We just forget where we put them.”

8. Forgetting, forgiving

Uday Prakash makes time, space and emotions scroll like a film, moving from within the memory and shaping the self in very mysterious ways. At a metanarrative level, writing appears as a journey on the path of memory, from the past towards the present and perhaps even leaping into the future. In *Aprādh* (“The crime;” Prakāś 2001: 19-22), the story introduces a very common event that happens in everybody’s life at some time: telling a lie in a moment of anger. It focalizes on the mindset of the child, who is extremely sensitive, and it introduces the issue of violence, as the protagonist exercises psychological violence on his elder brother. This event does not spoil the relationship, but remains in the mind of the lead character creating a permanent sense of guilt with no hope of redemption, that influences his *Weltanschauung*.

The first passages tell a very poignant story of mutual love between two brothers. At the age of five Elder Brother, Baṛā Bhāī, had polio, which left one of his legs lifeless. Yet, apart from this handicap, he is fit. He is good looking like a god, he is good at sports and he is physically very strong. He is always with the Younger Brother, Choṭā Bhāī, and loves him very much, even if they have different skills. But Choṭā has ambivalent emotions towards the elder brother. He is aware of his brother’s affection but at the same time he feels displaced and inadequate, as he is constantly in a subordinate position.

Baṛā’s behaviour has nothing that justifies such a feeling. It is the social interaction with the other village children that hurts Choṭā’s deep sensitiveness. He is the only little child in the group, as all boys in the village are six years elder. Therefore, nobody wants to play with him as a partner or to include him in the team, because they do not want to risk a defeat. He is left aside, alone. It is at his point that his brother generally intervenes, protecting him and including him in the game.

But one day the children’s group was playing a sort of tip-cat game, where each boy holds a small wooden stick and hits a small object called *khaḍabbal* straight on the ground with full force, accelerating forward. It is an individual game: no alliances are made and everybody plays for himself.

That day, Baṛā Bhāī’s full attention was in the game. Choṭā Bhāī felt ignored and wondered if the brother might have forgotten him: “For the first time I felt as if I were not there.” He felt “jealousy, inferiority, and neglect.” It is this sense of alienation, bitterness and rage that triggers violence: the younger child vented his negative feelings on the *khaḍabbal*, pushing it vigorously. By chance, it collided with a rock, bounced and hit Choṭā’s head. Baṛā Bhāī’s rushed to help the bleeding child, but circumstances made communication difficult. Unable to tolerate what he perceived as his brother’s

neglect, the little child was unable to react verbally and could only focus on the wish to have him punished. He shoved away his elder brother and dashed home, knowing that the lame boy could not run. He lied to Mother, claiming that Baṛā Bhāi had hurt him. As a result, when the elder brother arrived hobbling, he got trashed by Father.

This is the passage when the reader observes double violence: Baṛā Bhāi has to endure physical violence—father's beating—and psychological violence—he is innocent but he has to pay the fee. His only possible way out is that his younger brother tells the truth. That's why he stares at him with eyes full of fear, plead, request, impotence, panic. At first Choṭā Bhāi does not think of the effect that his lie will cause, but when he realizes he is committing a crime, he gets scared: should he tell father the truth, he will be punished! Therefore, he remains aloof, no sense of justice makes him save the situation.

The story concludes with a focalization on the adult narrator, that turns a personal question into an issue of social justice. The grown-up protagonist confesses that his brother's eyes full of impetration haunt him and make him feel guilty even so many years later. He has tried to apologize for the crime he committed, but Baṛā Bhāi has no memory of the event, and his parents—the only witnesses—are no more. So, there is no way to get free from this crime. The narrator observes that this is not just a personal situation. Social life too is like this. Some historical decisions appear wrong with the passing of time, but there is no way to change the situation once the choice is made. One cannot get back to the past and change what has happened. Moreover, memory of the crime is erased for all, but for the guilt-ridden perpetrator of the evil, who is now regretting his misdemeanor. This condemns him to remain in impotence and helplessness, with the awareness that it is impossible to apologize, and consequently to obtain forgiveness.

9. Conclusion

Displacement is a terrible reality that is constantly present in the Uday Prakash's stories.

The disturbing aspect of the human condition is that not only does truth have no witness, but there is no one even willing to credit it, like in the story *Ḍibiyā*. Even more painfully, there is no knowledge or science in the world by which one can prove it. We also get displaced in relationships, because for many reasons we have to build new liaisons, and old affiliations change over time. But family relationships persist till the last moment and their displacement continues to plague us. That is why the conclusion of the story *Aprādh* tells us that freedom from relationships is impossible. What Uday Prakash stated about things at the end of *Nelkaṭar* is equally true of relationships in his stories: they never get lost, they remain forever. We just have momentary lapses of memory, but then we regret forever.

In this article I have introduced some micro stories that the author labels as autobiography. They refer to childhood experiences that, as it is recognized in psychology, are impactful and determine the kind of life one will live in their adult years. Family relationships and memories play a vital role in shaping the lives of each individual. In Uday Prakash's stories the process of retrieving past experiences from within the memory is characterised by indeterminacy: time, space and emotions move and ramble, and in the end all we have is approximative information, an indistinct picture of a mysterious reality in which the self is shaped through painful experiences. Uday Prakash's stories create such an effect by combining subtle sensation and imagination in gross reality. Starting from simple events or characters, these lively stories go beyond the bounds of immediate reality and become timeless.

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Una lettera inedita di Eugenio Griffini nel Fondo Angela Codazzi presso la Biblioteca Sormani di Milano

Ali Faraj

This paper aims to present an unedited original autograph letter by the orientalist Eugenio Griffini preserved in the Angela Codazzi Collection at the Central Municipal Library in Milan, known as Sormani Library. The letter, dated January 5, 1922, was written by Eugenio Griffini during his stay in Egypt as librarian and archivist at the court of King Aḥmad Fu'ād I and was addressed to Angela Codazzi.

The study focuses on the translation of the text of the letter from Arabic into Italian and on the analysis of some of the most significant terms and expressions contained therein.

Keywords: unedited original autograph letter, Eugenio Griffini, Angela Codazzi, Arabic Palaeography.

1. Introduzione¹

Il Fondo Angela Codazzi è giunto alla Biblioteca Sormani di Milano il 15 giugno 1972 per espressa disposizione testamentaria della proprietaria. È verosimile supporre che la donazione originaria comprendesse non solo le carte, tra cui è stata rinvenuta la lettera analizzata nel presente lavoro, ma anche la collezione di libri, composta in gran parte da volumi di contenuto geografico e di studi orientalistici. Giunti in biblioteca, i singoli volumi sono stati catalogati, mentre le carte sono state raccolte in due casse e collocate in deposito. Solo nel 1994, Alessandra Miola, grazie a un paziente lavoro di riordino del materiale contenuto nelle casse, è riuscita a identificare tutti i documenti e a organizzarli in 231 fascicoli che coprono un arco di tempo compreso tra il 1881 e il 1969. Nel corso di questa operazione è inoltre emerso che nel Fondo Angela Codazzi sono confluite anche alcune carte del

¹ Desidero ringraziare la collega Dott.ssa Annamaria Ventura per le utili osservazioni.

geografo Giuseppe Ricchieri e dell'arabista Eugenio Griffini, di cui la Codazzi era probabilmente entrata in possesso nello svolgimento della sua attività di catalogatrice di patrimoni librari.² Alessandra Miola ha quindi ordinato e distinto la documentazione in tre parti, rispettivamente suddivise in cinque serie per la Codazzi, due per il Ricchieri e sei per il Griffini, lasciando tuttavia l'insieme delle carte riunite in un unico fondo.³

Angela Codazzi (1890–1972) si è formata alla Facoltà di Lettere presso l'Accademia Scientifica-Letteraria di Milano (trasformata in Università degli Studi nel 1924) ove è stata allieva di Giuseppe Ricchieri⁴ ed Eugenio Griffini.⁵ Terminati gli studi, ha iniziato a dedicarsi all'insegnamento, dapprima presso scuole secondarie e successivamente presso l'Università degli Studi di Milano, ove ha insegnato oltre alla geografia, storia della geografia e lingua araba. All'attività didattica, Codazzi ha affiancato quella di ricerca, occupandosi di temi storico-geografici, di carte geografiche medievali, di trascrizioni e traduzioni di manoscritti arabi di argomento geografico.⁶

La consultazione dell'inventario del fondo fa emergere un nutrito scambio epistolare intercorso tra il 1918 e il 1924 tra Angela Codazzi ed Eugenio Griffini avente per oggetto le ricerche e gli studi preparatori della studiosa su manoscritti arabi. La lettera esaminata nel presente lavoro è catalogata come MSS Codazzi 227/2 ed è preservata nella sezione del fondo contenente le carte di Griffini, nella serie XIII intitolata "Biografia e primi studi". Il documento è composto da un bifoglio, in cui il primo foglio, corrispondente alla prima pagina della lettera, è scritto solo sul recto, mentre il secondo foglio, corrispondente alla seconda e terza pagina della lettera, è scritto sia sul recto che sul verso. Il supporto, di dimensioni 17,7 x 11 cm., appare uniformemente ingiallito, ma in buono stato di conservazione.⁷

La lettera originale autografa, datata 5 gennaio 1922, è stata scritta da Griffini in lingua araba su carta intestata del Gabinetto del Sultano d'Egitto durante la sua permanenza al Cairo. Alla fine del 1920, infatti, Griffini, lasciata la docenza presso l'Accademia Scientifica-Letteraria di Milano, accettò l'invito dell'allora sultano, poi re d'Egitto, Aḥmad Fu'ād I e iniziò a lavorare al Cairo come bibliotecario ed

² Per approfondire la storia del fondo, cfr. Miola (1995: 22-24).

³ Per approfondire l'approccio metodologico al fondo e la sua divisione ad opera di Alessandra Miola, cfr. Miola (1995: 25-30).

⁴ Giuseppe Ricchieri è stato docente di geografia all'Accademia Scientifica-Letteraria di Milano dal 1903 al 1926. Per approfondire la vita e le opere di Giuseppe Ricchieri, cfr. Landini (1958: 41-50) e Lucchesi (2001: 901-929).

⁵ Eugenio Griffini ha insegnato lingua e letteratura araba all'Accademia Scientifica-Letteraria di Milano dal 1916 al 1920. Per approfondire il profilo biografico di Eugenio Griffini, cfr. Beltrami in Codazzi (1926: VII-LXXXI).

⁶ Per approfondire la biografia e l'attività didattica e scientifica di Angela Codazzi, cfr. Sestini (1972: 223-224) e Miola (1995: 5-13).

⁷ Ringrazio la Dott.ssa Donatella Cantele della Sezione Manoscritti – Centro Stendhaliano della Biblioteca Sormani di Milano per avermi gentilmente mostrato la lettera originale.

archivista di corte. La grafia di Griffini è corsiva, in stile *ar-ruqʿa*,⁸ chiara ed elegante, caratterizzata da un tracciato rapido. I termini in arabo sono raramente vocalizzati.

Dal contenuto si evince che la lettera è una risposta di Griffini ad una precedente missiva ricevuta dalla Codazzi. Dopo i saluti iniziali, Griffini porge le sue scuse per il ritardo nella replica ed esprime alcune considerazioni sulla sua vita e il suo lavoro al Cairo. Nella seconda parte della lettera, Griffini riferisce di non essersi dimenticato del desiderio della sua interlocutrice di pubblicare un testo arabo di carattere scientifico geografico e, a questo proposito, suggerisce di copiare e commentare il manoscritto *Kitāb ākām al-marġān fī dīkr al-madāʿin al-mašhūrah bi-kull makān* di ʿIshāq b. al-Ḥusayn al-Munaġġim, conservato presso la Biblioteca Ambrosiana, indicando altresì alcune fonti utili per approfondire la ricerca, la rivista *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (ZDMG), i volumi del Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari e il *Journal Asiatique*, tutti con i relativi riferimenti di volume e pagine.

Angela Codazzi ha effettivamente intrapreso lo studio del manoscritto, giungendo poi a pubblicare nel 1929 “Il compendio geografico arabo di Ishāq ibn al-Ḥusayn” nei *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, sezione Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* (Codazzi 1929: 373-463), in cui presenta una nota che contiene un’analisi dettagliata del contenuto del manoscritto, la trascrizione del testo in caratteri arabi, un indice dei nomi di luoghi e di popoli e uno dei nomi di persone, e infine una sua traduzione in lingua italiana. Al termine della nota, Angela Codazzi, ricordando Eugenio Griffini, si esprime con queste parole:

Non posso concludere questa Nota senza rivolgere un memore pensiero al compianto prof. E. Griffini che pochi mesi prima della sua scomparsa mi consigliò di studiare questo ms. e mi promise aiuto, che la morte gli impedì di darmi nella misura, che la sua dottrina e bontà gli avrebbero permesso (Codazzi 1929: 381).

Il *Kitāb ākām al-marġān fī dīkr al-madāʿin al-mašhūrah bi-kull makān* “Libro delle colline di corallo che tratta della descrizione delle città famose in ogni luogo” è conservato presso la Biblioteca Ambrosiana ed è stato catalogato da Renato Traini con numero 1726. H 104 (Traini 2011, IV: 267). È costituito da 32

⁸ Lo stile calligrafico *ar-ruqʿa* o *ar-riqʿa* (*ruqʿa* lett. “pezzo di carta/stoffa”) era utilizzato per la corrispondenza personale e nelle cancellerie ottomane, in particolare per la redazione di diplomi. Per approfondire, cfr. Faraj (2015: 13).

⁹ Si noti che Griffini, Brockelmann, Miquel e Traini leggono erroneamente *بكل* *bikull* (cfr. Griffini 1915: 79; Brockelmann 1937: 405, 2b; Miquel 1967: XLVI; Traini 2011, IV: 267). La voce sul manoscritto è *كل في* *kull*, come correttamente letto da Angela Codazzi (1929: 382).

fogli, con dimensioni 19½ x 15½ cm.¹⁰ ed è stato copiato nel 1129/1717 con stile calligrafico *nashī* tondo e pieno (il cosiddetto tondo *nashī yamanī*) da Ḥasan¹¹ b. ʿAlī b. ʿUbaidallāh al-ʿAnīsī¹² al-Kaukabānī. L'editore della versione a stampa Fahmī Saʿad riporta che il manoscritto appartiene al patrimonio dei testi yemeniti e che è stato copiato durante il periodo dell'imamato di al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn, che ha governato in Yemen dal 1128/1716 fino alla sua morte nel 1139/1727 (Saʿad 1988: 5-6).

L'autore del manoscritto, ʿIshāq b. al-Ḥusayn al-Munaḡḡim, è pressoché sconosciuto (Codazzi 1929: 379; Miquel 1967: XXX) e la data in cui ha scritto l'opera è incerta, presumibilmente tra il 262/875 e il 454/1062.¹³ Verosimilmente è vissuto nell'XI secolo e alcuni indizi, tra cui la presenza nella sua opera di tracce del dialetto arabo andaluso (Codazzi 1929: 380; Saʿad 1988: 7), lasciano supporre che sia nato nella parte occidentale del mondo islamico di quel tempo, forse in Spagna (Minorski 1937: 141). Griffini riferisce nella sua lettera che il *Kitāb* di ʿIshāq b. al-Ḥusayn al-Munaḡḡim è stato utilizzato come fonte sia da al-Idrīsī che da Ibn Ḥaldūn, come peraltro ipotizzato da Nallino (1910, II: 579), tuttavia questo punto rimane incerto. Per quanto riguarda il contenuto, il manoscritto descrive le più importanti città dei paesi islamici, iniziando dalle tre città sante dell'Islām, Mecca, Medina e Gerusalemme, e continuando con Baghdad e altre città dell'Iraq, dell'Arabia, della Persia, dell'Asia e dell'Africa settentrionale e centrale. A queste si aggiunge una descrizione di diverse località della Spagna, di Roma e di Costantinopoli.¹⁴

2. Testo

Cabient du Sultan

Palais d'Abdine,

Section Europeenne

le-----192----

سرای عابدين العامرة

٥ يناير سنة ١٩٢٢

ايتها الانسة الفاضلة

سلامًا وتحيةً وشكرًا. اما بعد السؤال

¹⁰ Codazzi (1929: 373) indica 33 fogli e dimensioni 20,1 x 15,2 cm.

¹¹ Saʿad (1988: 5) legge Aḥasan.

¹² Traini (2011: 267) legge al-Ānīsī.

¹³ L'arco temporale ipotizzato dipende da alcuni elementi presenti nel testo. Nel manoscritto è citata la città di Tenes in Africa, fondata nel 262/875, mentre non è citata la città di Marocco, fondata nel 454/1062. Per approfondire, cfr. Codazzi (1929: 380) e Brockelmann (1937: 405: 2b).

¹⁴ Per la traduzione del manoscritto, cfr. Codazzi (1929: 427-463).

عن الخاطر والشكر على خطابك العاطر ارجوك
 المعذرة كل المعذرة لاجل عدم المكاتبة طول هذه
 المدة الأخيرة. كثيرًا ما « تجري الرياح بما لا تشتهي
 السفن ». ان كان هنا ما كان. فقد عرفني
 الزمان ما سيكون بما كان. نعم ولم يبرح من
 ذاكرتي وطني العزيز في وطني هذا الثاني واني
 كنت هنالك في ارغد عيش وانعم بال. لكني
 غربي وشرقي في أن واحد ولا بد لي من الرجوع
 من حين الى حين الى حياتي هذه الثانية الحياة

٢

الشرقية الإسلامية بين اصدق الاصدقاء واوفى
 الاخلاء. أعمالهم اعمالهم وأمالهم آمالي ومليكمهم
 ابد أيامه ملكي صاحب الجلالة والعظمة ايده الله و
 ولم انس ايتهما الأنسة رغبتك في نشر شيئاً
 في تاريخ العلوم عند العرب خصوصاً علم الجغرافيا
 شكرًا لوجود كتب عربية خطية لا تحصى ولا تعدّ
 في الكتبخانة الأميروزيانية ورأيت لذلك تذكيرك
 وجود كتاب قديم نادر بل مجهول تمامًا الى الآن
 على الأقل عند الجمهور وهو من اقدم الكتب في عجائب
 البلدان عند العرب عنوانه:

كتاب آكام المرجان في ذكر المدائن المشهورة
 بكل¹⁵ مكان تأليف الشيخ اسحق بن الحسن¹⁶ المنجم
 (راجع: مجلة (ZDMG) المجلد (69) السنة (1910)
 الصحيفة ١٧ - ١٨ وراجع أيضًا :

Centenario Amari, II, 579 (e I, 425)

٣

وكذلك راجعي:

Journal Asiatique,

avril 1841, p 383:

«Le livre d'Ishaq ben al-Hasan l'astronome»

¹⁵ Si veda la nota 9.

¹⁶ Il nome corretto è الحسين.

انه كان كما تعرفين من مصادر الادريسي
ومن مصادر ابن خلدون. وهو كتاب صغير الحجم
خطير الشأن بالنسبة الى اقدميته على سائر
التأليف في هذا الباب. واني اقترح الآن
انك تنسخيه وتعلي عليه هوامش¹⁷ وملاحظات
جغرافية وتاريخية ولغوية خدمةً للأدب والعلوم
ان يحقق آمالك وارجو الله عند استحسانك
ويحسن لك اعمالك انه البصير السميع فهو
لا يضيع اجر من احسن عملاً. ومني على حضرتك
السلام

الدكتور اوجينيو جريفيني
مدير كتبخانة الديوان العالي السلطاني بمصر

3. Traduzione

Sarāy ʿĀbdīn al-ʿāmirah¹⁸

5 gennaio anno 1922

O Gentile Signorina,

Pace, un saluto e grazie. Dopo la domanda

sullo stato d'animo e il ringraziamento per la tua gentile lettera,

ti porgo moltissime scuse per non avere scritto durante questo ultimo

periodo. Spesso «il vento soffia ove non desiderano

le navi». Invero c'era qui quello che c'era. Quindi

il tempo mi ha già fatto conoscere ciò che sarà in ciò che è stato. Sì, non ha abbandonato

la mia memoria la mia cara patria in questo secondo paese, ed io

ero là nella migliore agiatezza e nel più piacevole [stato d'] animo. Tuttavia, io sono

occidentale e orientale allo stesso tempo e devo tornare

di tanto in tanto alla mia vita, questa seconda vita

¹⁷ هوامش sta per حوامش "glosse".

¹⁸ Sarāy ʿĀbdīn al-ʿāmirah è un palazzo storico del Cairo situato nella parte orientale del centro della città. Costruito nel 1863 come residenza della famiglia reale d'Egitto, è attualmente una delle residenze ufficiali del Presidente della Repubblica Araba d'Egitto e ospita alcuni musei.

2

orientale islamica tra i più sinceri amici e i più leali amici intimi. Le loro opere sono le mie opere e le loro speranze sono le mie speranze e il loro re è il mio re, Sua Altezza e Maestà, che Dio lo sostenga e perpetui i suoi giorni. E non mi sono dimenticato, o Signorina, il tuo desiderio di pubblicare qualcosa sulla storia della scienza presso gli Arabi, specialmente geografia. Grazie alla presenza di incalcolabili e innumerevoli manoscritti arabi nella Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ho ritenuto dunque di ricordarti l'esistenza di un antico libro raro completamente sconosciuto fino ad ora almeno al pubblico ed è uno dei libri più antichi sulle meraviglie dei paesi presso gli Arabi. Il suo titolo è:

Kitāb ākām al-marḡān fī dīkr al-madā'in al-mašhūrah

bi-kull makān scritto da aš-šayḥ Iṣḥāq b. al-Ḥasan¹⁹ al-Munaḡḡim

(vedi: rivista ZDMG, volume (69) anno (1910)

pagina 17-18 e vedi anche:

Centenario Amari, II, 579 (e I, 425)

3

e vedi anche:

Journal Asiatique,

avril 1841, p 383:

«Le livre d'Ishaq ben al-Hasan l'astronome»

Era, come sai, una delle fonti di al-Idrīsī

e una delle fonti di Ibn Ḥaldūn. È un libro di piccole dimensioni

di grande importanza per quanto riguarda la sua antichità rispetto a tutte

le altre opere di questo argomento. Ed io suggerisco ora che tu

lo copi e commenti [apponendo] su esso glosse e note

geografiche, storiche e linguistiche al servizio della letteratura e della scienza

e io spero che Dio, se ti è gradito, realizzi le tue speranze

e renda migliori le tue opere, invero solo Lui è colui che tutto osserva e ascolta e Lui

¹⁹ Il nome corretto è al-Ḥusayn.

non priva della ricompensa chi avrà agito per il bene. E da me la pace per la tua signoria.

Dott. Eugenio Griffini

Direttore della Biblioteca dell'Alto Gabinetto Reale d'Egitto

4. Commento

Pagina 1

- **ايتها** *ʾayyatuḥā*: “O”, forma vocativa femminile utilizzata per rivolgersi a persone di sesso femminile oppure con nomi collettivi femminili riferiti ad esseri non razicocinanti, es.: **اَيْتُهَا الْعَيْرُ** *ʾayyatuḥā l-ʿīru* “o voi della carovana” (Cor. 12:70). La parola o le parole che la seguono prendono l’articolo determinativo.
- **اما بعد** *ʾammā baʿdu*: espressione in stile arcaico usata nelle lettere e nei libri, traducibile con un connettivo testuale come “dopo; avendo detto ciò; tenendo presente questo; ora; dunque; quanto a” o da considerarsi equivalente alla punteggiatura e a un nuovo paragrafo. Indica che quello che è stato detto prima è semplicemente un preambolo e che il vero corpo del messaggio è la parte successiva, quindi questa espressione è utilizzata per entrare in argomento dopo le varie forme allocutive di apertura e i saluti iniziali.
- **ارجوك المعذرة كل المعذرة** *arǧū-ki l-maʿdirata kulla l-maʿdirati*: lett. “ti chiedo la scusa di tutta la scusa”, traducibile “ti porgo moltissime scuse”, costruito caratterizzato dall’*ʾiḍāfa* formata da **كل** come *nāʾibu l-maʿfūli l-muṭlaq* “sostituto dell’oggetto assoluto” e il sostantivo **المعذرة**, che rafforza il significato espresso dal verbo e dal suo complemento oggetto. Per enfatizzare ulteriormente la richiesta di scuse, Griffini cita il secondo emistichio di un verso di una poesia (*qaṣīda*) del poeta arabo al-Mutanabbī (915–965 d.C.) “il vento soffia ove non desiderano le navi”, in cui le navi e il vento sono utilizzati come metafora. La poesia, composta da 25 righe con metro *al-basīṭ*, è caratterizzata dalla rima formata con la consonante *nūn* (*nūniyyah*) e i temi trattati sono *an-naṣīḥa* “il consiglio, il suggerimento”, *aš-šakwā* “la lagnanza, la doglianza” e *al-ḥikma* “la saggezza”.²⁰ Il verso cita:

مَا كُلُّ مَا يَتَمَنَّى الْمَرْءُ يُدْرِكُهُ * * * تَجْرِي الرِّيَّاحُ بِمَا لَا تَشْتَهِي السُّفُنُ

*mā kullu mā yatamannā l-marʾu yudriku-hu * * * taǧrī r-riyāḥu bi-mā lā taštahī s-sufunu*

²⁰ Per uno studio esaustivo sulla vita e sulle opere di al-Mutanabbī, cfr. Larkin (2008).

non tutto ciò che l'uomo desidera ottiene *** il vento soffia ove non desiderano le navi (intendendo che a volte le cose non vanno come ci si aspetta o desidera).

- **عرفني** 'arrafa-nī: “(egli) mi ha fatto conoscere”, verbo perfetto 3^a p. sg. m., II forma, √^ʿrf portante i significati “far conoscere qc.; precisare, specificare qc.; spiegare” + -nī, suff. 1^a p. sg. L'uso del verbo 'arrafa è semanticamente connesso con **عَلَّمَ** 'allama “insegnare”.

Pagina 2

- **ملك** *malik*: “re, sovrano; possessore”, sost. sg. m., sinonimo di **مَلِك** *malik*. L'arabo classico ha mantenuto lo schema CaCīC che viene spesso utilizzato per costruire nomi di professioni, come **وَزِير** *wazīr* “ministro”, **رَئِيس** *ra'īs* “capo, guida, comandante, leader”. Lo stesso schema può anche essere utilizzato per formare alcuni participi passivi aggettivali (Baalbaki 2014: 239) che indicano persone colpite da disgrazie o che soffrono di difetti fisici, come ad es.: **جَرِيح** *ǧarīḥ* “ferito”, **ضَرِير** *ḍarīr* “cieco”.
- **ابد أيامه** 'abbada *ayyāma-hu*: “(egli) perpetui i suoi giorni”, locuzione composta da 'abbada, verbo perfetto con valore atemporale, 3^a p. sg. m., II forma, √^ʿbd “far durare, perpetuare” + *ayyāma-hu* “i suoi giorni”, sost. sg. m. allo stato costruito + -hu, suff. 3^a p. sg. m.; sinonimo **أَدَامَ عُمُرَهُ** 'adāma 'umura-hu “(egli) prolunghi la sua vita”.
- **نشر شيئاً** per **نَشْرُ شَيْئاً** *našrin šay'an*: “pubblicare qualcosa”, in cui il *mašdar* **نَشْرٌ** funge da verbo. Si noti che quando il *mašdar* è indeterminato, il nome che lo segue va all'accusativo indeterminato, es.: **إِعْطَاءٌ فَفَقِيرًا كَسَاءً صَدَقَةً**: “un'offerta di un indumento a un povero è un'elemosina” (Al-ʿAfgānī 2003: 168), mentre quando il *mašdar* è determinato, il nome che lo segue va al caso obliquo.
- **كتبخانة** *kitābhāna*: “biblioteca”, sost. sg. f., voce araba-persiana composta da **كِتَاب** *kitāb* (arabo) “libro” + **خَانَة** *hāna* (persiano) “luogo, casa”, quindi lett. “luogo / casa del libro”; *hāna* < pers. *hāne*, cfr. turco *hane* (Stachowski 2019: 168b).
- **على الأقل** 'alā l-ʿaqqal: “almeno”, nonostante questa formulazione sia generalmente utilizzata, Muṣṭafā Ğawād²¹ ritiene che la forma corretta sia **فِي الْأَقَلِّ** *fi l-ʿaqqal* (Ğawād 1970, vol. 1: 97).

²¹ Muṣṭafā Ğawād (1904 – 1969) è stato un linguista e storico iracheno. Ha studiato a Baghdad, al Cairo e all'università Sorbona di Parigi e si è occupato in particolare della modernizzazione e semplificazione della lingua araba.

Pagina 3

- استِحْسَانِكَ *istiḥsani-ki*: “se ti è gradito”, lett. “la tua approvazione”, nome verbale (forma X) allo stato costruito + *-ki*, suff. 2^a p. sg. f. Questa costruzione è *ḥašw* (sinonimo *zāʿid*) “elemento riempitivo”, cioè un elemento sovrabbondante che grammaticalmente e concettualmente non è necessario e non aggiunge nulla al concetto espresso dalla frase.²²
- إِنَّهُ هُوَ أَنَّهُ الْبَصِيرُ السَّمِيعُ *ʾinnahū²³ l-baṣīru s-samīʿu*: l’espressione è un’imitazione del versetto coranico إِنَّهُ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ *ʾinnahū huwa s-samīʿu l-baṣīru* “in verità, Egli è colui che tutto ascolta e tutto osserva” (cfr. Cor. 17:1; 40:56; 42:11).
- فَهُوَ لَا يُضِيعُ أَجْرَ مَنْ أَحْسَنَ عَمَلًا *fa-huwa lā yuḍīʿu ʾağra man ʾaḥsana ʿamalan*: anche questa espressione è un’imitazione del versetto coranico إِنَّا لَا نُضِيعُ أَجْرَ مَنْ أَحْسَنَ عَمَلًا *ʾinnā lā nuḍīʿu ʾağra man ʾaḥsana ʿamalan* “non lasceremo andar perduta la ricompensa di chi avrà agito per il bene” (cfr. Cor. 18:30).

5. Conclusioni

La lettera qui analizzata è stata scritta da Eugenio Griffini in risposta ad Angela Codazzi e si inserisce nel più ampio scambio epistolare intercorso tra i due studiosi nell’arco di tempo compreso tra il 1918 e il 1924. Come si evince dal testo, il messaggio principale della lettera di Griffini consiste nel suggerimento di studiare il manoscritto *Kitāb ākām al-marǧān fi dīkr al-madāʿin al-mašhūrah bi-kull makān* conservato presso la Biblioteca Ambrosiana, accompagnato dall’indicazione di alcune fonti bibliografiche. La lettera costituisce un documento importante perché testimonia quanto affermato successivamente da Angela Codazzi nella sua opera riguardo al consiglio ricevuto dall’orientalista, al quale rivolge “un memore pensiero”, come riportato nell’introduzione del presente lavoro, e dimostra la collaborazione scientifica esistente tra i due studiosi in materia di manoscritti arabi.

La lettera però non è solo un mezzo per scambiare informazioni e confrontare idee, ma costituisce anche uno strumento utile per approfondire la biografia e ricostruire la personalità del suo autore. L’Oriente ha sempre esercitato un grande fascino su Griffini, tuttavia, nonostante la posizione di prestigio ricoperta a partire dal 1920 presso la corte di re Aḥmad Fuʿād I, non ha mai abbandonato i

²² Per approfondire il fenomeno in arabo, cfr. Talmon (1997: 170).

²³ La costruzione è contenuta in un versetto coranico o comunque si rifà a esso. La trascrizione in caratteri latini nella forma *ʾinnahū* con *hū* anziché *hu* dipende dall’*ahkām at-tilāwa*, cioè le regole di lettura e recitazione del Corano, e dalla trascrizione dell’arabo coranico. Quando il suffisso di 3^a p. sg. m. vocalizzato con *ḍamma* o *kasra* viene a trovarsi tra due consonanti vocalizzate e non è seguito da una *hamza*, la vocale breve del suffisso deve essere allungata (*ʾiṣbāʿ*). Il fenomeno è detto *madd aṣ-ṣila aṣ-ṣuğrā*; per approfondire, cfr. Sibawayhi (1988, IV: 189).

suoi impegni, la sua attività di ricerca e le sue aspirazioni in patria. Questo aspetto emerge in modo chiaro dalla sua lettera, in cui Griffini riferisce di vivere due vite, una occidentale e una orientale (“io sono occidentale e orientale allo stesso tempo”), avendo vissuto tra Italia ed Egitto (“devo tornare di tanto in tanto alla mia vita, questa seconda vita orientale islamica”). Nella lettera si trova anche la conferma della vasta e profonda conoscenza del mondo, della civiltà e della cultura araba da parte di Griffini; nel suo scritto l’orientalista fa uso di espressioni tipicamente arabe, come *ḥiṭābi-ki al-‘āṭir* e *‘arḡū-ki al-ma‘dirata kulla l-ma‘dirati*, cita testualmente un verso del poeta arabo classico iracheno al-Mutanabbī ed ancora si rifà ad alcuni versetti coranici per rivolgere un augurio alla sua interlocutrice nelle ultime righe della lettera.

Per concludere, la consultazione degli inventari dei fondi e delle carte personali conservati presso biblioteche e archivi è estremamente importante perché può portare alla luce nuovo materiale inedito, che costituisce una fonte privilegiata per approfondire la conoscenza della vita e delle opere di studiosi, arabisti e non, delle loro collaborazioni scientifiche e accademiche, nonché della società di cui facevano parte.

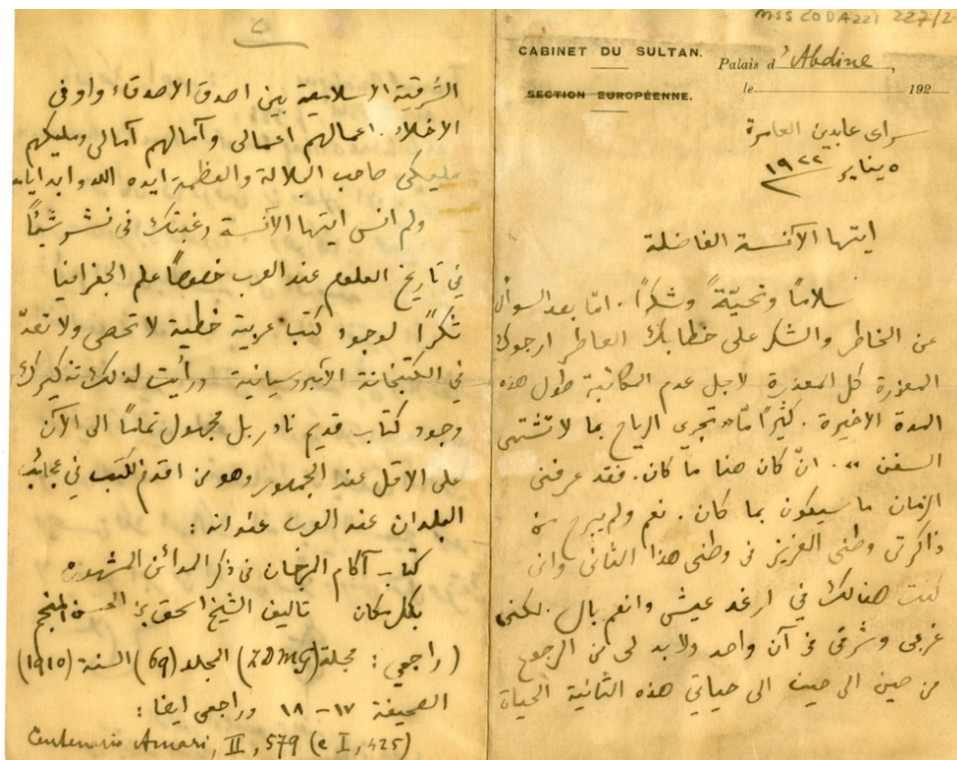


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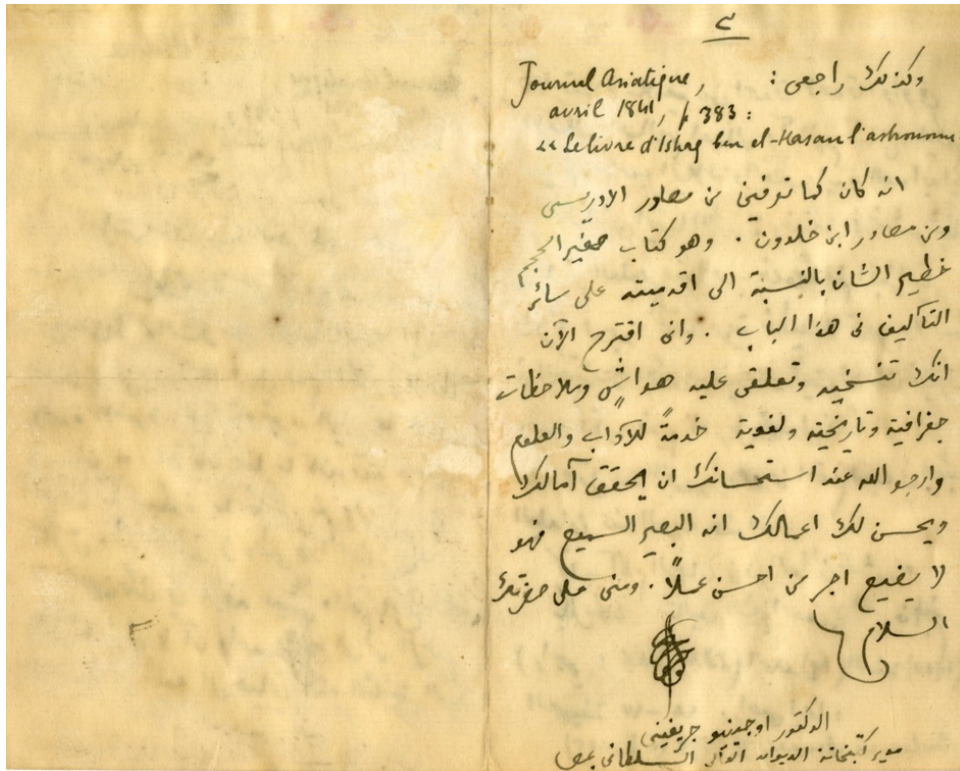


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Deux poèmes sur l'amour et l'amitié par Bar Hebraeus

(Bar 'Ebraya, 1226-1286)

Rola Skaff

This article aims to provide an overview of 13th-century Syriac poetry through the study of two poems by Bar Hebraeus, a pioneering poet of his time, providing an overview of this art form during that period. These two poems delve into and explore the dimensions of love and friendship. The second poem is, in fact, a collection of two intimately related compositions. After a general introduction to Syriac poetry and the particularities of Bar Hebraeus' poetry, the analysis focuses on the translation and interpretation of these two poems, which were initially translated into Arabic. The translation into French enhances their dissemination, underscoring the significance of this study in accessing these texts.

Keywords: Syriac poetry, Bar Hebraeus, elegy, friendship, love.

I. Introduction¹

Bar Hebraeus (1226-1286) est un écrivain érudit extrêmement productif qui a couvert un large éventail de domaines de connaissances. Ses travaux comprennent l'astronomie, la médecine, la théologie, la poésie, la grammaire, le droit canonique, et bien d'autres encore. Il a écrit à la fois en arabe et en syriaque, et bon nombre de ses œuvres sont des traductions ou des adaptations d'œuvres arabes antérieures, témoignant ainsi de son engagement à promouvoir et à diffuser les connaissances arabes dans sa propre tradition.

¹ Je souhaite dédier cet article à une personne qui a grandement influencé ma trajectoire académique et personnelle, le grand professeur Fabrizio Pennacchietti, à l'occasion de son 85e anniversaire. Son soutien, ses critiques constructives et son inspiration ont façonné ma formation et m'ont permis de développer un sens profond du travail et de la responsabilité. Je tiens à exprimer ma sincère reconnaissance pour son amitié, son humour et ses anecdotes, son attention et sa générosité infinie qui ont non seulement enrichi mon parcours académique, mais ont également laissé une empreinte précieuse dans ma vie personnelle. Merci à l'équipe des Sources Chrétiennes pour leur aide et spécialement à Jean Pflieger.

Bar Hebraeus (BH) occupe la charge de maphrien², ce qui lui confère la responsabilité de superviser la moitié orientale de l’Église orthodoxe syrienne. Le siège de cette Église est établi au monastère de Mar Matay, situé près de Mossoul, en Irak. En tant que leader ecclésiastique éminent, il bénéficie d’une influence considérable au sein de la communauté syriaque. Il a utilisé cette position pour promouvoir la culture, la spiritualité et les enseignements de son Église.

Les deux poèmes que nous allons étudier sont extraits du premier chapitre sur l’amour et l’amitié du recueil poétique (les *mušhotho* “poèmes métriques”). Ce recueil a été compilé par Dolabani à Jérusalem en 1929 et réédité en Hollande par Çiçek en 1983, incluant une classification thématique des poèmes de BH³.

2. Poésie syriaque

L’art poétique syriaque a prospéré principalement entre les III^e et VII^e siècles de notre ère, en se distinguant par son style lyrique, ses métaphores riches et son utilisation de la poésie religieuse pour exprimer la foi chrétienne. Il a joué un rôle essentiel dans l’enseignement et l’enracinement des dogmes de la foi à travers des hymnes et des homélies métriques. Au IV^e siècle, Saint Ephrem utilisa cette forme poétique, s’inspirant lui-même de Bardesane, un poète du II^e siècle, pour créer des compositions poétiques (Duval 1897 : 5-6). Ainsi, la poésie a t-elle servi de moyen pour transmettre les enseignements religieux, en facilitant leur mémorisation grâce à son rythme et à sa mélodie.

La métrique syriaque repose sur le nombre de syllabes, plusieurs syllabes formant une mesure, et plusieurs mesures composant un vers. Les trois vers les plus connus sont le vers de 12 syllabes (Brock 2011 : 334), le vers de 10 syllabes et celui de 14 syllabes (Costaz 1992 : 228).

La poésie syriaque de la période tardive montre une forte empreinte de la poésie arabe, et cette influence se ressent également, bien que de manière variable, dans les œuvres de contemporains et de quasi-contemporains de Barhebraeus, notamment Jean bar Ma’dani (patriarche de 1252 à 1263), ainsi qu’Abdisho bar Brikha (décédé en 1318). Par ailleurs, on peut observer cette même influence dans des

² Titre spécifique concernant la charge du diocèse de l’est pour l’Église syro-occidentale.

³ L’édition des poèmes de BH réalisée par Dolabani repose sur l’utilisation de treize manuscrits au total, comprenant six manuscrits complets et sept manuscrits incomplets. Pour préparer son édition, Dolabani a adopté une classification thématique des poèmes plutôt que de les suivre dans l’ordre d’apparition dans un manuscrit. Ainsi, le recueil est divisé en douze sections (*taṛē*) qui portent les titres suivants : 1. Sur l’amour et l’amitié, 2. Sur les lamentations, 3. Sur la louange et l’action de grâces, 4. Sur le reproche, etc. (Takahashi 2013 : 82-83).

recueils de poésie originaires de Syrie orientale, attribués à Giwargis Warda et Khamis bar Qardaḥe (Takahashi 2013 : 80).

L'expansion de la culture arabo-musulmane dans la région a engendré des changements significatifs dans la poésie syriaque. Cette influence s'est traduite par l'incorporation d'éléments stylistiques tels que des structures métriques et des thèmes poétiques provenant de la poésie arabe (*Qasida*⁴) et persane. Les poètes syriaques ont également intégré des mots et des expressions arabes dans leurs compositions, créant ainsi une fusion de traditions poétiques qui a façonné à la fois la forme et le contenu de la poésie syriaque. Celle-ci a commencé à utiliser la rime, usage qui a fini par se généraliser à partir du IXe siècle sous l'influence de la poésie arabe (Brock 2011 : 334).

Comme en arabe, les vers d'une poésie syriaque riment soit tous entre eux, soit—et c'est la grande majorité des cas—seulement entre ceux d'une même strophe. Si la poésie arabe a été le point de départ pour l'usage de la rime en syriaque, cette dernière est cependant utilisée de manière très large. Un nouvel art poétique a émergé, présentant plusieurs variétés (Duval 1897 : 13-14). La dernière voyelle importe seulement *مالكو* *malko* et *مالكو* *malkto*, et, quand la syllabe est fermée, la voyelle + consonne : *ملا* *qṭal* et *حط* *gḥal* (Costaz (1992 : 229).

Chaque strophe peut recevoir une rime qui lui est propre, excepté son dernier vers dont la rime reprend celle de la première strophe et qui sera ainsi considéré comme un refrain. Le vers de douze syllabes qui contient trois mesures de quatre, peut aussi avoir la rime à la fin de chaque mesure. Il peut arriver également que les deux premières mesures du premier vers riment avec les mesures correspondantes des autres vers de la strophe (Duval 1897 : 15).

Par ailleurs, notre auteur BH utilise une rime assez riche où la dernière syllabe en entier compte (cf. notre analyse dans IV.1. et V.1).

En outre, l'influence de la poésie persane sur la poésie syriaque est perceptible, notamment à travers Khamis bar Qardaḥe (poète syriaque oriental contemporain de BH) qui a utilisé des techniques persanes pour créer un effet humoristique dans ses poèmes satiriques et des quatrains syriaques similaires aux quatrains persans. Cette évolution poétique est illustrée par les *turgāmē* (ensemble de vers) de Khamis, qui partagent des caractéristiques (ayant la même rime finale) avec le *ghazal* (poésie amoureuse) persan. De plus, les hymnes se distinguent par leurs formes métriques sophistiquées et leurs schémas de rimes élaborés, influencés par des modèles poétique arabes et persans, et le *Livre de Khamis* en est un exemple significatif (Mengozzi 2015 : 423-428).

⁴ Elle se caractérise par une succession de vers, tous monorimes et sans structure strophique (Duval 1897 : 13-14).

Au XIII^e siècle, période couramment qualifiée de “Renaissance syriaque”, les poètes syriaques, dont Yuḷannon Bar Ma’dani et Khamīs Bar Qardāḥē, ont traité du thème du vin *khamriyyah*, qu’ils ont emprunté aux littératures dominantes de l’époque d’expression arabe, persane et hébraïque, où il est fréquemment associé à une représentation anthropomorphique et sensuelle, comme indiqué par Taylor en 2010. Ils ont fusionné des éléments profanes et religieux (Taylor 2010 : 31 et 41, Mengozzi 2015), créant ainsi un nouveau et vaste champ poétique. De plus, la présence de la poésie encomiastique persane (*madh*) et du symbolisme soufi (Pritula 2012 & 2013, cité dans Mengozzi 2015 : 416-417) a enrichi cette littérature, reflétant la diversité culturelle de l’époque. Le mysticisme joue en effet un rôle important dans certains poèmes syriaques, où l’influence de la poésie soufie a été remarquée (Takahashi 2013b : 65).

Par ailleurs, sur le modèle de la qasida et du ghazal arabes, ainsi que des quatrains persans, les formes syriaques traditionnelles telles que les versions tardives du *memrā* (poème homilétique à l’époque classique et, à partir de l’époque ottomane, hymne non strophique, généralement rimé) et de la *soghithā* (poème strophique, généralement composé de quatrains rimés) en viennent d’inclure une gamme de thèmes, allant du religieux aux sujets du quotidien, tels que l’amour, la nature, la nostalgie et les louanges. Les poètes syriaques ont pu s’en inspirer, les adaptant à leur propre contexte culturel et religieux, diversifiant leur palette thématique et laissant une empreinte durable sur le développement ultérieur de la poésie syriaque.

3. Poésie de Bar Hebraeus

Bar Hebraeus a apporté un renouveau à la poésie syriaque en introduisant de nouvelles formes qui élargissent les thèmes abordés et offrent une palette d’expressions plus variée. Il va au-delà des thèmes religieux traditionnels pour explorer des sujets philosophiques, moraux et esthétiques. Ses poèmes abordent la nature, l’amour, la beauté, la philosophie et la spiritualité, la perfection (Pritula 2017) et l’ivresse spirituelle (Taylor 2010 : 32-35), ainsi que l’avait déjà suggéré Dolabani (cité dans Takahashi 2013b : 77) qui les répartissait en une douzaine de rubriques:

1. l’amour et l’amitié,
2. les lamentations,
3. les louanges et actions de grâce,
4. les reproches/satires,
5. l’admonition,
6. la nature,
7. l’âme,

8. la sagesse,
9. l'amour divin,
10. la perfection,
11. les disputes,
12. divers.

En innovant dans les formes poétiques, Bar Hebraeus a expérimenté divers types de vers et de strophes, créant de nouvelles structures poétiques. Il a utilisé des vers de longueurs variées, jouant avec les rimes et les structures des strophes (cf. el-Ṭorli 2005: 13, 28-29).

Aussi l'aspect remarquable de sa poésie réside-t-il dans sa capacité à fusionner différents registres linguistiques. Il mélange les langues par des emprunts au grec et à l'arabe. Cette fusion de registres et de langues ajoute une dimension supplémentaire à sa créativité stylistique.

De plus, Bar Hebraeus excelle à intégrer des éléments visuels et imagés dans ses poèmes. Il utilise des métaphores complexes et des comparaisons poétiques, comme vont l'illustrer les poèmes étudiés dans cet article.

En somme, Bar Hebraeus apporte une contribution stylistique significative à la poésie syriaque en fusionnant différents styles et formes, en jouant avec les sons et les mots, en combinant les registres linguistiques et en créant des images poétiques vivantes. Sa créativité stylistique et son approche novatrice ont enrichi et diversifié la tradition poétique syriaque.

3.1. L'amour dans la poésie de Bar Hebraeus

Le thème de l'amour a gagné en importance dans la poésie syriaque de cette époque, comme le confirment plusieurs études, notamment dans les œuvres de BH (el-ṬORLI: 2005: 45-52). Selon Isaak Saka (1963, n°10 : 464-467, cité dans le Journal patriarcal 2022 : 81-82), l'amour était également un sujet privilégié chez d'autres écrivains syriaques imprégnés de foi chrétienne, tels qu'Ephrem de Nisibe et Jacques de Saroug, qui avaient abordé l'amour en y incorporant des thèmes théologiques et spirituels. Cependant, BH s'est éloigné des discours théologiques et a exploré l'amour sous différents aspects, notamment la séparation et la plainte, la rencontre avec des amis, la joie de vivre parmi les siens, l'attachement, la fidélité et le désastre en cas d'infidélité, ainsi que les qualités exceptionnelles de l'autre. Il s'est plongé également dans la poésie du vin. Yuḥannon Bar Ma'dani⁵ (mort 1263) par

⁵ Son poème syriaque sur le vin est identifié comme le plus ancien par Taylor (2010 : 33).

exemple, qui s’est éloigné du vers arabe contemporain, a utilisé le vin comme métaphore pour symboliser l’union de la divinité et de l’humanité dans le Christ, tout en exprimant un amour mystique envers Dieu ; tandis que BH a développé davantage ce thème en comparant l’amour de Dieu à un vin enivrant, mettant l’accent sur l’aspect spirituel de l’ivresse, qui transforme l’âme par l’amour divin.

L’influence de la mystique soufie est nettement perceptible dans la poésie amoureuse de BH (Takahashi 2013b : 77), qui utilise aussi des éléments profanes, tels que la passion, la séparation et la fusion, comme un moyen d’atteindre la connaissance divine. Il décrit l’amour comme une force qui enivre l’âme et la pousse à s’abandonner à Dieu. Cette approche singulière a constitué un défi pour les conventions littéraires et religieuses de l’époque, incitant les lecteurs à explorer l’amour d’un point de vue profane, donnant lieu à controverses.

La métaphore du vin, associée à l’ivresse spirituelle, déjà présente dans la littérature juive et chrétienne depuis le début de notre ère, et dans le christianisme syriaque depuis le IV^e siècle, est devenu populaire aux 7^e et 8^e siècles et a pris une ampleur particulière au XIII^e siècle suite au contexte arabo-persan (Taylor 2010 : 32-35). Les études actuelles (Taylor 2010 : 36) révèlent que Khamis aussi, son contemporain et confrère, s’est engagé pleinement et est allé loin dans ce genre poétique sur le vin tout en le combinant avec un profond christocentrisme, créant ainsi une œuvre poétique qui remet en question les attentes habituelles associées à la poésie religieuse (Taylor 2010 : 43). Ainsi, pourrions-nous oser dire que la poésie de BH, tout comme celle de Khamis, se situe à la croisée de la tradition chrétienne et de l’influence soufie, offrant une perspective unique sur l’amour dans la poésie syriaque de l’époque.

3.2. Poèmes sur l’amour et l’amitié

Si certaines poèmes de BH peuvent illustrer cette tendance mystique, ceux que nous allons étudier maintenant envisagent l’amour sous un angle profane. Il y exprime seulement son chagrin et sa tristesse sans qu’on puisse y déceler une influence mystique soufie et une perspective théologique. Tous les éléments du poème, en particulier le vocabulaire utilisé, soutiennent cette déclaration élégiaque. Le champ lexical de l’affectivité et de l’affliction renforce l’expression des émotions intenses du poète.

Le texte syriaque utilise un vers de 12 syllabes : 3 x 4, appelés « mètres de Jacques de Saroug ». Ex. tiré du premier poème :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	ç	10	11	12
mlekh	ħa	ki	me	dal	so	fī	ya	qnu	meh	na	qi

3.3. Sources

Pour mémoire, les deux poèmes de BH sont extraits du premier chapitre sur l'amour et l'amitié de son recueil poétique, compilé par Dolabani (1929). Le poème II est composé de deux poèmes regroupés sous le même titre.

Nous avons fait appel aux sources disponibles (cf. Takahashi 2013b : 313-323) : trois textes édités et trois manuscrits (ms).

Les *textes édités* sont les suivants :

1. le recueil édité par Dolabani à Jérusalem (1929, poèmes n° 24 et 42, respectivement p. 16-17 et p. 25-26) ;
2. l'édition dans le Journal patriarcal de l'église syriaque-orthodoxe en Syrie (2022) (poèmes n° 24 et n°42, respectivement p. 110 et p. 130) qui n'est qu'une révision de l'édition de Dolabani (textes accompagnés d'une traduction arabe) ;
3. le recueil, plus ancien, édité par Scebabī à Rome (1877, poèmes trouvés respectivement aux p. 133 et 127).

Quant aux manuscrits, pour le premier poème :

1. ms de la collection d'Urfa (église St Georges) en Turquie (XVI^e s.), en ligne sur le site de la Library of Congress, p. 60, <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.wdl/wdl.7082> ;
2. ms d'Oxford Bodleian Library⁶, Huntington 1⁷ (ca. 1498 AD), p. 251 (cf. Takahashi 2013: 135) ;
3. ms de la bibliothèque Laurentienne de Florence⁸, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *orientalium catalogus*, Laur. Or. 298 (1487/8 AD), fol. 97r, b23-28 (cf. Takahashi 2013: 135) ;

pour le *second*, il en est de même :

1. ms de la collection d'Urfa en Turquie (XVI^e s.), de la Library of Congress, p. 58 ;

⁶ Merci à M. Hidemi Takahashi qui m'a fourni les mss d'Oxford et de Florence.

⁷ Huntington 1 est un manuscrit copié à Dayr al-Za'farān vers 1498 qui contient un grand nombre d'œuvres de Barhebraeus. Les poèmes se trouvent dans la partie du manuscrit qui a été copiée par Joseph Iberoyo (al-Kurjī, plus tard métropolitain de Jérusalem, vers 1515-1537) (Takahashi 2013 : 81-82).

⁸ Les poèmes présents dans le manuscrit de Florence se trouvent dans la section qui a été copiée en 1487/8 par un scribe anonyme, au monastère de Mar Abel et Abraham à Midyat (Takahashi 2013 : 82).

2. ms d’Oxford Bodleian Library, Huntington 1 (ca. 1498 AD), p. 250 (cf. Takahashi 2013: 133)
3. ms de Florence, Laur. Or. 298 (1487/8 AD), fol. 90v, b1-7 (cf. Takahashi 2013: 133) ;

Cependant, il convient de noter que les manuscrits et le texte édité de Scebabi contiennent seulement la première partie du second poème (cf. section 5.1.).

Dans le manuscrit de Huntington qui semble suivre Dolabani, les poèmes sont regroupés par sujet, ce qui n’est pas le cas dans l’édition de Scebabi qui suit le ms de Florence. Ce qui s’accorde avec les conclusions de Takahashi qui avait déjà constaté que les lectures de l’édition de Scebabi sont généralement en accord avec celles de Laur. or. 298, et que les lectures de l’édition de Dolabani correspondent à celles de Huntington 1 (cf. Takahashi 2013 : 84).

Quant à la vocalisation, nous nous sommes inspiré de celle de Dolabani avec le texte révisé dans le Journal patriarcal et celle de Scebabi. Les points de spirantisation ne sont pas notés. Par ailleurs, la dernière syllabe ouverte : consonne-voyelle (CV), dans les deux poèmes confère, une musicalité particulière grâce à l’uniformité de la rime, avec une variation de voyelle (-i dans le premier poème / -e dans le second).

4. Poème I

4.1. Rime et contenu

Dans le premier poème, le choix de mots d’origine grecque à la fin des vers souligne leur importance, car un mot placé en position finale est plus facilement mémorisé. Ainsi, BH exprime un attachement très fort à un ami qui excelle dans tous les arts, dits “libéraux” au sens large, l’éthique, la rhétorique, la poétique, la musique, la logique et la sophistique.

Le premier poème est composé de 12 vers dodécasyllabes, rimés de la même manière par une syllabe ouverte -CV : -qi, translittération de la finale féminine grecque -kè. La disposition et la mise en

page moderne dans la version révisée de Dolabani dans le Journal patriarcal montre une division du texte en 3 strophes de 4 vers chacun.

A titre d'illustration, voici une photo de la reproduction digitale du manuscrit proposée par la Library of Congress (XVI^e s., p. 60).

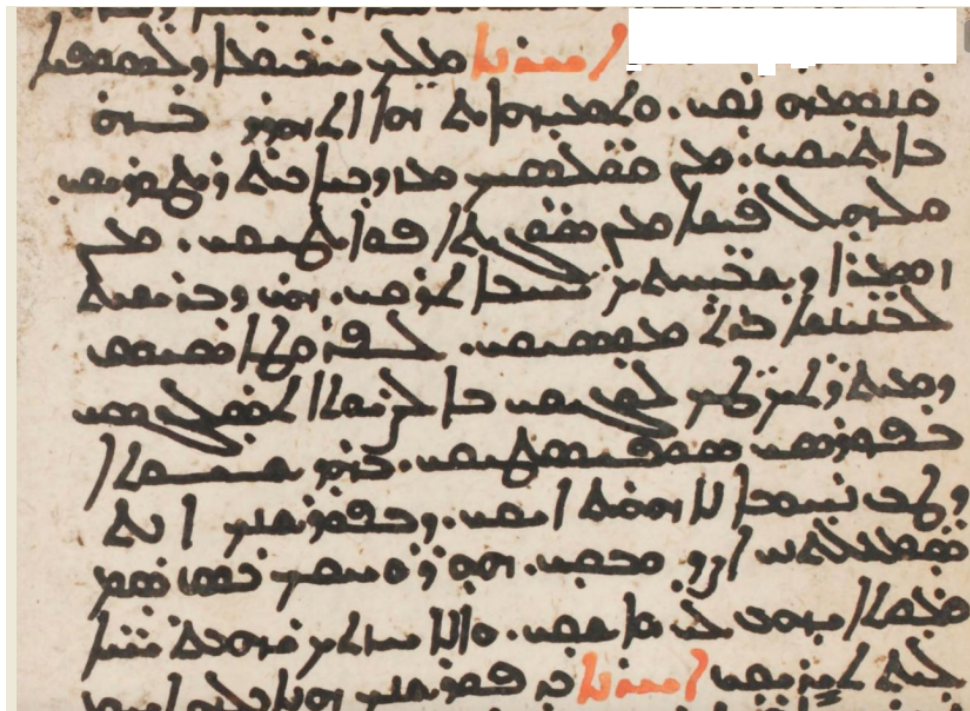


Table 1. Une page du poème I (ms-collection d'Urfa-Turquie, XVI^e siècle, Library of Congress, p. 60).

4.2. Texte syriaque et traduction

ܠܘܗܝ ܢܝܢܩܠܝܢܐ ܕܘܨܚܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܐ ܩܠܝܢܐ ܕܥܪܝܢܐ

“À un sage qu'il aimait, éloge et aspiration d'amour”

“Ô roi des sages qui s'est consacré à la sagesse”

ܗܘܝ ܒܗܘܚܒܐ ܕܘܨܚܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܪܝܢܐ
ܩܠܝܢܐ:

“et voici que son éthique l'honore admirablement”

ܕܗܘܝ ܕܥܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܨܚܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܪܝܢܐ
ܩܠܝܢܐ.

“par tes louanges elle est déclassée, la rhétorique”

ܗܘܝ ܕܥܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܨܚܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܪܝܢܐ
ܩܠܝܢܐ:

“et il est largement surpassé par tes
hymnes, l’art poétique”

وَلَمَّا فَجِعَ مِنْ مَقَامِهَا
فَعَمَّ بِهَا.

“par les chants à ta gloire, elle est
vaincue, la Thrace,”

مِنْ أَسْمَاءِهَا تَعَزَّيْتُ بِهَا
نُكْرًا وَأَيْقُرًا:

“qui, au commencement, a créé
pour les hommes la musique”

وَأَوَّلًا لِكُلِّ نَسَمَةٍ حَادٍ
مِنْهَا.

“Ce qui conditionne les vertus,
bientôt la logique”

لِفَائِدَتِهَا تَحْتَضِرُهَا
لَهَا لَيْقُرًا:

“par un syllogisme rigoureux, le
montrera, en révélant l’art
sophistique”

كُلِّ نَسَمَةٍ تَحْتَضِرُهَا
مِنْهَا قَيْسُهَا.

“ce n’est pas par hasard que je suis
d’une apparence famélique”

وَمَا أَعْنَاهُ أَنْ تَهْدَ نَسَمَةَ
مِنْهَا لَيْقُرًا:

“car en te séparant de moi tu m’as
anéanti, regarde et vérifie-le :”

تَحْفَظُ عَيْنِي كَأَنَّهَا
مِنْهَا.

“c’est ton éloignement qui m’a
donné à boire la coupe du poison
mortel”

وَمَا أَسْفُرُ حُسْرًا حَادٍ
لَهَا لَيْقُرًا:

“mais ta vue me rendra la vie sans
thériaque”

وَلَكِنْ سَأُحْيِي بِهَا
مِنْهَا.

4.3. Analyse linguistique

لَوْتٌ هَادٌ هَاكِيمُو دَرْوَهَمْ هَوُو لَهْ قَوْلُوْشُو

lwōt had ḥakīmō d=rōhem hwō l=eh qūlōšō
 à un sage REL=avoir_pitié\PTCP.ACT être\ACC.3SG.M à=3SG.M éloge

u=yūwōbō °d=ḥūbō
 et=désir GEN=amour
 “À un sage qu’il aimait, éloge et aspiration d’amour”

مَلِكٌ هَاكِيمِي دَا لِسُوفِيَا قَنُومٌ هِ

mlek ḥakīm-ē da-l-sōfiyā qnūm=eh
 roi.ET.CST.SG.M sage-PL GEN-OBJ-sagesse personne=3SG.M

naqī
 offrir_en_sacrifice\ACC.3SG.M
 “Ô roi des sages qui s’est consacré à la sagesse”

وَا تَمِيْهِيْتِ هُوَ اِتْهَادِ رُوْمُوْشُوْ

wa=tmīhōyīt hō et-hadar ¹⁰b=ōh b=itīqī
 et=admirablement voici MOY-orner\3SG.M en=3SG.F en=éthique
 “et voici que son éthique l’honore admirablement”

مِنْ قَوْلِيْتِيْ خَاتَمٌ خَلْفِيْتِيْ

¹¹men qūlōsay=k m-ezdakyō kīt rīṭūriqī
 de louange.PL=2SG.M PTCP-surpasser\MOY.SG.F donc rhétorique
 “par tes louanges elle est déclassée, la rhétorique”

وَا لْهَالِ فَيُوشُوْ مِنْ سُوْغِيُوْتِ هُوَ فَيُوتِيْ

wa=lhal fōyšō men ¹²sūgyōt=ok fūyitīqī
 et=loin rester\PTCP.ACT.SG.F de hymne.PL=2SG.M art_poétique
 “et il est largement surpassé par tes hymnes, l’art poétique”

⁹ Le titre dans Dolabani est différent de celui du ms d'Oxford Bodleian Library, Huntington 1 (ca. 1498 AD, p. 251) :
 لَوْتٌ هَادٌ هَاكِيمُو دَرْوَهَمْ هَوُو لَهْ قَوْلُوْشُوْ lwōt had ḥakīmē d=rōhem hwō l=eh “à un (sage) parmi les sages qu’il aimait”.

¹⁰ مَبْ b-eh “en-lui” dans Scebabī 1877.

¹¹ u men “et par” dans Laur. Or. (p.298).

¹² Absence du pronom suffixe sur le mot هُوَ dans le ms de la Library of Congress et dans Laur. Or. (p.298).

ܟܘܢ ܐܘܬܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܟܘܢܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ:

men ¹³zūmōr-ē da=šbiḥōt=ōk ḥoybō traqī
 de chant-PL.M REL= gloire.PL.F=2SG.M être_impuissant\PTCP.ACT.SG.F Thrace

“par les chants à tes gloire, elle est vaincue, la Thrace,”

ܟܘܢ ܕܘܥܡܐ ܕܠܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܣܝܩܐ.

hōy da=brīšīt la=bnaynōšō ¹⁴brōt mūsīqī
 DIST.SG.F REL=au_commencement DIR=homme.PL créer\ACC.3SG.F musique

“qui, au commencement, a créé pour les hommes la musique”

ܟܘܢ ܕܘܠܘܘܬܐ ܕܡܘܣܝܩܐ ܕܡܘܣܝܩܐ:

la=frūtasīs ¹⁵da=myatr-ōtō tōk lūgīqī
 DIR=prémisse REL=excellent-PL.F bientôt logique

“Ce qui conditionne les vertus, bientôt la logique”

ܟܘܢ ܕܠܘܘܬܐ ܕܡܘܣܝܩܐ ܕܡܘܣܝܩܐ.

b=ōlṣōyūtō t-salgēs b=fūrsōy sūfīstīqī
 en=nécessité INAC-écrire.3SG.F en=mise_à_nu\ET.CST sophistique

“par un syllogisme rigoureux, le montrera, en révélant l’art sophistique”

ܟܘܢ ܕܘܠܘܘܬܐ ܕܡܘܣܝܩܐ ܕܡܘܣܝܩܐ:

b=hōd šīyūtō d=tōb naḥūbō lō=wīt
 en=PROX.SG.F apparence REL=bon\ET.ABS.SG.M maigre non=être\ACC.1SG

īqī
 sans_raison

“ce n’est pas par hasard que je suis d’une apparence famélique”

ܟܘܢ ܕܘܠܘܘܬܐ ܕܡܘܣܝܩܐ ܕܡܘܣܝܩܐ.

da=b=fūršōn=ōk at samélt=ōn
 REL=en=séparation=2SG.M toi.M émancier\ACC.2SG.M=1SG

aṣed wa=bqī
 fixer_les_yeux\IMP.2SG.M et=vérifier\IMP.2SG.M

“car en te séparant de moi tu m’as anéanti, regarde et vérifie-le”

13 Le mot ܟܘܢܝܐ *zumōrō* est au singulier dans le manuscrit de Library of Congress.

14 Vocalisé ܟܘܢܝܐ dans Scébabi (1877).

15 le mot ܟܘܢܝܐ est muni d’un suffixe pronominal du 2SG.M ܟܘܢܝܐ *myatrot=k* dans le ms of Congress. A noter qu’ à partir de ce mot, je n’ai pas eu accès à la page suivante du manuscrit Laur. Or.

: ٤٤٤ ٤٤٤ ٤٤٤ ٤٤٤ ٤٤٤

¹⁶ haw	rūḥōq=ōk	kōs	sam	mawtō
DIST.SG.M	distance=2SG.M	coupe\ET.ABS.SG	poison\ET.ABS.SG	mort
yab	l=ī	w=ašqī		
donner\ACC.3SG.M	DIR=1SG	et=donner_à_boire\ACC.3SG.M		

“c’est ton éloignement qui m’a donné à boire la coupe du poison mortel”

* ٤٤٤ ٤٤٤ ٤٤٤ ٤٤٤ ٤٤٤

w=ēlō	ḥzōt=ōk	¹⁷ yōhbat	ḥayē	layt	¹⁸ tīryaqī
et=sinon	vue=2SG.M	donneuse\ET.CST.SG.F	vie	non.EXIST	remède

“mais ta vue me rendra la vie sans thériaque”

5. Poème II

5.1. Rimes et contenu

Le poème suivant regroupe, dans l’édition de Dolabani (1929: 25-26) ainsi que dans le *Journal Patriarcal* (2022: 130), sous le même thème *l-roḥme sagiye* “à de nombreux amis”, deux parties de quatre et six vers avec pour chacune la même rime finale : *-re* pour la première et *-še* pour la seconde, une consonne d’appui différente et une voyelle identique.

Si les quatre premiers vers se trouvent bien dans l’édition de Scebabī (1877 : 127, ligne 2¹⁹) et dans les deux ms Huntington 1 (p. 250) et Laur. Or. 298, fol. 90v, b1-7 (cf. concordance de Takahashi 2013 : 133, cependant les lignes de 5 à 10 supposées appartenir à la seconde partie du poème n’existent ni dans l’édition de Scebabī, édition plus ancienne que celle de Dolabani, ni dans les deux ms : Huntington 1 et Laur. Or. 298, (cf. Takahashi 2013 : 125), ce qui nous laisse penser qu’il s’agit probablement de deux poèmes différents. De plus, deux faits confirment cette hypothèse : d’une part, on trouve à côté de la ligne 5 dans l’édition de Dolabani la lettre *olaf*, qui est l’abréviation du mot *ḥrino*

¹⁶ C’est le pronom personnel 3SG.M ٤٤٤ *hu* qui est utilisé dans le manuscrit de Library of Congress (XVIe s. : 60), dans Scebabī (1877: 134) et dans Huntington 1 (p.251).

¹⁷ Dans Scebabī (1877:134), ٤٤٤ *yehbat* est à l’accompli “elle a donné (la vie)”.

¹⁸ Scebabī utilise la variante *turiqi* ٤٤٤ (cf. Smith 1879 : 4414)

¹⁹ Dans la concordance de Takahashi (2013: 133), il est indiqué que ce poème est à la p. 185 de Scebabī.

“autre”, comme indiqué dans le Journal patriarcal, d’autre part, le nombre des vers est différent pour chaque partie.

Voici une photo de l’édition de Dolabani (1983) en illustration :

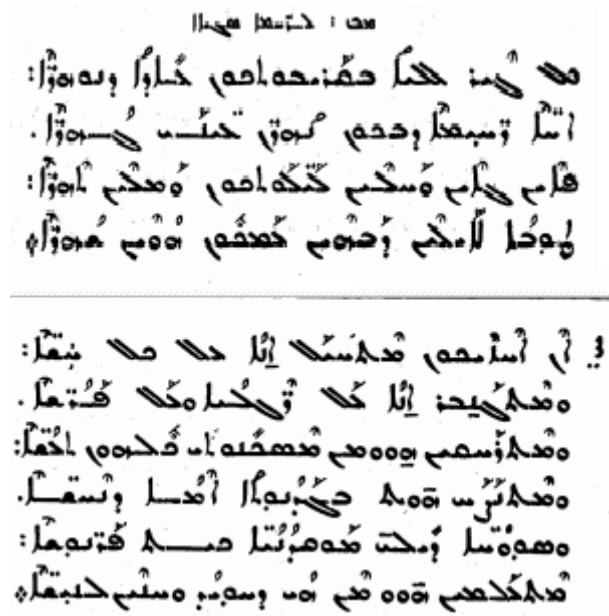


Table 2. Une page du Poème II (édition Dolabani, 1983 (1929), n° 42, p.25-26. Monastère de St Ephrem le Syrien, Hollande).

Dans ces poèmes, BH met l’accent sur les bienfaits et le bonheur que lui procure la présence de son ami. En sa compagnie, sa vie est paisible et dénuée de souffrance.

Les champs sémantiques sont divers. S’il n’y a pas de lien sémantique clair entre les mots, qui les rapprocherait ou les opposerait, cependant, dans la première partie, les mots ont une certaine proximité autour du thème de la vue : *nuhre* “lumières”, *gohre* “malvoyants”, *tehre* “merveilles”, *šohre* “veilleurs”. Dans la seconde, ils ne correspondent pas à un champs sémantique évident : *hašē* “souffrances”, *farōšē* “cavaliers”, *tōšē* “fatigue”, *neḥšē* présages, *farnūšē* “vieillards” et *nīšē* “but”.

5.2. Texte syriaque + traduction

ܠܫܘܚܐ ܡܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܝܐ

“À de nombreux amis”

II.1

“Chaque nuit, en votre présence, c’est la fête des : ܠܫܘܚܐ ܡܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܝܐ
lumières”

“chers frères, par vous, les yeux des nyctalopes
sont illuminés”

رَبُّكُمْ تَشْكُرُ دَحْخَمَ نُسْتِ خَزْرُ لَمْتِ.

“belles, en effet, et douces sont vos
nuits et pleines de merveilles”

فَكَمَ لِحْنِ نَسْلِمِ لَنْلَهْ دَحْخَمَ
هَاجِلِ دَحْخَمِ:

“bonheur pour ceux qui, en ces
nuits, partagent vos veilles”

لَهْ كَمَ لَهْلِمِ دَحْخَمِ خَحْخَمَ
❖ رَمَّ دَحْخَمِ:

II.2

رَبِّيَّة

“Autre”

“Si je vous vois, je serai fortifié
contre les souffrances,”

رَبِّيَّة سَاخَمَ خَاخَمَ رَمَّ خَل
خَل سَعَمَ:

“et je serai vaillant contre les
fantassins et contre les cavaliers”

هَخَمَ خَلَّ كَا رَمَّ خَل تْ خَلَّ هَخَل
فَتَعَمَ.

“et toutes les peines se seront
éloignées de ma faiblesse”

هَخَمَ دَحْخَمِ رَمَّ هَخَمَ خَصْخَمَ هَخَمَ
خَلَمَ دَحْخَمِ:

“et je serai devenu prospère par la
bonne fortune, mère des présages.”

هَخَمَ نَسْمِ مَ رَمَّ هَخَمَ خَلَّ نَسْمِ رَمَّ
دَنْدَعَمَ.

“alors mes désirs consumés et
vieillissants”


هَخَمَ نَسْمِ تَمَلِ خَاخَمِ رَمَّ خَمَّ
فَتَعَمَ:


“seront rajeunis par l’union [avec
vous] et atteindront leur
accomplissement.”

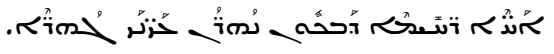
خَاخَمَ خَلَّ مَ رَمَّ هَخَمَ دَسْمِ نَسْمِ
لَنْزَعَمَ ❖

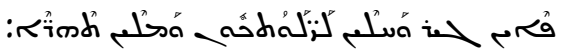
5.3. Analyse linguistique

II.1

²⁰ 
l=rōḥm-ē sagīyy-ē
 DIR=ami-PL.M nombreux-PL.M
 “À de nombreux amis”




kul gēr lilyō b=qarībūt=kūn ‘īdō d=nūhr-ē
 tout ainsi nuit en=présence=2PL.M fête REL=lumière-PL.M
 “Chaque nuit, en votre présence, c’est la fête des lumières”


aḥ-ē ²¹rḥīm-ē da=b=kūn nōhrōn ‘aynay
 frère-PL.M chéri-PL.M REL=en=2PL.M luire\PTCP.ACT.PL.F oeil\ET.CST.PL
gōhr-ē
 malvoyant-PL.M
 “chers frères, par vous, les yeux des nyctalopes sont illuminés”


fēn ²²ger wa=ḥlēn
 être_beau\PTCP.MOY.PL.M ainsi et=être_doux\PTCP.MOY.PL.M
laylawōt=kūn wa=mlēn tehr-ē
 nuit.PL.F=2PL.M et=remplir\PTCP.MOY.PL.M merveille-PL.M
 “belles, en effet, et douces sont vos nuits et pleines de merveilles”

²⁰ Il en est de même pour le poème 42, le titre se trouve seulement dans Huntington 1, p. 250 (n° 164), Dolabani (p. 25) ainsi que dans sa version révisée dans le Journal patriarcal (2022 : 130).

²¹ Dans Laur. Or. *aḥe wa=rḥime* “frères et amis”.

²² J’ai édité la forme grecque  *ger* “ainsi” suite au mss de Laur. Or. 298, fol. 90v, b1-7 et de la Library of Congress (p.58) au lieu de  *gen* “joyeux” dans Scebab, Huntington, Dolabani et le Journal patriarcal.

❖ كُتِبَ لِيَوْمِ حَقِّهِمْ

ṭūbō	l=aylēn	²³ da=b=hēn	‘am=kūn	hōwēn
bonheur	DIR=lequel.PL	REL=en=3PL.F	avec=2PL.M	être\PTCP.ACT.PL.M

šōhr-ē

veilleur-PL.M

“bonheur pour ceux qui, en ces nuits, partagent vos veilles”

II.2

أُتِرَ

“Autre”

		أُتِرَ سَائِحًا	أُتِرَ سَائِحًا	أُتِرَ سَائِحًا
en	eḥzē=kūn	m-et-ḥayal=nō	‘al	kul
si	voir\INAC.1SG=2PL.M	PTCP-MOY-s’_efforcer.SG.M=1SG	sur	tout

ḥaš-ē

souffrance-M.PL

“Si je vous vois, je serai fortifié contre les souffrances”

	أُتِرَ سَائِحًا	أُتِرَ سَائِحًا	أُتِرَ سَائِحًا
	u=m-et-ga(n)bar=nō	‘al	reglōy-ē
	et=PTCP-MOY-être_puissant.SG.M=1SG	sur	fantassin-PL.M

farōš-ē

cavalier-PL.M

“et je serai vaillant contre les fantassins et contre les cavaliers”

	أُتِرَ سَائِحًا	أُتِرَ سَائِحًا	أُتِرَ سَائِحًا
u=m-et-raḥqīn=waw	men	meskinūt(=i)	kul=hūn
et=PTCP-MOY-partir.PL.M=être\ACC.3M.PL	de	faiblesse(=1SG)	tout=3PL.M

t‘ōš-ē

fatigue-PL.M

“et toutes les peines se seront éloignées de ma faiblesse”

	أُتِرَ سَائِحًا	أُتِرَ سَائِحًا	أُتِرَ سَائِحًا
u=m-et-naṣaḥ=wīt	b=gadōnūtō	emō	d=neḥš-ē
et=PTCP-MOY-rendre_prospère=être\ACC.1SG	en=fortune	mère	REL=présage.PL.M

“et je serai devenu prospère par la bonne fortune, mère des présages.”

²³ Dans Scebabī كُتِبَ b=kun “en=vous”. Dans Laur. Or. et la Library of Congress كُتِبَ b=hun “en=eux”.

ܘܫܘܘܘܗܝܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܡܘܩܕܘܢܘܝܐ ܟܝܬ ܦܪܢܘܫܐ

u=sūwōh-ē dīl(i) mawqđōnōy-ē kīt farnūš-ē
 et=désir-PL.M à_moi consommé-PL.M à_savoir vieillard-PL.M

“alors mes désirs consumés et vieillissants”

ܘܗܘܝܢ ܡܝܬܘܢ ܡܝܬܘܢ ܡܝܬܘܢ ܡܝܬܘܢ ܡܝܬܘܢ ܡܝܬܘܢ ܡܝܬܘܢ ܡܝܬܘܢ

m-et-‘alm-īn=waw ❖ men hōy d=hūyōd
 PTCP-MOY-rajeunir-PL.M=être\ACC.3PL.M de PROX.SG.F REL=union\ET.ABS

u=hōnēn l=nīš-ē
 et=tendre\PTCP.ACT.PL.M DIR=but-M.PL

“seront rajeunis par l’union [avec vous] et atteindront leur accomplissement.”

6. Conclusion

L’étude approfondie des deux poèmes de Bar Hebraeus dans le contexte de la poésie syriaque met en évidence l’importance du rythme et de la rime dans la composition poétique. Les vers dodécasyllabes, combinés à une dernière syllabe ouverte (-CV) qui définit la rime, confèrent à chaque poème une cadence rythmique distinctive. La rime des mots grecs désignant les disciplines souligne l’importance de la culture grecque pour BH.

Parallèlement, l’utilisation d’un vocabulaire évocateur de l’amour au sens large enrichit les poèmes, offrant une exploration poétique de ce thème universel. L’examen de ces deux poèmes révèle une musicalité et une harmonie constantes, ainsi qu’une profondeur de sens, caractéristiques des œuvres d’un poète dont le concept de carpe-diem permet de rendre compte.

Ainsi, cette analyse révèle la finesse artistique et la profondeur thématique de la poésie syriaque, qu’il serait important de mieux connaître en tant qu’héritage littéraire et culturel des traditions orientales et occidentales.

Liste des abréviations

A	actif	GEN	génitif	PL	pluriel
ACC	accompli	IMP	impératif	PTCP	participe
DIR	directionnel	INAC	inaccompli	REL	relatif
DIST	distantiel	M	masculin	SG	singulier
ET.ABS	état absolu	MOY	moyen	PL	pluriel
ET.CST	état construit	OBJ	objet	PTCP	participe
EXIST	existentiel	PL	pluriel	REL	relatif
F	féminin	PROX	proximal		

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Aramaica

Alessandro Mengozzi et Marco Moriggi curaverunt

Oni studu pli profunde la arabajn pruntojn en la moderna okcidenta aramea

Charles G. Häberl

Modern Western Aramaic is presently spoken in two villages in the Syrian Arab Republic, as well as a small but growing diaspora. All its speakers are bilingual in Arabic, and its phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon bear the hallmarks of this longstanding contact situation. These characteristics distinguish Modern Western Aramaic from all other surviving Aramaic languages, most of which evolved to their present forms in a similarly bilingual situation with Iranian languages such as Kurdish and Persian. Scholars have characterized these hallmarks as “corrupt,” “deep,” and even so numerous as to be “pointless to list,” but the degree of their influence has never truly been quantified. While no scholar has yet understated the degree of Arabic influence upon Modern Western Aramaic, evidence suggests that prior scholarship may have overstated it.

Keywords: Modern Western Aramaic; history of Aramaic; language contact; language endangerment; language ideologies; Orientalism.

1. Enkonduko

Ṭabṣan ʔt̄ baṣḏ̄ kilmōṭa nmišūillen p-sirjōn, u baṣḏ̄ kilmōṭa nmišūillen b-Ṣárabēṭ, eḥmil trījan bə-blōṭaḥ.

“Estas nature [ke] kelkaj vortoj, kiujn ni faras en Sirjōn [t.e. la aramea], kaj kelkaj vortoj, kiujn ni faras en la araba, uzatas kiel oni uzas ĝin en nia vilaĝo” (Sarkes Kattaḥ en Arnold 1989: 184).

Unike inter la okcidentaj arameaj lingvoj (ekz., la juda palestina aramea, la kristana palestina aramea, kaj la samariana), la moderna okcidenta aramea (aŭ *Siryōn* al ĝiaj parolantoj) pludivas ĝis la nuna dato. Antaŭ la siria enlanda milito (2011–nun), oni parolis ĝin en tri vilaĝoj en la gubernio Rif Dimashq de la Siria Araba Respubliko, Maalula (*Maʿlūla*, arabe *Maʿlūlah*, la distrikto al-Qutajfa), Baḥṣa (arabe *Ṣarḥa*, la distrikto Jabroud), kaj Ĝuppaṣōḏ (*Ĝubbṣadīn*, la distrikto al-Qutajfa) de “maksimume 15000

homoj”.¹ Loĝantoj de Maalula hodiaŭ taksas, ke ekzistas pli malmultaj ol 500 parolantoj vivantaj ene de tiu vilaĝo, el totala tutjara populacio de malpli ol 1000 loĝantoj (kiu duobliĝas dum la somero), kaj ĉirkaŭ 10 000 parolantoj en Ĝuppaŝōd el populacio de entute 10–13 000 loĝantoj. Pli da parolantoj antaŭe loĝis en tiuj du vilaĝoj, kaj en la vilaĝo de Baĥŝa, kiu detruigis dum la milito kaj restas forlasita.

Ĉiuj tiuj parolantoj vivas ene de pli grandaj (kaj kreskantaj) arablingvaj populacioj, kaj tial parolas la araban same kiel (se ne pli bone ol) la moderna okcidenta aramea. Historie, tiuj du lingvoj kunekzistadis en stabila dulingveco, kiel reflektas la nedeterminata sed nekontesteble abunda nombro da pruntvortoj de la unua al la dua. Eĉ tiel, la plej multaj raportoj pri la lingvo karakterizas ĝin kiel nune minacata de la araba. Tamen, ĉi tiu lingvo montras surprizan viklecon trans multoblaj uzdomajnoj intersiaj pluvivantaj parolantoj, malgraŭ la nekontestebla minaco prezentata de la milito. Kvankam la araba influo sur moderna okcidenta aramea estis ofte priskribata, ĝi neniam estis kvantigata. Post mallonga trarigardo de la literaturo pri tiu ĉi influo, mi proponos plurajn alirojn por kvantigi ĝin, kaj eltiras konkludojn pri la vikleco de la lingvo ene de ĝia nuna socilingvistika kunteksto.

2. Literatura recenzo

La Pastoro Jules Ferrette de la Irlanda Presbiterkristana Misio unue prezentis la kleran publikon al la moderna okcidenta aramea, aŭ kiel li nomis ĝin, “Novsiriaka lingvo daŭre parolata en la Anti-Lebanono”.² Nek ĝia pureco nek ĝia vikleco impresis lin, kaj li deklaris ĝin “tre korupta formo [...] kiu, ĉar la araba ĉiuflanke premas ĝin, verŝajne tre baldaŭ malaperos”.³ Kvankam la kapolaboro de Eugen Prym kaj Albert Socin tiun saman jardekon poste ombris la mizerajn kaj komencajn klopodojn de la Pastoro Ferrette por dokumenti tiun ĉi lingvon,⁴ liaj komencaj verdiktoj akiris sentempan kvaliton kaj daŭre resonas ĉie en la posta literaturo. Ĉe la fino de lia ekskurso pri la artikolo de la Pastoro, Theodor Nöldeke finis,

¹ Arnold (2011: 685): “A maximum of 15,000 people”.

²Ferrette (1863): “a Neo-Syriac language still spoken in the Anti-Lebanon.” Tiutempe, la esprimo “siri(ak)a” daŭre estis efike kunlima kun “aramea”, kiu definitive anstataŭis ĝin nur direkte al la fino de la jarcento. Meze de la deksepa jarcento, vojaĝantoj kaj misiistoj menciis la ekziston de “siriaklingvanoj” en la valo Kadiŝo de Libano, specife en la vilaĝoj Bazŝūn, Biqāŝ Kafra, Bqarqāšā, kaj Ḥaŝrūn (Parisot 1898: 244-246). Tiuj ĉi “siriaklingvanoj” sendube parolis specojn de la moderna okcidenta aramea, sed bedaŭrinde neniu el ĉi tiuj kontoj konservas iujn ajn ekzemplojn de ilia parolado por ni.

³ Ferrette (1863: 436): “a very corrupt form [...] which, pressed as it is on every side by the Arabic, is likely very soon to disappear.” Ferrette senkonscie eĥas la opiniojn de Vincent de Stochove, kiu raportis koncerne la “ĥaldeanan” de la valo Kadiŝo en la 1630-aj jaroj, ke “ĉi tiu lingvo estas ekstreme korupta, kaj preskaŭ ĉiuj parolas maŭre [ce langage eft grandement corrompu, & prefque tous parlent Moreŝque]” (Stochove 1662: 300).

⁴ Tiuj klopodoj nur vere donis siajn fruktojn (Bergsträsser, Prym, kaj Socin 1915) postmorte.

Dekomence ni atendus, ke ĉi tiu lasta restaĵo de lingvo, kiu ĉiam ŝatis ensorbi fremdajn pruntojn, kiun la potenca kontraŭulo jam ĉiuflanke ĉirkaŭas, ne konservis sian leksikon pura. Tiel, pli ol kvarono de la vortoj, kiuj estas disponeblaj al ni, estas origine fremdaj, kaj eble tiu ĉi proporcio estus eĉ pli malfavora, se ni povus pli komplete prienketi la leksikon de la dialekto. Precipe notu, ke oni ankaŭ inkluzivas eĉ simplaj verboj kiel *ġafara* [“li pardonis”], *daĥĥala* [“li kondukis iun en ien”], kaj *naġā* [“li saviĝis”].⁵

Verŝajne oni notu ĉi tie, ke Nöldeke ĉerpas tiujn “simplajn verbojn” el la traduko de la Pastoro Ferrette de “la preĝo de la Sinjoro” (Mateo 6: 9–13), kaj ke la kristanoj de Maalula preĝas en la araba, tiam kiel nun, kaj ke tio preskaŭ certe influis iliajn elektojn de vortoj.⁶ Ekzemple, la verbo *tahĥal* ‘kondukis iun en ien’, kiu aperas en la frazo *la ĉtaĥlennaĥ p-ĉigribjōta* “konduku nin ne en tentojn”, verŝajne reflektas interferon de la araba versio de la preĝo. Ekster ĉi tiu kunteksto, la nemarkata moderna okcidenta aramea ekvivalento estas *la ĉŝaprennaĥ* ‘ne enkonduku nin’, utiligante la heredan vortan radikon ‘br ‘eniri’. Siaflanke, Prym kaj Socin simple observis, ke “multaj arabaj vortoj penetris kaj ankoraŭ penetras ĉi tiun aramean”⁷, sed denove Nöldeke (1917: 208–209) parolis en ilia nomo, kaj atentigis siajn legantojn, ke “la araba nun estas grandmezure devigita en la dialekton” kaj “el la plej kutimaj verboj, multaj estas arabaj. Partikuloj trovis vojon en la lingvon de Maalula de la loka araba [...] la uzo de tiuj partikuloj profundigis en la gramatikon”⁸.

Ĉi tiuj intervenoj el aŭtoritato ne malpli ol Theodor Nöldeke, improvizaĵoj pri la ĝemelaj temoj de la Pastoro Ferrette de la formorto kaj la korupto, donis la tonon por ĉiu posta diskuto pri ĉi tiu lingvo.

⁵ Nöldeke (1867: 200): „Von vorn herein werden wir erwarten, dass dieser letzte Rest einer von jeher gern Fremdes aufnehmenden Sprache, welcher schon von allen Seiten durch die mächtige Gegnerinn umringt ist, seinen Wortvorrath nicht rein erhalten haben werde. So ist denn auch reichlich ein Viertel der uns vorliegenden Wörter von fremder Herkunft und vielleicht würde sich dies Verhältniss noch ungünstiger stellen, wenn wir den Wortvorrath des Dialects vollständiger überblicken könnten. Zu beachten ist besonders, dass auch einfache Verba wie *نجى دخل غفر* aufgenommen sind.“ Nöldeke moderigas ĉi tiujn observaĵojn permesante, ke “ĉi tiuj fremdaj elementoj malpli maltrankviligas ĉar oni prenatas ilin el rilata lingvo kaj tial facile konvenas en la arameajn formojn, dum la nenombrataj pruntvortoj el tute fremdaj lingvoj en la orienta novsiriaka komencas malklarigi la tutan lingvan karakteron” [diese fremden Bestandtheile dadurch, dass sie einer verwandten Sprache entnommen sind und sich deshalb leicht in die aramäischen Formen fügen, während die zahllosen Lehnwörter aus ganz fremden Sprachen im östlichen Neusyrisch den ganzen Sprachcharacter zu verdunkeln anfangen].

⁶ Ferrette (1863: 433–434); kp. ankaŭ Arnold (2011: 685), “La lingvo de instruado kaj kultado estas la araba [The language of instruction and worship is Arabic]”.

⁷ Bergsträsser, Prym, kaj Socin (1915: x): „Eine Menge arabischer Wörter ist in dieses Aramäische eingedrungen und dringt noch immer mehr ein“.

⁸ Nöldeke (1917: 208–209): „Gewaltig ist nun aber das Arabische in den Dialekt eingedrungen [...] von den gebräuchlichsten Verben sind viele arabisch. Von Partikeln, die aus dem Arabischen der Nachbarschaft in die Sprache von Ma^lūla gelangt sind [...]“.

Sufiĉe taŭge, tiu ĉi tono atingas sian kulminon en la *Arabisch-aramäische Sprachbeziehungen im Qalamūn* [Araba-aramaeaj lingvaj rilatoj en Qalamūn] de Arnold kaj Behnstedt. Ili kategorie karakterizas la arabajn pruntojn en la moderna okcidenta aramea kiel “legio” kaj finfine “estus sencele listigi ilin ĉiujn, ĉar principe oni povus integriĝi ĉiun araban vorton en la aramean sistemon, komparebla al la rilato inter la latina kaj la angla”⁹. Ekde tiuj vertiĝaj altecoj, postaj diskutoj de arabaj pruntoj en la moderna okcidenta aramea aperis pli proksime al la tero, kaj tendencas temigi la diversajn kvalitojn de la arabaj pruntoj prefere ol iliajn kvantojn, kiuj ankoraŭ estas determinontaj.

Ekzemple, Arnold notas, ke Maalulanoj estas dulingvaj en kaj la moderna okcidenta aramea kaj la ĉefurba araba de Damasko, male al siaj najbaroj en la proksimaj vilaĝoj de Baĥŝa kaj Ĝuppaŝōd, kies arabaj dialektoj estas pli similaj al la lokaj vilaĝdialektoj de Qalamūn. El tiu observado li konkludas, ke la Maalulanoj devintus interŝanĝi sian fruan vilaĝdialekton kontraŭ la ĉefurba dialekto “ne poste ol en la deknaŭa jarcento”.¹⁰ Tamen, la araba kvociento de ilia leksiko daŭre plejparte reflektas tiujn pli fruajn (antaŭ-damaskajn) tavolojn, atestante ne nur ĝian relativan antikvecon sed ankaŭ delongan prahistorion de stabila araba-aramaea dulingvismo ene de la vilaĝo (Arnold 2007: 185-186). La decida observado de Arnold estas la antidoto al la hipotezo de Ferrette–Nöldeke pri la moderna okcidenta aramea kiel malriĉa kaj malfortigata lingvo, kiu venkiĝas per la progreso de “la potenco kontraŭulo” [die mächtige Gegnerinn]. Se entute, la moderna okcidenta aramea pruvis sian vigecon en Maalula pluviante nedifektata kiam ĝiaj parolantoj interŝanĝis unu dialekton de la araba kontraŭ alia.

Pli lastatempaj priskriboj de araba influo sur moderna okcidenta aramea tendencis preni pli nuancan aliron al la temo. Ekzemple, en la skizgramatikoj, kiujn ili kontribuis al du lastatempaj ŝemidaj lingvaj manlibroj, Stefan Weninger (2011: 762) ilustras kelkajn el la domajnoj en kiuj arabaj substantivoj kaj verboj troviĝas kun specifaj ekzemploj, kaj Steven Fassberg (2019: 649) resumas la longan kontakton inter la araba kaj la moderna okcidenta aramea per notado, ke ĉi-lasta daŭre “retenis multon da la pli malnova ĝenerala aramea stoko”.¹¹ Plej lastatempe, Riccardo Contini kaj Mara Nicosia analizas la arabajn pruntvortojn en la moderna okcidenta aramea en la kunteksto de socilingvistikaj debatoj pri komunuma vario kaj specife religilingvoj, kaj ili konkludas, ke la moderna okcidenta aramea ne konsistigas “islaman lingvon” eĉ se ĝi estas plejparte parolata per islamanoj kaj “pruntis grandan

⁹ Arnold kaj Behnstedt (1993: 61): „Die lexikalischen Entlehnungen aus dem Arabischen sind Legion. Sie alle aufzuzählen wäre müßig, da im Prinzip jedes arabische Wort in das aramäische System integriert werden kann, vergleichbar dem Verhältnis Latein - Englisch ("Every Latin word is possibly English")“.

¹⁰ Arnold (2002: 9): „Dagegen wurde in Ma'lūla spätestens zu Beginn des vorigen Jahrhunderts der ursprüngliche arabische Dorfdialekt, aus dem die meisten arabischen Wörter ins Aramäische entlehnt wurden, aufgegeben und durch den Dialekt von Damaskus ersetzt“.

¹¹ Fassberg (2019: 649): “the vocabulary of Modern Western Aramaic has retained much of the older general Aramaic stock”.

amason de la araba, de parto de la tielnomata ‘bazvortprovizo’, ĝis deriva morfologio, vortaj strukturoj, sintakso, ĝis ordaj nombroj” parte ĉar “la forta araba influo ne okazis kiel la rezulto de religiaj faktoroj sed anstataŭe kiel la rezulto de proksimeco”.¹² Malgraŭ kelkaj tentaj sugestoj en la literaturo (kiel ekzemple la frua observado de Prym kaj Socin, ke “viroj uzas konsiderinde pli grandan nombron da arabaj vortoj ol virinoj” en Bergsträsser, Prym kaj Socin 1915: x), Contini kaj Nicosia restas la unuaj kaj nuraj esploristoj, kiuj temas pri trakti la fenomenon de araba influo sur la moderna okcidenta aramea el socilingvistika perspektivo prefere ol malvasta filologa perspektivo.

3. Analizo de la datenaro

Kiel mi jam notis super, la araba procentaĵo de la moderna okcidenta aramea leksiko restas nedeterminata, malgraŭ pli ol dek ses jardekoj da klera literaturo pri araba interfero en la moderna okcidenta aramea kaj la akompananta klera maltrankvileco. La rapida kaj malpreciza kalkulo de Nöldeke (1917: 208-209) pri la maldensa materialo kiun kolektis la Pastoro Ferrette (“pli ol kvarono”) restas nia unua, lasta, kaj plej bona klopodo por kvantigi ĉi tiun kvocienton. Konsiderante lastatempajn progresojn en la dokumentado de la moderna okcidenta aramea kaj ĝia leksiko, estas oportune reviziti la aferon.

La demando de la araba interfero en la moderna okcidenta aramea leksiko vere konsistas el multoblaj demandoj, ĉiu el kiuj egalrilatas al malsama respondo:

1. En reprezentada vortaro de la moderna okcidenta aramea, kiom da vortoj estas origine arabaj?
2. Ene de la korpuso de la modernaj okcidentaj arameaj tekstoj, kiom multaj vortoj probable estas pruntaj el la araba?
3. El la plej oftaj vortoj, kiuj plej kutimaj uziĝas, inkluzive de funkciovortoj kaj morfemleksikeroj, kiom multaj venas de la araba?
4. Fine, el tiuj vortoj, kiuj nedisputeble pruntiĝis de la araba, kiajn klasojn ili reprezentas?

Oni povas starigi tiajn demandojn multe pli facile ol respondi al ili, ĉar la araba kaj la moderna okcidenta aramea estas lingvofamilie proksimaj rilatoj, kaj tial heredis multajn komunajn vortojn de sia komuna pralingvo, kiu devigas, ke ni faru espereble boninformatajn juĝojn pri la origino de ĉiu vorto. Oni povas doni respondon al la unua demando simple per nombrado de ĉiuj vortaraj enskriboj, inkluzive de araba

¹² Contini kaj Nicosia (2020: 96): “WNA varieties, Christian as much as Islamic, borrowed a substantial deal from Arabic, from a part of the so-called ‘core vocabulary’, to derivational morphology, verbal structures, syntax, up to ordinal numbers. This heavy Arabic influence did not occur as the result of religious factors but rather as a proximity issue”.

origine arabaj, kaj poste dividi la lastajn per la unuaj. Tia ĉi metodo certe estas tro forte kruda alproksimiĝo al trompe simpla demando; la *Wörterbuch* [vortaro] de Arnold konsistas el ekzakte 1000 paĝoj da enskriboj organizataj per trikonsonantaj radikoj (anstataŭ individuaj vortoj); hazarda provaĵo de 100 paĝoj indikas, ke ekzistas 95 % ŝanco, laŭ kiu la tutsumo de apartaj radikoj estas iom inter 2270 kaj 3390 (aŭ 2830 ± 563), kaj la arabaj radikoj egalas el almenaŭ 33,2 % ĝis 48,1 % (aŭ $40,7 \% \pm 7,4 \%$) de la enskriboj ĉe ambaŭ ekstremoj de la intervalo.

Tiu ĉi antaŭkonkludo (“40,7 % el la modernaj okcidentaj arameaj radikoj origine estas arabaj, plus aŭ minus 7,4 %”) estas komence kontentiga, kaj teorie ni povus atingi eĉ pli precizan proporcion de la vortoj en la *Wörterbuch* de Arnold per nombri la vortojn sur ĉiu paĝo, sed tiu metodo verŝajne ne respondus al onia demando pri la entuta nombro da vortoj de araba origino en la moderna okcidenta aramea, pro pluraj kialoj:

1. La *Wörterbuch* de Arnold estas ampleksa, sed evidente ne enhavas la tutan leksikon de la moderna okcidenta aramea;
2. Pro ĝia divido en abstraktajn trikonsonantajn “radikojn” prefere ol individuajn vortojn, ni ne povas eltiri precizajn konkludojn pri la entuta nombro de arabaj pruntvortoj;
3. Finfine, ĉi tiu aliro ebenigas la tutan leksikon, inkluzive de la plej oftaj vortoj en la vortprovizo kaj tiuj de malalta aŭ eĉ unika apero (hapakso) ene de la korpuso de publikigataj tekstoj,¹³ kaj kreas iom artefaritan bildon de la moderna okcidenta aramea leksiko.

Se nur proksimume 2000 el tiuj radikoj estas vere “plej oftaj”, tiam la ceteraj 270–1390 “malplej oftaj” radikoj nepre malkomprenigos nian percepton de la lingvo, ĉar ofteco negative korelacias kun la probablo prunti plejoftajn vortojn, kaj pozitive korelacias kun la probablo prunti maloftajn vortojn (Pagel *et al.* 2007). En pli simplaj esprimoj, multajn el la vortoj, kiujn oni trovas en vortaro tiel ampleksa kiel la *Wörterbuch* de Arnold estas nekutime uzataj. Tial ili ne bone reprezentas la lingvon, kaj ilia nekutimeco igas ilin malpli verŝajne esti heredaj kaj pli verŝajne esti pruntaj.

Oni povas ekskludi tiajn vortojn per limigi nian enketon al specimeno de la plej oftaj vortoj en la vortprovizo. Ekzemple, ene de la moderna okcidenta aramea vico de la 100-era vortlisto de Patrick Bennett (1998: 130–142), plene 58 eroj estas parencaj kun la araba,¹⁴ 30 troviĝas en aliaj arameaj lingvoj

¹³ Krom alie notite, oni uzas datenojn de la moderna okcidenta aramea korpuso de la Moskva Aramea Rondo, kiun Eugene Barsky evoluigis kaj prizorgas (URL: <https://evb0110.github.io/aramaic/site/maalula/>, laste alirita 2023/03/28).

¹⁴ Ni povas distingi inter parencojn kaj pruntojn per kompari kun aliaj arameaj lingvoj, inkluzive de tiuj kun pli limigita kontakto kun la araba, kaj per establi regulajn sonkorespondadojn.

sed ne en la araba, kaj nur 12 evidente eniris la modernan okcidentan aramean tra la araba: la verbradikoj *ʕmr* ‘konstrui’ kaj *ʕʕj* ‘sidi’,¹⁵ la substantivoj *stīka* kaj *rfīka* ‘amiko’, *ḥsōna* ‘ĉevalo’, *ḥatīta* ‘fero’, *karḳōra* ‘ŝafido’, *slōma* ‘paco’, *tarbo* ‘vojo’, kaj *ḥarōfa* ‘ŝafo’, la adjektivo *baḥar* ‘mult/a’,¹⁶ kaj fine la konjunkcio *jā* ‘aŭ’ (finfine de persa origino). El ĉi tiu aliro, oni povus konkludi, ke nur 12 % el la plej plejoftaj modernaj okcidentaj arameaj vortoj estas pruntdevenaj.

Kiel ajn kontentiga ajn ĉi tiu inferenco povas ŝajni unuavide, la datenoj, kiujn ni derivas de tia aliro, estas nur same bonaj kiel tiuj, kiujn ni enigis, konforme al la principo “rubo enen, rubon eksteren”. Unue, konsiderante la malgrandan grandecon de la specimeno, ekzistas 95 % ŝanco, ke la vera proporcio de arabaj pruntvortoj povus esti ie inter 5,6 % kaj 18,4 %, t.e. inter unu el ĉiu kvin vortoj kaj unu el ĉiu dekok. Por la plej multaj el la homoj, kiuj zorgas pri la araba kvociento de la moderna okcidenta aramea, ĉi tiu intervalo verŝajne estos neakceptebla aŭ eĉ freneze neklara. En la plej bona kazo, ni povas nur diri, ke 12 el 100 vortoj, kiujn oni elektis pro sia altfrekvenco origine estas arabaj. Krome, la fonto de Bennett estas malklara, kaj lia vortlisto enhavas kelkajn kritikindajn enskribojn. Ekzemple, li donas la komunan ŝemidan radikon *ʔḥd* kiel la moderna okcidenta aramea eksponento de ‘preni’, sed tiu radiko forestas de tiu lingvo, en kiu oni trovas *ʕql* en sia loko.¹⁷ Plie, Bennett provizas *siqanō* [sic], la pluralon de moderna okcidenta aramea *sōqa* ‘femuro; kruro’ (de la araba *sāq*), kiel ĝia eksponento de ‘kruro’, anstataŭ la multe pli kutima kaj hereda vorto *reĝra* (k.v. Arnold 2019, 650). Finfine, lia vorto *jamm* ‘maro’ aperas nenie en la publikigata korpuso de la moderna okcidenta aramea krom la 2013^a *Vortprovizo* de Ruskallah k.a., en kiu ĝi reflektas interferon de la altsiriaka.¹⁸ Senkompare, la plej kutima moderna okcidenta aramea vorto por ‘maro’ estas *baḥra*, evidenta arabismo. Tiel facile kiel ni povas korekti tiujn erarojn, ni ne povas kontroli niajn verdiktojn pri vortfrekvenco, kiuj kaj niaj

¹⁵ La origino de ĉi tiu radiko ne estas evidenta (k.v. Arnold 2019: 447), sed kp. *kaʕta* ‘sidanta’, kiu respondas al la araba *qaʕdah* id., eble per la pera formo **kaʕta*.

¹⁶ Evidente el la araba *baḥr* ‘maro’. Ĝi havas sinonimon de nekonata origino, *summar*, sed ĉi-lasto estas multe malpli kutima (kun nur 5 vortokazoj kompare kun 152 vortokazoj de *baḥar* ene de la publikigita moderna okcidenta aramea korpuso).

¹⁷ De la meza aramea *ʕql* ‘levi; forpreni, forigi’; k.v. Arnold (2019: 738–741).

¹⁸ Arnold (2019: xiv): “Kelkaj vortoj estas tre strangaj, kiel *īleh ūaqa bneṣa* por ‘impreso’. Krome, li formas vortojn de arameaj radikoj kiujn oni ne uzas en la vilaĝo, kiel *majilfōna* por ‘instruisto’ aŭ pruntas vortojn de la altsiriaka, kiel *jamma* por ‘maro’. La kialo de tio verŝajne estas la intenco deklarata en la antaŭparolo de Ĵarĵūra Ruzkalla, por fari vortaron, kiu preskribu kaj ne priskribu [manche Wörter sind sehr eigenartig, wie *īleh waqa bneṣa* für „impression“. Hinzu kommt, daß er Wörter aus aramäischen Wurzeln bildet, die im Dorf nicht gebräuchlich sind, wie *majilfōna* für „Lehrer“ oder daß er Wörter aus dem Altsyrischen übernimmt, wie *yamma* für „Meer“. Der Grund dafür ist wohl die im Vorwort von Ĵarĵūra Ruzkalla angegebene Absicht, ein Wörterbuch zu machen, das *prescriptive* sein soll, und nicht *descriptive*].”

korpusoj (kiuj, estante literaturaj, ne povas reprezenti la lingvon en ĉiuj ĝiaj uzkampoj) kaj nia propra kultura subjektiveco¹⁹ neeviteble kondiĉigas.

Tria ebla aliro, kaj la plej laborintensa el la tri, postulas, ke ni kolektu datenojn de reprezenta specimeno de tekstoj. Se ni kalkulus la totalan nombron da vortoj en difinita teksto kaj dividus la nombron da arabaj vortoj per tiu nombro, ni atingus proporcion de araba vortprovizo en tiu teksto, kaj kun pli da tekstoj, espereble atingos pli realisman proporcion inter arabaj pruntoj kaj vortoj de aliaj originoj, inkluzive de heredaj vortoj. Por niaj nunaj celoj mi kalkulos vortokazojn prefere ol vortklasojn, t.e., kalkuli la nombron da *totalaj* vortoj en teksto, prefere ol la totalan nombron de *diskretaj* vortoj, por ke mi ne klinu la rezultojn al malaltfrekvencaj vortoj en la sama maniero kiel konsulti la vortaron. La unua teksto, kiun mi analizos, estas la unua el la tekstoj, kiujn Prym kaj Socin kolektis en 1870; la aliaj tri tekstoj estas tiuj, kiujn Sergey Loesov kaj liaj kunlaborantoj kolektis dum iliaj ekspedicioj al Maalula de 2020–2:

1. *1^a Teksto de Prym-Socin* (Bergsträsser, Prym, kaj Socin 1915: 1–2), popolfabelo kiun Eugen Prym kaj Albert Socin kolektis de Zeni (Zajnah), la edzino de Ŝabdallah al-Ŝāfir en 1870. 361 vortokazoj, el kiuj 86 vortokazoj (23,8 %) estas vortoj origine arabaj, inkluzive de *ŝabṭa* ‘servistino’, *ḥaṭṭōba* ‘arbaristo’, *mkarajnō* ‘ŝoforoj’, *siĉca* ‘sinjorino’, *ṭalpat* ‘ŝi petis’, kaj *ḥōcma* ‘ringo’. El tiuj arabaj vortoj, la vorto *tarūša* ‘derviŝo’ reprezentas 12 (14 %), kaj la vorto *baḥra* ‘maro’ aliajn 8 (9,3 %).
2. *La Siria Enlanda Milito* (Duntsov, Häberl kaj Loesov 2022), buŝa historio de la entitola milito kiel ĝi okazis en Maalula kaj la apudaj vilaĝoj post 2011, kiun “Abu George” Diab Mosa Bekheet (nask. 1952) rakontis en decembro 2020. 1021 vortokazoj, 287 el kiuj (28 %) estas vortoj origine arabaj, kiel *fōṭka* ‘hotelo’, *inaĉŝar* ‘ili venkis’, *lorkaŝ* ‘ne pli’, *makinjōṭa* ‘aŭtoj’, *mkaprin* ‘kriante *Allāhu Akbar!*’, *raŝšaŝō* ‘maŝinpafiloj’, *sajla* ‘inunda kurso’, *taūelṭa* ‘registro’, kaj *ĵajša* ‘armeo’. La vorto *blōta* ‘vilaĝo’ sole konsistas el 31 (10.3 %) da arabaj vortokazoj.
3. *La Preĝejo Militanta* (Burlakov, Cherkashina, Häberl kaj Loesov Forth.), senstruktura konversacio inter “Abu Ĵarĵūra” Bhit kaj Filip Ŝōra (nask. 1939) pri la katolika grek-melkita episkopo Hilarion Cappuĉĉi (1917-2017) en majo 2021. 260 vortokazoj, 57 el kiuj (22 %) eniris sian vortprovizon per la araba, ekz., *ŝakla* ‘menso’, *akŝef* ‘ili kontrolis’, *amma* ‘sed’, *ĝorṭa* ‘ĉambro’, *illa* ‘krom, malpli’, *maūsūŝca* ‘enciklopedio’, kaj *maĵimŝa* ‘sinodo’. La vorto *Baṭirka* “Patriarko” konsistas el 4 (7 %) da arabaj vortokazoj.
4. *La Vinbero-Vendisto* (Bromirskaya, Häberl kaj Loesov Forth.), vasta diskuto de populara araba kaj aramea lulkanto kaj historio pri ĝi, kiun Samja Bhil (nask. 1974) rakontis en julio 2022. 526

¹⁹ Kiel Hoijer (1956) observis en frua kritiko de tiaj listoj.

vortokazoj, de kiuj 104 (20 %) estas origine arabaj, ekz., *ahlunna* ‘ili estis parencaj al ŝi per geedziĝo’, *bajjōṣa* ‘vendisto’, *dājman* ‘ĉiam’, *ḥarīma* ‘virinoj’, *mišĉahra* ‘fama (virina)’, *ḥaṭfunna* ‘ili kidnapis ŝin’, kaj la ĉiea hezitivpartikulo *jaʕni*. Denove, la vorto *blōta* ‘vilaĝo’ konsistas el 7 (7 %) da arabaj vortokazoj, kaj la vorto *keṣṣta* ‘rakonto’ konsistas el 5 (4.8 %).

Ĉi tiu tekstaro konsistas el malgrandan korpuson de 2,168 vortokazoj, el kiuj 534 (24,6 %) estas origine araba. La evidenteco de ĉi tiuj kvar tekstoj indikas, ke ekzistas 95 % ŝanco, ke la araba proporcio de pli granda korpuso de tiaj tekstoj intervalus inter 19,9 % kaj 26,9 % de la totalaj vortokazoj, aŭ 23,4 % plus aŭ minus 3,5 %.

4. Konkludoj

Generacioj de esploristoj karakterizis la araban interferon en la moderna okcidenta aramea kiel koruptanta, profundega, kaj nenombrebla, komencante kun ĝia literatura debuto en 1863, kvankam sole inter ili Nöldeke riskis divenon pri la araba kvociento de ĝia leksiko, samtempe kiam oni sciis malmultegon pri la lingvo. La demandon de kiom da moderna okcidenta aramea leksiko konsistas el arabaj pruntvortoj oni povus respondi en kelkaj manieroj: 12 el 100 vortoj elektataj por ilia alta komuneco estas origine araba, 40,7 % (plus aŭ minus 7,4 %) de la radikoj en ampleksa moderna okcidenta aramea vortaro venas de la araba, kaj finfine 23,4 % (plus aŭ minus 3,5 %) de la vortokazoj en la moderna okcidenta aramea korpuso estas arabaj pruntvortoj, surbaze de provaĵo de kvar tekstoj. Feliĉe, ĉi tiu lasta rezulto revenigas nin al la antaŭtakso de Nöldeke pri la araba komponanto de la tekstareto de la Pastoro Ferrette. La proporcio de la araba en la unua teksto de la tekstaro de Prym kaj Socin ankaŭ konvenas ĝuste en la mezo de tiu gamo, kaj sugestas, ke la kvociento de araba al aramea leksiko en moderna okcidenta aramea restis stabila de 1863 ĝis 2022. Pro tiuj kaŭzoj, ni povas konkludi, ke la raportojn pri la araba influo sur la moderna okcidenta aramea, kiel la raportojn pri ĝia malaperado, oni troigas.

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Interdental consonants in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects

Geoffrey Khan

The North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) dialects exhibit a wide range of reflexes of the historical interdental consonants *θ and *ð. These were originally post-vocalic fricative allophones *[θ] and *[ð] of the stops */t/ and */d/ respectively in earlier Aramaic. In NENA these fricative allophones have become phonemicized. The interdental realization of the consonants has been preserved mainly in dialects in the western sector of NENA. In the eastern sector the interdentals have been replaced by various other consonants or debuccalized under the influence of contact languages.

Keywords: Neo-Aramaic, interdentals, languages in contact.

1. Introduction¹

The interdental fricative consonants /θ/ and /ð/ of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) are derived historically from post-vocalic fricative allophones *[θ] and *[ð] of the stops */t/ and */d/ respectively in earlier Aramaic. In NENA these fricative allophones became phonemicized, with the result that minimal pairs are found with stops and fricatives, e.g. NENA Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 33, 35):

šata ‘year’—*šaθa* ‘fever’
guda ‘wall’—*guða* ‘churn’

This phonemicization has come about since the phonetic process of lenition of stops to fricatives after vowels ceased to operate at some point in the earlier history of NENA and subsequently by separate processes *bqdkpt* stops developed in post-vocalic position. The processes that had the outcome of a stop after a vowel include (Khan 2002: 33-38):

¹ This article is a small token of my deep appreciation of the life-long work of Fabrizio Pennacchietti in the field of Semitic linguistics, which has been an inspiration for me throughout my career.

- i. The monophthongization of a diphthong before a stop, e.g.
 Qaraqosh *ganota* ‘thief’ < **gannāwta*

- ii. Cases where an originally geminated stop has lost its gemination, e.g.
 Qaraqosh *šata* ‘year’ < **šattā*

- iii. Cases where a stop *bgdkpt* root consonant occurring after a consonant in a verbal inflection has been extended to all inflections of the verbal root, including inflections where this root consonant occurs after a vowel, e.g.
 Qaraqosh *štilə* ‘he drank,’ but *šatə* ‘he drinks’

- iv. The shift of a fricative *bgdkpt* to a stop by a process of dissimilation from an adjacent fricative, e.g.
 Qaraqosh *ʔiðə* ‘hand,’ but *ʔidaθə* ‘hands’

The interdental phonemes /θ/ and /ð/ are not found in the consonant inventories of all NENA dialects. In many dialects they have been lost by a process of merger with other consonantal phonemes.

2. Reflexes of the interdentals and their distribution

Primary reflexes of /θ/	Primary reflexes of /ð/
/θ/	/ð/
/ð/	
/t/	/d/
/s/	/z/
/l/	/l/
/h/	
/∅/	

The NENA dialects that have preserved the interdentals are mostly situated in the western half of the NENA region, including those of the Mosul plain, the Duhok region, Sapna valley and Barwar in Iraq, and those of the Țyare and Txuma regions of southeastern Turkey. An outlier in the eastern sector of NENA is the dialect of Hawdīyan, which has preserved the interdentals.

In most areas in the eastern part of NENA, the original interdentalals have been lost. There are a variety of non-interdental reflexes of the historical interdental consonants across this eastern sector of NENA. The primary reflexes differ according to region and also according to religious community. In many cases the Christian dialects of one region have different reflexes of interdentalals from those of the Jewish dialects.²

The most common process involves merger of the interdentalals with other consonants. These are typically stops ($\theta > t$, $\delta > d$), e.g. C. Urmi *beta* < *beθa* ‘house,’ *ʿida* < *ʿiða* ‘hand,’ or sibilants ($\theta > s$, $\delta > z$), e.g. J. Zakho *besa* < *beθa* ‘house,’ *ʿiza* < *ʿiða* ‘hand.’

Another process involves debuccalisation, i.e. the loss of articulation in the mouth, resulting in the interdental shifting to a laryngeal fricative *h* or zero (\emptyset). This process affects mainly the unvoiced interdental θ . It is found predominantly in Christian dialects in the north-eastern sector of NENA, e.g.

	θ (< <i>xaθa</i> ‘sister’)	δ (< <i>ʿiða</i> ‘hand’)
C. Baz Maha Xtaya	<i>xaha</i>	<i>ʿida</i>
C. Baz Aruntus	<i>xa</i>	<i>ʿida</i>

The explanation as to why the voiced interdental was not debuccalised in parallel to that of the unvoiced interdental is likely to be the difference in glottal setting of voiced and unvoiced consonants. When voiced consonants are produced the glottal folds are brought together slightly, causing turbulence in the flow of air, which produces voice. By contrast the glottal folds are further open when an unvoiced consonant is produced, allowing for a free flow of air (Catford 2001: 35-38). The greater degree of closure of the glottal folds in a voiced interdental would have been a constraint against weakening its articulation to /h/ or zero.

Another form of lenition of $*\theta$ is its voicing. This is found in the C. Nerwa dialect. As a result the reflexes of $*\theta$ and $*\delta$ are both /ð/, e.g. C. Nerwa *beða* < **bayθa* ‘house,’ *ʿiða* < **ʿiða*.

In the Trans-Zab Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialects both the interdentalals /θ/ and /ð/ shift to the lateral *l* (Mutzafi 2008, 411.412; Khan 2018a, 314; 2018b, 486). There is evidence that in the Neo-Aramaic dialects concerned the two interdentalals first shifted to the voiced stop $*d$ before finally becoming a lateral sonorant /l/ (Khan 2008, 29-31). The sonorant /l/ can then be regarded as lenition of the $*d$.

Within dialects there are often secondary reflexes of the interdentalals that are conditioned by specific phonetic environments and/or are restricted to specific lexical items. In Jewish Trans-Zab

² Christian dialects are indicated by the abbreviation C. and Jewish dialects by the abbreviation J.

dialects, for example, where the primary reflex of /θ/ is /l/, the reflex of /θ/ is /h/ in some words, e.g. J. Arbel *ṭlaha* < *tlatha* ‘three,’ J. Urmi *+ahra* < *ʾaθra* ‘town.’ This debuccalised reflex is associated with the environment of a preceding low vowel /a/ and the presence of pharyngealisation in the word. In some Jewish Trans-Zab dialects in the Kurdistan province of Iran and the adjacent region of Iraq the pharyngealisation in the word has developed into a pharyngeal feature that is added to the segment /h/, resulting in the shift of the /h/ to an unvoiced pharyngeal approximant /ħ/, e.g. J. Sulemaniyya *tlaha*, J. Sanandaj *təlħa* < **ṭlaha* < **tlatha* ‘three;’ J. Sulemaniyya, J. Sanandaj *ʾahra* < **ʾahra* < **ʾaθra* ‘town.’

Conversely in the J. Barzani dialect (Mutzafi 2002), /l/ is a secondary reflex of *θ and *ð, the primary reflexes being the debuccalisation of *θ to /h/ or ∅ and the shift of *ð to a stop, as in Christian dialects in the northeastern sector of NENA, e.g.

Primary reflexes:

gdada < **gðaða* ‘thread’

raha < **raθa* ‘lungs’

momā < **momaθa* ‘oath’

Secondary reflexes:

klawa < **kθawa* ‘to write’

belta < **be ʾiða* ‘sleeve’

In some dialects north of the Aqra mountain, where the primary reflex of *θ is /h/, the reflex is emphatic (i.e. pharyngealised) /ṣ/ in some words that have adjacent pharyngealised segments, e.g.

C. Gerbish (Al-Zebari and Khan 2022)

bεha < **bayθa* ‘house’

ʾaṣra < **ʾaθra* ‘country’

qaṣa < **qarθa* ‘cold’

The pharyngealisation of the sibilant reflex /ṣ/ in these words is likely to have arisen by spreading of pharyngealisation from an adjacent pharyngealised consonant. The process of pharyngealisation involves the retraction of the tongue root resulting in the constriction of the upper pharynx with increased muscular tension. The constriction of the pharynx would have obstructed the flow of air of a laryngeal continuant /h/ and, moreover, the muscular tension would have strengthened the articulation of the grooved sibilant. Both of these articulatory conditions blocked the shift to /h/.

In the environment of emphatic /r/ in the C. Gerbish dialect the reflex of *θ is the velar fricative /x/ in some words, e.g.

C. Gerbish

qəxɾa < *qəθra ‘knot’

qxəɾre < *qəθarre ‘he knotted’

baxɾa < *baθra ‘behind’

A similar process is attested marginally in the J. Barzani dialect (Mutzafi 2002) in the word *nxara* < *nθara ‘to fall off (leaves)’

The explanation for this exceptional reflex also is based on the articulatory gestures of the adjacent pharyngealised consonant /r/. The constriction of the pharynx that takes place as a coarticulation of the /r/ would have narrowed the flow of air, which resulted in the velar fricative /x/ rather than /h/. In principle one may have expected the outcome to be /s/ (i.e. *θ > /s/), as in the previous set of examples, which was also induced by the pharyngealised environment. Here we can hypothesise the development *θ > *s > /x/ in a pharyngealised environment, i.e. an pharyngealised *s has lost its coronal articulation by a process of partial debuccalisation.

In some dialects of the Tiyare region an unvoiced interdental /θ/ shifts to the palato-alveolar /š/ in certain environments (Talay 2008: 66-69). These include after the vowel /ɛ/, which is a contraction of the original diphthong *ay, e.g. Upper Tiyare *bəša* < *bəθa* < *bayθa* ‘house.’ Another environment is the feminine ending *-iθa of verbal and nominal forms from final-weak roots, e.g. Upper Tiyare *mliša* < *mliθa* ‘full,’ *xṭiša* < *xṭiθa* ‘sin.’ These two environments both have in common contact with a high vowel, historically in the case of the diphthong *ay.

In many dialects certain reflexes are restricted to specific lexical items. This applies to the complete lenition of unvoiced θ to Ø. In dialects where the primary reflex of *θ is not Ø, the sound is reduced to Ø in certain common words. In J. Sulemaniyya (Khan 2004: 30), for example, where the primary reflex of θ is l, the sound is reduced to Ø in the preposition *bar* < *baθar ‘after’ and some common verbs, such as *k-e* < *k-aθe ‘he comes’ and *k-me* < *k-maθe ‘he brings.’ Even the voiced reflex *ð is reduced to Ø in some common words, e.g. J. Sulemaniyya *k-äye* < *k-yaðe ‘he knows.’ In all of these the original interdental is preceded by a low vowel a.

When the interdentals merge with other consonants, in many cases this merger is symmetrical, e.g. all the interdentals merge with stops (θ, ð > t, d) or sibilants (θ, ð > s, z). In some dialects, however, there is asymmetry in the merger. In such cases the outcome results in the reflex of the unvoiced

interdental *θ being weaker than that of the voiced interdental. In some dialects the unvoiced interdental is preserved while the voiced one shifts to a stop, e.g. C. Ankawa *xaθa* ‘sister,’ *ʿida* (< *ʿiða) ‘hand,’ the unvoiced becomes a sibilant, while the voiced becomes stop, e.g. J. Nerwa *xasa* (< *xaθa) ‘sister,’ *ʿida* (< *ʿiða) ‘hand,’ or the unvoiced undergoes debuccalisation while the voiced becomes a stop or a sibilant, e.g. C. Baz Aruntus *xa* (< *xaθa) ‘sister,’ *ʿida* (< *ʿiða) ‘hand,’ C. Gerbish *bəha* ‘house’ (< *bayθa), *ʿiza* (< *ʿiða) ‘hand.’

3. Discussion

As remarked, the preservation of the interdentals /θ/ and /ð/ is found predominantly in dialects of the western sector of NENA, in the Mosul plain, the Duhok region, Sapna valley and Barwar in Iraq, and those of the Țyare and Txuma regions of southeastern Turkey. The various innovative reflexes are more widely scattered, in the northwestern sector and across the eastern sector.

The innovative debuccalisation of *θ to /h/ or ∅ is located in a cluster of Christian dialects in the northeastern sector of NENA, and in the geographically adjacent Jewish dialect of Barzan. The reflexes of stops (*t*, *d*) and sibilants (*s*, *z*) are widely distributed across the NENA area. There are a few geographical clusters of sibilant reflexes, e.g. in the Christian dialects of the Aqra area and the dialects of C. Sulemaniyya and C. Sanandaj.

There is evidence that some innovative reflexes of the interdentals went through various stages of historical development. The /l/ reflex of both the voiced and unvoiced interdental in the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects appears to have developed from a transitional /d/ reflex. This is shown by isolated /d/ reflexes of both *θ and *ð in some dialects where the primary reflex of both is /l/, e.g. J. Urmi *ade* < ʿaθe ‘he comes,’ *ida* < ʿiða ‘hand.’ The reflex of *θ as /s/ in emphatic environments in C. Gerbish rather than as the debuccalised /h/, which is the normal reflex elsewhere, suggests that a sibilant reflex was a transitional stage of the development of /h/ (i.e. *θ > *s > /h/).

4. Contact languages

One factor that is likely to have contributed to the preservation of the interdentals in the western sector of NENA is contact with spoken Arabic dialects, many of which have interdentals in their sound inventories (Procházka 2018: 247–248). Another factor is that some dialects in remote mountain villages where the interdentals were preserved, such as those in the Upper and Lower Țyare regions, appear to have had only limited contact with Kurdish or indeed any other language.

The innovative reflexes reflect a more intense contact with non-Semitic languages that do not have interdentals. Nowadays the major contact language is Kurdish, though at an earlier period the NENA dialects were in contact with Gorani. Gorani is now spoken only in a few isolated pockets in the region (Haig 2018: 297), but it was far more widespread some centuries ago (MacKenzie 1961), and it has left its mark on NENA dialects that are now not in direct contact with it. As remarked, the loss of interdentals in various NENA dialects has brought their phoneme inventories closer to those of the non-Semitic contact languages, all of which lack interdentals. The most common process involves merger of the interdentals with other consonants that have a direct match in the inventories of the contact languages.

Several of the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects that exhibit the shift of the interdentals **θ* and **ð* to the lateral /l/ were spoken in areas where in neighbouring Iranian and Turkic languages a /d/ following a vowel or sonorant undergoes lenition, known as ‘Zagros *d*,’ resulting in it being realised as an approximant or as sonorant (Haig 2018, §3.1.1; Mahmoudveysi and Bailey 2018, §3.1; Anonby and Taheri-Ardali 2018, §2.1). As remarked, there is evidence that in the Neo-Aramaic dialects concerned the two interdentals first shifted to the voiced stop **d* before finally becoming a lateral sonorant /l/ (Khan 2008: 29-31). The sonorant /l/ can then be regarded as lenition of the **d*. Such lenition, therefore, is likely to be due to the ‘perceptual magnet effect’ (Blevins 2017) of the weakened Zagros *d*, whereby Neo-Aramaic speakers match this perceptually with the sonorant /l/ in their existing sound inventory. It should be noted, however, that the lateral /l/ reflex of the historical interdentals are found in Jewish Trans-Zab dialects outside the Zagros area, for example the Urmi region of northwestern Iran and the Arbel plain in northern Iraq. This may be interpreted as evidence that the speakers of the Trans-Zab dialects in these area migrated from the Zagros region at some earlier period.

It is also noteworthy that interdentals are not only prone to loss through contact but also do not spread by contact. This contrasts with some other sounds in languages that spread into the sound inventories of neighbouring languages. These include pharyngeals and unaspirated stops (Haig and Khan 2018). Their diffusion has resulted in the enrichment of the consonantal inventories of the languages of the region. A factor that may have facilitated their spread is their salience (Blevins 2017). The failure of interdentals to spread, in contrast, can be correlated with their lack of salience (Maddieson 2013).

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Islamic traits and motifs in Jewish and Christian North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic languages and literatures

Alessandro Mengozzi

The North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects, historically spoken by Christian and Jewish minorities in the vast territory that includes southeastern Turkey, northern Iraq and northwestern Iran, belong to a region of linguistic convergence which includes varieties of Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish, spoken by the Muslim majority of the population, and in which prestigious literary—then national—Islamic languages (Arabic, Persian, Turkish) have exerted considerable influence. The results of these contacts have received much attention from scholars, and in some cases Islamic features have been isolated in the lexicon of Modern Aramaic varieties. An apparently paradoxical integration of terms with strong Islamic connotations into the religious language of Christians and Jews has also been observed. From a cultural and literary point of view, the minorities share with the Islamic majority much of the material culture, folklore, literary genres and, in some cases, stories and motifs, the ultimate origin of which may also have been Christian or Jewish.

Keywords: Islamic languages; Neo-Aramaic; Kurdistan; Islamicate.

1. Neo-Aramaic studies beyond dialectology¹

During the Ottoman period, North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) dialects were — and to a far lesser extent are still today — spoken today as minority languages by Christians and Jews in the vast territory that includes southeastern Turkey, northern Iraq and northwestern Iran.² They thus belong to an area

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Upon finishing the article, my first thought was to send it to Fabrizio Pennacchietti, who has always read and improved my publications with his incredibly vast knowledge, but especially with his enthusiastic approach and encouraging approval. This time he will find a little of my acknowledgment and deep gratitude in this and other footnotes. Most of what is found here and in my research interests was inspired by him and the network of masters, colleagues and students that he was able to gather around him thanks to his gentleness and the pleasantness of his conversation. *Basima raba, ya Fabrizio. Yarxi xayyox!*

² A handbook on Neo-Aramaic dialectology is currently under preparation by Simon Hopkins, Hezy Mutzafi, and Steven Fassberg. On Jewish and Christian North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic languages of the region under discussion, see Geoffrey Khan et

of cultural and linguistic convergence, a rich and diverse *Sprachbund* which includes varieties of Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish, spoken by the Muslim majority of the population, and in which prestigious literary Islamic languages – national languages in modern times (Arabic, Persian, Turkish) – have exercised a considerable influence.

The results of the cultural and linguistic interaction of Modern Aramaic communities with the Islamic majority have received relatively high attention from scholars. Suffice it to mention in this connection four ground-breaking contributions and the research lines to which they belong:

1. Irene Garbell. 1965. “The Impact of Kurdish and Turkish on the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Persian Azerbaijan and the Adjoining Regions.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85/2: 159-177.
2. Yona Sabar. 1982. *The Folk Literature of the Kurdistan Jews: An Anthology*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
3. Michel Chevalier. 1985. *Les Montagnards chrétiens du Hakkâri et du Kurdistan septentrional*. Publications du Département de géographie de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne.
4. Michael L. Chyet. 1995. “Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish: An Interdisciplinary Consideration of their Influence on Each Other.” *Israel Oriental Studies* 15: 219-49.

1. Irene Garbell published the first description of a Neo-Aramaic dialect with the instruments of modern structuralist linguistics (1965a) and an article on the impact of Kurdish and Turkish on Neo-Aramaic (1965b). In both publications, she showed the potential of a line of research on the Kurdistanian *Sprachbund*—of course, investigated from the point of view of the Aramaic speaking minorities—that, so far, has been the most productive.³ Since then dialectologists have published

al., “The North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Database Project,” Faculty of Asian & Middle Eastern Studies, Cambridge University, <https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/>, with maps and bibliography.

³ The contact between Aramaic and Iranian languages is a classical topic in Semitic (vs. Indo-Aryan?) philology and it was vigorously relaunched in contemporary Semitic linguistics when Kutscher (1969) applied to the Aramaic periphrastic perfect tense (*‘biḏ li* ‘(it is) done to me’ > ‘I have done’) Benveniste’s interpretation of the Old Persian *manā kartam* construction: see, e.g., Ciancaglini (2008: 29-37) and, for a more refined interpretation of the constructions at stake from the point of view of (Neo-)Aramaic and typological linguistics, Coghill (2016: 196-223). Pennacchietti (1988) published a comparison of the Neo-Aramaic, Farsi and Kurdish verbal systems and, with Orenge (1995), enlarged the comparative scope to Armenian – and Turkish, Azeri... – so as to strengthen the idea of the existence of areal features and therefore a regional *Sprachbund*. Following the interest for Neo-Semitic languages of Hans Polotsky’s Israeli school, Kapeliuk extensively published on contact phenomena between Aramaic or Afro-Semitic and coterritorial languages: on Neo-Aramaic, see her contribution, with bibliography, to Weninger’s handbook on the Semitic languages (Kapeliuk 2011); on Afro-Semitic, see, e.g., Kapeliuk (2002a, 2002b, 2004, and 2005), missing in Crass-Meyer’s (2011) bibliography on “Ethiosemitic-Cushitic language contact.” More recently, the areal perspective on western Asia is well represented in Geoffrey Khan’s Cambridge school of Neo-Aramaic

dozens of grammatical descriptions, usually including text collections and glossaries, articles and a few linguistic monographs on specific topics, in which the results of language contact and areal convergence are singled out or dealt with as explanatory hypotheses of language change, diachronic and diatopic variation. The urgency to describe languages that are dying or on the verge of extinction—coupled with the relatively high availability of Semitic scholars and dialectologists in today’s Academia — led to the somewhat paradoxical situation that Neo-Aramaic dialectology is in a much better position than Arabic and certainly Kurdish dialectological description of the region.

2. Yona Sabar, professor of Hebrew at UCLA, contributed to the field of Neo-Aramaic studies as a prolific editor and translator of texts and an excellent lexicographer. It is mainly thanks to him that we have at our disposal excellent editions of early and late homiletic, midrash- and targum-like literature in Jewish NENA varieties (17th-20th centuries), as well as a wealth of Jewish and Christian folk texts: stories, songs, lullabies, proverbs and sayings. As a native speaker of the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Zakho (northeastern Iraqi Kurdistan), he shows the tremendous importance of oral literature as the witness of a culture that is deeply rooted in its territory and social milieu and thus risks disappearing with the next generation and the limits of a purely dialectological approach to language.⁴
3. Professor of geography at the university of Paris-Sorbonne, Michel Chevalier (1985) describes the position of Christian (and Jewish) minorities among the Kurds in terms of cultural and social symbiosis. He contrasts the submission of the — mostly Catholic — Chaldean peasants of the plain

linguistics, in the description of individual varieties as well as in more comprehensive comparative studies such as, e.g., Coghill (2016), Noorlander (2014), and Haig-Khan (2018).

⁴ The best characterization of Yona Sabar as an Aramaic-speaking Jew of Zakho and Israeli scholar is the wonderful award-winning biography written by his son Ariel Sabar, *My Father’s Paradise: A Son’s Search for His Family’s Past*, Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin, 2008. Traditional — i.e., oral or oral-oriented — literature in the Neo-Aramaic vernaculars of the Christians (Sureth) started to attract scholarly attention in the last decades of the 19th century among German scholars such as Eugen Prym, Albert Socin and Eduard Sachau: see Mengozzi (forthcoming: 538-541), on their methods and achievements. Some hundred years later the Chaldean priest Joseph Habbi published a couple of articles on Sureth religious poetry (see Habbi 1978) and Pennacchietti (1976) a selection of erotic triplets, a popular genre that belongs to Kurdistani folklore, with a description of the way they are performed during a wedding feast. Bruno Poizat, Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti and the latter’s students published more studies and texts on Sureth literature in the last decade of the 20th and the first decade of the 21st centuries (see Mengozzi 2012 for bibliographic references). Interest for oral literature has grown considerably in the last few years in the Cambridge school of Neo-Aramaic studies, combining the goals of documenting endangered languages with living narrative texts and preserving the oral history and immaterial culture of minorities that faced or are facing persecution, insecurity, displacement and migration: see, e.g., Aloni’s (2014 and 2022) publication on the oral heritage of the Jewish community of Zakho and the “comparative [NENA and Kurdish] anthology with a sample of glossed texts” by Khan-Mihammadirad-Molin-Noorlander (2022).

of Mosul (*raya* “flock of subjects”) with the more or less independent, free position of the “Nestorian” tribes (*asiret*) on the (Hakkari) mountains, not dissimilar to the condition of their Kurdish neighbors. As far as I know this monograph remained isolated for quite a long time as an attempt to describe Christian minorities in Kurdistan with social and socio-economic criteria.⁵ Later contributions on the history of the Christians of the region mainly focus on the genocide of 1915 and the diaspora.⁶

4. Michael Chyet is a Kurdologist and a cataloguer of Middle Eastern languages at the Library of Congress. His article of 1995 stands out among publications on Neo-Aramaic especially thanks to the attempt to widen the scope of the analysis from language(s) to culture and literature.⁷ Only the third and last part of the article is devoted to linguistic data, whereas Chyet, in the first two sections, surveys hints and evidence from the available literature to deal with themes such as conversions — in both directions: Muslim Kurds becoming Christians and Aramaic or Armenian speaking Christians who converted to Islam and identified as Kurds, intermarriages and love affairs, shared lifestyle and Weltanschauung about hot gender and political issues.⁸ Chyet shows that inter-ethnic and therefore linguistic contact and influence are further favored by commerce and the professional skills of Christians and Jews as peasants and specialized artisans. Special linguistic and literary skills were and are not uncommon among Christians and Jews. The tradition of Christian and Jewish bards and story-tellers, often illiterate, and quite normally capable of performing at the request of Christian, Jewish or Muslim audiences, in two or even three languages—Kurdish, Neo-Aramaic and Arabic—is well attested in the 19th century and has continued up to recent times.⁹

⁵ More recently, see Galletti (2010) and Donabed (2015).

⁶ On the genocide, see Gaunt-Atto-Barthoma (2019), with extensive bibliography. On the Assyrian, Chaldean and Syriac Orthodox diaspora in general see Yacoub (1994); in the United States: Sengstock (1982), Hanoosh (2008), Ishaya (2010), Hughes (2017), Kiraz (2019); in Europe: Atto (2011), Merten (2013; 1st edition 1997), Lundgren (2019), Woźniak-Bobińska (2021), Tamcke (2022).

⁷ “Linguistic phenomena do not, after all, exist in a vacuum: every language is spoken by a specific group of people with a distinctive culture” (Chyet 1995: 249).

⁸ From his field-work experience among Kurds and Chaldeans in California, Chyet (1995: 226) concludes: ‘Both Kurds and Neo-Aramaic-speaking Christians have similar ways of thinking—about the type of modest behavior befitting a woman, for example—as well as comparable political aims (e.g., the establishment of an Assyrian state is the dream of many Assyrians.’

⁹ See Chyet (1995, mainly based on Sabar 1982) on the Jewish story-teller Pinehas of Zakho, and Mengozzi (2002: 85-88 and 2019: 235-237) on David the Blind, the 19th century “Homer of the Chaldeans.”

2. Assimilation of Arabic (Islamic?) vocabulary

The self-evident result of dialectological research on the lexicon of Neo-Aramaic is the abundance of words borrowed directly from Arabic or via contact Islamic languages such as Kurdish, Turkish and Persian.¹⁰ The phenomenon has been described as more or less pervasive, sometimes in rather impressionistic ways as a corruption of the original Aramaic stock, in all oral and written varieties of Neo-Aramaic, and for most semantic domains.¹¹ In the present context we will focus on religious terminology in early NENA written texts.

In the corpus of homiletic literature in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Nerwa, preserved in 17th century manuscripts,¹² Sabar (1984: 208) observes that

The percentage of Arabic loanwords in NT [Nerwa texts] is quite high. Out of 1050 lexical entries of one typical text, 315 entries were borrowed, directly or via intermediary languages, from Arabic. In some prosodic instances almost the entire vocabulary is Arabic and only the declensions are Aramaic.

He then gives the following poetic example, which is indeed quite striking given the theological content: God speaks to Israel with (Iranian-influenced) Aramaic grammar, but Arabic vocabulary!

yā yisrāʿēl, la qaṭlit nafs majān,
O Israel, thou shalt not kill a soul in vain,
uḥissox la fāsdeṭin ṣurtid ʿinsān,
and beware of harming the image of man,
ugimsabbibit lgyanox qitla bḡēr hawān,
and (thus) cause thyself untimely death,
mud bṣurtid šarīf xliqle ʿilāha ʿinsān,
for God had created man in the image of the Eminent,

¹⁰ A puristic attitude towards orthography and vocabulary started with the 19th-century Bible translations in missionary milieu (Murre-van den Berg 1999), with a marked preference for classicizing historical spelling and inherited Classical Syriac words and roots, and increased during the 20th century: using Syriac vocabulary meant to get rid of words of Arabic origin and with possible Islamic connotations.

¹¹ See, e.g., Tezel (2011) on Arabic borrowings in Şūrayt/Ṭūrōyo, the Christian Neo-Aramaic dialect cluster of Ṭur ʿAbdin (south-eastern Turkey) that can be considered part of the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic continuum. See Häberl's contribution to the present issue of Kervan for a corpus-driven and statistically balanced evaluation of the degree of Arabic influence upon Western Neo-Aramaic vocabulary (dialect of Maʿlula).

¹² "Most of this literature probably came out of the school of Rabbi Samuel Barzāni (d. ca. 1630) who according to a local tradition was buried in ʿAmadiya" (Sabar 1984: 201 n. 5).

umzōyinne bmanṭiq ublisān

and had adorned him with (the faculty of) logic and tongue.

Sabar (1984: 201) hesitantly proposes a Judaeo-Arabic rather than Islamic origin for this technical theological terminology, but he concedes that it is not very likely that “the Neo-Aramaic texts may have been redacted directly from Judaeo-Arabic sources.” Moreover, he underlines that “it is somewhat surprising to see such emotionally loaded Islamic terms used for Jewish religious matters, instead of (or together with) H[ebrew] ones” (Sabar 1984: 208 n. 67), and gives the following examples:

- *šēx* “member of the Jewish burial society”
- *molla* [*< mawlā*] “Jewish or Muslim learned man”
- *ta‘āla* “Exalted be He! (God)”
- *sayyid al-faḏl* “Master of virtue (Moses)”
- *badr al-zamān* “Full moon of (her) time (Queen Esther)”

In the short introduction to the last edition of his Jewish Neo-Aramaic dictionary, Sabar (2020: x) remarks that many epithets and names of God used especially in Jewish Neo-Aramaic religious texts are “Judaic loanwords from Hebrew and Islamic from Arabic:” terms of Aramaic origin (OA) are used together with Hebrew- (H) and Arabic- (Ar) derived words.

- *ʿilāha* (OA) and *ʿallāh* (Ar)
- *qayyām* “live, eternal” (H)
- *šēm* “Name” (H)
- *ta‘āla* “exalted” (Ar)
- *ʿawādīt ʿajābe* “maker of wonders” (Ar)
- *raḥīm* “merciful” (Ar)
- *rāḥūm we-ḥannūn* “merciful and compassionate” (H)
- *xalāqa* “creator” (Ar) and *bōrē ʿōlām* “creator of the world” (H)
- *ʿistād ʿōlām* “Master of the world” (Ar-H) and *riḥbōn ha-ʿōlām* (H)
- *ʿilāha dʿalamīn* “God of the universes” (OA-Ar)
- *parāʿid hawuyāṭa* “benefactor” (OA-Ar)
- *rabb il-samāwāt* “Master of Heavens” (Ar)
- *rabb il-ʿālamīn* “Master of the Worlds” (Ar)
- *rabbi, mawlāyi* “my God, my Master” (Ar)
- *šēm šāmāyim* “for God’s sake” (H)
- *maʿbud* “idol” (Ar); or *ṣanam* (OA), *ʿavōḏa zāra* (H)

Besides the undoubtedly Arabic and probably Islamic origin of quite a number of God's epithets in Jewish Neo-Aramaic, we might further speculate about the influence of Islamic theology, spirituality and piety in the proliferation, use and role of God's names among Aramaic-speaking Jews. God's epithets and names are not exclusive to Islamic theology and piety, but the importance of *al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* 'the beautiful names (of God)' is evident in many forms of Islam (Gardet 1960).

A similar paradoxical integration of terms with strong Islamic connotations into the religious language has also been observed in early Christian Neo-Aramaic poetry. As an example, we can see two occurrences of Arabic-derived terms for "law" flanked with original Aramaic equivalents in the immediate context. In the first case the two lines belong to consecutive stanzas joined by anadiplosis, which is the typical technique—in complementary distribution with anaphora—to connect stanzas in Christian Neo-Aramaic religious poetry (Mengozi 2002: 75-79).

Israel of Alqosh, *On the Sin of Man* (early 17th cent.), 61c-62a

šari'at lālhin širyē

lālhin šrāy nāmosē

They have broken the laws.

Laws have been broken by them.

Yaswip of Telkepe, *On Revealed Truth* (1663), 71c-d

wdinā w-šar' b'īdēh msupillē [~ msuppēlē?]

bašrārā bḥaqq alāhā-ylē

Law and jurisdiction He delivered in His hands.

He is truly and really God.

In the second case, the two verse lines belong to the same quatrain and the bilingual hendiadys *dinā w-šar'* is paralleled in the following line by the bilingual hendiadys *bašrārā bḥaqq*, which is part of a recurrent formula in the poem. We will come back shortly to multilingual hendiadys in Neo-Aramaic—and Islamic!—literatures.

In the poem *On the life-giving Words* (1664?), Yaswip of Telkepe specifies that he is speaking of the šar' *kātā* "the new law," the New Testament that fulfills the commandments (*puqdānē*) of the Old Testament.

Yasip of Telkepe, *On the life-giving Words* (1664?), 4c

kuḏ d-nāṭri ʿan puqḏānē wʿaḏ šarʿ kātā

[He allowed to partake with Him through His body and blood in communion]
all those who observe the Commandments and the New Law.

Arabic-derived terms with a strong Islamic connotation are assimilated into Jewish and Christian religious discourse, showing their correspondence with traditional terms of Aramaic, Hebrew or even Greek etymology, as is the case of Aramaic *nāmosā*. Early Neo-Aramaic authors and poets, who are learned rabbis and priests, use this terminology for pastoral and paraenetic purposes as well as so as to achieve sophisticated literary effects.

3. Polemical use of Islamic terminology

In the epilogue of the poem *On Revealed Truth* (1663), that I have commented upon on various occasions and that inspired the title of my PhD dissertation (Mengozzi 2002: 115-118 and 2005: 327-332), the priest Yawsip of Telkepe said:

Glory be to the Father, the Son and the Spirit
who gave us an open mouth
and a story in a truthful language (*wḥadīt bliššānā ṣaḥīḥā*)
so that we praise and give glory to him.
Come, let us glorify, oh Christians
and let us keep on beseeching him,
that he make for us peaceful times
and save us from the Muslims!
That he save us from the Ishmaelites,
from the gentiles and the barbarians!
Life has been made bitter to us.
May Our Lord establish (back) the Greeks!
That he establish the Greeks in our days
so that we can (re-)build our churches!
That he bring peace to our countries
and protect our priests and pastors!

What has been translated as “a story in a truthful language” is in the original *ḥadīt bliššānā ṣaḥīḥā* (84c), where both terms *ḥadīt* and *ṣaḥīḥā* are borrowed from Arabic. In this context, *ḥadīt* must be understood as “story, narrative, message,” and in our text the *ḥadīt* is the history of salvation, the story of the Divine Economy, the message that God handed over to mankind in general, and to poets in particular, so that they might spread it and give glory to him. However, *ḥadīt* has a clear Islamic ring, that could not have escaped the attention of the poet and probably his audience.

The adjective “correct, truthful, reliable,” in combination with “language,” recalls the Christian-Islamic discussion about the superiority of one language or the other, Syriac or Arabic, as a reliable, truthful means used by God in his revelation. More provocatively, *ṣaḥīḥ* is used in the same context as *ḥadīt* as the Islamic technical term to certify as “sound, truthful, and reliable” a tradition relating to the Prophet.¹³ Using Arabic words, the poet vigorously affirms the superiority of the Christian revelation and history of salvation and the reliability of his own language and verses as a way to re-write the Christian Scriptures in a poetic form.

The explicit polemic against Muslims that follows in the text demonstrates that the use of Arabisms and Islamisms such as *ḥadīt* and *ṣaḥīḥā* cannot be culturally neutral. The same God who gave the Christians an open mouth and a glorious story to tell, is explicitly invoked as a liberator against the Muslims. The real and reliable *ḥadīt*, the Christian *ḥadīt*, may also be seen as a foreshadowing of the liberation from the Muslims and the establishment of peace.

Arabic and Islamic technical terminology is used to reverse the Islamic position in the discussion about language and revelation. A loan may become a conscious polemic appropriation of the linguistic resources of the adversaries.

4. *Ridondanza* as a(n Islamic?) stylistic feature

In two of the occurrences of *šarīʿat* and *šarʿ* for “law, judgment, jurisdiction,” we have seen that Arabic-derived terms are associated with Aramaic terms by chiasmus in *šarīʿat lālhin šryē ... lālhin šrāy nāmosē* and by double parallelism in *wdinā w-šarʿ ... bašrārā bḥaqq*. Hendiadys is not just one of the traditional stylistic devices which poets have at their disposal, but is clearly a constitutive element of the language of Christian Neo-Aramaic poetry.

¹³ See, e.g., the entry “Ṣaḥīḥ” by Alfred Guillaume in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1913-1936) or Ahmed (2002).

Pairs usually involve terms ultimately derived from Arabic and Aramaic, as in the two examples mentioned above: e.g., *xabrē w-tanyātā* or (*peṭḡāmē*) *w-xabrē w-millē* “words”, *māl w-qenyānā* “property,” (asyndetic) *sāfil dāwyā* “miserable,” *ṭayyārā w-pāriḥtā* “bird,” *staḏā ... malpānā* “master, teacher.” Aramaic words are also paired with words of Iranian origin widely used in the languages of the region, as in *raʿyē w-šefānē* (Persian *šabān*, Turkish *çoban*) “shepherds,” *gunahkār w-ḥaṭṭāyā* “sinner,” but pairs of synonyms or quasi synonyms belonging to the same language stock are also attested: *deḥlā w-surādā* “fear and terror” are both Aramaic; Christ is described as *kāmel tāmam bpaḡrā wnōšā* “perfect and complete in body and soul,” with terms of similar meaning asyndetically juxtaposed, both derived directly or indirectly from Arabic; in *ʿarjē w-sillē muqīmēlē* “he caused the lame and the crippled to stand up,” we have two terms belonging to the same semantic field of physical handicap and both derived, again, directly or indirectly, from Arabic.¹⁴

This kind of lexical virtuosity has also been observed in the Jewish homiletic literature written in Neo-Aramaic (Sabar 2002: 55-56) and can be seen as a stylistic reflex of the rich sociolinguistic profiles of Aramaic-speaking communities, who experience internal diglossia and live immersed in a multilingual—and multicultural—milieu. Neo-Aramaic authors love exploiting their own and their audiences’ vast and diverse linguistic competences to build pairs, sometimes triplets, of synonyms derived from different languages.

Sabar correctly speaks of hendiadys, since it is often very difficult to recognize the exact semantic relationship between the two terms used in such multilingual pairs. With a native speaker’s sensitivity, he remarks that it is a typical stylistic feature of the religious texts, where a large number of hendiadys are indeed found “usually each word being from a different language, and occasionally none of them being used in the colloquial dialect.” He observes that this kind of multilingual hendiadys is a trace of a long tradition of literary style and is therefore a learned feature in the literature in the modern tongue.

The multilingual vicinity of the speakers, with its cross-section of various ancient and new cultures—Kurdish, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and Hebrew-Aramaic with its vast religious literature—has made an even stronger impact on the literary style than the colloquial jargons. (Sabar 1976: xxx-xxxi)

The stylistic use of synonymic, often multilingual, hendiadys poses interesting questions about their actual literary function: why should an author juxtapose almost equivalent terms in one verse or

¹⁴ Many examples in 17th-century religious poems are listed and discussed in Mengozzi (2002: 100-101).

distribute them in two consecutive lines? The abundance of multilingual pairs suggests a kind of cross-linguistic virtuosity of the poet. Crossing the boundaries between the linguistic codes that are either partly or well known to his audience, the author seems to display ostentatiously the lexical richness and the variety of languages at his command.

This rhetorical use of hendiadys is probably what Sabar has in mind, when he singles out the distance between the vocabulary used in such pairs and the colloquial language. The multilingual Christians and Jews of Iraqi Kurdistan certainly represent a perfect audience to appreciate this interruption of the linguistic continuity, realized by means of conscious borrowings and multilingual lexical choices. However, the frequency of synonymous pairs derived from different languages may also represent a stylization of the pedagogical purposes of poets who through these rhetorical features intended to enrich the vocabulary of their simpler listeners. This pedagogic intention would make sense especially when the multilingual hendiadys is construed with equivalent terms, one of them being Aramaic and the other a loan. The author seems to translate the traditional, learned term with a foreign word that may have been more familiar to the everyday vocabulary of his audience, or, alternatively, he indicates the correspondence between a familiar Aramaic term and a term known from the multilingual vicinity. The hendiadys could have the function of striking a balance between the learned classical tradition and the receptiveness of the vernacular, which was exposed and open to the influence of foreign languages.

An example of bilingual hendiadys (*p'êxamber... û enbîya* “prophet”) is also found in a Kurdish poem in Syriac script, composed by the 19th-century Chaldean poet David Barzanê, whose *divân* is exceptionally preserved in an autograph manuscript and contains poems in Neo-Aramaic, Classical Syriac and Kurmanci Kurdish.¹⁵

Beyond Kurdistan, multilingual hendiadys is a common learned stylistic feature of Islamic literatures, where Arabic loans are flanked by their equivalents in languages such as Persian or Turkish. Alessandro Bausani (1981: 9) describes this phenomenon as *ridondanza* and as a side-effect of traditional translation techniques. Once developed “in translation,, *ridondanza* became a common stylistic type of Islamic literatures, generalized so as to include pairs of words belonging to the same language. Although not explicitly, Bausani presents it as a sign of learned contacts and the bookish, top-down influence (*influsso libresco* and *osmosi dall'alto*), which according to him characterizes the diffusion and

¹⁵ The *editio princeps* of this poem (Mengozi-Dehqan 2014) should be revised. The name of the author is wrongly given as Barazne and should be Barzanê or Barzan. In l. 17 *bi rusî û tazî* can be read as a hendiadys meaning “bare (adverb) and naked”, to strengthen the degree of nakedness as common in other languages of the region (personal communication of Ergin Opengin, University of Cambridge).

penetration of learned features among illiterates and low social classes in the Islamic cultures of Asia (Zappa 2008: 1192, esp. n. 3).

I do not know whether this intuition—as others—by Bausani¹⁶ have led to systematic investigations on translation techniques and synonymic (multilingual) hendiadys in Islamic literatures. The phenomenon of “double translation,” also known as “hendiadys method” is well-known in several translation traditions.¹⁷ Bausani correctly links the stylistic *ridondanza* to the translational character of texts and genres and frames it in his idea of a top-down influence from the highly prestigious cultural languages—especially Persian in Asia, with its load of Arabic vocabulary—and the receiving local languages. To what extent the progressive stylization of a translation technique is typical of Islamic languages is difficult to say: quite on the contrary, it is probably a rather common phenomenon in literatures and vernaculars that move their first steps in literacy with translations of normative, canonical, founding texts and models from originals written in prestigious or even sacred transnational languages.¹⁸

5. The Aḥiqar/Ḥayqar paradigm

From a cultural and literary point of view, the minorities unsurprisingly share with the Islamic majority much of the material culture, folklore, literary genres and, in some cases, stories and motifs, the ultimate origin of which may also have been Christian or Jewish.

In the realm of folklore, there is so much shared material that it is possible to speak of Kurdistanian folklore, rather than Kurdish or Neo-Aramaic folklore, although there is also specifically Jewish, Christian, Muslim, and Yezidi folklore which is common to the whole (Chyet 1995: 233).

Among the shared narratives, circulating in various versions and in the various languages of the region, Chyet mentions the tragic love story of Mem û Zîn and the story of Joseph and Zulaikha.

¹⁶ On Bausani’s preference for provocative intuitions rather than systematic research projects, paired with his insatiable intellectual curiosity and search for intellectual fun, see Zappa (2021: 238).

¹⁷ In translational literature to and from Greek, see, e.g., Talshir (1987) and Dhont (2016) on the Septuagint or Cooper (2016) on Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq’s Arabic translation of Galen.

¹⁸ This is precisely the case of Neo-Aramaic literatures for both Jews (targum- and midrash-like texts for school, synagogue and common people) and Christians (poetic rewriting of Biblical and hagiographical texts with parenetic and educational purposes). On Neo-Aramaic in the broader scenario of “vernacularization in the Early Modern Middle East”, see Murre-van den Berg (2020: 10-14).

Various versions of these and other stories, as well as fragments or reference of local epic stories, surface in the texts collected by 19th century Orientalists or by contemporary dialectologists¹⁹ as the tip of the iceberg of oral tradition. They result from processes of continuous adaptation and re-elaboration, often deriving from or molding together contents of learned literary sources, including canonical, sacred Scriptures, such as the Bible, Qurʾān and *Ginza Rabba*. The recontextualization according to different cultural systems and contamination, made possible or indeed favored by oral tradition, allow stories to travel across boundaries of genre, performance arena, language and faith: from highly formalized, written authorial prose or verses to anonymous popular stories told and/or sung by roaming storytellers or in an informal family gathering, from classical language to vernacular, from Arabic, Babylonian Aramaic or Syriac to Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic, from one religious community to the other.

The story of the devils' enmity toward Adam is told in the Neo-Aramaic poem *On Revealed Truth*, which we have mentioned before, according to a version known from non-canonical sources, such as the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve*, the Greek *Questions of Bartholomew* and *Revelation of Sedrach*, the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, as well as from the Qurʾān. According to these various para-biblical accounts, when God established Adam as new king, viceroy (*ḥalifa*) in the Qurʾān, of the creation, the devils (the bad angels) refused to worship him, being a simple man made of clay, were punished and lost their position. Their refusal became the cause of enmity between the devil (the devils) and Adam. This account of Adam's fall or some adaptation thereof enjoyed great popularity among Jews, Christians, Mandaean, Yezidis, etc.²⁰ That the Neo-Aramaic poet did not have in mind that the story somehow linked the Qurʾān with Christian Syriac sources like the *Cave of Treasures* can hardly be maintained.

The Biblical and Qurʾānic stories on Joseph the Egyptian—with their countless variations in Christian exegetical literature, midrash, Islamic *isrāʾīliyyāt* 'Jewish stories' and *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* 'stories of the prophets', hence again in late Rabbinic literature—are certainly among the most popular and popularized among Jews, Christians and Muslims sharing territory and culture.²¹

All within the Jewish tradition and with important methodological remarks, Aloni (2014: 339-340) demonstrates that narrative details deriving from rabbinical sources are shared in three Zakho Neo-Aramaic oral versions of the story of Joseph and his brothers: an epic poem collected and transcribed

¹⁹ Modern linguists usually publish sample texts at the end of their grammatical description of the various dialects.

²⁰ See the bibliographic appendix on the angel's refusal to worship Adam in Mengozzi (2005: 332-333) and Minov (2015).

²¹ See, e.g., two late East-Syriac dialogue poems on Joseph and Potiphar's wife in Mengozzi (2020: 140-149), with bibliographic introduction and Italian translation.

in Israel by Yosef Rivlin in the 1950's, shortly after the migration of the Jews of Zakho to Israel, the epic poem as sung and recorded in the 1980's by Na'im Shalom, a cantor of the Jewish community of Zakho in Jerusalem, and a beautiful oral version, mixing recitation and singing, by the talented storyteller Samra Zaqen. A narrative addition in the oral versions appears to derive from the book *Toqpo šel Yosef* ('Joseph's strength'), by Yosef Shabbetai Farḥi, that was published in 1846 in Livorno and seems to have enjoyed great popularity among the learned Jews in Kurdistan.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Stephen Rayes of Alqosh translated into the modern language two Classical Syriac poems *On Joseph son of Jacob*, traditionally attributed to Narsai (5th cent.).²² The NA versions are entitled *On Joseph son of Jacob* or, more commonly, *On Joseph the Egyptian* and are the most frequently copied Neo-Aramaic poems among Catholic Christians of the plain of Mosul in the late 19th and throughout the 20th century: in the database of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML)²³ there are at least thirteen copies of one or both of them in manuscripts belonging to Chaldean collections and two copies in West-Syriac script (Syriac Catholic collections). In 2016 two vocal performances of the first poem were posted on YouTube, the first, lasting more than two and a half hours, by George Mikho, a Chaldean resident in London, Canada. The second performance of the deacon 'Adel Helanto, according to a different melody, is divided in several videos. The audios are visually accompanied by pictures of the singers and illustrations on the life of Joseph taken from Western devotional books and today are easily available online.²⁴

Written texts, possibly translated from Arabic at the request and perhaps according to the taste and interests of 19th century Semitists like Eduard Sachau, still await systematic scholarly investigation. As is the case for the Biblical, Qur'ānic, non-canonical and rabbinical stories of Joseph,²⁵ Christian Neo-Aramaic prose narratives and poems usually conform to what I would call the Aḥiqar/Ḥayqar paradigm: stories of ultimate Biblical or Christian hagiographic origins are re-proposed

²² Rayes' poems are dated 1893 in the ms. 121 of the Chaldean Archdiocese of Kirkuk, copied in 1954. In a ms. of the London Sachau collection, they are ascribed to the copyist and poet Joseph 'Azarya of Telkepe: (Mengozzi 1999: 482). They are poetic translations of the first and fourth Classical Syriac *mēmre* published by Paul Bedjan, *Homiliae Mar Narsetis in Joseph*, 521-558 and 609-629 (sometimes attributed to Efrem in the rubrics). On Joseph the Patriarch in the Classical Syriac tradition, see now Heal (2022).

²³ Digitized copies of Iraqi and Turkish Christian collections of Arabic, Neo-Aramaic and Syriac manuscripts can be consulted in the virtual reading room of the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (HMML, Collegeville, Minnesota, www.hmml.org).

²⁴ George Mikho: www.youtube.com/watch?v=OI-g_joXIAQ; first part sung by 'Adel Helanto: www.youtube.com/watch?v=VObFCFeTupI.

²⁵ Aloni (2022: 183) proposes to compare oral and written Neo-Aramaic stories on Joseph circulating among Jews and Christians in Kurdistan.

or rewritten in the modern language, under the influence of the Islamic developments of the same stories and probably thanks to their popularity among Muslim readers or listeners. 19th-century German orientalism may also have played a role in the rediscovery of the traditional literary motifs and stories of Christians and Jews, now circulating in Islamic dress. It is as if learned Christian authors, by using Islamic versions of old stories or rewriting in the modern tongue Classical Syriac texts, implicitly claim the Christian origin of stories widely circulating among Christians and Muslims alike. In these cases, we do not have a direct Islamic influence, but the popularity of a story or its variants in Islamic milieu and/or the philological interest of European scholars may have acted as external catalysts for the preservation and revitalization of old Jewish and Christian lore.

Various versions of the story and proverbs of Aḥiqar the wise are known, in at least two NENA versions, in a Šūrayt/Ṭūrōyo version and in an oral version in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Mlaḥso as well as in Christian Arabic and Garshuni, i.e., Arabic language in Syriac script. The Neo-Aramaic versions are sometimes contaminated with or are closer to Islamic versions, where the protagonist is usually known as Ḥayqar, than to the Classical Syriac Vorlage. The story and proverbs of Aḥiqar is probably the most important literary text preserved in Imperial Aramaic (5th century BC) and the protagonist is mentioned in the Catholic Bible (Tobit 1: 21-22).²⁶ Texts like Tobit, the Greek *Life of Aesop*, the five Syriac recensions and the multiple versions in Arabic and other languages show the vitality and fortune of the story over time, from late antiquity to modern times. In the 19th century, the interest of orientalist, and perhaps missionaries, for Aḥiqar may have reawakened the attention and pride of Neo-Aramaic authors for a story that they knew from the Ḥayqar's saga as circulating among Arabic-speaking Muslims and Christians.

Francesca Bellino and I published the Neo-Aramaic partial translation of a collection of 'ajā'ib more or less directly related to Alexander the Great. The Classical Syriac Vorlage, recently published by Sergey Minov (2021), largely depend on Arabic Islamic sources, but I suspect that it has been translated into Neo-Aramaic, possibly at the request of Eduard Sachau, and perhaps before from Arabic to Classical Syriac, because of the connection with two important and influential texts of Syriac literature: the *Alexander Romance* and the *Christian legend on Alexander the Great*, reflected in the Qur'ānic Al-Qarnayn and spread in countless variations throughout the Islamic world (Bellino-Mengozzi 2016,

²⁶ Pennacchietti (1981) translated one of the Classical Syriac recensions into Italian, as his contribution to Paolo Sacchi's research and editorial projects on the so-called "apocrypha of the Old Testament," lately better described as Jewish literature of the Second Temple, the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The translation has been republished (2005a), with a bibliographic introduction by Riccardo Contini. See also Talay (2002) for the Mlaḥso version and Mengozzi (forthcoming: 544-545), for other bibliographic references on the Arabic and (Neo-)Aramaic Aḥiqars.

with references). Echo of the legend is to be found, via the Syriac *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, in the Neo-Aramaic polemical verses against the Muslims of the epilogue of *On Revealed Truth* (see, above: “May Our Lord establish (back) the Greeks!”).

The Christian legend of St Arsanis king of Egypt, whom Jesus resurrected to interview him about the afterlife, known in most Christian Oriental languages, including Syriac and Arabic, inspired the Islamic story of the skull Jumjuma restored to life and, via a Persian poem attributed to Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār (d. 1221), at least two Jewish versions, in Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Persian. One of the Neo-Aramaic poems on *Jimjimma*, published and studied by Pennacchietti (1991, 1993, 1994), is presented by the author as the translation of an anonymous Kurdish poem, and thus gives rise to interesting reflections on the re-incorporation into Christian hagiography of Islamic lore material in its turn inspired by a Christian legend.²⁷ The popularity of the story among their Muslim neighbors may have stimulated the composition of Neo-Aramaic poems on a subject that may have been preserved for centuries in the collective memory of the Christians:

The Christian versions in Syriac, Neo-Aramaic and Arabic may therefore have retained the memory of a Christian archetype from the pre-Islamic era...

The legend of Jesus and the Skull is the product of a cultural osmosis and a popular religious interaction that has continued over the centuries. Of probable Christian origin, it spread throughout the Muslim world, from Yemen to Andalusia, from Central Asia to India and the Sunda Islands.

Especially dear to the Sufi brotherhoods, who translated it into the most diverse languages, often putting it in verse, the legend was also adopted by Christians and Jews, who adapted it to their own cultures and religious sensibilities.²⁸

²⁷ The eschatological content itself—a description of deaths and judgements of the righteous and the wicked, reward and punishment in paradise and hell—is of Christian origin and is clearly related to the *Apocalypse of Paul*, a text that widely circulated among East-Syriac Christians in the Ottoman period and was put in verse by the celebrated Neo-Aramaic poet Israel of Alqosh at the beginning of the 17th century (Mengozzi 2002: 107-110 and forthcoming: 551).

²⁸ Pennacchietti (2005b: 296 and 299, my transl.). I think that these conclusions on the Islamic legend of the skull restored to life are an implicit homage to two scholars whom Pennacchietti has always considered among his masters and whose teachings have deeply resonated with his interest in languages and religious sensibility. The use of the term cultural osmosis, an open gaze on linguistic diversity and the unitary cultural traits of the Muslim world are the legacy of Alessandro Bausani. The attention to popular religious traditions, I believe, derives from Enrico Cerulli’s works on the circulation of Christian stories between Africa and Europe and the unitary character of pre-Reformation (and pre-Counter-Reformation) popular Christianity.

Geoffrey Khan and his team in northern Iraq collected and published four oral versions of the story of Zambil(i)rosh (Kurdish for ‘basket-seller,’ used in the story as the proper name of the protagonist).²⁹ Zambilfrosh is a noble young man or a prince who, shocked by the experience of death and mourning, decides to live the simple life of a basket-weaver, as a monk in the Christian versions. A noble lady or princess attempts in vain to seduce him and distract him from his ascetic life.

In the first text, in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Shaqlawa (northeastern Iraqi Kurdistan), Angel Sher inserts the spoken story between the first sung prologue quatrain and other twenty sung quatrains. The third text, in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Enishke (north-western Iraqi Kurdistan, near Amadiya), is in fact an oral version of the Biblical and Qur’ānic story of Joseph and Potiphar’s (here the king’s) wife. The seduction scene triggers the insertion of the theme of the humble basket-seller who refuses to become a king: Joseph becomes (a) Zambilfrosh. When the king’s wife offers the king’s crown, the protagonist, who is never called by name as Joseph in this text, answers: “I am a basket-seller (or I am Zambilfrosh?) ... I will not become a king” (Khan-Mihammaddirad-Molin-Noorlander 2022, vol. 2: 38-39).

Ahmad Abubakir Suleiman, the narrator of the fourth text in the Northern Kurdish dialect of Khizava (northwestern Iraqi Kurdistan, near Zakho), knows and to some extent compares different traditions on Zambilfrosh and refers to the existence of at least two tombs, one in the Diyarbakir province and the other on the road between Batifa and Zakho³⁰ He gives precise historical identifications of the protagonist of the story and tries to rationalize narrative details. In a way, his story appears as a learned and informed text in which verse lines are occasionally quoted to embellish the narration and strengthen specific points. Among other things, the narrator is aware that the story of the basket-seller was written down by the Kurdish poet Feqiyê Teyran (end of the 16th-first half of the 17th centuries) and quotes the quatrain of his poem in which the girl discloses to her maid: “The boy broke my heart / I cannot sleep because of his love” (Khan-Mihammaddirad-Molin-Noorlander 2022, vol. 2: 57).

²⁹ Transcriptions and translations are published in Khan-Mihammaddirad-Molin-Noorlander (2022, vol. 2: 3-59), with links to the mp3 audio files that can be listened to on and downloaded from the website of the “The North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Database Project” (University of Cambridge).

³⁰ See the entry “Zembîlfiroş” of English Wikipedia for a picture of Zambilfrosh’ tomb near Batifa (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zembîlfiroş>).

Kurmanci Kurdish Wikipedia is synthetic ([https://ku.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zembîlfiroş_\(destan\)](https://ku.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zembîlfiroş_(destan))), whereas Sorani Kurdish Wikipedia is more generous in details and quotation of verse lines (<https://ckb.wikipedia.org/wiki/زەمبیلفروش>).

According to fieldwork information from northern Iraq, Molin refers that there exist Yezidi version(s) of Zambilfrosh' story and, on the basis of the ascetic values conveyed by the tale, she considers it not unlikely that it originated in Sufi-influenced Yezidi circles (Khan-Mihammadirad-Molin-Noorlander 2022, vol. 1: 48). She concludes:

The story of Zambilfrosh illustrates the shared nature of the folk literature of northern Iraq as well as the preservation of a distinct cultural-religious imprint on the stories. It also bears witness to the complex and doubtless long-standing interaction with sacred, written and folkloristic traditions (Khan-Mihammadirad-Molin-Noorlander 2022, vol. 1: 53).

A written authorial version of the story of the basket-seller has been published with the title *On the Hermit Barmalka* by Braida (2011), from the Neo-Aramaic manuscript Habbi 3,³¹ where it is entitled *Story of the solitary monk*, attributed to Yawsep 'Abbaya³² and dated 1912. Braida describes it as a hagiographical tale, where Barmalka (Aramaic for "prince") and Xatun (Kurdish or Persian for "lady") are used as proper names. The characters are deprived of any historical and personal identity and are almost pure narrative functions in the text that is explicitly described by the author in the concluding verses as a kind of fable for children, a pedagogical story to teach asceticism and chastity as moral values.

Four other manuscript copies of the Story of the Solitary Monk have become available since 2011, thank to the HMML's project of digitization: ms. 799 (20th cent.) of the Dominican Friars of Mosul, 21v-27r (where it is entitled Zambilfrosh) and three copies made and signed by Elias Stephan Madalu, mss. 298 (1989) and 299 (1988) of the Chaldean Patriarch of Baghdad, and 610 (1989) of the Dominican Friars of Mosul. Two performances are available on YouTube: the first, entitled Qeşsettā d-Rabban Zambil (lit. "Story of the monk Basket"), is sung by the Chaldean priest Yoḥannan Cholagh, who worked as a pastor in Alqosh and Mosul, whereas the other is sung by another voice (George Yaldā?) and was published by

³¹ The ms. Habbi 3, copied in Alqosh in 1933, is one of the most important and complete collections of Christian Neo-Aramaic poetry. Its content is described in Ḥabbi (1978). A photographic reproduction of the ms. is listed as no. 584 of the collection of the Dominican Friars of Mosul in the database of HMML. The ms. was printed in facsimile in San Diego, CA, in 1977. A couple of weeks before my departure for Leiden, Fabrizio Pennacchietti visited me at my parents' house and offered me as travel companions the two volumes by Lidzbarski (1896) on the Neo-Aramaic manuscripts of the Berlin Sachau collection, a copy of the ms. Habbi 3 and his own unpublished description of its content.

³² Besides the *Story of the Solitary Monk*, Yawsep 'Abbaya authored three hymns on Mar Qardagh and at least three other liturgical texts: a *Hymn for the feast of the Holy Cross* (1912; ms. 76, 159v-162r of the Chaldean Archdiocese of Mosul), an *Invocation of the Virgin* (1926; same ms., 162r-169r), and a *Hymn on St George* (1925-26, ms. 323 of the Dominican Friars of Mosul).

George Mikho in 2015.³³ The melody is the same used by Angel Sher in the sung parts of the story in the dialect of Shaqlawa. Further research and comparison of the oral and written versions, in Kurdish as well as in Neo-Aramaic, will shed light on the history of this tale. Its compliance to the Ahiqar paradigm, i.e. the existence of models for the prince who became a monk in Christian hagiography, cannot be excluded a priori.

6. A process of linguistic-literary Islamization or acculturation into an Islamic(ate) culture?

As a matter of fact, all the linguistic and literary phenomena surveyed so far—abundance of Arabic-derived vocabulary in oral and written varieties, assimilation or polemical treatment of Islamic technical terms and multilingual hendiadys as stylistic device in written varieties, claim of the Christian origin or appropriation of Islamic versions of motifs and stories as attested in oral and written traditions — show that Neo-Aramaic takes part with the coterritorial Islamic languages in the process of linguistic-literary Islamization that Francesco Zappa proposes to postulate as an appropriate alternative to the Islamic vs non-Islamic dichotomy as applied to languages and literatures.

Rather than postulating a rigid divide between Islamic and non-Islamic languages as a matter of fact, it is more appropriate to speak of more or less advanced processes of linguistic-literary Islamization that coexist and interact in various ways and with different outcomes with other processes, triggered in turn by the influence of non-Islamic superstrates (Zappa 2008: 1196; my translation, author's *Italics*).

Neo-Aramaic varieties are not Islamic languages and their literatures are not Islamic, since they do not satisfy at least three of the basic criteria listed in the various available—and tentative—definitions. They are not spoken or written by Muslims, as required in Wexler's (2000) definition of Islamic languages, or by Muslim authors on Islamic themes, as in Knappert's (1996) definition of Islamic literatures.³⁴ They are not written in Arabic script, as suggested by the adverb “graphically” in Bausani's (1975 and 1981) definition of Islamic languages: both Jews and Christians usually write their

³³ Sung by Yohannan Cholagh: www.youtube.com/watch?v=OiO_joR5-6k;

by George Yaldā?: www.youtube.com/watch?v=ibspjuiXsSU, with Arabic translation in the video.

³⁴ Contini and Nicosia (2020) try to evaluate the Islamic character of Western Neo-Aramaic varieties spoken by Aramaic-speaking Christians who converted to Islam a couple of centuries ago in the Syrian Anti-Lebanon, but did not abandon their Aramaic dialect. The authors clearly explain the limits of their corpus and investigation, which is based on a purely linguistic or sociolinguistic—as opposed to literary and cultural—understanding of Bausani's concept of Islamic languages.

vernaculars and cultural languages using and adapting traditional scripts, Hebrew for Jews and Classical Syriac for Christians.³⁵

Nevertheless, if we exclude the reference to script and add to the powerful Arabic and Persian superstrates the oral parastrates of contact vernaculars such as Kurdish, Turkish or Azeri dialects, it is tempting to describe Neo-Aramaic languages, especially early written varieties, with Bausani's famous definition of an Islamic language:

[A "Muslim language is] a language that, at a certain moment of its history, presents itself deeply influenced, lexically, graphically and to some extent also morphologically and even phonetically by the great cultural languages of Islam, Arabic and Persian (Bausani 1975: 113, repeated in Italian in Bausani 1981: 5).

In accordance with his idea of the Islamic world as a cultural rather than religious entity, something close to what Hodgson (1977) calls "Islamicate," Bausani did not mention in the definition of Islamic languages the religious identity of the speakers and the Islamic contents of the literatures.

I thus restrict the term 'Islam' to the religion of the Muslims, not using that term for the far more general phenomena, the society of Islamdom and its Islamicate cultural traditions. ... 'Islamicate' would refer not directly to the religion, Islam, itself, but to the social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims, both among Muslims themselves and even when found among non-Muslims (Hodgson 1977: 58-59).

On the margins (Zappa 2021)—perhaps off the margins of the Islamic—Islamicate, if you want—world, Neo-Aramaic languages show linguistic, stylistic and literary features that Bausani presented as characteristic of Islamic languages and literatures. They probably do not help to solve the conundrum of what an Islamic language is or if a language can be Islamic (Versteegh 2020). However, they clearly show that the spoken or literary languages of the religious non-Muslim minorities share, at the

³⁵ See Zappa (2008), Versteegh (2020) and Dayeh (2022) for the living critical debate around the term "Islamic languages." There are examples of Christian Neo-Aramaic short texts written in Arabic script on paper and online, but these are marginal exceptions, probably caused by technical reasons. On the contrary, among Jews and Christians there are historically well-established and living traditions of writing more or less standard varieties of Arabic in Hebrew (Judeo-Arabic) and Syriac script (Garshuni). Writing in Hebrew script, together with the occurrence of Hebrew and Aramaic words, is a—perhaps the most?—salient feature of Jewish languages. Non-Arabic and non-Islamic superstrates are strong enough to influence vocabulary, scribal and literary traditions and therefore compensate for the enormous prestige of Arabic and, to a lesser extent, Persian as the languages of the Muslim majority and the dominant Islamic culture.

regional, local level, the same linguistic-literary processes of Islamization as the languages of the Muslim majority.

This process may perhaps be best explained and described with the sociological concept of acculturation, which Bausani does not use in his contributions on the Islamic languages, but clearly appears in the title of his article of 1981. Linguistic and literary convergence may be an areal, even macroareal, phenomenon that can be easily explained, sociologically, in terms of acculturation. In other words, the question to what extent these processes are characteristic of the Islamic(ate) world or are generally typical of human societies and cultures (languages, literatures, folklore, religions, but also material culture) remains open and clearly surpasses the scope of the present article. In the Islamic world the acculturation processes are marked by the diffusion and prestige of linguistic (the Arabo-Persian vocabulary, morphology, syntax) and literary features (multilingual hendiadys as a stylistic device, genres, idioms, motifs, myths and stories) that characterize the learned and popular literary traditions of the Muslim majority. In this perspective, Bausani's concept of Islamic languages (and literatures) remains valid as a model for research and investigation, even on the languages and literatures of non-Muslim minorities that conform with or react against the majority's culture(s).

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Yahia Bihram's narrative colophons

Part 2: DC 47

Matthew Morgenstern

This article presents an *editio princeps* and translation of a narrative colophon authored in 1249 AH (= 1833–4 CE) by the renowned Mandaean communal leader Yahia Bihram. The text describes events in his life in the period leading up to the great cholera epidemic of 1831–1832 and in its immediate aftermath. The narrative is composed in the idiom that is characteristic of this genre, i.e., a mixed literary language that combines classicising features with elements drawn from the vernacular. The accompanying notes examine particularly the post-classical elements and their relationship to contemporary Neo-Mandaic.

Keywords: Mandaic, Mandaeans, Neo-Mandaic, Neo-Aramaic.

1. Introduction¹

This article is the second in a series of editions and translations of the narrative colophons composed by the Mandaean *yalufa* (learned layman) turned priest Yahia Bihram.² Along with his brother-in-law Ram Zihrun, Yahia played a vital role in saving the Mandaean priesthood in the wake of the calamitous cholera epidemic of 1831–1832. While some information on the impact of the epidemic on the Mandaeans may be gleaned from other contemporary sources,³ the most detailed and vivid accounts of the immediate aftermath of the epidemic come from historical narratives which Yahia and Ram

¹ I wish to thank Tom Alfia and Livnat Barkan for their assistance in preparing the texts discussed herein, and Prof. Hezy Mutzafi for his advice on the Neo-Mandaic materials. Dr. Ohad Abudraham and Tatyana Azarova read a draft of this article and made helpful suggestions. Citations from written Mandaic sources are presented in bold characters using Macuch's transliteration system, e.g. **riš**, except that Arabic ξ is represented by Υ . Phonological transcriptions—attested or reconstructed—are presented in italics, e.g. *eštó*, and citations from Neo-Mandaic are presented according to Mutzafi's system. Superlinear insertions in the text are marked with carets, e.g. [^]tun[^], while scribal deletions are marked with double brackets, e.g. **{{a}}**. Citations from the *Rbai Rafid* Collection are reproduced by kind permission of the custodian of the collection. This research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation grant no. 263/21.

² The first part was published in Morgenstern (2019a).

³ See Buckley 1999 and in an expanded form Buckley (2010: 121–147) and Morgenstern (2021).

Zihrun appended to manuscripts that they copied or repaired.⁴ They tell a desperate tale of loss, persecution, and of a community in disarray. Yahia's accounts indicate that as well as acting to save the priesthood, at the heart of his scribal efforts lay a desire to preserve and transmit Mandaean literature.

In this article, I present an *editio princeps* and translation of the narrative colophon that Yahia appended to DC 47. Yahia wrote this account in the year 1249 AH (= 1833–4 CE), i.e., in the immediate aftermath of the epidemic and shortly after the colophon of DC 35 published in Part 1 of this article. The text is composed in the mixed literary idiom employed widely by Yahia and his priestly contemporaries, in which classicizing elements appear alongside numerous Neo-Mandaic grammatical forms, words and phrases (Morgenstern 2017a). The present text has proven particularly difficult to interpret. Yahia's use of the classical language herein is imprecise, and the Neo-Mandaic and Arabic elements are not always easily interpreted. Moreover, his writing skips from one event to another, often with no indication of their relative chronologies, making it difficult to follow his narrative and to even identify who the subjects and objects of the verbs may be. The meaning of several passages remains opaque, and these ambiguities are reflected in the translation. It is hoped that when all of the available texts have been edited and translated, the sequence of the events that Yahia describes will become more apparent.

The edition here is presented in parallel columns. The text has been divided into sense-units to facilitate the comparison with the translation. Brief philological comments are provided in the footnotes. Particular emphasis has been given to the post-classical, i.e., Neo-Mandaic and Arabic uses. For reasons of space, the comments are kept brief, and in cases where these late forms have been analysed in detail elsewhere, the reader is directed to those discussions. This article is happily dedicated to Professor Pennacchietti, whose love of the Aramaic dialects of Iraq is renowned.

2. The text, translation, and notes

The narrative colophon is appended to Yahia's copy of *Šafta u-Miniana d-Šambra* "The Incantation series and Spell⁵ of Rue." An edition of the exorcism was published in Drower 1946 but without its colophon. Buckley (2010, 142) provides a summary of the colophon's contents with a partial translation.

⁴ DC 36 was copied in 1088 AH (1677 CE), but was repaired by Yahia, who added his own narrative colophon in 1251 AH (1835–1836 CE). Yahia's text will be published in a future article.

⁵ See *DJBA*: 648 s.v. מנינא def. 5.

**kḏ ansita lhazin šapta mn riš ualma ltit ḏ-
dnab hazin šapta huit mn dukta ldukta
larahiḡna mn kinuta ḏ-iuzaṡaq manda ḏ-
hiia**

**bšnia ḏ-hanatun lahua ʿniš mn tarmidia
bhazin dukia ḏ-ana huit
mn šara ḏ-parsaiia ḏ-laḡaiia ualma ʿl
arbaiia ḏ-madaiia ualma lbnia babil huit
ulahzit maria naširuta uḡinzia sdiria**

**haizin tidiria ḏ-nibṡul ḏ-hiia bhazin atra
ḏ-tibil**

mahu nibad

**hiia mḡabil butai utušbihtai ulanagzar ʿlai
haka ana msakinalun lʿutria ahai ulamšina
lmimnia ḡunia ḏ-hazin ḏ-huat kḏ ḏ-huit**

**ubalhudai ab šamran latra ḏ-hiia uʿm
haizin**

**kḏ ahai qašiša uana ukḏ dadai huainia
bbašra luat had qrab ab dilia ḏ-hu gabra
apraia an[^]g[^]riz ḏ-hu ṡilir big šumḡ uzgit**

When I copied this series from the beginning until the very end of this series, I was (going) from place to place (but) I (was) not estranged from the rectitude of Iozataḡ, the Knowledge-of-Life.

In those days, none of the *tarmidi* (priests) was (to be found) in these places wherein I was.

I have been from the region of the Persians, of the barbarians⁶ up to the Arabs of Media and to the people of Babil⁷ and I did not see any master of the Našorean wisdom or well-ordered treasures.⁸

Thus it would come about⁹ that (that) of the Life would cease in this part of the world.¹⁰

What should we do?

May the Life accept my prayers and praises and not decree against me here! I await my brother uthras and cannot (re)count the evil¹¹ that I see:¹² that which has transpired in my time.

For my father left me alone for the place of Life, and my mother similarly.¹³

When¹⁴ my elder brother and I and my elder sister¹⁵ were¹⁶ in Basra, my father approached someone –

⁶ The word *laḡaiia* is not otherwise attested, and I have interpreted it in light of *anašia laḡaiia* “barbarians” (Gy. 385: 19).

⁷ I.e. the region of Baghdad.

⁸ Here probably in the meaning of “books”; compare *nasaka ḏ-ḡinza sdira* “copyist of the well-ordered treasure” (colophon to RRC 1A, composed in Shushtar in 1156 AH [1744–5 CE]).

⁹ Apparently based upon Jb. 262: 6, 263: 1, 264: 3, wherein it means “this is what shall befall him”. See Lidzbarski (1915, 235) and Häberl and McGrath (2020, 319). I have assumed that Yahia used the phrase here loosely.

¹⁰ An adaptation of the common Mandaic phrase *arqa ḏ-tibil* “the earth, the material world”. I have not found the expression elsewhere.

¹¹ This precise meaning is recorded in the 17th century Leiden *Glossarium*: Arabic: اثم, pl. اثم, Latin: iniquitas, Mandaic: *qnia*, *qunaii* (29:10); Arabic: شك, pl. شكوك, Latin: scandalum, Mandaic *qnia*, *qunaii* (96: 14); Arabic: شر, Latin: iniquitas, Mandaic: *qnia* (98: 10). On the interchanges of *g* and *q* in the *Glossarium* see Borghero (2004: 77–79).

¹² NM *hazín* (Mutzafi 2015: 327).

¹³ The syntax here is unclear, and it is possible that *haizin* belongs with the following sentence.

¹⁴ Yahia here describes an earlier period, probably the 1820s.

¹⁵ For the correct meaning of *dadai*, see Mutzafi (2014: 89 n. 273).

¹⁶ The *-ni* 1 c.pl. morpheme is characteristic of NM (Häberl 2009:192, Mutzafi 2015: 326 and Morgenstern 2017a: 256), but is already found sporadically in earlier sources (Abudraham 2016: 402).

ana uab uaha d-ab dilia iahia ihana br
mahnuš šbiqlh manda d-hiia haṭaiun d-ab
adam iuhana br mahnuš

haizak ata luatan ‘trin mandaiia uhad
šumh karam adamihana br simat d-hišta
bmutana ia ahai hun qal{{a}}iia
manda^iia^ hazin d-sibrit d-iaditun d-
hazin hadina bnaširuta binataihun d-halin
d-minaihun tama mn mandaiia ulaiadin
mahu d-abdia

uana uab dilia ukaram lšabd
lsiid uknar hda hua mn šurbta d-bnia
‘karia d-dispul hurina d-mn šara d-arbaiia
d-ansit binatun ubdukta d-margab šar
uhur nahra uhaka hua mṣarilh mšarah

tum kd huainia bbagdad tartinan bhukum
d-dauud paša dirian hak gabra mn bašra
ualma lbagdad abatar d-paruanaiia ualma

he is an English European, Taylor Bey is his name¹⁷
—and I went¹⁸ with my father and my father’s
brother Yahia Yuhana son of Mahnuš, may the
Knowledge-of-Life forgive the sins¹⁹ of my father,
Adam Yuhana son of Mahnuš.

Then two²⁰ Mandaean came to us, one of whom
(was) Karam Adam Yuhana son of Simat by name,
(saying) “Now²¹ in the epidemic, O my brothers, the
Mandaean are perishing—I thought you know
this—I rejoice in the Naṣorean wisdom—that this is
amongst them, that some of the Mandaean have
remained,²² and they do not know what to do.”²³
And my father and I and Karam al-Šabd the
gentleman, and Kunar—one was from a family of
the farmers from Dezful and the other from the
Arab territory, amongst whom I was copying
(texts), and in the area of Margab,²⁴ and in the
region of the river marshes, which they call here
Mučarraḥ.²⁵

Also, when we were in Baghdad, the two of us,
under the rulership of Dawud Pasha—that man
took us²⁶ from Basra to Baghdad after the

¹⁷ On Robert Taylor, see Parry (2013) and Morgenstern (2021: 389 n. 77).

¹⁸ On the NM root *z-g-y*, see Morgenstern (2018: 196) with previous literature.

¹⁹ Literally, “their sins”. Yahia has used the plural possessive pronoun for the singular.

²⁰ The numeral appears here with a prosthetic vowel, as in the *Glossarium*: Arabic: اثنين, Latin: bini, Mandaic: **atria** (39: 9). Similarly, in NM, *tren* ~ *etren* (Macuch 1989: 444 s.v. *trēn*).

²¹ For CM **hašta**, Yahia employs **hišta**, apparently under the influence of NM *eštá* “now” (see Mutzafi 2014: 116).

²² NM *tammə*, from root *t-m-m* “to become, remain, stay.” It is already found in the earliest surviving colophons (Morgenstern 2018, 201).

²³ The syntax here is very opaque.

²⁴ The Mandaean quarter of Sūq eš-Šiūk; see Morgenstern (2019a: 383).

²⁵ This may be identified with the present-day settlement المشرح (colloquially pronounced *ilimšarraḥ*) located around 32 km. east of Amarah. For reasons that are unclear, Yahia marks the š in both this toponym and the following **paša** “Pasha” with the diacritic that is usually employed with š to indicate a \dot{s} or \dot{f} phoneme.

²⁶ In CM **dirian** would mean “he took me” (cf. **hizian** “he saw me” Gy. 164:6, MG 284), but the context here makes it clear that the 1 pl. object pronoun is required here. Accordingly, it is best interpreted as the NM form *deryan* “he took us.” The NM form for “he took me” would be *derye*. Compare *hezye* “he saw me” (Macuch 1993: 166 l. 791) with *hezyan* “we saw us” (Macuch 1993: 124 l. 251).

**ḏ-mṭania bhak dukta hatiqa ḏ-mitiqria ṭaq
kisra hda aiuan binta hatiqa**

**uhaizak hua asra ḏ-iumia ualma ḏ-bagdad
mṭinia kulḥ sigian hua bspinta bagla ḏ-
hun sairia bg^a^uḥ arbaia taminia hda
ihra³⁰ utlata iumia b^uhra**

**haizak taminia had šita upalga ḏ-hu dihua
rba ḏ-nuruz hua ‘kamar karam ldukth
bhalin ḏ-ana ansit maprišna uhaizak
hurina kunar hua ianqa ḏ-‘srin šnia hauia
haizak ana uab taminia kan taminia
ualma ḏ-abatar ḏ-parunaiia
uatinia ab dilia hua ‘udnia kduriun
aminṭul ḏ-lahua ‘niš mn mandaiia
uhazin gabra anin huainin bmata nihirat
uqurna kḏ hua mn tarmidia**

**haizak mn iuma ḏ-šadir ‘lauḥ ḏ-ab lbašra
ḏ-hua ata had padria ḏ-mn angriz ḏ-šumḥ
ualip lgriz iusip hazin ḏ-hua bbašra uata**

*Parwanaia*²⁷ until we reached an ancient place an
ayyvān (palace),²⁸ an ancient building called Ṭāq
Kisrā,²⁹

And then it was ten days until we reached Baghdad.
All of our journey was by a buggalow³¹ boat that the
Arabs would travel in. We stayed³² one month and
three days on the road.

Then we stayed for one and a half years, i.e. (until)
the *Dehvā Rabbā* of Nouruz.³³ Karam returned to his
place amongst whom I had copied (and) taught.³⁴
Now the other, Kunar, was a lad of 20 years old.
Then my father and I stayed, because³⁵ we stayed
until after the *Parwanaia*.

And we came; my father’s ears grew heavy³⁶
because there were no Mandaeans.

As for this man—we were in the town of
in-Nihirāt³⁷ and Qurna when (this) happened to the
tarmidi (priests).

Then, from the day that he sent for my father to
Basra; because one clergyman had come from the

²⁷ See Drower (1962: 83).

²⁸ See <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ayvan-palace>.

²⁹ I.e., the ancient palace of Asbānbar; see <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ayvan-e-kesra-palace-of-kosrow-at-ctesiphon>.

³⁰ Yahia Bihram employs this spelling again below; it represents NM *yehra* (Macuch 1993: 399; Mutzafi 2014: 72). The pronunciation also stands behind the corrected spelling **ḏ-i^a^hra** in CS 15. 47a: 11 from the year 1086 AH (= 1675 CE).

³¹ A type of sailing vessel formerly used in the Persian Gulf.

³² NM *tammini* from root *t-m-m* (see above, n. 23); compare e.g. *etren ešni tammini gu abbādān* “we stayed in Abbādān for two years” (Macuch 1989: 110 l. 109).

³³ I.e. the start of winter. Siouffi (1880: 100) writes: “La fête de Naourouz-Rabbo **ܘܘܟܠܢ ܕܘܘܠܘܟܝܢܐ** “le grand nouveou jour”, qu’ls appellant aussi Dehvo-Rabbo **ܘܘܟܠܢ ܕܘܘܠܘܟܝܢܐ** “la grand fête.” C’est la fête de la nouvelle année, qui commence le premier jour du premier mois d’hiver.”

³⁴ The meaning of this sentence is unclear.

³⁵ See Persian *kan*; compare *ke* (Häberl 2009: 276 l. 20).

³⁶ I have not found a parallel to this idiom, which apparently has the meaning of to be burdened or wearied.

³⁷ A settlement close to Qurna (formally: an-Nuhairāt).

had mn qalas d-lbiš zaina uatia kaṭia
bšuma d-ṭilir big baliuz qarilia arbaia

hua ‘zga ab u‘m balhudun uana ui ai d-hu
^ahai^ qašiša udadai uhuntai ualma d-
kulan ‘zginia bbašra taminia tmania šnia
mn iuma ‘zginia babašra d-hua qaria
umitapraš bginza halin trin gubria had
iusip ulip d-hua ata mn apraiia ^d-^angriz
uhak ṭilir gabra d-hua bbašra mn qudam

ualma d-‘zginia bbagdad ualma d-kamarni
lhašta ‘tša šnia hua
haizak ana hašta baiina mn hiia umn
manda d-hiia d-lahauia mindam d-hiia
snun

English, whose name was Wolff (English) Joseph³⁸ – who was in Basra—and someone came from Qalas³⁹ who was armed and he brought⁴⁰ a letter⁴¹ in the name of Taylor; the Arabs call him⁴² “The Consul-Bey”.

So, my father and mother went⁴³ alone, and I and my brother⁴⁴—who is my older brother—and elder sister and my (younger) sister⁴⁵ [stayed]⁴⁶ until we all went to Basra.⁴⁷ We stayed for eight years from the time we went to Basra, because he was reading and interpreting the Ginza (to) these two men, one Joseph Wolff who had come from the English Europeans; and that Taylor, the man who was in Basra from before.⁴⁸

And by the time we went to Baghdad and by the time we returned till now has been nine years.⁴⁹ Moreover, I now request (of) the Life and the Knowledge-of-Life that there be nothing that Life despises.

³⁸ On the correct identification of this person as the German-Jewish-born convert and missionary Joseph Wolff (1795–1862), see Morgenstern (2019a: 389 n. 74).

³⁹ This is unclear. It is just possible to read **qauas**, in which case we should translate: “and one kavass came.”

⁴⁰ NM *atti* (Macuch 1993: 369, Häberl 2009: 299); CM would be **aitia** (MG 243).

⁴¹ Derived from Arabic *kaṭṭ*. It has previously been attested in post-Classical Mandaic texts in the senses of “strip of material” (MD 196) and “writing” (Morgenstern 2018: 197).

⁴² Yahia uses the digraph **-ia** to represent the 3 m.s. pronoun *-i*.

⁴³ NM *ezgə*; see n. 18 above.

⁴⁴ Compare NM *yəyə* “brother (affectionate)” (Mutzafi 2014: 88–89). The spelling **ui ai** may represent a pronunciation such as *yəe < yəye*.

⁴⁵ MD 136 mistakenly glossed this “cousin”. For the correct interpretation, see Morgenstern (2017b: 161 n. 101).

⁴⁶ Yahia has omitted the verb in this sentence. The implication appears to be that he stayed behind with his siblings when his parents went to Basra.

⁴⁷ For the use of the preposition **b-** after verbs of motion, see Morgenstern (2017a: 268).

⁴⁸ According to Petermann’s account, Adam taught Taylor the Ginza for 12 years. This would imply that four years would pass before Adam’s initial summons and the arrival of his children.

⁴⁹ I.e. from the time that Yahia left for Basra, went to Baghdad and returned. This would put his age at 27 at this time (1833–4), placing his birth around 1806–7. When Petermann visited him in 1854 he assumed Yahia was around 40.

uana ia ahai balhudai baiina nihuta
lkulhun rahmia šuma d̄-had malka ʿlaia

And I, O my brothers, I alone request tranquility
for those who love the name of the one exalted
King.

uana tamit luat ab babašra unipqit uatit
lnhirat abatar d̄-npaqiuṇ ahai šiša
samš^{ai} ar br haua simat udadaṇ uhuntai
{{u}}bhirat atun

And I remained with my father in Basra, and (then)
I left and came to in-Nihirāt after my brother Šiša
Sam Šaiar son of Hawa Simat and my elder sister
and my younger sister Bhirat left (and) came.

uana ab u^m uhata d̄-ab dilia šbaqtinun
uatit abatar par^u anaiia bnihirat utamit
bit rahal uhua hatai ubila d̄-hu zaua hun
ka^{ma} riun bitan babašra uab u^m hun
kulhun bašra

And I—my father and my mother and my father’s
sister⁵⁰—I left them and went after the *Parwanaia* to
in-Nihirāt and stayed in a boarding house (?).⁵¹ But
my sister and her husband (i.e. her spouse)⁵²
returned⁵³ to our house in Basra, and my father and
mother were all in our house in Basra.⁵⁴

haizak hua mutana ulatašailun ana huit
bhur u^{kma} mša hailai usimkit u^tparqit
mn ʿbidata sainata

Then came the epidemic—do not ask! I was in the
marshland⁵⁵ as much as I could be, and I had faith⁵⁶
and was saved from the odious matters.

latama ʿniš mn kulhun bintan uqinan
ukulhun d̄-lbr huntai u^{nta} d̄-iai uhatai
uzaua d̄-^a na huit ʿurku {{bh}}⁵⁷ bhur

Nobody remained from all of our home and family
and all of them except my younger sister and my
brother’s wife, and my sister and her husband with
whom⁵⁸ I had been in the marshlands.

⁵⁰ The form *həṭə* with aphaeresis is characteristic of NM (Macuch 1993: 384, Häberl 2009: 324), but sporadic examples are already attested in the Early Mandaic epigraphic corpus (Abudraham 2022: 189).

⁵¹ The term *bit rahal* is unparalleled. In the context, it appears to be some form of lodging. The second element could be from the Arabic root *r-ḥ-l* “to travel.”

⁵² Yahia uses NM *bellə* (Mutzafi 2014, 112–114) and glosses it with the more formal *zawwə* “spouse”. The latter survives into NM as a formal alternative to *eṭṭə* “wife” (Mutzafi, p.c.).

⁵³ NM *kammaryon* (Khorramshahr) or *ekamaryən* (Ahvaz). On the verbal ending see Mutzafi (2015: 324) and n. 10, Häberl (2009: 180). For the verbal base *kammar* with aphaeresis, see Häberl (2009: 221, 321).

⁵⁴ **bašra** for **bbašra** (haplology or assimilation).

⁵⁵ Arabic *hūr*.

⁵⁶ Lit: I depended.

⁵⁷ There was insufficient space to complete the word at the end of the line, and Yahia rewrote it at the start of the following line.

⁵⁸ NM *orku*. The preposition is already attested in the 17th century (Morgenstern 2018: 203).

haizak zga ginza mn anašia mindam d-zga
bhur d-ana huit ulatišailun Iridpa d-siblit
mn šara d-smala

uhaizak atinia bnihirat utamit
uatun mandaiia uatunai bta dukta d-
margab d-mata d-mandaiia balhudun

hda rišaiia d-atiun humud bn kamas mn
huaiza ata bhdiā atunai qar burka bn
sabtia uparhan br ahai uahh šaralah
usarhan hua d-hun rišaiia d-mandaiia d-
dinba d-dara adinqia tarmidia

uhaizak bun minai d-mindam d-nismik
libaihun lšarša d-hiia d-laba^ʿti^ʿl ulamit
šumh d-hahu qašiša

mašbuta baiin ulika maria taga man mša
hailh d-nihua dainilia qudam abatur
uptahil ʿutra

Then many⁵⁹ people went; a few went to the
marshland where I was.⁶⁰ Now do not ask what
persecution I suffered from the left side!

And then we came to in-Nihirāt and I remained.
And some Mandaean came and brought me⁶¹ to
that⁶² place of Margab, of the quarter of the
Mandaean alone.

One of the leaders who brought me⁶³ (was) Humud
son of⁶⁴ Kamas from Huweiza; he came with him
(?); they brought me to⁶⁵ Burka son of Sabti and
Farḥān son of Ahai, whose brothers were Šaralah
and Sarhān. They were the leaders of the
Mandaean of the end of the generation⁶⁶ without
tarmidi (priests).

And then they requested of me something that
would set their hearts upon the religion of the Life,
for the name of that ancient one does not cease and
does not die.⁶⁷

They seek baptism, but there is no one with the
crown!⁶⁸ Who could possibly judge me before
Aḇaṭor and Ptahil the uthra?

⁵⁹ NM *genzo*, *genz*, already attested in the 17th century (Morgenstern 2018: 202; 2019: 38).

⁶⁰ Alternatively, both examples of the verb *zga* “went” in this sentence could be a euphemism for “died”. Compare, e.g. in the Yahia’s colophon to DC 35: *abatar mutana lahualai ʿniš abihdai kulu zgūn bruaaha d-hiia* “after the epidemic I had no one with me; they all went to the relief of Life” (Morgenstern 2019a: 383 with minor improvements to the translation). Similarly in an early colophon: *zgat gud hiia* “she went to Life (i.e. died)” (RRC 1C from 1074 AH = 1663–1664 CE, published in Morgenstern 2019c: 109).

⁶¹ NM *u aṭonne* for CM *uatiun* (Morgenstern 2017a: 257–258).

⁶² *ta* is a characteristic post-CM pronoun which is found in the colophons but barely survived into the 20th century (*MD* 477 s.v., Morgenstern 2018: 189; 2019b: 34).

⁶³ Here Yahia uses the CM form of the transitive verb. It is less likely to be the G-stem 3 m.pl. “who came,” as this would be *atun* or *ʿtun* in CM (*MD* 258) and *aṭón* (Khorramshahr) or *ʿṭón* (Ahvaz) in NM (Häberl 2009: 299; Mutzafi 2015: 325).

⁶⁴ Here Yahia uses Arabic *bin* rather than Mandaic *bar*.

⁶⁵ NM *qar* (Morgenstern 2018: 204).

⁶⁶ Based upon Gy. 301: 7.

⁶⁷ Alternatively: “of that Ancient one that does not cease or die.”

⁶⁸ I.e. priest.

u^haizak latišailun d-ana balhudai ulika
 ʿniš d-hua mdakia ʿušria
 uana uharina usaliqnḥ mn kulhun
 ʿštazab
 ha ʿzgit [^]b[^]b[^]a[^]šra utamit hda ihra
 utkamrit uzgit b[^]m[^]hamra uatit si[^]a[^]gia
 bligrai ʿl mata d-nhirat mṭit

uatun mandaiia ukulhun uman d-mšia
 hailia d-nitaqan širša d-had ʿraša d-tagā
 ʿu d-nismik libaihun mn hiia linipisqun

uatunan u^ʿka bnia tarmidia hamša šita
 ubaiin d-dara d-hibil ziua h^ʿ napaqan mn
 šuba utrisar hamša mdabranah
 bhilqaihun ula nistakar

And then—do not ask, for I was alone and there was no one whose mind/treasure was pure.⁶⁹
 I and another,⁷⁰ separated from all those (who) were saved.
 For⁷¹ I went to Basra and stayed for one month, then I returned and went to Mohammara. I came walking⁷² by foot and reached the town of in-Nihirāt.
 Then the Mandaean came, and all of them—and whoever was able—to (re)-establish⁷³ the religion by⁷⁴ one coronation⁷⁵ and to support their hearts, that they may not⁷⁶ be cut off from Life.⁷⁷
 And they brought us⁷⁸—there were five or six sons of *tarmidi* (priests)—and we⁷⁹ were praying that the house of Hiḅil Ziwa would save us⁸⁰ from the Seven (planets) and the Twelve (Zodiac signs) and the five

⁶⁹ I have not found this expression elsewhere, but it appears to refer to a priest in a state of purity.

⁷⁰ **harina** is taken as a variant spelling of **hurina**, still employed in NM *horinā* (Mutzafi 2014: 96).

⁷¹ It is also possible to read **hua**, Yahia's impersonal "and it came to pass."

⁷² Yahia appears to have corrected **sigia** to **sagia**.

⁷³ Taking **nitaqan** as 3 m.s. D imperfect (for **nitaqin**).

⁷⁴ The use of **d** here is unclear.

⁷⁵ I.e. ordination of a priest. Yahia writes **ʿraša** for standard Mandaic **traša**. Already in the colophon of RRC 20 from 1077 AH (1666–1667 CE) we find the use of the verbal root *t-r-s* for *t-r-š* (Morgenstern 2018: 197). Yahia similarly writes **ʿraša** in the colophon of RRC 4G: 304 (copied in 1248 AH = 1832–3 CE) and **ʿrašnḥ** "we crowned (i.e. inaugurated)" in the colophon of DC 50: 797 (copied in the same year).

⁷⁶ The **a** of the negation **la-** is malformed and looks more like **i**.

⁷⁷ The syntax of this sentence is unclear.

⁷⁸ NM *aṭonan*.

⁷⁹ In CM, the form **baiin** is the 3 m.pl. participle (MG 69), while the 1 c.pl. participle is **baiinin** (MG 259). However, the context here clearly requires the 1 c.pl., and it is likely that Yahia has conflated the CM forms of *b-ʿ-y* (< Aramaic *b-ʿ-y*) with the NM forms, in particular the participle (*qā*)*bén* "we seek" (Macuch 1991: 363; Häberl 2009: 305).

⁸⁰ There is a lack of grammatical agreement between Mandaic **dara** "house," the pronoun **h^ʿ** "she, it (f.s.);" and the verb **niparqan** "let it (m.s.) save us." Yahia appears to have been influenced by the feminine gender of Arabic *dār*, while the 3 m.s. **niparqan** may result from attraction to the subject Hiḅil Ziwa or from Yahia's lack of familiarity with the CM imperfect, which, as the *Glossarium* indicates, no longer survived in the 17th century and may well have been in decline prior to that (Häberl 2015).

	governors in their lot ⁸¹ and (that) we would not be held back. ⁸²
hiia hdun ulalam hiia zakin lkulhun	Life rejoiced, and forever Life is victorious over all
‘ubadia	works!
bhukum d-arbaiia ũisa bn mhamad bn	In the rule of the Arabs—ũisa son of Muḥammad
tamir bn saŕddun hiia zak‘in	son of Ťamir son of Saŕdūn. Life is Victorious!

Abbreviations

CS = Codex Sabéen, Bibliothèque nationale de France

DC = Drower Collection, Oxford

DJBA = Sokoloff (2020)

Gy. = Ginza Yamina

MD = Drower and Macuch (1963)

MG = Nöldeke (1875)

NM = Neo-Mandaic

RRC = Rbai Rafid Collection, Nijmegen

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⁸¹ See Gy. 11: 1 and Morgenstern and Abudraham (2023: 113).

⁸² I.e. from the world of light. Compare Gy. 25: 4.

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Two Aramaic incantation bowls and their relationship with the history of Late-Antique Mesopotamia

Marco Moriggi

Beyond the paramount importance of their texts for the study of Eastern Aramaic grammar in Late Antiquity, incantation bowls are relevant evidence for the study of Mesopotamian history. In this short note, incantation bowls from Hatra and Biḡān island (Middle Euphrates) will be addressed in relation to both historical sources and archaeological finds.

Keywords: Aramaic, Hatra, Biḡān, incantation bowls, Mesopotamia in Late Antiquity.

1. Introduction

In 2017 Christa Müller-Kessler provided the participants in the scholarly discussion with an up-to-date survey of the geographical locations where incantation bowls have been excavated since the middle of the 19th century.^{1,2} Provenanced incantation bowls are not the majority of the known artefacts of this kind. Nevertheless, they are of utmost significance for research purposes, as they provide valuable data concerning the dating, use, and religious rituals of these objects in everyday life (Moriggi 2023). The map published by Müller-Kessler largely confirms the classical statement about the provenance of incantation bowls, i.e.:

the provenance of this material is thus confined to a small region, extending from Nippur and Bismaya on the south to Ashur on the north, and laying on both sides of the Euphrates (Montgomery 1913: 22).

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² Müller-Kessler (2017: 64-69). At the end of the article a map is enclosed which shows the find spots of incantation bowls and the sites where Aramaic magical metal sheets (*lamellae*) came to light or were reported to be found.

There are obviously exceptions to this, as Aramaic incantation bowls have been found in areas trespassing the borders of the region described by Montgomery. In fact, bowls with Aramaic incantation texts have been discovered also in south-western Iran (Khuzestan) and in the area of Nimrud and Nineveh in northern Iraq. In recent years further discoveries took place along the Diyālā river, east of the river Tigris, where a Syriac incantation bowl already came to light in 1976 (Moriggi 2014: 109). As a matter of fact, even though one may still be quite certain assuming that Aramaic incantation bowls “belong in Babylonia,” the borders of the area where this cultural phenomenon occurred should be expanded or at least reconsidered. The same applies to regions included in the framework traced by Montgomery, where the “empty spaces” correspond probably to locations where incantation bowls have not emerged yet.

In the following paragraphs, a couple of case-studies will be examined to demonstrate how the geographical distribution of Aramaic incantation bowls may have a relevant significance for a more accurate definition of certain aspects of Mesopotamian history in Late Antiquity.

2. Aramaic incantation bowls in Hatra

In 2020, Marcato published an article linking to Hatra an incantation bowl inscribed with a text in Square script letters displaying two different varieties of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. Marcato set forth the hypothesis that Hatrene religious tradition was at least partly transmitted to Mandaean culture by means of the deportation of Hatra’s population — or a good share of it — to the region of Babylonia after the city’s downfall at the hands of the Sasanian army in 240-241 AD. (Marcato 2020).

The thesis of Marcato also takes into consideration the dynamics of slow depopulation of the city of Hatra after the Sasanian siege and subsequent plundering:

archaeological finds show that the settlement continued to be inhabited, although much less densely, and that its depopulation was a gradual process [...]. A widely accepted chronological benchmark is a remark by the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (25.8.5-6), who travelled past Hatra in 363 and described it as “an old city lying in the midst of a desert and long since abandoned” (Marcato 2020: 134).

Only sparse evidence of temporary re-occupation of some areas of the site have surfaced through archaeological investigations or chance-findings.

This picture may be now enriched by a further finding, which is reported in a study concerning the pottery of Hatra. As a matter of fact, an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by the Iraqi scholar al-

Qabtān reports the discovery of incantation bowls also in Hatra. While addressing pottery bearing letters or inscriptions on its surface, al-Qabtān describes three “pots” or “bowls” that contain “exorcistic texts.” These items match perfectly with the typology of Aramaic incantation bowls, as the description and drawings featured in al-Qabtān’s work fully demonstrate (al-Qabtān 2002: 112-113, pls. 18-20).

Even though al-Qabtān provides a catalogue of the specimens studied in his work, which includes find spots and archaeological data, unfortunately he did not find information regarding the find spots of these three bowls, that ended up in the Mosul Museum (al-Qabtān 2002: 120).³ The current state of preservation and whereabouts of the bowls remain thus unknown. The quality of the pictures and drawings presented in my copy of the dissertation hinders any possible evaluation of the texts, which seem to be written in Square script letters.

Be they as they may, these bowls represent significant material and epigraphic evidence and further encourage a more careful evaluation of the history of Hatra after the “benchmark” date of 363 AD, when the city appeared to travellers as completely deserted (Marcato 2020: 134; Bucci, Marchetti and Moriggi 2021: 77).

It has been acknowledged for more than a decade that Aramaic incantation bowls:

constitute a peculiar phenomenon that is limited in place and time. We can be certain that they were produced during the sixth and seventh centuries CE. One may suppose that the practice began somewhat earlier, in the fifth or possibly even the fourth century CE, and may have continued until the early eight century CE (Shaked-Ford-Bhayro 2013: 1).

The time span just mentioned is confirmed by both incantation bowls bearing texts with dates and stratigraphy of duly excavated items. As a matter of fact the dates featured in bowl texts cover the period between 545 and 611 AD (Shaked-Ford-Bhayro 2013: 1, n. 2). If we thus consider the evidence of texts with dates, it may be well assumed that somebody buried the bowls found in Hatra in an house or likely building in the 6th-7th century AD, i.e. some two or three centuries later than Ammianus Marcellinus’s remark.⁴

³ Inventory numbers reported in the catalogue are respectively: MM (Mosul Museum) 832 (41383), MM 834 (28031), MM 833 (59792).

⁴ For more details about the places where incantation bowls were usually buried (mostly upside down, in domestic contexts such as in houses, courtyards, animals’ enclosures, as well as under thresholds, etc.), see Müller-Kessler (2017: 64).

Nevertheless, based on the wider timespan referred to above, one cannot exclude the possibility for the bowls from Hatra a date between the 4th and the 8th century AD. The lower limit of this period could point to the presence of a little community of people in Hatra, whose limited size could have gone unnoticed by a traveller passing by Hatra, possibly at some distance. This latter point is in any case not of crucial relevance to us. What is really meaningful is the datum that between the 4th-5th century and the 8th century AD, in Hatra, an individual or a family decided to protect their property, house, holdings, and health against demonic forces with a magical device that, as remarked above, is peculiar to Sasanian Babylonia. The lack of information regarding the find spot of the bowls from Hatra as well as the circumstances of their finding (whether fortuitous or in stratigraphic excavations) hinder the possibility of an in-depth analysis of these objects and their context.

At least one consideration, however, can be added. Incantation bowls usually come from permanent settlements, often from sites where cities with long-lasting histories were built (e.g. Nippur, Babylonia, etc.). This seems to confirm that the depopulation of Hatra was a gradual process and that the chronological benchmark 363 AD, associated with Ammianus Marcellinus' report on the city as "oppidum olimque desertum," should be nuanced rather than considered a fixed *terminus post quem*.

3. A Jewish Babylonian Aramaic incantation bowl from Biḡān island (Middle Euphrates)

If the incantation bowls found in Hatra are comprised in the area already singled out by Montgomery in 1913, this does not apply to a bowl excavated on the island of Biḡān in 1983. This island is located on the Middle Euphrates, some 12 km downstream of ʿĀna (Iraq) and it is nowadays submerged by the waters of the Ḥadīṭa lake. In order to salvage the antiquities that were to be submerged by the lake, a series of rescue excavations were carried out in the area between the end of the 1970s and the 1980s. One of the most active groups of researchers was the Polish team led by Gawlikowski and Krogulska. On the island of Biḡān they were able to find evidence of human settlements and activities dating from the Neo-Assyrian (8th-7th century BC) until the early Abbasid period (8th-10th century AD).⁵ In the first of the two Abbasid *strata* singled out in the stratigraphy of the site, an Aramaic incantation bowl bearing a text in Square script was unearthed (Gawlikowski 1990: 137, n. 1). The bowl was promptly published by Gawlikowski and his readings are proposed here with some minor variations:

External surface

⁵ See <https://pcma.uw.edu.pl/en/2019/04/16/bijan/>

1) bšmh (2) yhbyʿl (3) mšmʿ (4) drḥmyʿ[l] (5) šmšʿ(l) (6) [...] (7) dšlyt{t} (8) ʿl kl ḥrš[y] wmbdywhn (< mʿbdyhwn) (9) bšmk (10) sgydʿyl (11) mlʿk[ʿ] (12) šlt ʿl kl rwh[ʿ] byštʿ (13) ʾšbʿyt ʿlk[.]dnṯr kl (14) (rhʿsʿ) (15) (br tbr) (16) bš<m> šʿl (17) nwryʿl (18) ḥ/hlwʿl (19) rpʿl (20) šš rš ʿ(t) sš mš (around the base of the bowl) (21) rḥm tw/y (22) rḥw(m)t

1) In the name of (2) yhbyʿl (3) who obeys, (4) of rḥmyʿl, (5) šmšʿl, (6) [...] (7) who rules (8) over all sorcerers and their magical acts. (9) In your name (10) sgydʿyl (11) the angel (12) who rules on every evil spirit, (13) I adjured you, that protects (?) every (14) (rhʿsʿ) (15) (br tbr). (16) In the name of šyʿl (17) nwryʿl (18) hlwʿl, (19) rpʿl, (20) šš rš ʿ(t) sš mš (around the base of the bowl) (21) rḥm tw/y (22) rḥw(m)t.

Internal surface

1-3 [...] (4) pš rbh gy(m) [...] (5) byd šlyḥ lʿ(y)mʿ(nb) [...] yh (6) yh (yh) [ʿh] ʿh yh yh ʿ [...] yhw yhw yhw (7) yhw yhw ʿ hh ʿ h[h] whh [...] p[š] ss ss p[š] špš pnn (8) mr nbš gš hkt šgšš mm sssšš [...]

1-4 (...) (5) by means of the messenger, do not (?) (...) (6-8) divine names, magical letters, *nomina barbara*.⁶

The incantation contains invocations to angels similar to the ones featured in Syriac bowl nos. 47-48 (Moriggi 2014), even if one cannot consider them as parallel texts at all. What is unique about this bowl is the distribution of the lines of the text. As a matter of fact, they are written both on the outer and the inner surfaces of the vessel. One cannot say if the inner and outer surfaces contained a single, continuous text, or two distinct *formulae*. In any case it seems that a single hand put down the lines, with a pen that was first used for the outer surface and then, after it was re-shaped, for the inner one, as signs are thicker inside, but the letter-forms are the same. No peculiar linguistic feature is recognisable in the text if compared to the published incantation bowls in the same Aramaic variety (Jewish Babylonian Aramaic).

As just remarked, this specimen displays a distribution of the text which, to the best of my knowledge, has no parallel in both published and unpublished incantation bowls. It seems that the scribe operated according to a writing practice that is different from the usual one featured in

⁶ Gawlikowski (1990: 140-141). Legenda: [...] three or more letters lack in the text; [...] one letter lacks in the text; [x] reconstructed reading; (x) uncertain reading; {x} inserted by the scribe by mistake; <x> scribal omission; (...) meaningless sequence; xxx written spelling. Gawlikowski provided the author with both the original drawings and pictures of the bowl.

incantation bowls, i.e. inscribing first the inner surface in various ways – mostly concentrically from the inner bottom up to the rim – and then the outer one, although only in a little number of cases. It appears in fact that the texts were “adapted” to fill the inner concavity of the vessel. In this case, the scribe seems to have painted the text on the outer surface of the bowl first and then on the inner one. This behaviour could be due to practical reasons, i.e. he had a text to be copied and the inner surface of the bowl did not provide enough space for all of it. On the other hand, based on the date of the bowl (8th century?), one can imagine that this specimen was prepared by a local practitioner, who was asked to write down the text but was not fully accustomed with the practice. The reason might be that the practice of writing magical texts on the surface of pottery vessels was typical of Babylonia and just some echoes of it had reached the area of Biḡān in a period when the practice was itself seemingly slowly fading in Abbasid Babylonia.⁷

Similarly, to the case of the incantation bowls from Hatra, this bowl is an important historical evidence, demonstrating the lively continuity of religious practices of the pre-Islamic period into the Islamic era, not only at the core of Mesopotamia, but even at its outskirts.

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Pri la uzo de netradiciaj skribsistemoj por la asiria lingvo en Rusio

Ivan Sarkisov

The article describes attempts to use untraditional (Cyrillic, Latin, Armenian and Georgian) alphabets for the Assyrian language in Russia. The traditional and official Syriac script is nearly out of practical use among Russian Assyrians and Assyrians of post-Soviet countries had to find easier way of writing in their national language than using the traditional script. In 1920-1930 the Soviet government introduced one Cyrillic and two Latin writing systems for the Assyrian language. In contrast with the traditional Syriac script, linguists who prepared them oriented the respective writing systems to the phonetics of the language—especially in the case of the second one based on Latin. Nowadays, Cyrillic script is used by the speakers only sporadically. Moreover, a few use the Armenian and Georgian scripts for the Assyrian language. However, all Assyrians of Russia (including the people who were born in Armenia or Georgia) use nowadays the standard Russian Cyrillic script only.

Keywords: Assyrian language, Neo-Aramaic languages, alphabet, script, Assyrians of Russia

1. Enkonduko

Tiu ĉi artikolo pritraktas la diversajn provojn adopti por la asiria lingvo en Rusio skribsistemojn, kiuj ne enestas ĝian tradicion: plejparte la latinan kaj la cirilan kaj ankaŭ la armenan kaj la kartvelan.

Historie, ekde la postkristianiĝa periodo ĝis la 20-a jarcento, ĉiuj etnaj grupoj de asirianoj (parolantoj de diversaj arameaj lingvoj, konfesantaj kristanismon) uzis por siaj multnombraj idiomoj ĝian originan skribsistemon, nome la sirian (Murre van den Berg 1999: 87), kiu restas oficiala. Ĝi venas de la klasika siria, morta lingvo de la literaturo kaj kulturo, dum parole ili uzas diversajn novarameajn dialektojn. Ĝi sole estas kutime menciata kiel la skribsistemo de la siria lingvo en diversaj popularaj informresursoj kaj estas uzata en la vortaroj kaj lernolibroj.

Komence la skriba lingvo de sirianoj estis nur la klasika siria kaj la novarameaj idiomoj restis neskribitaj. Ekde la 16-a jarcento kelkaj novarameaj idiomoj ankaŭ komencis uzi la sirian skribon (Gavrilova 2011: 6) kaj ĝis la 19-a jarcento ili estis aplikataj skribe flanke al la klasika siria. Legoscio ne disvastiĝis multe en la siria socio. Plejparte legopovaj homoj estis pastroj, kaj estis malgranda grupo de kleruloj. Dume, la kamparanoj kutime ne regis la skribon (Murre van den Berg 1999: 87). En la 19-a

jarcento protestantaj misiistoj el Usono kaj Eŭropo multe penis por disvastigi edukadon kaj legoscion inter sirianoj, kaj por tiun celon atingi ili komencis uzi unu el la diversaj novarameaj dialektoj, t.e. la kristanan urmian por la literaturo (Murre van den Berg 1999) kaj tiel ili transkribi la dialektojn per la latina skribo (Lyavdansky 2009: 671). Rezulte, ekde tiam, la libra idiomio, bazita sur la kristana urmia (kiu ofte estas nomata la novsiria aŭ simple “la asiria”), iom post iom okupis la lokon de la klasika siria kaj fariĝis la ĉefa literatura lingvo de asirianoj (Khan 2016: 8). Sed, kvankam la misiistoj konsideris la ideon krei Latinan alfabeton por la novarameaj idiomoj, tiu lingvo ankaŭ uzis la sirian skribsistemon. Tio validas por asirianoj en ĉiu ajn lando, inkluzive de Rusio (tiulate, vidu ekzemple la uzon de la siria skribsistemo en la siriaj kolofonoj kaj manuskriptoj; Teule, Kessel kaj Sado 2012).

En la cara Rusia Imperio la asiria diasporo aperis en la unua duono de 19-a jarcento rezulte de migracioj, kaŭzita de Rusa-persaj militoj (Lyzov 2009: 422). Komence, tio okazis en la teritorio de la nuntempa Armenio, kaj poste ĝi disvastiĝis krome en aliaj regionoj de Suda Kaŭkazio kaj eĉ en propra Rusio. Plejparte ili estis parolantoj de la kristana urmia dialekto. Post la genocido de sirianoj en Otomana Imperio (1915) ili formigris al Rusio. Multe da tiamaj sirianoj parolis diversajn novarameajn idiomojn (Lyavdansky 2009: 664). Rezulte de tiuj procezoj dum la momento de la Rusa Oktobra Revolucio kaj fondado de Soveta Unio la lando kalkulis relative multnombbran sirian diasporon.

La historio de sovetaj asirianoj estis dramoplena. Komence, en tria kaj kvara jardekoj de la 20-a jarcento la registaro penis subteni sirianojn kaj ilian kulturan disvolviĝon. Tiutempe aperis kelkaj siriaj gazetoj kaj sirilingvaj verkistoj. Krome, kiel parto de la lingvopolitiko latinigi la skribmanierojn de diversaj sovetuniaj popoloj, oni imponis por la siria lingvo novajn alfabetojn – dekomence bazitaj sur la cirila kaj poste sur la Latina. Tiuj alfabetoj, ĉefe la latina, uziĝis paralele al la tradicia siria skribsistemo. Post komenco de subpremoj fare de la Sovetunia registaro, la siria intelektularo, samkiel alipopola intelektularo, per persekutado estis preskaŭ entute likvidita. La kultura vivo de la sovetia siria diasporo tute finiĝis kaj la uzo de la nova alfabeto abrupte ĉesis. Ankaŭ multe da simplaj sirianoj estis subpremitaj kaj perforte translokigitaj en Siberion, ĉar ili estis deklaritaj “nelojaluloj” pro la fakto, ke ili posedis duoblan civitanecan, pli precize la sovetan kaj iran. La rezulto de tiuj dramoplenaj eventoj estis ne nur granda nombro de viktimoj, sed ankaŭ grandaj kulturaj perdoj: multe da sirianoj (ĉefe la generacio kiu naskiĝis en la siberia ekzilo) perdis sian nacian lingvon, anstataŭigita per la rusa. Krome, ekde la mezo de 20-a jarcento la sovetunia asiria diasporo ne plu havis je dispono pastrojn kaj maleblis ajna kontakto kun diasporoj en aliaj landoj, kie la kulturo konserviĝis pli bone. Konsiderante, ke eĉ antaŭ la subpremoj legoscio ĝenerale ne disvastiĝis inter sirianoj krom pastroj kaj areto de intelektulo, post tiaj tragikaj eventoj la scipovo de la siria skribo en la sovetia siria diasporo preskaŭ tute malaperis. Tial, la novarameaj idiomoj en Sovetio uziĝis nur kiel neskribitaj, t.e. parolataj lingvoj.

Post la soveta periodo la situacio ŝanĝiĝis. Kiam kontaktoj kun asirianoj en aliaj landoj estis restarigitaj, renoviĝis eklezia vivo kaj aperis (inkluzive de la lernejon en la vilaĝo Urmija) neformalaj lernejoj por lerni literaturon kaj do la skribmanieron. Tamen la efikon je socilingvistika nivelo ne estis tiel granda. Fakte, la novaremeaj idiomoj en Rusio estas en danĝero kaj preskaŭ neniu el la asirianoj de la lando ne scipovas la sirian skribon. Samtempe, ŝajnas, ke emerĝiĝis novaj necesoj kaj oportunoj uzi la lingvon skriboforme, almenaŭ laŭ la kamplabora observoj kaj la elparolaj datumoj el atestantoj. Do, oni uzas, krom la soveta latina alfabeto, aliajn skribsistemojn por la siria kiuj ne apartenas al la siria tradicio. Ili estas: ĉefe la cirila, sed ankaŭ la armena kaj la kartvela. Tiu ĉi fenomeno estas sufiĉe interesa: unue, kiel spontana kreado de la skribsistemo desube, fare de la popolo kaj ne desupre, per konkretaj proponoj fare de kulturaj agantoj aŭ sciencistoj; due, ĉar ĝi estas notinda indico, ke la socilingvistika situacio inter russirianoj favoras la uzon de netradiciaj skribsistemoj kiel multe pli facilan kaj oportunan ol uzi la tradician, pro historiaj kaj kulturaj faktoroj.

En tiu ĉi artikolo oni ofertas panoramon de la nuntempa sciaro pri la uzo de tiuj netradiciaj skribsistemoj por la siria, surbazaj kaj de latina kaj de la cirila alfabeto.

2. Sovetaj cirila kaj latina alfabetoj

Kreado de la novaj alfabetoj por la asiria lingvo en la Soveta Unio en 1920-1930aj jaroj estis parto de la granda projekto alfabetigi ĉiujn popolojn tra la lando. Dum tiu ĉi projekto la lingvoj, kiuj antaŭe estis neskribitaj (ekzemple, la ĉukĉa aŭ la vepsa) ricevis siajn alfabetojn kaj jam estantaj (ekzemple, la karela aŭ la osetina) alfabetoj estis reformitaj aŭ anstataŭigitaj per la novaj. La tendenco estis latinigi (komence) aŭ ciriligi (poste) necirilajn skribsistemojn: rezulte de tiu ĉi reformoj, ĉiuj lingvoj de la Soveta Unio, kiuj antaŭ la Rusa Revolucio uzis la araban (ekzemple, la uzbeka, la tatara aŭ la azerbajĝana) kaj la mongolan (la burata kaj la kalmika) alfabetoj, komencis uzi la cirilajn aŭ la latinajn literojn kaj en la tria-kvara jardekoj de la jarcento preskaŭ ĉiuj lingvoj de la lando, eĉ tiuj, kiuj antaŭe havis la cirilan alfabeton, ricevis la latinan (Alpatov 2015: 11-12, Daudov kaj Mamiŝeva 2011). En tiu ĉi situacio kreado de la nova asiria alfabeto ankaŭ okazis.

La procezo de ĝia kreado komenciĝis en 1927. Tiam, en Moskvo, la unua, kreiĝis cirila alfabeto. Ĝia unua eldono estis malgranda broŝuro, prezentanta la literojn de tiu alfabeto kaj kelkajn tekstojn. Tiu grafiko ne estis vaste uzata kaj nur kvar libroj estis eldonitaj per ĝi (Lyavdansky venonta: 2-3).

Baldaŭ la asiria transiris al la latina grafiko. Unu el iniciatintoj estis S.I. Pirajev, asiria verkisto, kultura kaj socia aktivisto kaj ĉefo de la organizo de la sovetaj asirianoj “Ĥajadta” (Gavrilova kaj Lyavdansky 2014: 188). La latina asiria alfabeto aperis en la 1930, kiam komenciĝis eldono de asiria gazeto *Koxvæ d Mædinxæ* “Stelo de la Oriento.” kaj en 1931 en Tbilisi estis eldonita la unua libro per tiu

alfabeto (Lyavdansky venonta: 2). Sed en 1933 tiu skribsistemo ankaŭ estis reformita. Novaj reguloj estis inventitaj denove en Moskvo per la fama rusa lingvisto N.V. Juŝmanov kune kun la asiria filologiisto kaj poligloto S.V. Osipov (Lyavdansky venonta: 2). N.V. Juŝmanov (1896-1946) estis elstara rusa semidisto, unu el pioniro de la rusa arabistiko kaj la unua rusa esploristo de la amĥara kaj la ĥaŭsa lingvoj. Krome, li estis aktivisto por la internacia lingvo. Li lernis Esperanton kiam li aĝis 14, sed rapide transiris al Ido kaj multe laboris por plibonigi, popularigi kaj disvastigi ĝin kaj la ideon de tutmonda lingvo, publikiginte pli ol 207 laborojn en Ido kaj poste en Interlingua (Duliĉenko 2015, 120-122). Koncerne S.V. Osipovon, li ankaŭ estis notinda intelektulo kaj poligloto: li studis en la filologia fakultato de la Sanktpeterburga Universitato kaj lernis filosofion en Lepsiko kaj pli-malpli bone parolis, krom la asirian, 8 lingvojn (Sado 2021: 174-175; Pennacchietti kaj Tosco 1991).

Ĉiuj tri sovetaj asiriaj alfabetoj (la cirila de 1927a jaro, la unua latina de 1930a kaj la dua latina de 1933a) povas esti viditaj en la Tabelo 1.

1929-1931 Moskvo	1930-1931 Tbilisi	1931-1938 Moskvo, Tbilisi
Аа	Аа	Аа
Әә	Аа	Әә
Бб	Вв	Вв
Чч	Сс	Сс
Дждж	Çç	Çç
Дд	Dd	Dd
Ее	Ee	Ee
Фф		Ff
Гг	Gg	Gg
	ğ	(h, x)
Нн	Hh	Hh
Ии	Ii	Ii
Јј	Jj	Jj
Qq	Qq	Kk
Ll	Ll	Ll
Нн	Nn	Nn
Оо	Oo	Oo
Пп	Pp	Pp
Кк	Kk	Qq
Рр	Rr	Rr
Сс	Ss	Ss
Шш	Şş	Şş
Тт	Ṭṭ / Tt	Tt
Ṭṭ	Tt	Ṭṭ
Уу	Uu	Uu
Вв	Vv	Vv
Хх	Xx	Xx
Зз	Zz	Zz
Жж	Zz	Zz

Tabelo 1. Sovetaj cirila kaj latinaj alfabetoj por la asiria lingvo (laŭ Lyavdansky venonta, 2)

El tiu ĉi tabelo ni povas vidi, ke en la cirila asiria alfabeto estis pruntitaj kvin latinaj leteroj: <h, j, l, q> kaj <t>. En la kazo de <h, q> kaj <t> la kaŭzo de la pruntado, evidente, estis tio, ke la sonoj de la asiria

lingvo, reprezentitaj per tiuj literoj, ne ekzistas en la rusa: <h> reprezentas [h] t.e. la senvoĉa glotala frikativo. En la rusa ekzistas nur senvoĉa velara frikativo [x], reprezentata en la cirila skribo per la litero <x>, kiu havis la saman sonon en la nova asiria alfabeto, t.e. <q> por [k^h], t.e. la aspiracia senvoĉa velara plozivo. Krome, la litero <t> reprezentas [t^h], t.e. la aspiracia senvoĉa alveolara plozivo; bonvolu noti, ke la rusa ne havas aspiracion kaj tiu ĉi suplementa trajto ne estas reprezentata en la originala cirila skribo. Pri la literoj <j> kaj <l> oni povas hipotezi, ke ili estis pruntitaj el la latina skribo anstatŭ uzi la cirilajn literojn <й> kaj <л> pro tio, ke, kvankam la rusa havas tiujn fonemojn, ilia prononco en tiu lingvo ne estas tro malsamaj disde la asiria: la asiria [j] sonas pli malmole ol la rusa, dum [l] sonas pli mole, kiel la rusa [l']. Eble, la decido uzi la latinajn literojn por tiuj sonoj estis motivita pro la deziro montri, ke en la asiria prononco ili ne estas identaj al la rusaj.

En la kazo de la latinaj alfabetoj oni povas vidi, unue, la influo de la azerbajĝana latina skribo (la unua skribo sur la latina bazo en la Soveta Unio (Daudov kaj Mamiŝeva 2011: 8), kiu, siavice, baziĝas sur la turka: el tiuj sistemoj la literoj <ç> [tʃ] kaj <ş> [ʃ] estis pruntitaj. La kontrasto inter la neaspiraciaj kaj la aspiraciaj konsonantoj estis reprezentataj per literoj <k> kaj <q> por la senvoĉaj velaraj plozivoj [k] kaj [k^h] kaj per <t> kaj t kun suplementa subsigno <ṭ> en la unua versio kaj <ṭ> en la dua por la senvoĉaj alveolaraj plozivoj [t] kaj [t^h].

Tre gravas la fakto, ke en la cirila kaj la unua latina alfabetoj por reprezenti la 'neŭtralajn,' neaspiraciajn plozivojn estis uzataj 'neŭtralaj' literoj (κ kaj m en la cirila kaj k kaj t en la latina), kutimaj en tiu rolo en preskaŭ ĉiuj aliaj cirilaj kaj latinaj skribsistemoj; krome, la aspiraciaj konsonantoj reprezentiĝas per pli rara litero q kaj tute novaj por ĉi tiu skribo literoj (por tiuj pruntitaj el la cirila alfabeto kaj por tiuj inventitaj el la latina). Sed en la dua latina alfabeto la principo estas inversa: la aspiraciaj sonoj [k^h] kaj [t^h] estas reprezentataj per la kutimaj literoj <k> kaj <t> (kiujn en la plejparto de la lingvoj reprezentas la neaspiraciaj [k] kaj [t]), dum la neaspiraciaj reprezentiĝas per <q> kaj inventita <ṭ>. La kaŭzo, evidente, malantaŭ la elekto de la literoj en la cirila kaj la unua latina alfabetoj estis motivita per la fonetiko; male, en la dua latina skribsistemo—per la siria skribo kaj per la historio de la lingvo: komence, la novarameaj lingvoj, kiel ĉiuj semitaj, havis kontraston inter la kutimaj kaj emfazaj plozivoj, sed poste, en kelkaj dialektoj, inkluzive de la kristana urmija kaj bazita sur ĝi la literatura idiomato, la kutimaj senvoĉaj alveolara kaj velara plozivoj transformiĝis al la aspiraciaj, dum la emfazaj transformiĝis al la kutimaj (Khan 2013: 115-116). Rezulte, nuntempaj aspiraciaj konsonantoj historie estas kutimaj (neaspiraciaj) senvoĉaj plozivoj kaj nuntempaj kutimaj neaspiraciaj iĝis emfazaj. Konsiderite tiun fakton dum la proceso krei la alfabeto, montriĝas, ke ĝi realiĝis per bonaj sciantoj pri semidistiko, kia ja estis Juŝmanov.

Alia tre grava fakto estas tio, ke sovetaĵaj asiriaj alfabetoj, malkiel la siria, reprezentas la nuntempan, sed ne historian fonetikon (pridiskutitan antaŭe supre; apartaĵo de indiko de la neaspiraciaj kaj aspiraciaj plozivoj en la dua latina alfabeto ne ŝajnas historia nur en la konteksto de aliaj latinaj alfabetoj, sed ne en la konteksto de la asiria lingvo memstare). La historia kontrasto inter emfaza kaj neemfaza senvoĉaj alveolaraj frikativoj ([s] kaj [s̥]), kiuj jam estas perditaj en la lingvo (malgraŭ ĝi konserviĝas en suprasegmenta nivelo; Khan 2016: 50), sed reprezentataj en la siria skribo, ne aperas en la novaj alfabetoj. Samtempe, en ili, ankaŭ malsame al la siria skribo, ekzistas literoj por indiki la sonojn [ʒ], [tʃ] kaj [dʒ], kiuj aperis en novareaj lingvoj kiel alofonoj de [k] kaj [g].

Alia grava fakto estas, ke en la dua latina alfabeto reprezentigis la sinharmonismo: kontrasto inter la vokaloj ([a~ä] kaj [i~i]), kaŭzita per la kontrasto inter historiaj emfazaj kaj neemfazaj konsonantoj. En la siria skribo tiu kontraŭpozicio de la vokaloj ankaŭ ne estas esprimata direkte kaj necesas esti divenita laŭ la konsonanta (emfaza aŭ neemfaza) konteksto. La nova alfabeto, en kiu la fonemo [a] estis indikita per la litero <a> kaj [i] per <i>, ankaŭ havis kaj la literon <ə> grafeme per [ä] kaj grafeme per [i]. La litero <ə> estis pruntita el la azerbajĝana latina alfabeto, kie ĝi signifas la saman sonon (tio denove montras, ke la asiria alfabeto estis kreata sub la azerbajĝana influo) kaj estas pruntita el la rusa, kie ĝi signifas palataligon de la antaŭa konsonanto, kaj tio ŝajnas stranga neatendita elekto.

Fine, la latinaj asiriaj alfabetoj uzis kvar rarajn literojn: <ĝ>, <ĥ>, <ĉ>, kaj <z>. La litero <ĥ> similas al la rumana litero ț, reprezentanta la sonon [ts̥], sed ne estas tute identa. En postsovetan tempo tiu litero eniris la gagaŭzan latinan alfabeton. La litero <ĝ> ankaŭ ekzistas en la malta <ġ>, en la berbera latina skribo, kaj <z> aperis kiel sendependa litero en kelkaj sovetaĵaj projektoj de latinigo.

Ĝis la 1938a jaro estis eldonitaj 193 libroj en la latina asiria alfabeto. Tiu estis tradukoj de rusaj klasikaĵoj (Puŝkin, Lermontov, Tolstoj, Ĉeĥov, Gorkij), sovetaĵaj kantoj, porinstrua literaturo (pri la asiria lingvo kaj pri diversaj sciencoj), propoganda (inkluzive de la ateisma) literaturo, asiria folkloro kaj originalaj fikcio kaj poezio de asiria verkistoj, ekzemple, D. Petrosov, D. Iljan, P. Baquzov, T. Odu, G. Khoshabajev. Ankaŭ en 1928-1938 en Tblisi estis eldonata asiria gazeto, el kiu proksimume kvarono de la eldonaĵoj post jaro 1930 estis en la latina alfabeto, kaj ĉio alia en la siria (Lyavdansky venonta, 3).

Uzo de tiu alfabeto ĉesis post la komenco de la subpremoj kaj neniam plu uziĝis poste.

3. Nuntempa uzo de la cirila skribsistemo

Post la oficiala ĉeso uzi la sovetaĵan latinan alfabeton, la asiria lingvo en Rusio ne havas aliajn alfabetojn krom la sirian. Sed reale la plejparto de la popolo ne scipovas legi kaj skribi per ĝi kaj tiuj malmultnombraj, kiuj scipovas, ne uzas ĝin praktike.

Dum nia sociallingvistika esploro (pli detale en Sarkisov 2022) ni intervjuis 95 asirianojn kaj asirie-parolantajn armeanojn en la vilaĝo Urmia Krasnodara regiono de Rusio, kiu estas la sola setlejo en la lando, kie la asirianoj estas la plej parto de la loĝantaro. Ellernado de la asiria kiel la dua lingvo estas malpopulara, sed kelkaj homoj de aliaj nacioj, plejparte armeanoj, kiuj edziĝas kun asirianoj, iam lernas ĝin. Neniu el la intervjuitoj respondis, ke ili legas ian literaturon en la asiria aŭ skribas per la siria alfabeto por komuniki kun iu ajn. Sed, samtempe, minimume 35 el ili asertis, ke iam ili skribas per la cirilaj literoj. Nur unu deklaris, ke li skribas per ambaŭ la cirilaj kaj la armenaj literoj, kaj alia homo deklaris, ke li skribas per la cirilaj kun suplemento de la armenaj. Tio estas klara signo de la fakto, ke la siria skribo praskaŭ tute ne estas uzata fare de la asirianoj de Rusio, male la cirila estas sufiĉe populara inter ili. Estas interese, ke el tiuj 35 parolantoj de la asiria 7 naskiĝis en Armenio kaj 5 en Kartvelio, sed nur unu diris, ke li uzas la armenan alfabeton por skribi en la asiria, kaj neniu diris, ke li uzas la kartvelan skribon. Tio signifas, ke la cirila alfabeto estas pli komforta por ili kaj preferinda por ĉiuj postsovetaj asirianoj. Tio konformiĝas al la fakto, ke multe da asirianoj en nuntempa Kartvelio uzas kiel sian duan aŭ eĉ unuan lingvon ne la kartvelan—kiun iuj el ili eĉ ne parolas bone—sed la rusan (Sarkisov 2018: 87). Evidente, la rusa, kiel lingvafrankao en la tuta soveta kaj postsoveta teritorio havas por la asirianoj pli grandan rolon ol naciaj lingvoj de la republikoj.

Ni povis trovi kelkajn ekzemplojn de printa uzo de la cirila skribo por la asiria lingvo. Unu el ili estas kompilaĵo de poemoj de la poeto Boris Ĥinojev, titoligita en la rusa *Esĉo pridjot vremja* “Iam ankoraŭ la tempo alvenos.” Ĝi estis eldonita en 2011. La libro enhavas 191 paĝoj kaj enhavas malgrandajn poemojn en la asiria, skribitajn ekde 1980 kaj 2007 jaroj.

Alia ekzemplo de uzo de la cirila skribo por publikigi la asirian literaturon estas la retejo *assyrianlyrics.forum*. Ĝi entenas tekstojn de asiriaj kantoj, kiuj ankaŭ estas skribitaj per la cirila.

Krom tio, Rusiaj asirianoj aktive uzas la cirilan alfabeton por skribi literojn kaj tujmesaĝeti en interkona retejo. Ekzemple, unu el niaj informantoj rakontis, ke li skribis literon per la cirila alfabeto al siaj gepatroj el la armeo kaj kopiis ĝin laŭmemore. Ankaŭ ni vidis kelkajn asiriajn tujmesaĝetojn en la cirila skribo.

Pro la fakto, ke la cirila alfabeto uziĝas por la asiria lingvo spontanee kaj ne estis kreita “desupre.” kiel okazis en la kazo la sovetaj novaj alfabetoj, ĝi ne havas unuecan normon. En la libro de Boris Ĥinoev uziĝas nur la literoj de la rusa alfabeto sen iuj aliaj signoj. En tekstoj el la retejo *assyrianlyrics.forum* kaj iuj tujmesaĝetoj estas ankoraŭ uzata la latina litero <h> por la senvoĉa glotala frikativo. Tiu signifas, ke en la varianto de Ĥinoev (malkiel en la *assyrianlyrics.forum*) du fonemoj—la senvoĉa velara frikativo kaj la senvoĉa glotala frikativo—ne diferencigis kaj do en ambaŭaj sistemoj ne aperas diferenco inter la historiaj emfazaj kaj neemfazaj plozivoj. Krome, en la libro de Ĥinoev uzaĝas la litero <u>. En la rusa

alfabeto ĝi indikas la senvoĉan alveol-palatan frikativon, ekzistantan en tiu ĉi lingvo kiel sendependan fonemon, sed en la asiria tiu ĉi sono povas aperi nur kiel alofono de [ʃ].

Eĉ la ortografio tra la libro de Ĥinoev variigis: en kelkaj vortoj la sono [i] kaj ĝia alofono, aperinta pro la sinharmonismo, [i] estas reprezentitaj per la literoj <u> kaj <u>, sed en la aliaj tute ne aperas skribe. Laŭokaze aperas uzo de <u>, kaj krome aperas neantaŭvideble mankoj de literoj: ekzemple, en unu frazo povas aperi vorto kun <u> kaj samloke vorto, en kiu la sono ne estas reprezentita entute. Plue, tiaj vortoj povas konektiĝi per la rimo. Ekzemple, en unu strofo aperas la rimo inter la vortoj <пила> [piʃla] ‘ŝi restis’ kaj <хышла> [xiʃla] ‘ŝi venis’ aŭ <пмлух> [ptilux] ‘vi turniĝis’ kaj <дрилух> [drilux] ‘vi ĵetis.’ Ankaŭ iam aperas vortoj, konsistantaj nur de konsonantaj literoj: ekzemple, <двккл> [dvikli] ‘li algluiĝis’ kaj <прккл> [prikli] ‘li finis.’

Ĉiosume tiuj faktoj montras, ke, unue, unueca asiria cirila alfabeto ne ekzistas kaj konsekvence normo de skribaĵo variigis (eĉ en tekstoj de ununura aŭtoro) kaj, due, ke ĉiuj variantoj de la alfabeto ne reprezentas sufiĉe la fonetikon de la lingvo kaj orientiĝas pli al la rusa skribo, ol al la apartaĵoj de la asiria idiomo. Tio ne estas stranga, ĉar, kiel ni jam diris, tiu ĉi alfabeto estis kreita aŭ, pli ĝuste, ĉiufoje estas denove kreata per homoj sen lingvistika scio. Tamen, tia granda influo de la rusa skribsistemo, en la ekzistado de literoj, reprezento de la sonoj, kiuj ne estas fonemoj de la asiriam sed ja estas de la rusa, evidente montriĝas ne nur per la uzo de la rusa cirila alfabeto, sed ankaŭ per la fakto, ke la rusa lingvo havas por la Rusiaj asirianoj grandegan rolon, jam eĉ pli grandan, ol ilia nacia idiomo.

Sinteza komparo de ĉiuj priskribitaj alfabetoj, t.e. la soveta cirila, du sovetaj latinaj kaj la nuntempa cirila, konforme kun la sonoj, laŭ la reprezento per la grafemoj de la Internacia Fonetika Alfabeto (IPA), estas reprezentita en la Tabelo 2.

IPA	1929-1931 Moskvo	1930-1931 Tbilisi	1931-1938 Moskvo, Tbilisi	Nuntempa neoficiala cirila alfabeto
a	Аа	Аа	Аа	Аа
ä	Әә	Аа	Әә	
b	Бб	Вв	Вв	Бб
tʃ	Чч	Сс	Сс	Чч
dʒ	Дждж	Çç	Çç	Дждж
d	Дд	Dd	Dd	Дд
e	Ее	Ee	Ee	Ее
f	Фф		Ff	Фф
g	Гг	Gg	Gg	Гг
h		ğ	(h, x)	
h	Нн	Нн	Нн	Хх / h
i	Ии	Ii	Ii	Ии
j	Јј	Jj	Jj	Йй
q	Qq	Qq	Kk	Кк
l	Лл	Ll	Ll	Лл
n	Нн	Nn	Nn	Нн
o	Оо	Oo	Oo	Оо
p	Пп	Pp	Pp	Пп
k	Кк	Kk	Qq	Кк
r	Рр	Rr	Rr	Рр
s	Сс	Ss	Ss	Сс
ʃ	Шш	Şş	Şş	Шш
t ^h	Тт	Ṭṭ / Tt	Tt	Тт
t	Тт	Tt	Ṭṭ	Тт
u	Уу	Uu	Uu	Уу
v	Вв	Vv	Vv	Вв
x	Хх	Xx	Xx	Хх
z	Зз	Zz	Zz	Зз
ʒ	Жж	Zz	Zz	Жж
i	Ыы		Ьь	Ыы
ʃ'				Щщ

Tabelo 2. Sovetaj cirila kaj latinaj alfabetoj por la asiria lingvo (laŭ Lyavdansky venonta: 7-8 kaj Marogulov 1976: 1)

Koncerne la uzon de la armena kaj la kartvela alfabetoj por la asiria lingvo, ni, bedaŭrinde, ne povis kolekti iujn tekstajn ekzemplojn. Sed, kiel ni jam diris, unu el niaj informantoj en la vilaĝo de Urmia deklaris, ke, krom la cirilan, iutempe li uzas la armenan alfabeton por la asiria lingvo. Ankaŭ alia nia informanto en Moskvo rakontis, ke lia avino, asirianino el Kartvelio, skribis poemon en la asiria per la kartvelaj literoj. Tio signifas, ke la armena kaj la kartvela alfabetoj ankaŭ estas uzataj por la asiria lingvo, sed, kiel ni jam diris, en Rusio ĝi ne povas konkurenci kun la cirila.

Ne havante tekstojn, ni ne povas diri pri kongruenco inter la armenaj kaj kartvelaj literoj kaj fonemoj de la asiria lingvo. Sed ni hipotezas, ke por asiria emfazaj plozivoj estas uzataj armenaj literoj, reprezentantaj neaspiracian konsonantojn <ł> kaj <un>, kaj kartvelaj literoj, reprezentantaj ejektivojn <ɟ> kaj <ɟʰ>; iutempe por neemfazaj plozivoj estas uzataj armenaj <p> kaj <pʰ> kaj kartvelaj literoj <ɟ> kaj <ɟʰ> signifantaj aspiraciajn konsonantojn. Tie necesas noti, ke, havante diversajn literojn por plozivoj de du tipoj, t.e. ejektivaj-neejektivaj kaj aspiraciaj-neaspiraciaj) la armena kaj la kartvela alfabetoj estas pli praktikaj kaj taŭgaj por la uzo kadre de la asiria lingvo, ol la cirila. Sekve, la fakto, ke, malgraŭ tio, en Rusio asirianoj, eĉ se naskitaj en Armenio kaj Kartvelio, parolantaj iliajn lingvojn, preferas uzi por la asiria la cirilan alfabeton, montras, ke la rusa havas por la asirianoj en la tuta postsoveta teritorio multe pli grandan rolon, ol aliaj lingvoj.

4. Konkludo

Resume, la rezultoj de nia esploro montras la sekvantajn interesajn kaj notindajn faktojn:

1. En 1920-1930 en Sovetunio estis kreitaj kaj uzataj unu cirila kaj du latinaj alfabetoj por la asiria lingvo, kiuj estis la unua sperto uzi netradiciajn skribsistemojn por tiu idiomo. Tiuj alfabetoj, precipe la dua latina, estis ellaboritaj laŭ la fonetiko de la nuntempa asiria lingvo, kaj fakte ne aperas diferencoj inter historiaj fonemoj, kiuj jam perdis la fonetikan distingon, sed reprezentis sinharmonismon, kio igis la sistemon pli komforta ol la tradicia siria. En la elekto de literoj sentiĝis influo de la azerbajĝana latina alfabeto. Bedaŭrinde, post la subpremoj, tiu tre interesa kaj grava sperto estis preskaŭ tute forgesita.
2. Nuntempe Rusiaj asirianoj, inkluzive de tiuj naskitaj en Armenio kaj Kartvelio, preskaŭ tute ne uzas la tradician sirian alfabeton, sed korespondas skribe kaj eĉ presas librojn per la rusaj literoj. Tiu nuntempa cirila alfabeto ne estis ellaborita fare de lingvisto, sed spontanee uzata fare de la parolantoj. Tial ĝi ne havas unuecan normon kaj variigatas eĉ en tekstoj de ununura aŭtoro. Krome, ĝi malbone korespondas kun la fonetiko de la lingvo kaj orientigatas al la rusa skribo, kiu montras la grandegan rolon de la rusa lingvo en la asiria diasporo en Rusio.

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Linguæ mundi

Fabio Gasparini, Evgeniya Gutova et Mauro Tosco curaverunt

Linguistic phenomena from the *Aksumite Collection* (CAe 1047)

Alessandro Bausi

The long series of fruitful workshops and conferences on Afro-Asiatic linguistics, vividly evoked by Fabrizio Angelo Pennacchiotti in a recent contribution, was also the occasion for me to deliver a paper ('Ancient Features of Ancient Ethiopic', 2005) that was a minor version of a longer contribution published in the journal *Aethiopica* (2005), but condensed in its essential elements for the proceedings of the Ragusa–Ibla conference. This paper substantially updates those attempts and provide an assessment of the fertility of that research direction.

Keywords: Aksumite texts; Archaisms; Ethiopian Semitic; Gəʿəz (Ethiopic).

1. Introduction¹

In a recent retrospective contribution, Fabrizio Angelo Pennacchiotti (2022) has looked at the Italian meetings of Hamito-Semitic linguistics as an important series of events in the international panorama of Semitic and Afro-Asiatic linguistics that has marked the field since the end of the 1970s. To these

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events I have also modestly contributed, co-organising and co-editing with Mauro Tosco the proceedings of the Naples meeting of 1996 (Bausi and Tosco 1997). To a subsequent meeting I could only present in absentia (Bausi 2006a), on a topic on which I eventually expanded my contribution in an article for the journal *Aethiopica*, published in 2005 (Bausi 2005a). The topic of my presentation revolved around the necessity to reflect—to say it shortly—on the impact that the explosion of research on Ethiopian (and Eritrean) manuscripts implied for the linguistic understanding of Gəʿəz (Ethiopic) and whether it was not finally the case to resume the analysis connecting the growing documentation from early manuscripts with the study of the earliest layers of the language as attested in Gəʿəz inscriptions, in order to see if there was any broadly consistent new evidence emerging. The interest for the early stage of literary Gəʿəz was stimulated by suggestions already during my university years,² but the main events that triggered and made my interest explode was twofold:

1. the first was the unexpected evidence of translation from Greek that I collected while editing canonical texts, like the *Epistle 70* of Cyprian of Carthage, which definitely appeared to be translated on a Greek model; this edition was followed by the study of the collection of the *Acts of Martyrs*, particularly at the example of the *Acts of Phileas*, which likely appeared to be a text translated upon a Greek model;³
2. the further evidence was the discovery of an entire new manuscript (what I eventually called the *Aksumite Collection*, CAe 1047) in 1999, almost completely preserved, containing an astonishing series of texts, all of which appeared to be of great importance for the history of Ethiopian literature, but in the end also for the linguistics of Gəʿəz.⁴ Yet, the interest towards publishing new texts necessarily prevailed in the agenda, even though so many interesting texts still need to be carefully edited, and those contributions from 2005 and 2006 have remained the only ones of explicitly linguistic character. The publications of texts, however, have always included linguistic

² I presented reports on the language of Aksumite texts during the regular courses of Ethiopian philology at the University of Florence in the 1980s, held by the never forgotten Paolo Marrassini, and the topic has remained a *fil rouge* throughout my research since then.

³ See Bausi (1998; 2002). The study of the collection has been carried out especially by Antonella Brita, who collected an impressive number of additional manuscripts, and in the last years also by Massimo Villa.

⁴ For all details on reconstruction of the research on this manuscript with due acknowledgments to other scholars involved, see Bausi, Brita *et al.* (2020). Moreover, the discovery of the Gəʿəz versions of some of the texts has largely impacted some sectors of the studies on Ancient Christianity, far beyond Ethiopian and Eritrean studies. For the last outcomes, with impact on the study of Christian Egypt, see for example Bagnall (2021); Ghica and Schram (2022); and for the history of Christian liturgy, see Bradshaw (2023). My last published contribution on the topic, with a few updates, is the edition and translation of the mystagogical treatise entitled ‘On the One Judge’ (CAe 6260), see Bausi (2021a).

as well as palaeographical and orthographical observations, either in the introduction or in the critical apparatus or in the commentary to the translation. This contribution intends to give a more systematic assessment of the scattered evidence collected so far in different papers.

2. Premise and context

The panorama of studies in the field of Gəʿəz early stage and evidence presents a variegated situation that is important to know. First, the interests towards manuscripts and texts and ancient manuscripts have not always entailed a corresponding attitude and awareness of linguistic phenomena. One case in point is that of the so-called ʾAbbā Garimā manuscripts. The great interest raised by the late antique dating assigned to two of the three manuscripts in particular has not yet triggered any new studies and appreciation of the manuscripts from the linguistic point of view, even starting from the available text editions (Mark, Matthew and John; Zuurmond 1989 and 2001, Wechsler 2005). Conversely, art historians have produced comprehensive studies on the art-historical aspects of those remarkable manuscripts, and studies of detail also exist on codicological and palaeographical features, even though some details might need to be revised (McKenzie *et al.* 2017, Kim 2022). Other studies have included linguistic observations, but they have not sufficiently conceptualised the meaning of and the task of editing a work and a text—like in the case of major apocryphal and biblical texts—that are separated by centuries from their supposed archetypes, with consequences both on the *form* and the *substance* of the readings adopted.⁵

In my 2005 study I had considered a number of features of epigraphic Gəʿəz starting from a paper by Abraham Johannes Drewes (1991), but I had compared them with previous observations by Enno Littmann (1913: 76-82), and—most importantly—I had tried to bridge and integrate them with fresh observations from studies on manuscript evidence from published texts as well as from a still largely unpublished documentation, also referring to the *Aksumite Collection*, yet without providing the positive evidence and references to the single attestations. Leaving aside well-known phenomena⁶ of

⁵ See Bausi (2016a; 2022a). Among recent text editions which do provide linguistic elements, even though they do not thoroughly discuss what to do with them, see for example Niccum (2014); Tedros Abraha (2014).

⁶ So-called laryngeals (or gutturals) *h/h/h̄* and *ʕ*, and sibilants *s/ś*, and *š/š̄(d)*. It might be interesting to measure the degree of etymological orthography observed in ancient manuscripts, but certainly this is not the most interesting aspect of the study of Gəʿəz archaisms, since we do have exchanges in manuscripts since the earliest attestations in the ʾAbbā Garimā manuscripts. For an exercise in this direction with large atomisation of the evidence, see Bulakh (2014); Nosnitsin and Bulakh (2014); and also the drastic categorization carried out by Aaron Butts, who distinguishes a phonology of its own, characterised by such neutralisations, for ‘later Gəʿəz,’ see Butts (2019).

orthographic merging in manuscripts since the earliest attestations, even though to a varying degree, a number of epigraphic features appeared particularly interesting due to their continuity with features of certainly later manuscripts, of which I provided further examples. For some exclusively epigraphic phenomena we have now at our disposal quite a number of additional fresh studies, even though the appearance at short distance of important works, some of which posthumous, has not facilitated the assessment of the evidence, which still needs a new comprehensive consideration.⁷

With the exception of one phenomenon which I will mention, the linguistic features I present here from the *Aksumite Collection* are evenly distributed among the texts and are consistent with the hypothesis that we have to do with a genuine and consistent body of texts characterised by phenomena which are not due to the idiosyncrasy of a copyist. For one phenomenon at least (-a against -e forms in prepositions, conjunctions, and in the plural form of the relative pronoun) we have clear evidence that what can be considered a formal variance and a phenomenon of *patina* in the light of the subsequent tradition, in fact belongs to the *fonds*, as far as this manuscript is concerned, because there is no systematic attitude towards a normalisation in one sense or another: therefore, that there are variant forms can only be due to the transmission and the preservation of the text, as it was in a model ancestor.⁸

3. Linguistic phenomena from the *Aksumite Collection*

The features with which I dealt and which I would like to refresh and update here in the light of the documentation of the *Aksumite Collection*, are those listed here below. Yet, they definitely do not exhaust all peculiar features of the *Aksumite Collection*; syntax, in particular—a huge topic—cannot be dealt with for obvious reasons of space.⁹ The same applies to the lexicon: even though there are not a few cases of

⁷ To mention the most important contributions, see Bulakh (2013); Marrassini (2014); Drewes (2019), particularly important for the glossary that provides an essential guide to the interpretation of the inscriptions; Robin (2022); also Breyer (2021), albeit essentially a second-hand work. Important, though of little relevance to linguistic aspects, are the contributions by Hatke (2013); Derat (2018a); Hatke (2020; 2022a; 2022b). Also note the linguistic annotation and encoding carried out by Maria Bulakh and funded by the European Union Seventh Framework Programme IDEAS (FP7/2007–2013), European Research Council, grant agreement no. 338756, project ‘TraCES – From Translation to Creation: Changes in Ethiopic Style and Lexicon from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages’, led by Alessandro Bausi and based at the Hiob Ludolf Center for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies at UHH (2014–2020); the annotation is now hosted by the Bm project: <https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/RIE> immediately followed by the RIÉ number (e.g. <https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/RIE232>).

⁸ For the concept of *patina* I refer to the definition in Trovato (2017: 229–235).

⁹ The phenomenon of neutralization of the opposition of nominative and accusative endings, and absolute and construct case, is a very frequent one, at times also favoured by the palaeographic neutralization of some oppositions (ሰ/ስ *sa/s(ə)*, ሐ/ሐ *ha/h(ə)*, ቀ/ቅ *qa/q(ə)*, ተ/ት *ta/t(ə)*, ጠ/ጥ *ta/t(ə)*, just to mention the most common ones; see also Erho and Henry (2019: 180); Butts (2020:

unattested lexemes and expressions, this aspect definitely deserves a contribution of its own.¹⁰ The main intention of this contribution is to provide a partial update collecting a series of sparse observations disseminated in several contributions and editions which is useful to present here together and more systematically.¹¹ For the reference, I will use the manuscript leaves, from which, for all texts which are published, it will also be possible to consult the exact passages.¹²

1. Assimilation of the nasals *m* and *n* to a following consonant: not only *m* before *b* but also *n* before labials, dentals and velars, with examples from manuscript evidence of *mb* > *bb*, and *m̄p* > *p̄p*.¹³ This is one of the phenomena that has been confirmed by further epigraphic as well as manuscript evidence: the two unvocalised metal inscriptions mentioning King Ḥafilā (Afilas) have examples of

504–506); I have mentioned the phenomenon on several occasions, see for example Bausi (2011: 44–45; 2012: 50); see in particular the apparatus to the edition of the treatise *On the One Judge*, Bausi (2021a). On these neutralizations see also Villa (2019: 190–203), who has attempted a detailed categorization. This appears to be a distinct phenomenon from what some have called the ‘partial vocalization,’ which appears to be extremely frequent in manuscripts and texts of predominantly practical and liturgical use, and where, I suggest and suspect, the writing as *aide mémoire* might have played a role (see the thorough analysis on *Daggʷā* ancient fragments carried out by Karlsson 2022: 225–229); the same probably happens for the marginal readings in MS ʿAbbā Garimā II (or ‘B’ according to the new siglum attributed), which also exhibit the same phenomenon of apparent ‘partial vocalisation,’ see Kim (2022: 22, § 3.4.2. ‘Liturgical rubrics in unvocalized consonantal script’). Related to palaeographic neutralization or not, is the form of the enclitic particle ḥ-*ssa*, always in the form ḥ-*ss(a)*, see Bausi (2011: 25, n. 20).

¹⁰ I will quote only two examples: ḥḥ-ḥ: ḥḥ-ḥ: ḥḥbura ḥḥrit, ‘consubstantial,’ with ḥḥ-ḥ: ḥḥrit (also in the alternative *hapax* form ḥḥḥḥ: ḥḥryat) usually in the meaning of ‘ownership, possession,’ but here also ‘substance,’ that is, Greek οὐσία, see Bausi (2013: 36); ḥḥ-ḥ: ḥḥḥḥ: nḥʿus ʿālam, a calque after the Greek μικρὸς κόσμος (ḥḥ-ḥ: nḥʿus ‘small’ and ḥḥḥḥ: ʿālam ‘world’), in all likelihood, a calque after the Greek μικρόκοσμος, see Bausi (2021a: 220–221, 234–235). For the case of ḥḥḥḥ: gabgāb ‘corvée’= Greek πάρεργον, see Bausi, Harrower *et al.* (2020: 40–44).

¹¹ I leave out the exceptional morphological phenomena with the appearance of the pronouns *hʿt* (RIÉ 192.A.3, A.4–5, B.3–4), *hm* (RIÉ 192.B.5–6), *hmnt* (RIÉ 192.A.9), which were also interpreted as dialectal forms and compared with modern Ethiopian Semitic (Təgrē) forms, and the negative particle *dʿ* (RIÉ 192.A.7–8, 10–11, 11, and B.4), because they are essentially concentrated in one inscription (RIÉ 192) in South Arabian script, where the presumption of a redundant morphological marking or even the imitation of South Arabian cannot be excluded (see Frantsouzoff 2017: 333; Drewes 2019: 259, who both exclude a dialectal variance); moreover, these phenomena have no parallel in manuscript evidence.

¹² Note that the following texts from the *Aksumite Collection* are edited: ff. 5ra–13va: *History of the Episcopate of Alexandria* (CAe 5064), Bausi and Camplani 2016; ff. 16vb–29va: *Apostolic Tradition* (CAe 6240), Bausi 2011; ff. 39ra–40va: a *List of Apostles and disciples* (CAe 6241), Bausi 2012; ff. 41ra–46ra: a *Baptismal ritual* (CAe 6254), Bausi 2020a; ff. 69vb–73va: *Council and the names of the fathers of Nicaea* (CAe 6256), Bausi 2013; ff. 78va–79vb: the *Epistle of Constantine to the Alexandrians* (CAe 6258) and ff. 79vb–80ra: the *Epistle of Constantine on Arius* (CAe 6259), Bausi 2016b; ff. 88ra–100rb: the treatise *On the One Judge* (CAe 6260), Bausi 2021a; ff. 160va–162va: the *Canonical answers of Peter of Alexandria* (CAe 2693), Bausi 2006b, with ff. indicated there as 117va–119va, according to a previous preliminary reconstruction and pagination.

¹³ See Bausi (2005a: 158). Frantsouzoff (2017: 333) thinks that ‘it can be explained as an imitation of the late Sabaic epigraphic style, in which the same phenomenon is well attested, like the use of the negative particle,’ but what counts here is the consistency of the attestation in epigraphic as well as in manuscript evidence; see also Bulakh (2013: 205), who rightly delimits the phenomenon in manuscripts to labials and dentals, that is *mb* > *bb* and *nt* > *tt*.

mgšt (*ma(g)gəšt*) for *mangəšt* (I.4 and II.4) and probably also *l-ʾbr* (*la-ʾa(b)bāri*) for *la-ʾanbāri* (I.3; Nebes 2017; Bausi 2018, 290–291). The *Aksumite Collection* has a number of examples: striking is ቃቡ: *Qā(b)bu* for **Qāmbu*, corresponding to Greek *KAMBYΣ(ΣΟΥ)* (f. 72v; Bausi 2013, 40); see also (f. 12vb) ወሊጢኖስ: *Wala(t)ṭinos* for *Walantinos*; ወሊጢኖዊያን: *Wali(t)ṭināwiyāna* for *Walintināwiyāna*; but cf. also (f. 152va) ዋሌንጢኒያኖስ: *Walēṭiniyānos*; (f. 110vb) በእተ: *baʾə(t)ta* for በእንተ: *baʾənta*; (f. 117ra) ወህየቴ: *wahəya(t)te* for ወህየንቴ: *wahəyante*; (ff. 39vb, 42ra, this latter four times, 70rb, 84vb) ህየቴ: *həya(t)te* for ህየንቴ: *həyante*.

2. Missing passage of first to fourth order in syllables closed by laryngeals (with some exceptional passage to fourth order and even loss of laryngeal in final position occur only in some inscriptions: RIÉ 188.5, 189.4, and 187.4, 189.6);¹⁴ for this phenomenon, for which Littmann himself had recalled examples also from manuscripts, I provided a number of further attestations from published texts.¹⁵ Other examples provides the *Aksumite Collection*: (ff. 88ra, 88rb, 88vb) ዘለል: *zalaʿla* for ዘለል: *zalaʿla*; (f. 88rb) እምበዕዳን: *ʾambaʿədān* for እምበዕዳን: *ʾambāʿədān*; (f. 88va) ወለበዕዳንሂ: *walabaʿədānəhi* for ወለበዕዳንሂ: *walabāʿədānəhi*; (f. 88va) ወበሕተቴ: *wabaḥtitu* for ወበሕተቴ: *wabāḥtitu*; (f. 88vb) ይንሥእ: *yənsāʿ* for ይንሥእ: *yənsāʿ* (unless here a conjecture has to be posed, as detailed in the apparatus; Bausi 2021a: 226, § 7.6); (ff. 124va, 129vb, 131ra) ሠረዕነ: *saraʿna* for ሠረዕነ: *sarāʿna*. Yet, this phenomenon must also be contrasted with the observation that there are opposite cases where in the same context the passage from first to fourth order is realised in closed syllables, particularly ending in *-r*: see for example in the *Aksumite Collection*: (f. 4rb) ይግባሩ: *yəgbāru*; (f. 63rb) ኢይግባር: *ʾiyəgbār*; (ff. 9ra, 15vb): ይግባር: *yəgbār*; (f. 44va) ወይግባር: *wayəgbār*; (ff. 64ra, 100rb) ይንባር: *yənbār*; (f. 114ra) ይንባሩ: *yənbāru*; but also in other cases which rather point to a general uncertainty, even though not so widespread: (f. 15rb) ይልጻቁ: *yəḥṣāqu*; (f. 37vb) ይትዐባይ: *yəṯʿabbāy*.
3. Within the context of investigation of archaic features of *Gəʿəz* as they can be gleaned through the analysis of manuscript evidence, a new phenomenon (related to the latter), albeit not largely widespread, has been clearly identified and highlighted by Aaron Butts. The phenomenon is a

¹⁴ I do not deal with the implications of the change in the vowel system and its shift from a quantitative to a qualitative opposition through an intermediate stage, which all predate the earliest manuscript attestations, as long as the phenomena described still imply an opposition between the phonological value of the first and fourth orders, either *a* vs *ā* or *ä* vs *ā* or *ä* vs *ɑ*; on the topic see the thorough contribution with also practical indications on particularly controversial cases, by Bulakh (2016). This phenomenon along with others related to what I am presenting here, was also thoroughly discussed by Butts (2020: 495–497)—and I definitely agree, against Bausi (2005a: 154), that a transcription *ʾayyətmauwā(?)*, not *ʾaytmauwā(?)*, is more correct; and see further for other essential points raised in his important contribution. For epigraphic evidence see now also Bulakh (2013: 207).

¹⁵ See Bausi (2005a: 154, and n. 17). See possible parallel evidence in ancient *Dəggwā* fragments in Karlsson (2022: 225–226).

- ‘secondary opening,’ operating in transforming **baħr* not into ባሕር: *bāħr* as in standard Gə‘əz, but into ባሕር: *baħar*, with the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel *a* inserted after the laryngeal.¹⁶ The phenomenon, peculiar to the phoneme *ħ*, does not seem to be prominent in the *Aksumite Collection*, but there is at least one case where it appears to surface: (f. 96vb) መሐፈደ: *maħafada* for the expected ማሐፈደ: *māħfada* (actually, for the expected *māħfad*; Bausi 2021a: 246, § 57.1).
4. Preservation of ə-vowel in the personal prefixes of first-laryngeal verbs (yə-, tə-, nə-, instead of ya- etc.), which, however, is not attested in inscriptions,¹⁷ confirming the hypothesis that archaic features in terms of historical reconstruction can be unevenly distributed in epigraphic and manuscript attestation: from the *Aksumite Collection* here a few from the many examples available, with የሐ- *yaħa-* instead of the expected ይሐ- *yəħa-*: (f. 61rb) ይሐውሩ: *yəħawwəru*; (f. 76va) ይሐሊ: *yəħalli*; (f. 81rb) ዘይሐምም: *zayəħamməm*; (ff. 84ra, twice, and 84rb, twice) ይሐምም: *yəħamməm*; (f. 84rb) ወዘሊይሐምም: *waza‘iyəħamməm*, ኢይሐምም: *‘iyəħamməm*; (f. 91vb) ወይሐየ: *wayəħayyu*; (f. 98rb) ዘይሐግግ: *zayəħaggag*; (f. 104ra) ይሐትቱ: *yəħattatu*; (f. 104vb) ይሐውሩ: *yəħawwəru*; (f. 109va) ይሐውር: *yəħawwər*.¹⁸
 5. Prefix with vowel *a* instead of *ā* in the subjunctive of the causative stem of the verb (one example in inscriptions RIÉ 189.46: የጽንዕ: *yaṣnəʿ*, against regular occurrences with *ā* in the imperfect: RIÉ 189.18, ያገብሉ: *yāgabbəʿ*, 189.20 ያማስኑ: *yāmāssənu*, 189.20–21 ያጸድፍዎ: *yāṣaddəfəwo*). No better hypothesis than that exposed Franz Praetorius on the original form of the causative (marked by the feature *a*) has been provided so far.¹⁹ The *Aksumite Collection* provides quite a few additional examples: (f. 121ra) የውግዙ: *yawgəzu*; (f. 131rb) የውስቡ: *yawsəbu*; (f. 132rb) የሥግሩ: *yaśgəru*; (f. 135rb) የግብሉ: *yagbəʿ*.
 6. Related to the latter is a phenomenon that is hardly mentioned in any grammatical description of Gə‘əz, but quite important and widespread in ancient manuscripts, which I had mentioned without providing specific details, namely, the prefix with vocal *a* instead of *ā* in the causative reflexive

¹⁶ Note that the transcription system used by Butts 2020 is different (ባሕር: *baħr* and ባሕር: *bāħär*), but in order not to introduce one more system of transcription, I stay with the system I consistently use in this paper. The phenomenon appears to be typical of MS EML 6907, the well-known Gospel of King Lālibālā; on the colophon of this manuscript, see now Bausi (2022b: 134). For some further evidence for the ‘secondary opening,’ also in contexts with laryngeals others than *ħ*, see possible parallel evidence in ancient *Dəggwā* fragments in Karlsson (2022: 226).

¹⁷ See on the contrary RIÉ 187.13–14, where *ya‘alu* is subjunctive of *wa‘ala*, from **yə‘alu*, with no comment by Drewes (2019).

¹⁸ See also Villa (2019: 203–204, and for the same phenomenon in nouns, 206–207). The feature is also present in the wooden inscriptions from Lālibālā of the *Homily on Transfiguration* by Anastasius the Sinaite, see Gigar Tesfaye and Pirenne (1984: 109, D.8): ይሐቢ: *yə‘abbi* for የሐቢ: *ya‘abbi*; on the inscriptions see also Bausi (2019: 71).

¹⁹ See Bausi (2005a: 155, n. 19). Also note that even Abraham Johannes Drewes accepts that the system in epigraphic Gə‘əz must have consisted of an opposition between an imperfect *yāqattal* and a subjunctive *yaqtal* form, but he considers the latter as the outcome of the loss of a glottal stop; see Drewes (2019: 240–241), ad RIÉ 189.46.

(ast) form, both in imperfect and subjunctive, again in closed syllable.²⁰ See the following examples from the *Aksumite Collection*: ነስተ- *nasta-* (for ናስተ- *nāsta-*): (f. 16va) ወነስተአኪ: *wanastaʾakki*; (f. 47ra) ወነስተብቀዕከ: *wanastabaqqʾakka*; (f. 47rb) ነስተብቀዕዕ: *nastabaqqʾə*; የስተ- *yasta-* (for ያስተ- *yāsta-*): (f. 4rb) የስተዳልዉ: *yastadālləwu*; (f. 11rb) የስተራትዕ: *yastarāttə*; (f. 12va) የስተጎፍሮሙ: *yastahāffəromu*; (f. 23rb) ኢየስተርከብ: *ʾiyastarkəb*; (f. 25va) ዘኢየስተአኪዮ: *zaʾiyastaʾakkiyo*; (f. 36vb) የስተሐቅፋ: *yastahaqqəru*; (f. 37ra-b) ዘኢየስተሐቅሮ: *zaʾiyastahaqqəro*; (f. 43rb) የስተታሉ: *yastatāllu*; (f. 66va) የስተጋብእ: *yastagābbə*; (f. 79ra) የስተነፍስ: *yastanaffəs*; (f. 86ra) የስተዓርይዎ: *yastəʾārrəyəwo*; (f. 88vb) ዘየስተርኢሂ: *zayastarəʾihi*, ኢየስተሬኢዮ: *ʾiyastareʾiyu*, ዘየስተርኢ: *zayastarəʾi* (twice); (f. 89rb) የስተርኢ: *yastarəʾi*, ኢየስተርኢ: *ʾiyastarəʾi*; and I could continue. Note that this feature is also attested in one of the most ancient Pauline manuscript, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B. 20 inf. (*Pentaglotton*).²¹

7. Alternations of the type *-uw/-əw-* and *-iy/-əy-*, noted in inscriptions and manuscripts.²² The *Aksumite Collection* has quite a number of examples of *-iy-* instead of the expected *-əy-*: (f. 2vb) እምሂዮ: *ʾəmhiya* for እምህዮ: *ʾəmhəya*; (f. 27va) ለሂዮ: *lahiya* for ለህዮ: *lahəya*; (f. 25va) ዘኢየስተአኪዮ: *zaʾiyastaʾakkiyo* for ዘኢየስተአኪዮ: *zaʾiyastaʾakkəyo*; (f. 64ra) በሂዮ: *bahiya* for በህዮ: *bahəya*; (f. 88vb) ኢየስተሬኢዮ: *ʾiyastareʾiyu* for ኢየስተሬኢዮ: *ʾiyastareʾəyu*; (ff. 103vb, 139va, 159va) ቢዮ: *biya* for ብዮ: *bəya*; (f. 136vb) ተጠሚቂዮ: ወአጥሚቂዮ: *taṭamiqiya waʾaṭmiqiya* for ተጠሚቅዮ: ወአጥሚቅዮ: *taṭamiqəya waʾaṭmiqəya*; (f. 137va) ሃይማኖቲዮ: *haymānotiya* for ሃይማኖትዮ: *haymānotəya*; (f. 144vb) በመንፈሲዮ: *bamanfasiya* for በመንፈስዮ: *bamanfasəya*; (f. 146rb) ሥርዐቲዮ: *śarʾatiya* for ሥርዐትዮ: *śarʾatəya*. The attestation in manuscripts of this alternation is important to support the interpretation of the epigraphic attestation in the inscription of Ham (RIÉ 232.10) of ስቲዮ: *satiya* for the expected *sat(ə)ya*, invoked by Maria Bulakh as ‘evidence for the preservation of the vowel *ə* after the second consonant in the verbs of the inactive type’ (or better said, of the *gabra* type, since inactive is certainly not a semantic category fitting with the relevant

²⁰ See Waltisberg (2001); Waltisberg (2002); it is the form IV in the terminology of Dillmann (1865).

²¹ See Bausi (2016a: 76–77, n. 92), with reference to Tedros Abraha (2004: 29), with the example of የስተርኢዮሙ: *yastarəʾəyomu* for ያስተርኢዮሙ: *yāstarəʾəyomu*; the examples provided by Tedros Abreha, in fact, concern many more phenomena, included some of those given here, such as the missing passage of first to fourth order in syllables closed by laryngeals. Other examples of የስተ- *yasta-* I had noted in the apparatus to the editions of texts from the *Sinodos* (CAe 2317), most of them from MS EMMML 7030, which, however, has a marked attitude to confuse first and fourth order; see Bausi (1995), text, 98 (§ 48.12); 109 (§§ 65.25, 65.29); 114 (§ 77.10), only occurrence from MS EMMML 6955; 272 (§ 69.15); 290 (§ 19.2); 293 (§ 30.6).

²² See Bausi (2005a: 158, n. 27); see also Villa (2019: 207–208); Butts (2020: 507, n. 43). Note that there is no occurrence in the *Aksumite Collection* of spellings እየሱስ: *ʾIyasus* for ኢየሱስ: *ʾIyasus*, as in MS ʾAbbā Garimā I.

verbs in Gəʿəz). She assumes that the spelling ሰቲዮ: represents *satiya* and that ‘it is much easier to imagine the shift *əy > iy* than insertion *y > iy*’.²³

8. Endings in *-e*, instead of *-a*, in prepositions and conjunctions (for which manuscript evidence was early compared with the epigraphic attestations).²⁴ Just as an example, in the *Aksumite Collection* we have: (f. 1ra) ውስቲ: *waste*; (f. 2vb) ኃቤ: *hābe*; (f. 5va) አሜ: *ʿame*; (f. 37ra) መንገሌ: *mangale*; (f. 65rb) እምኃቤ: *ʿəmḥābe*, ዘእንበሌ: *zaʿənbale*, በኃቤ: *baḥābe*, ለሌ: *lale*; (f. 65vb) እስኪ: *ʿəske*, ሶቤ: *sobe*; (f. 66rb) ላዕሌ: *lāʿle*; (f. 66vb) ምስሌ: *məsle*; (f. 120vb) ተሐቲ: *taḥte* (along with the latter, also evidence of missing passage of first to fourth order); (f. 42ra, four times) ህዮቲ: *ḥəya(t)te* (with assimilation *nt > tt*). It is important to note, however, that objectively, the *-e* forms in the plural of the relative pronoun (namely እሌ: *ʿalle* for እለ: for *ʿalla*), which also appear in inscriptions, are much less frequent, even though a systematic investigation has revealed their presence in a number of ancient manuscripts, including MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B. 20 inf. II (*Tetraglotton*).²⁵ We can discuss on the actual origin and explanation of such forms,²⁶ but there is an essential point which emerges from the documentation of the *Aksumite Collection* that is of great and even more important general significance. One single text, the extremely difficult and obscure mystagogical treatise *On the One Judge*, of which neither recension nor *Vorlage* in any other language is known, and one of the longest texts in the *Aksumite Collection* (ff. 88ra–100rb), exhibits a special feature which helps better understand the manuscript transmission of the collection but also provides some information of the kind of variation implied by these *-e* endings (Bausi 2021a, 217, n. 6). An analysis of the distribution of the phenomenon in the single texts of the manuscript of the *Aksumite Collection* reveals that the *-e* forms are well present in all texts, with varying frequency, with the sole exception of the treatise *On the One Judge*. In this treatise the *-e* forms never appear. The codex is undoubtedly written by a single hand, has consistent palaeographic features throughout, and does not exhibit any discontinuity that points to a separate redaction of this text. Therefore, either presence or absence of *-e* forms are not due to a copyist’s initiative or to dialectal or idiosyncratic

²³ See Bulakh (2016: 129). She adds that ‘[v]acillation between *əy* and *iy* is known both in Classical Geez and in Epigraphic Geez’ and that ‘[a]dmittedly, the direction of the shift is usually *əy > iy*, but cf. Zuurmond (2001: 426) on the spelling ሂዮ instead of ህዮ “there.”’ Actually, ሂዮ: instead of ህዮ: is an example of *əy > iy*, and I wonder whether she meant the other way around, that is, the direction of the shift is usually *iy > əy*. For the dating to the tenth century of the inscription of Ham, see Bausi (2021b).

²⁴ See details in Bausi (2005a: 156) (epigraphic attestations are RIÉ 188.1 and 189.2 and 189.4); Bausi and Gori (2006: 96); Bausi (2013: 40, n. 21).

²⁵ See Niccum (2014: 71); Bausi (2016a: 76–77, with n. 92); Villa (2019: 204–206); Bausi (2022a: 114).

²⁶ See Bausi (2005b); Bulakh (2009: 402, n. 19); Lusini (2004: 70–72, and 2009: 11–13), for a different point of view; and from **-ay*, according to Butts (2020: 507, n. 43).

attitude, namely, what is usually indicated as the *patina* added to the *fonds* of the transmitted text. To be more clear: the phenomenon is a typical feature of *form* and not of *substance* (the *-e* forms do not appear to have any special function as opposed to the *-a* forms). We can only determine that this formal variation is inherited (that is, *fonds*) in the manuscript of the *Aksumite Collection*, whereas it is always possible and likely that its special formal appearance is due to a phenomenon of *patina*, by definition affecting the pure form of the transmitted text, in an ancestor (or one of the ancestors or even one of the immediate exemplars) of this manuscript or possibly also in the archetype of the text. In any case, the two formal aspects (with presence or absence of *-e* forms) cannot be attributed to the *patina* of the copyist, since the copying process did not involve any automatic adaptation and homogenisation. This conclusion is extremely important because it undoubtedly demonstrates the existence of what—in the absence of a more adequate explanation—we can call *different scribal schools*, who applied *different linguistic standards* that are still *faithfully mirrored* in this unique manuscript. This essentially linguistic analysis has extremely important text-critical consequences on the reading of a passage in the treatise (§ 13): ቃል፡ ነቢያት፡ በእንተ፡ ዘተነግረ፡ ምስሌ፡ *qāl nabiyāt ba’anta zatanagra māsle*, ‘The word of the prophets on the above said *with*,’ with unmarked construct state in *qāl nabiyāt*, for the expected *qāla nabiyāt*, and with a form ምስሌ፡ *māsle* (for ምስሌ፡ *māsla*, ‘with’) that would be the only *-e* form attested in the text. The passage so interpreted does not give any meaning. Much more likely and in keeping with the *usus scribendi* of the treatise, which has no other *-e* forms, we have to pose a conjecture ምሳሌ፡ *mā<ssā>le* ‘similitude,’ which provides a meaning perfectly fitting in the context: ‘The word of the prophets on the above said <similitude>.’²⁷ This demonstrates the existence, at least for this phenomenon if not for others, of several linguistic layers transmitted in the different texts attested in the manuscript. In this specific context, these elements are a strong evidence for the necessity of the conjecture *mā<ssā>le* against the transmitted *māsle*, which, even independently from palaeographical aspects (easy confusion between ሳ *sā* and ስ *sā*), would be completely incompatible with the *patina* of the text, which never has *-e* forms.

²⁷ Bausi (2021a: 230 and 231); note—as remarked—that this is the reciprocal case of what noted for the *Book of Enoch* by Stuckenbruck and Erho (2022: 423), where the right reading ምሳሌ፡ *māssāle* (Greek παραβολή) is attested by a single manuscript, against ምስሌ፡ *māsla* of the vast majority: which reading, I guess, implies the normalization (*māsle* > *māsla*) of a misunderstood ምሳሌ፡ *māssāle* (ምሳሌ፡ *māssāle* > ምስሌ፡ *māsle* > ምስሌ፡ *māsla*): which appears to be a quite clear and convincing case of normalization of the *fonds* by the *patina* of the copyist. Further details on this phenomenon, with further evidence from a fragmentary witness of the *Aksumite Collection* I have presented in a contribution still in print, see Bausi (forthcoming).

9. Spelling of the type ዝዮቆን: *zayāqon* ‘deacon,’ instead of the regular ዲዮቆን: *diyāqon*.²⁸ This is the *only spelling* attested in the *Aksumite Collection* and appears tens of times. Due to the absolutely clear attestation, I give here only one example of the term and of a compound with this term: (f. 135vb) ወዝዮቆናት: ወሂጵዝዮቆናት: *wazayāqonāt wahiḥōzayāqonāt*, ‘and deacons and subdeacons.’ Let’s remark that the lack of attention towards ancient forms has as a consequence that it does not clearly appear that ዝዮቆን: *zayāqon* is by far the oldest attested form, both in documentary and literary texts, and it should be taken as the earliest Gə‘əz form. The form occurs in documents datable to the twelfth/thirteenth century,²⁹ as well as in the earliest literary occurrence of the term, in 1 Timothy 3:8, in one of the most ancient witness of the Pauline Epistles, that is MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 70, f. 183ra, ll. 18–19: ወዝዮቆናት: ከማሁ: ንጹሐነ: እለ: አሐዱ: ቃሎም: *wazayāqonātāni kamāhu nəṣuḥana ʾalla ʾahadu qālomū*.
10. Metathesis of root consonants in the verb እኅዘ: *ʾahaza*, so that we have an imperfect ይኅእዝ: *yəḥəʾəz* (instead of የእኅዝ: *yaʾahəz*, etc.) and a subjunctive የኅእዝ: *yaḥaʾaz* (instead of ይእኅዝ: *yəʾəhəz* or የእኅዝ: *yaʾahəz*, a form that would require an explanation that I cannot attempt here), but there is no epigraphic comparison possible.³⁰ This, again, is a phenomenon that has no consideration in current dictionaries and grammars, even though it cannot be considered a minor one, since it is attested in MS ʾAbbā Garimā I and MS EMMML 6907 (Zuurmond 1989, Part II, 27, 46, 54, and 307). The *Aksumite Collection* documents this phenomenon extensively for the imperfect: (f. 7va) ይኅእዙ:; *yəḥəʾəzu*; (f. 43vb) ይኅእዙ: *yəḥəʾəzo*; (ff. 44rb, 46va, 46vb, 47rb, 47va, 47vb, 48rb, 48va, 49ra, 49rb, 49vb, 50ra, 50vb, 51ra) ትኅእዝ: *təḥəʾəz*; (ff. 47rb, twice, 47va, twice, 47vb, 48ra, 48rb, 48vb, thrice, 49rb, 49va, 49vb, 50rb, twice, 50va, 51ra) ይኅእዝ: *yəḥəʾəz*; and once also (f. 109rb) ተኅእዙ: *taḥaʾazi*.
11. Irregular verbal pattern of the imperfect of the *t*-stem: the imperfect *t*-stem does not always follow the Gə‘əz pattern (*yət1a22a3*), but also a slightly different one (*yət1a2(2)a3*), with assimilation of *t* before first-radical sibilants or dentals, or not.³¹ Note that in some cases one could surmise a possible palaeographic ambiguity which could explain the irregularity (particularly in the case of

²⁸ See Bausi (2005a: 159–160). See also Villa (2019: 208–210, and 2021: 214), who rightly quotes additional attestations also from documentary texts like the *Golden Gospel* of Dabra Libānos, for which, however, see also doc. no. 7, not only doc. no. 6.

²⁹ See Conti Rossini (1901: 189); Derat (2018b: 50, 52, doc. no. 6; 57, 58, doc. no. 7); and see already Bausi (2007: 82, n. 5), with supplementary references to documentary texts like Kropp (2005: 133).

³⁰ See Bausi (2005a: 162). Only note that Dillmann (1865: 766) gives a singular first person imperfect እኅዝ: *ʾahəz*.

³¹ See Bausi (2005a: 162), where I suggested the hypothesis of a Tigrinism: the imperfect of the *t*-stem in Təgrāñña has the pattern: *yət1a22a3* (with loss of *-t*, or even an internal passive, according to the hypotheses). See possible parallel evidence in ancient Dəggwā fragments in Karlsson (2022: 226).

ሐ/ሐ ሐ/ሐ and ሰ/ሰ sa/s), but there are quite a number of cases which are absolutely clear; here is a selection of the occurrences: (f. 2va) ይትሕጉል: *yəthəggʷal*; (f. 4ra) ይሰደዱ: *yəssəddadu*; (f. 4rb) ይትእዘዝ: *yətʔəzzaz*; (f. 4vb) ዘይትክሀሎን: *zayətkəhalon*; (f. 8rb) ይትንሠት: *yətnəśśat*; (ff. 8rb, 11rb) ይትጎባእ: *yəthəbbā*; (f. 8rb) ትትክላእ: *tətkəllā*; (f. 9ra) ይሥዩሙ: *yəśśəyyamu*; (f. 9rb) ትትክላእ: *tətkəllā*; (f. 10rb) ዘይሰዩሙ: *zayəssəyyamu*; (ff. 12ra, 14vb, 41ra) ይጥመቅ: *yəṭṭəmmaq*; (f. 16ra) ይትእመኑ: *yətʔəmmanu*; (ff. 21vb, 44ra, twice) ዘይጥመቅ: *zayəṭṭəmmaq*; (f. 23rb) ዘይትውሀብ: *zayətwəhab*; (f. 27ra) ወይትርእይ: *wayətrəʔay*; (f. 27rb) ዘትትዕወቅ: *zatətʔəwwaq*; (f. 28ra) ይትዕወቅ: *yətʔəwwaq*; (ff. 41ra, 41rb, 43va, twice) ይጥመቁ: *yəṭṭəmmaqu*; (f. 42rb) ይጥመቅ: ዘይትቅበእ: *yəṭṭəmmaq zayəṭqəbba*³² (with missing passage of first to fourth order); (f. 45va) ይትብሀል: *yətbəhal*; (f. 47va) ይትፍቀድ: *yəṭፍəqqad*; (f. 65va) ወይሰባሕ: *wayəssəbbāh*; (f. 66va) ዘይትርከብ: *zayətrəkkab*; (ff. 83rb, 110ra, 159rb) ይትውለድ: *yətwəllad*; (f. 83rb) ዘይትውለድ: *zayətwəllad*; (f. 85vb) ዘይትግሐሥ: *zayəṭgəḥaśu*; (f. 92rb) ይትርዕይ: *yətrəʔay*; (f. 94va) ይትሕጉሉ: *yəthəggʷalu*; (f. 100rb) ንትእመን: *nətʔəmman*; (f. 107vb) ይትስግዕ: *yətsəmmā*³² (with missing assimilation *ts > ss*); (f. 139rb) ንትሕነጽ: *nəthənnas*; (f. 144vb) ዘይትክሠት: *zayətkəśśat*; (f. 146ra) ወኢትጥብብ: *waʔitəṭṭəbbab*; (f. 147va) ይትሕነጽ: *yəthənnas*; (f. 148vb) ትትብሀል: *tətbəhal*; ይትግሀድ: *yəṭgəhad*; (f. 157rb) ይትክፈል: ወኢይትክፈል: *yətkəffal waʔiyətkəffal*; (f. 159rb) ይትውለድ: *yətwəllad*; (f. 159vb) ኢይትጎደግ: *ʔiyəṭḥəddag*.

12. Irregular gerund forms: there are occurrences of Təgrəñña-like gerund forms based on a (nominative) pattern *1a2i3(ə)*- instead of an (accusative) pattern *1a2i3a-*, as regularly in Gəʿəz: (f. 26va) ተግሐሥኮ: *tagəḥis(ə)ka* for ተግሐሥኮ: *tagəḥisaka*; (f. 27ra) ተንሣእኮ: *tənsiʔ(ə)ka* for ተንሣእኮ: *tənsiʔaka*; (f. 99rb) ሐዊርክሙ: *ḥawir(ə)kəmu* for ሐዊርክሙ: *ḥawirakkəmu*.³² There are, however, also possible examples of irregular Amharic-like gerund forms based on a pattern (with vowel *ə*) *1a2ə3-* instead of a pattern *1a2i3a-*: (f. 94vb) ተናግሮ: *tanāgəro* for ተናግሮ: *tanāgiro*; (f. 96va) ኦብሶ: *ʔabbəso* for ኦብሶ: *ʔabbiso*. This phenomenon in particular requires further study.

4. Conclusions

In my 2005 (and 2006a) contributions I had suggested some conclusions, which I feel can be retained here with some minor modifications. I will summarize the main observations in only three points:³³

1. Aside from a few morphological features concentrated in the inscription RIÉ 192, which have no parallel in manuscripts, there is a number of archaisms which are common to inscriptions and

³² Correct in the commentary my definition of this form as ‘Amharic-like’ to ‘Təgrəñña-like’ in Bausi (2021a: 253, § 71.7); correct also, one more polar error, ‘forme di gerundio accusativo’ into ‘forme di gerundio nominativo’ in Bausi (2011: 25, n. 20).

³³ See Bausi (2005a: 163–167), with some more details which I will omit here.

ancient manuscripts.³⁴ These features, however, cannot be placed along a purely diachronic development, because there is a clear mismatch between their attestation and their place in a plausible linguistic historical reconstruction of the development of Gəʿəz. So, while the only epigraphic instance of personal prefix form in first-laryngeal verb has vowel *a* (definitely, a secondary development, *-əLa-* > *-aLa-*), ancient manuscripts frequently exhibit *ə*-prefixes, which is a retention and an archaism. Prepositions and conjunctions with *-e* instead of *-a* forms appear in fourth-century inscriptions as well as in a much later inscription (whatever its actual dating is) like the inscription of Ham (RIÉ 232, probably tenth century), but not in sixth-century inscriptions. Yet, the *Aksumite Collection* adds the essential information that even within one single pre-thirteenth-century manuscript we have different texts with quite different features, that is texts with frequent *e*-forms (including the relative pronoun ʾalle) and texts which have no such case, like the treatise *On the One Judge*. This can only be explained with the coexistence of parallel scribal (or even literary) traditions since Aksumite times, with different linguistic standards, determined either by the prevalence of dialectal features as a consequence of the lack of a unique scribal standard or by coexistence of a variety of standards, or even by an intentional opposition to new standards or reaction to declining standards.³⁵ The fact that these forms coexist in one single manuscript demonstrates that they are a relatively ancient phenomenon, even though we cannot say how ancient: definitely the feature belongs at the latest to the ancestor(s) of the manuscript of the *Aksumite Collection*.³⁶

³⁴ See Butts (2020: 507, n. 43), for ለአሕዛብ: ʾahzāb instead of አሕዛብ: ʾahzāb (only in RIÉ 189, while Littmann 1913 read it also in DAE 10.23, reading not confirmed in RIÉ 188).

³⁵ See the keen remarks by Marcel Cohen, *apud* Grébaut (1931–1934: 27), who had given a right picture of the spectrum of possible hypotheses: ‘Certains des faits signalés sont nettement archaïques; d’autres sont aberrants, d’autres sembleraient marquer des tendances plus récentes que le guèze classique: peut-être les documents anciens examinés ont-ils une teinte dialectale dont la tradition est perdue; peut-être aussi y a-t-il eu, postérieurement, dans le guèze classique, réaction archaïsante contre certains innovations.’

³⁶ An especially promising area of research is also that of the rendering of the labial occlusives *b*, *p*, *ḅ*, *f*, in front of Greek π, β, φ, where variations may be explained by the existence of different scribal traditions; see Bausi (2002 26: n. 92); Grébaut (1935 § 13, *A propos de la transcription de la lettre π*); on the glottalized *ḅ* consider also the remarks by Martinet (1953: 69–70); Conti Rossini (1938: 194, n. 3); Voigt (1989: 634–638); concerning the hypothesis that Gəʿəz *səfnag* ‘sponge’ (I wonder whether pronounced *sfnag*), from Greek σπόγγος was adapted to Gəʿəz at an age when *p* and *ḅ* were not yet available (Weninger 2005: 469–471), this is possible, but also the Greek form σφόγγος, probably a popular variant, is attested (see Chantraine 1980: 1040a, s.v. σπόγγος), particularly in Greek papyri (see Gignac 1976: 87); see also Bausi (2013: 38–40), concerning the sign Ɔ, which in the *Aksumite Collection* appears in correspondence of Greek φ and ψ; see also Villa (2019: 210–212). On Grecisms in the *Aksumite Collection* see also Voicu (2015).

2. Some archaic features have some convergence and parallels in other Ethiopian Semitic languages which we assume replaced Gəʿəz as spoken languages, Təgrəññā and Amharic in particular. This could explain, for example, the epigraphic *a*-prefix in the subjunctive of the causative and in the prefix forms of the *ast*-stem, since *a*-prefixes appear in the imperfect and subjunctive of the causative stem in Təgrəññā.³⁷ One of the often evoked possible morphological Tigrinisms in epigraphy, the gerund *ḥarifu*, instead of expected *ḥarifo*, in the inscription of Ham (RIÉ 232.4),³⁸ appears now alongside a quite significative series of other irregular gerunds from the *Aksumite Collection*, some of which follow the Təgrəññā pattern (1a2i3(ə)- instead of 1a2i3a-). Other possible Tigrinism is the metathesis of the first and second radical consonants of the verb ʾaḥaza in the prefix conjugation forms, with many examples of metathetical imperfects from the *Aksumite Collection*. A comparison with Təgrəññā ሐዘ: ḥazä seems more than obvious. Possible Tigrinism are also the forms of *t*-stem imperfect with pattern *yət1ə2(2)a3*, to be compared with the corresponding *yə1ə22a3* Tigrinya pattern, possibly as outcome of interference or as a compromise form. Also for the spelling *zəyāqon* instead of *diyāqon* the hypothesis of a Tigrinism remains, but the form must be further studied, because it essentially appears as an archaism; the oldest manuscript of the Pauline Epistles has the form *zəyāqon*: nonetheless, we have *diyāqon* in all printed editions, which is a later flattening of the linguistic form.
3. In front of the bulk of evidence with which ancient manuscripts, here in particular the *Aksumite Collection*, confront us, there are various attitudes. Some substantially remain with the position assumed by Edward Ullendorff (1955: 14), who notoriously got rid of the problem stating that all changes which ‘can be noticed between the early inscriptions and early Bible translations, on one hand, and the literary period of the late Middle Ages, on the other, are all almost exclusively in the sphere of phonetics’. For them, the problem is solved by just noting that, as is well known, there are a few irregular phenomena, which do not deserve special attention.³⁹ In fact, this is quite

³⁷ Correct in Bausi (2005a: 166): ‘such as *a*-prefixes in the subjunctive of the causative stem in Tigrinya’ into ‘such as *a*-prefixes in the imperfect and subjunctive of the causative stem in Tigrinya.’

³⁸ See Kapeliuk (1997: 494–495); for further details on the passage, see Bausi (2021b: 6–8). Another evoked Tigrinism in epigraphy would be the monogram RIÉ 442, ḡ, interpreted as the third person masculine copula ʾəyyu, see Drewes (1991: 390, and 2019: 457), where the copula ḡ is suggested also for other monograms, for example RIÉ 390.

³⁹ This is for example the attitude prevailing in Tropper (2002); and also in Tropper (2021), which is disappointing in the absolute poorness of diachronic data, in consideration of the research carried out in the last twenty years, which have profoundly changed the state of the art; see also the review by Waltisberg (2022), and his right remark on col. 344 that ‘sound rules should not be based on rare orthographic peculiarities’ (but correct his reference to Theodor Nöldeke’s famous ‘Das fehlte noch, dass wir auf elende Schreibfehler grammatische Regeln bauten!’), which, contrary to what stated, is from 1899,

problematic, since, for the language of texts which go back to Aksumite period, it is exactly a better understanding of the material, philological, and—last but not least—linguistic context of transmission that provide us the tools to make a correct evaluation of the evidence and carry out a much better informed linguistic and text-critical analysis.⁴⁰ The texts dating back to the Aksumite period underwent a very long process of manuscript tradition so that since the fourteenth century only sporadic *e*-forms and *ə*-prefix in first-laryngeal verbs are extant, and not much more. One standard prevailed on the others. When it rarely happens that we can make detailed comparisons between pre-thirteenth and later manuscript witnesses of the same texts, we definitely observe the process of standardization, flattening and smoothening which the texts underwent. We do not know much of how this standardization process took place, but it can have been a systematic and institutional action to impose a standard on others, and delete, replace, or update all texts with the linguistic standard that would definitely prevail. As a consequence, we read now Gəʿəz texts in a form that is quite distant from that in which they might have first been written and transmitted for some centuries.⁴¹ Conversely, linguists who want to make the right use of the medieval evidence must also be able to read and see it against its hypothetical previous stages (either materially attested or not) that is, as a result of a process of gradual and substantial standardization. This means that the medieval evidence of ancient texts is extremely slippery and potentially highly misleading when used to reconstruct earlier phases, if the whole spectrum of archaic phenomena is not considered.

As one realizes, we come close to a domain where the interrelationship between philology and linguistics is vital. But in the end, it cannot be otherwise for a language like Gəʿəz which has grown up as a language of translated texts and has survived as an essentially literary and liturgical language.

see Nöldeke 1899: 91); now also, quite to the point, Bulakh (2023); also in Weninger (2011) the problem is only hinted at, but not taken into account to the extent it would deserve; in Butts (2019: 118) the problem is clearly stated, but lack of space prevents from a detailed presentation of features; Bulakh and Kogan (2013) and Bulakh (2013) have at least given a specific presentation of the epigraphic evidence, yet without connecting it systematically to the manuscript evidence.

⁴⁰ As rightly noted by Erho and Henry (2019: 180); see also Butts (2020: 502-503), the analysis of medieval and later manuscript evidence in the light of palaeographic and orthographic—and I definitely add: linguistic—archaic features is essential; note also the common trivialization of the particle ከሙ: *kəma* to ከሙ: *kama* (see Erho and Henry 2019, 187, yet uncertain).

⁴¹ This process might have to do with the dynamics of the literary history (see Bausi 2020b) or even with the changing institutional relationship of the Ethiopian Church with the Egyptian Patriarchate of Alexandria (see Ambu 2022).

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Sounds (*aṣwāt*) in the multi-thematic lexicon *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*

by Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838)

Francesca Bellino

This article is part of a broader research on sounds (*aṣwāt*, sing. *ṣawt*) as they were systematised in the context of early Arabic lexicography. It takes as a case study the multi-thematic lexicon *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* by Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) and more specifically the three chapters respectively devoted to voices, tones of voices of people’s speech and their modulation, and languages and words included within the opening book regarding the lexicon on human anatomy.

Keywords: Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *aṣwāt*, *ṣawt*, sounds, early Arabic lexicography, Arabic soundscape, *ġarīb*.

1. Introduction

For centuries and across cultures, reflections on sounds have sought to capture their multiple dimensions: human and animal, environmental and mechanical, physical and communicative, emotional and expressive. Like colours, sounds have been identified, classified, described, reproduced by using a complex lexical palette that, echoing countless sonorous refractions, returns us the variegated soundscapes from the past and present of humanity.¹ Depending on the channel or instrument of their emission, the sounds described can be of various types: human voices, animal calls, cries, musical sounds, sounds emitted by objects, and sounds produced by natural or meteorological phenomena. Each of these types of sound has specific and intrinsic characteristics—related to frequency, amplitude, wave form, duration, or, in musical terms, pitch, dynamic, timbre (tone color),

¹ This article is dedicated to Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti, a mentor and a great scholar, who I think either directly or indirectly has reflected his entire life on sounds and their modulations in the different languages he has learnt, spoken and taught, not to mention those he has studied for his research. I would like to add that the particular voice of Fabrizio Angelo Pennacchietti was an unforgettable travel companion in my early years of study in Turin. I will always be grateful to him for his unmatched talent to inspire curiosity and enthusiasm from any topic within or around Semitic studies by making any kind of sound a possible focus to grab our attention.

and duration—that make it both unique and discernible. Against this background, through the languages used to communicate, past and present cultures tried to describe any sound (not just the human voice) as an integral part of the existing world by using a wide range of expressions that actually are inclined to recreate a specific soundscape as faithful as possible to the oral/aural reality the human beings experienced and certainly also responsive to their own cultural needs.

Like other cultures have done, the Arab culture also showed an interest in sounds (*aṣwāt*, sing. *ṣawt*) from its very beginning. Various written sources from different genres—poetry, Qur’ān, lexicography, grammar—provide the bulk of information that we have available for framing the understanding of such interest in the earliest stages of its history. From the mid-second/eighth century onwards, further reflections on sounds, human voices, animal cries also appear in *adab*, philosophical, and medical works, thereby expanding the number and types of the written sources available on the subject and broadening the scope of the reflections on the sound dimension.

Regardless of the genre, all the sources from the first centuries of Arabic textual culture have in common the need to describe sounds as they were perceived and through the Arabic language, and thus they prompt a strong interest in issues related to lexicography, terminology and taxonomy. In order to understand such descriptive attempts of reconstructing the panoply of the Arabic vocabulary on sounds, which ultimately had to return some kind of aural/acoustic reality, albeit in writing, we have no other means than by resorting to the written evidence of these Arabic sources. And, undoubtedly, “writing can only record linguistic sound,” as noted by Butler and Nooter in a reference work on sounds in the ancient world (2018: 6).²

2. The author and his book: *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* by Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām

This article assesses *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* by Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838). It explores how and according to which criteria the author of the first multi-thematic Arabic lexicon systematised the knowledge about sounds. The choice of focusing on this work is based on two considerations.

The first consideration relates to the context in which this work was conceived. Actually, *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* is not the first lexicographical treatise concerned with sounds. In the first half of the second/eighth century, the most renowned philologists and grammarians Quṭrub (d. 206/821), al-

² The reference essay on sounds in the ancient world was edited by Butler and Nooter (2018). Many reflections in my research on sounds and voices profit from the enlightening insights of Agamben (2023), Albano Leoni (2022), Bettini (2018), Bologna (1981 and 2022), Cavarero (2003), and De Luca (2020). Although I do not take a philosophical or anthropological approach to the subject, I have greatly benefited from all these essays.

Aṣma‘ī (d. 216/831), Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 244/858) compiled a few *Kitāb al-Aṣwāt* (Books on Sounds).³ These works contained information about sounds produced by humans and animals. However, while none of these monographic treatises have survived in independent form, the information that was supposedly collected in them was actually scattered in the form of small fragments (*i.e.* short textual strings of lexical information) within coeval and later multi-thematic works, including the one written by Abū ‘Ubayd, which has been object of the research for this article.

Abū ‘Ubayd wrote *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaḥ* at a time when philologists from the various Iraqi schools were still compiling short treatises on specific topics by as a result of their researches among the more purely Arabic-speaking Arab tribes or based on the studies undertaken under teachers who had formerly carried out such fieldwork. When compiling his multi-thematic lexicon, he tried to systematise—and thus preserve—a vast body of technical and material knowledge largely gathered by his predecessors that would otherwise have been lost by re-functionalising such knowledge in a new yet lexicographical format.⁴

The second consideration concerns the specificity of this work in the early Arabic literature. Undoubtedly, lexicography was not the only genre concerned with sounds. Arabic poetry, the Qur’an and *adab* works provide interesting insights into the oral/aural dimension of the early Arabs (Bellino 2022: 40-41). However, there can be no doubt that mono- and multi-thematic lexicons represented the (lexical) skeleton based on which other genres of works have provided further information and reflections.

For these reasons, *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaḥ* provides an insight into how the early generations of scholars from various Arabic/ian backgrounds investigated the oral/aural dimension of their surrounding soundscape, while struggling with every linguistic means at their disposal in order to be able to identify, describe, distinguish all possible sounds that could echo any differences between

³ This research originated from an article (Bellino 2022) that examines direct and indirect evidence of the transmission of mono-thematic works entitled *Kitāb al-Aṣwāt* (Books on Sounds) and frames the transmission of such knowledge within the wider framework of the Arabic lexicographical tradition between the late first/seventh and early fourth/tenth century. For a wider discussion on these works within the history of Arabic lexicography, see Sellheim (1954), Haywood (1960) and Baalbaki (2014).

⁴ Agius (1984) was the inspiring light for reading Arabic literary works as a source of documentation for technical terms of the material culture. Among other things, he dealt with a number of multi-thematic lexicographical sources that also form the focus of my research (Agius 1984: 60-62).

voices, tones, cries, calls, noises found in it.⁵ Investigating this way of mapping the sound-related terminology is therefore the essential starting point for understanding more broadly how the early Arabs conceived “sound.”

Of many sections of this work, I will focus on the one devoted to human beings in relation to whom ‘Abū Ubayd offers an extensive description of sounds that characterise their different voices, ways of speaking, languages. The joint analysis of the organisation of the whole work and the content of some specific chapters highlights that the soundscape that emerges from *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* is a kaleidoscope that has several sound dimensions, each of which refers back to a different domain of specialised terminology provided by Abū ‘Ubayd. The following analysis aims to grasp the work’s general sense, highlight where the sounds are located relative to each domain covered in this kaleidoscopic work, and delve into one in particular.

2.1. Outline of the contents and history of the text

The philologist, grammarian, Qur’anic scholar, and law expert Abū ‘Ubayd was born in Harāt, in the Yazd province of Iran. He studied philology both in Basra and Kufa. Then he continued his studies on Qur’an and Islamic law under al-Šāfi‘ī (d. 204/820). Later he moved between Baghdad, Khorasan, where he tutored (*mu‘addib*) for the family of the governor Harṭama b. A‘yan (d. 200/816) and then for the son of Tābit b. Naṣr b. Mālīk, and finally Ṭarsūs in the Byzantine frontier where he stayed as a *qāḍī* for eighteen years. After returning to Baghdad, he spent the rest of his life writing thanks to the support of his admirer ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 230/845). Here, he composed his major works *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* and *Ġarīb al-Ḥadīth*, which became reference works in the field of the Arabic lexicography and the Islamic prophetic tradition, respectively. The latter was even written for and read to the Caliph al-Ma‘mūn (Gottschalk 1986: 157; Weipert 2008).

Abū ‘Ubayd’s *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* is the oldest Arabic multi-thematic lexicon (‘Abd al-Tawwāb 1962; Baalbaki 2014: 268-270). The title refers to the composition (*muṣannaf*) on the subject of the strange kind of words (*ġarīb*).⁶ Many later biographical-bibliographical works cite this title among the writings of Abū ‘Ubayd, although some scholars record the variants *Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* and *al-Ġarīb al-*

⁵ When providing lists of words of animal calls and human voices, Bettini (2018: 31-45) emphasises the role of the so-called “poetic archives” created by authors from the classical and pre-modern periods. In his view, these lists can be considered as veritable sound encyclopaedias.

⁶ According to Baalbaki (2014: 267) “the term *muṣannaf* was also used in the titles of multithematic books to indicate that they comprise various topics.”

Mu'allaf ('Abd al-Tawwāb 1989, vol. 1: 49).⁷ Through the collation of manuscripts, Şafwān 'Adnān Dāwūdī outlined the line of transmission (*riwāya*) of the text through the generations of scholars who followed the author, thus identifying three different textual transmission lines (*ṭarīqa*) (2005, vol. 1: 63-66). In addition to numerous manuscripts, there are also a few printed editions of this work.⁸

Over the centuries, other authors have written various supplements, commentaries, improvements to *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*. These include the following:

- Additions to *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* (*Ziyādāt al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*) by Shamir b. Ḥamdawiyah (d. 255/869) and by Abū al-Faḍl al-Mundharī (d. 329/940);
- Admonitions about the errors contained in *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* (*al-Tanbīh 'alā mā fī al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf min al-Aḡlāt*);
- Explanation of verses of *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* (*Šarḥ abyāt al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*) by Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sīrāfī (d. 385/995);
- Defectiveness of *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* (*'Ilal al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*) by Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004);
- Etymology of words in the first [part] of *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* (*Ištiqāq kalimāt fī awwal al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*) by Abū al-Qāsim al-Zaḡḡāḡī (d. 337/949);
- Abridgment of *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* (*Iḥtiṣār al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*) by Abū al-Qāsim (d. 418/1027);
- Reply to *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* (*al-Radd 'alā al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*) by Abī Na'im al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038);
- Commentary to *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* (*Šarḥ al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*) by Ibn Sīdah (d. 458/1066) and by Abū al-'Abbās al-Mursī (d. 460/1067).

Taken together, all these works attest to the wide use of *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* in the lexicographical tradition and beyond along with the need for its constant updating ('Abd al-Tawwāb 1989, vol. 1: 50-51). A great Andalusian lexicographer epitomises the latter trend. When compiling *al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ* ('The Specified Book'), in the mid-fourth/tenth century, Ibn Sīdah surveyed other fields left unexplored to

⁷ Depending on the sources, between twenty and forty works are attributed to Abū 'Ubayd. Only a dozen have been published (Brockelmann 1898: 106-107; 1937: 166-167; Sezgin 1982: 81-87).

⁸ In this article, I use as a reference edition the one edited by Ramaḍān 'Abd al-Tawwāb (1989) and, when necessary, I compare this version of the text with that published in Riyāḍ (1997) and that edited by Şafwān 'Adnān Dāwūdī (2005). For the various manuscript versions, see 'Abd al-Tawwāb (1989, vol. 1: 215-258) and Dāwūdī (2005, vol. 1: 46-49).

broaden the lexicon of his predecessor, whom he greatly admired, as evidenced by the fact that he is said to have known Abū ‘Ubayd’s work by heart and even wrote a commentary on it.⁹

Being a multi-thematic lexicon, *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* is divided in twenty-five “books” (*kitāb*), each dedicated to a specific field.¹⁰ As can be seen from the list that follows, the books and thus the topics covered are of two types. The first type contains the classified vocabulary of specific technical fields of knowledge related to the natural world and society. These may concern the human sphere (human anatomy, women, diseases) along with its material culture (clothes, foods, weapons, utensils), the natural world including animals (horses, birds, insects, camels, sheep, wild animals, predatory animals) and plants (trees, plants, palms), the natural environment (mountains, waters, canals), the meteorological phenomena (clouds, rains, times, winds). The second type deals with purely philological or linguistical knowledge, for example, synonymous and contrary, patterns of names and verbs, different names denoting the same thing, etc. A final book contains miscellaneous information, which, according to the author, evidently did not fit into either.

In detail, the books are given in the following order:

- 1) human anatomy (*ḥalq al-insān*);
- 2) women (*al-nisāʾ*);
- 3) clothes (*al-libās*);
- 4) foods (*al-aṭʿima*);
- 5) diseases (*al-amrād*);
- 6) houses and lands (*al-dūr wa-l-arḍin*);
- 7) horses (*al-ḥayl*);
- 8) weapons (*al-silāḥ*);
- 9) birds and insects (*al-ṭuyūr wa-l-huwwām*);
- 10) utensils and pots (*al-awānī wa-l-qudūr*);
- 11) mountains (*al-ǧibāl*);
- 12) trees and plants (*al-šāḡar wa-l-nabāt*);
- 13) waters and canals (*al-miyāh wa-l-qanā*);
- 14) palms (*al-naḥl*);
- 15) clouds and rains (*al-siḥāb wa-l-amṭār*);

⁹ For a comparison between *mubawwab* and *muḡannas* works with regard to the circulation of lexicographical materials relating to plant and animal knowledges, see Grande (2016: 110).

¹⁰ ‘Abd al-Tawwāb (1989, vol. 1: 129-130) lists twenty-five books to the exclusion of the one on *ḥamr* (wine).

- 16) times and winds (*al-azmina wa-l-riyāh*);
- 17) examples (patterns) of names (*amṭilat al-asmā'*);
- 18) examples (patterns) of verbs (*amṭilat al-asmā'*);
- 19) contronyms (*al-aḏḏād*);
- 20) different names denoting the same thing (*al-asmā' al-muḥtalifa li-l-šay' al-wāḥid*);
- 21) camels (*al-ibil*);
- 22) sheep (*al-ǧanam*);
- 23) wild animals (*al-wuḥūš*);
- 24) predatory animals (*al-sibā'*);
- 25) miscellaneous data (*al-aǧnās*).¹¹

Regarding size, the calculation of data contained in the *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* differs depending on the base text versions considered. Gottschalk states that *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* books “consist of 1000 chapters, 1200 *shawāhid* and 17,990 words” (2008: 157). ‘Abd al-Tawwāb specified that the whole composition consists of 900 chapters (1989, vol. 1: 129-130), which feature evidence (*šawāhid*) from different sources including 666 verses of poetry (vol. 1: 133-140), 44 quotations from the Qur’ān (vol. 1: 141-142), 48 *ḥadīṭ* (vol. 1: 143-144), 10 sayings (*amṭāl*, vol. 1: 145-146).¹² In this work, Abū ‘Ubayd made approximately 60 references to dialectal terms in use among Arab tribes (*al-lahaǧāt*, vol. 1: 147-148) and to numerous Arabicized words (*al-mu‘arrab*, vol. 1: 149-150), thus providing relevant information also for the history of the Arabic language and its varieties. Baalbaki states that “the whole book, moreover, is characterized by brevity in explaining words and relative scarcity of *šawāhid* in comparison to the vast number of words it contains (a total of 17,970 according to al-Zubaydī)” (Baalbaki 2014: 270).

2.2. The sources and the method of inquiry of a lexicographer facing the world of words

When compiling his work, Abū ‘Ubayd relied on materials collected by numerous scholars. First, in Basra he studied under scholars such as al-Aṣma‘ī, Abū ‘Ubayda (d. c.210/825), Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 214 or 215/830–1), and then in Kufa under Abū ‘Amr al-Šaybānī (d. 206/821), al-Kisā‘ī (d. c.189/805), al-Farrā’ (d. 207/822), and Ibn al-A‘rābī (d. 231/846). Such names—along with those of ‘Alī b. al-Mubārak

¹¹ The content of this last book is miscellaneous, which is the reason for its title. It is quite substantial as it includes no less than 179 chapters, almost one fifth of the total chapters of the work (Baalbaki 2014: 269).

¹² The differences in the scope of these data can be explained by the fact that the various scholars have referred to different editions with discrepancies between them since they are based on different manuscript recensions.

al-Aḥmar (d. 194/810), Yaḥyā b. al-Mubārak al-Yazīdī (d. 202/818), ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘īd al-Umawī (d. ca. 203/819)—are cited among the sources he used to compile *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*.¹³

While the focus of Abū ‘Ubayd lies on the *ġarīb*, clearly not all words he collected in his work fall into this category and come from surveys held among Arabian tribes and Beduins. As far as sources are concerned, Baalbaki claims that:

Much of the material of *al-Ġarīb al-muṣannaf* is derived from the *A‘rāb*, or the Bedouin *fuṣaḥā’* who were usually consulted by early philologists, and who in some cases were authors in their own right. These include Abū l-Ġarrāḥ al-‘Uqaylī, Abū l-Ḥasan al-A‘rābī, Abū Ziyād al-Kilābī, Abū Šanbal al-A‘rābī, Abū ‘Alqama al-Ṭaqafī, Abū Faq‘as al-A‘rābī, Abū l-Qa‘qā’ al-Yaškuri, Abū l-Walīd al-Kilābī, and al-‘Adabbas al-Kinānī. Abū ‘Ubayd’s reliance on these *fuṣaḥā’* and his frequent citing of dialectal material (cf. the report that he spent forty years collecting data directly from the Arabs for inclusion in his book) are certainly related to the strength of the component of *ġarīb* in his book, as is also reflected in the inclusion of the term *ġarīb* in its title. This corroborates our view that some multithematic works can be classified with books on *ġarīb* as well (Baalbaki 2014: 269).

On the other hand, as a result of the research undertaken by ‘Abd al-Tawwāb (1989, vol. 1: 67–114), who compared several possible direct sources—namely mono-thematic treatises such as al-Ašma‘ī’s *Ḥalq al-insān*, *al-Ibil*, and *al-Ḥayl*—with the corresponding thematic chapters in this work, in most cases fewer than a fifth of al-Ašma‘ī’s words are included in the latter and, in several cases, with different definitions. According to Weipert (2008), this would suggest that Abū ‘Ubayd depended largely on the oral transmission that he received in the *mağālis*.

Caution should be exercised, however, in drawing conclusions, because of Abū ‘Ubayd’s way of treating his sources, not simply reproducing them but shortening or sometimes lengthening them and expressing their contents in his own words to serve his own purposes. Weipert (2008) claims that, by concentrating on the essentials of his sources and rendering their content in his own concise style, Abū ‘Ubayd created well-founded summaries of what had been achieved in previous generations, which became an authoritative source for subsequent scholarship for centuries to come.

¹³ The composition of this work should be viewed against the wider context of Abū ‘Ubayd’s training and career. In particular, see Gottschalk (1936; 1986); Weipert (2008); and above all the Introduction to the *Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* edited by ‘Abd al-Tawwāb (1989, vol. 1: 5–128).

3. The sounds in the *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*

In *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*, Abū ‘Ubayd provides a wealth of information on sounds, returning a rather broad and kaleidoscopic view of what the *aṣwāt* are. For instance, various books dedicated to particular animal species include chapters on their calls, always referred to as *aṣwāt*.¹⁴ The book on horses (*Kitāb al-Ḥayl*) contains, for example, a chapter on the terminology concerning nitrites and sounds related to horses in the different phases of their life. The book on birds (*Kitāb al-Ṭayr*) encompasses a very short chapter on certain terms relating to the cries of some birds including the hen and the crow. The book on camels (*Kitāb al-Ibil*) contains two chapters on the sounds uttered by this animal, one of which differentiates the cries of the camel at various stages of its life, while the other focuses on its roaring and the (human) crying at camels (*al-zağr*) for inciting them.¹⁵ The book on predatory animals (*Kitāb al-Sibā’*) also contains a chapter on cries humans use to chide, check or urge, these beasts (*al-zağr bi-l-sibā’*). The book on these species also includes a long chapter on the calls of the predatory animals along with those of the cattle or quadrupeds (*Kitāb al-Bahā’im*), such as the gazelle, the jerboa, and the donkey. Animal cries are also recorded in the chapters dedicated to other species—such as insects, sheep, beasts, animals of prey—as part of the description of their physical characteristics and traits of their nature.¹⁶

Other types of sounds are featured within the chapters of *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*, describing the material and natural worlds. For instance, sounds are an essential element in defining a variety of meteorological events and natural phenomena. Objects of everyday, working and material life like pots, millstones, house doors, produce characteristic sounds that can be either described as such or used by

¹⁴ Some sections of *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* recall the monographic treatises written on individual topics. Some of these, by the way, deal with sounds. According to Saba (2019: 55, 61–65), the works entitled *Kitāb Ḥalq al-insān* were closely related to those known under the title *Kitāb al-Farq*, which concerned the different terminology between the human and animal spheres. These books provided lexicons on 1) the divisions of the body, 2) the birth, pregnancy, and terms for offspring, 3) the voices and cries of humans, animals and birds, 4) the sounds of humans, animals and birds, 5) the groups of humans and animals, 6) the death of humans and animals. On the differences between human voices and animal cries of the chapters on the *aṣwāt* in the *Kitāb al-Farq* by Quṭrub and al-Aṣma’ī, see Bellino (2022: 47–54).

¹⁵ This section can be considered part of the *waq’ al-luġa* (the conventional nature of language). Here, I cannot enter into the complex discussion, which involves as much as linguistic as philosophical and theological considerations, on the conventional nature of language in relation to terms referring to animals or human beings or to one another. On this see Weiss (2002, vol. XI: 7). I thank both Elias Saba and Jérôme Lentin for drawing my attention to this reflection.

¹⁶ In the early history of the lexicographical tradition, the philologists collected a great deal of materials that have converged into thematic treaties. For each animal species there are in fact dedicated mono-thematic treatises, many of which have unfortunately been lost or preserved only through partial quotations in other coeval or later works. On monothematic treatises on wild animals generally entitled *Kitāb al-wuḥūš* (Book on Wild Animals), see Bellino (2019).

Abū ‘Ubayd as terms of comparison for the description of other types of sounds produced in different environments and under various circumstances.

Fragmentary elements of the soundscape of the time can be captured through all these chapters and the information they contain. In fact, it can be inferred that for Abū ‘Ubayd sounds are simply part of this earthly world and as such they must be classified, enumerated, depicted in word form. Their description—which is not exhaustive of all the possible sounds that exist but nevertheless offers a broad and articulate description of the soundscape(s) related to each environment of the material and natural cultures—moves on a spectrum of possibilities that include, on the one hand, the silence or the noise (never named in their absolute form but always relative certain ways of unmaking/producing sound), and on the other, the multiple forms of sound articulation from animal cry to human voice.

4. A human being (made of words) as featured in the *al-Ġarīb al-muṣannaf*

The first sounds that Abū ‘Ubayd describes are those uttered by the human beings. The opening book of the human body (*Kitāb Ḥalq al-insān*) focuses on anatomy but also includes materials about some other physical and behavioural aspects. In particular, this book consists of an opening chapter devoted to the naming of

- 1) the various parts of the human body, followed by a series of chapters on epithets and names related to
- 2) the human body (*ḥalq al-insān*), namely, tears of the eyes, their bottom and weaknesses (*dam‘ al-‘ayn wa-ḡawrihā wa-ḡu‘fihā*), names of breaths (*asmā‘ al-nafas*), epithets on people’s tallness (*al-tiwāl*) or shortness (*al-qīṣār*), colours (*al-alwān*), voices (*al-aṣwāt*), ways of speaking (*aṣwāt kalām al-nās*), languages and speech (*al-alsina wa-l-kalām*);
- 3) praised and blamed traits of people’s character (*al-aḥlāq*), such as avarice (*al-buḥl*), strength of vigour and constitution (*šiddat al-quwwa wa-l-ḥalq*), courage and bravery (*al-šugā‘a wa-šiddat al-ba‘*), brightness of spirit and its sharpness (*ḡakā‘ al-qalb wa-ḥiddatihi*), cowardice and weakness of spirit (*al-ḡubn wa-ḡa‘f al-qalb*), weakness of intelligence and dumb opinion (*ḡa‘f al-‘aql wa-al-ra‘y al-aḥmaq*); weakness of constitution (*al-ḡa‘if al-badan*), dementia (*al-ḡunūn*), voracity and bulimia (*al-šarah wa-duḥūl al-insān fimā lā ya‘niyihi*), bad haste for everything that is not appropriate (*al-šarīr al-masāri‘ ilā mā lā yanbaḡī*), the vile vulgar of bastard men (*al-ḥasīs al-ḥaqīr min al-riḡāl al-da‘iyy*); leftovers (of meals) of people and riffraff (*ḥuṣār al-nās wa-siflatihā*), the most skilful men (*al-dādī min al-riḡāl*);
- 4) ways of walking (*mašy al-nās*), in particular of men who walk fast or slow;

- 5) epithets on beauty and ugliness (*al-ğamāl wa-l-qubḥ*); division of nourishment among people (*qismat al-rizq bayna al-nās*); men able to do things skilfully and poorly to be sold (*al-rağul al-ḥādhiq bi-l-shay' wa-l-radī' al-bay'*);
- 6) groups of people (*al-ğamā'āt min al-nās*); various differences between people and what can happen to you (*al-firaq al-muḥtalifa min al-nās wa-man yaṭra'u 'alayk*); exuberance of people and common people (*ğumār al-nās wa-dahmā'ihim*); groups of the people of the household (of the Prophet) and its tribes (*ğamā'at ahl al-bayt wa-qabilatihi*); groups of people coming from another place, imposing themselves on others and chiefs of people; peoples who do not answer to the sovereign against their might and leading personalities of the sovereignty (*al-qawm lā yuğībūna al-sultān min 'izzihim wa-ḥāṣṣati al-mulk*); peoples aggregating on the individual (*al-qawm yağtamī'ūna 'alā al-rağul*);
- 7) young people (*al-šabāb*); years and growth in age; advancing in age and senility (*al-haram*); children's proper nourishment (*al-walad wa-l-ğidā*); poor child nourishment (*al-ğidā' al-sayyi' li-l-walad*); children's teeth (*asnān al-awlād*); names of a man's first son and last one; names of a man's first son from youth to old age; names of what comes out with the baby (*asmā' mā yaḥruğu ma'a al-walad*);
- 8) lineage (*al-nasab*); lineage by mothers, fathers and others; lineage by slaves (*al-mamālīk*); names of the relationship on the female side (*al-qarāba*) in the lineage and of an adopted son (*al-ad'iyā*); [name of] relation (*al-nisba*); adoption of a half-son by his father and genuineness of the lineage (*naz' šabah al-walad ilā abihi wa-l-ṣiḥḥa fi al-nasab*).

As can be seen in this first book, the interest of Abū 'Ubayd in sounds is embedded within the more general concern for the human beings and the corporeality of their body. This first book hints at the sphere of the senses or, at least, the sensory organs. Indeed, the chapters on the voices are concerned with the sphere of sound hearing, although Abū 'Ubayd does not systematically deal with issues of sound perception or hearing as one of the five senses, rather offering a theory of the senses that in fact is not yet covered in this kind of source.¹⁷

Further, the book contains names and epithets of character traits (*aḥlāq*) that range from positive to negative and involve both the unique personality of each individual and how others perceive one. Beauty and ugliness are covered in a separate chapter. It may be significant to note that, as in the case

¹⁷ The scope of the studies on the senses at the beginning of the history of Islam also helps us to better frame the study on sounds and on hearing. Important reflections for a historicisation of sound-related materials were made by Fahmy (2013) and Lange (2021, 2022).

of certain animals, a distinguishing characteristic of humans is how they walk, to which Abū ‘Ubayd devotes a few chapters.

In the final part of the book, Abū ‘Ubayd moves on to the nomenclature of human beings in connection to their role and function in society. He lists the rich and complex terminology related to the different types of groups, various ages, and lineage. This section portrays human beings both in a reciprocal relationship and in relation to the flow of time.

5. The kaleidoscopic perception of sounds: voices, ways of speaking, and languages according to Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām

If, as Butler and Nooter (2019: 4) put it, “humans have their own panoply of vocabulary for voices,” Abū ‘Ubayd provides an array of terms to define many of them.

As outlined above, Abū ‘Ubayd distinguishes various categories of sounds in connection with the human sphere he lists in three different chapters: sounds regarding the voices and the different ways they are uttered (*bāb al-aṣwāt wa-iḥtilāfihā*), sounds regarding the ways people speak (*bāb aṣwāt kalām al-nās wa-ḥarratihim wa-ḡayr dālīka*), sounds regarding languages and speech (*bāb al-alsina wa-l-kalām*).¹⁸ As a whole, these three chapters offer a rather articulate palette of human-related sound capabilities in which voice (*ṣawt*) is seen as a way of articulating sounds, spoken word or speech (*kalām*) as a way of uttering or expressing things in words, and language (*lisān*) as a way of articulating meanings of words are the three main focuses of interest for Abū ‘Ubayd.¹⁹

Within the framework of these three different categories, *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* provides a well-structured taxonomy that consists of nouns and adjectives (*asmā’* and *nu‘ūt*) and, in some cases, verbs. In each chapter, Abū ‘Ubayd displays the spectrum of variables found in uttering sounds, pronouncing words, articulating Arabic language by selecting both common and rare terms from various lexicographical sources at his disposal and putting all of the terms in the form of *word lists*.

¹⁸ Various scholars emphasise the relevance of this tripartition. See Bologna (2022: 36-40).

¹⁹ This subdivision shows the greater breadth of the scope of the voice than of the word and thus seems to reserve an autonomous sphere of reflection for vocality in all its expressions. Drawing on major studies like those of Paul Zumthor, Cavarero (2003: 19) insists on the wider scope of the voice than that of the *logos*.

5.1. Sound categories and acoustic labels

In *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*, Abū ‘Ubayd does not seem to propose subjective categories to classify the various types of sounds. Each chapter collects lists of words, in turn divided into clusters, containing a variable number of terms, introduced by the name of the philologist who acts for their source like in a *ḥadīṭ*.

In order to describe the sounds, Abū ‘Ubayd associates broad definitions such as “loud” or “soft” sound that can be applied to a variety of rare terms with further possible variations of properties that seem objective and measurable, such as pitch, intensity, force, and repetitiveness. The more general definitions would trace back to a few broad “sound categories,”²⁰ whereas a set of more specific “acoustic labels” can be identified within them.²¹ The information on a specific type of sound—regardless of whether it belongs to the sphere of voice, speech, or language—is thus given by the association between a term and an acoustic label that places such term in a specific range of the sound spectrum within a broader sound category.

The beginning of the chapter on voices and their differences provides an example of the text:

al-Aṣma’ī: [it is said of]²² a man *nabbāḥ* is loud of voice and *nabbāḡ* [also with *ǧīm*] is vehement in voice. And *al-faddād* is similar, the name comes from *al-fadīd* (the vehement utterance). And *al-wa’d* and *al-wa’īd* are all the loud sound. And *al-nahīm* is similar, and also

²⁰ The use of the term “category” draws inspiration from the dialectological study carried out by Breteau and Roth on the dialectal sound system of a Tunisian region (1988-1989; 1990; 1996). Through the analysis of the *Textes arabes de Takroûna* collected by W. Marçais and A. Guiga (1925) and the *Glossaire* (1958-1961) that follows, Breteau and Roth identified a series of “acoustic categories” with relatively objective parameters forming the oral/aural system—namely the soundscape—of the village of Takroûna (Tunisia), the tribes of the Marazig and the Zaer. In particular, Breteau and Roth (1990: 19, 43-47) illustrated that the categories deal, respectively, with four sequences of the process of sound emission, namely 1) overture, 2) expression of immediate sound, 3) expression of sound diffusion, 4) sound stop and repercussion. To these categories they added the “variables” of pitch, intensity, duration, and volume, which led them to define the different types of sound as continuous-indistinct, continuous-acute, continuous-crescendo, continuous-decrescendo, vibrating, vibrating-resonant, resonant, serial, punctual-serial, and irruptive.

²¹ When classifying voices, Albano Leoni (2022: 32-34) emphasises the importance of using “acoustic labels” (in Italian “etichette sonore”). Actually, he proposes a distinction between a classification of voices in which “somewhat generic labels are applied, assigned on the basis of a general impression and pertaining to current usage: examples include *low, grave, deep, sombre, acute, silvery, shrill* voices, more or less traceable to variations in pitch...,” and a classification in which the acoustic labels are more precise as they refer to objective properties in use in specific professional fields or assigned on the basis of the presence/absence of dominant characteristics. They may be further supplemented by individual and/or social articulatory habits and/or occasional variations in the use of the voice.

²² Only added in the text edited by Dāwūdī (2005, vol. 1: 102).

al-za’ma. And *al-waġr* is the voice. And *al-ṣarīr* and *al-ṣarṣara* are amongst the voice but not [uttered] with force.

(Abū ‘Ubayd, *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*, ed. ‘Abd al-Tawwāb, 1989, vol. 1: 305).

This opening part of the chapter features terms attributed to al-Aṣma‘ī who collected words referring to the category of someone having loud voice (*ṣadīd*). The first ones listed—*nabbāḥ* and *nabbāġ* (i.e., both meaning one having a vehement voice), *faddād* (one having a strong voice), *al-wa’d* and *al-wa’id* (loud sound or noise)—are all accompanied by definitions, i.e. labels (loud of voice, vehement in voice, loud sound), which enable Abū ‘Ubayd to place each of them in the section of the spectrum referred to sounds uttered loudly (*ṣadīd al-ṣawt* or *al-ṣawt al-ṣadīd*) or even vehemently (*al-fadīd*).

The aforementioned part of the chapter contain not only synonyms related to the human sphere but also terms that extend the perception of uttering a loud or vehement sound in other directions: towards the animal sphere, e.g. with the term *al-nahīm*, which means an heavy sound coming from the chiding of camels; in an attitude of anger and aggressiveness, e.g. with the terms *al-za’ma*, which means a vehement shout; and *al-waġr*, which denotes a voice uttered out of rage.

Subsequent sections of the chapter contain information attributed to other transmitters and add other terms both relating to this segment of the spectrum or possibly shifting the focus towards other targets, in which, for example, the voice is uttered without force (*al-ṣawt laysa bi-l-ṣadīd*) or with a different frequency by emphasising, for example, its repetitiveness.

If we compare them, the three chapters on sounds are arranged with categories following the same pattern, i.e. ranging from more to less, from the loudest to the softest (sound), from the most intense to the softest (way of speaking), from the most comprehensible and eloquent to the most illogical and disordered (organisation of language). With due differences or similarities between sounds and colours, term after term the palette grows full of nuances and slowly changes colour. Hence, only the entire reading of the chapter offers a complete overview of the terminology relating to the various types of sounds.

5.2. Varieties and types of terms used for describing sounds²³

In each chapter, Abū ‘Ubayd lists terms consisting of names, adjectives and verbs more rarely. In particular, the distinction between nouns (*asmā’*, sing. *ism*) and adjectives (*nu’ūt*, sing. *na’t*) is crucial in

²³ An analysis of the forms and patterns of the terms in the various lists is beyond the scope of this article. For this purpose, the huge analysis on the terminology related to colours made by Fischer (1965) could certainly be useful.

this genre of work. The first category may include both substantives and adjectives that denote a person or a thing, whereas the second is a more complex category that encompasses adjectives or attributive locutions added to a noun to qualify it.²⁴

How did Abū ‘Ubayd select, include, and interrelate the rare terms in the list? The aforementioned list of terms on loud sounds attributed to al-Aṣma‘ī includes two terms that fall into another category of voices not uttered with force (*laysa bi-l-šadīd*): *al-ṣarīr* designates a prolonged sound and *al-ṣarṣara* means a creak. The criterion by which Abū ‘Ubayd or al-Aṣma‘ī proposes this binomial seems to be prompted by the need to discriminate a pair of synonyms—at least those terms that fall into the same category and also have the same label—that nonetheless differ both in terms of phonic nature (because they indicate different types of sounds) and in terms of phonetic nature (because they derive from different roots but contain the same consonants: ṣ-r-r and ṣ-r-ṣ-r).

In the chapter on the ways people speak, Abū ‘Ubayd gives more information related to the form of the rare noun or adjective he quotes by mentioning again a set of connected terms derived from roots that share consonants and thus may be assonant:

al-unūḥ is a sound accompanied by a reiterated hemming²⁵ in the throat (*ṣawt ma‘a tanaḥnuḥ*). From this it is said a man *anūḥ*, with the vowel *fatḥa* on the first letter *alif*, when he is asked for a thing and makes a reiterated hemming in his throat with a hoarseness [of the voice] (*idā kāna yatanaḥnaḥu ma‘a baḥaḥ*), then he breaths and breathed hard (*anaḥa ya’niḥu*) and thus *al-anūḥ* is the man who breaths hard by hemming in his throat (*ya’niḥu*). (Abū ‘Ubayd, *al-Ġarīb al-muṣannaḥ*, ed. ‘Abd al-Tawwāb 1989, vol. 1: 310).

In this section, Abū ‘Ubayd provides a primary definition of the noun *unūḥ* (the [sound of] breathing hard)²⁶ connecting its meaning to that of *tanaḥnuḥ* (reiterated hemming in the throat), thus linking the two roots ‘-n-ḥ and n-ḥ-ḥ. The former root (‘-n-ḥ) refers to someone who breaths hard, or violently, in the consequence of heaviness or oppression experienced by that person as an effect of disease or of being out of breath. In contrast, the latter (n-ḥ-ḥ) refers to someone who reiterates a sound, or makes a reiterated humming in his throat, like a slight coughing. Abū ‘Ubayd uses this second root in its

²⁴ For the two terms as defined by grammarians, see respectively Edzard (2009, vol. 4: 422-428) on noun (*ism*) and Versteegh (2009, vol. 4: 219-222) on *ṣifa* and its difference with *na‘t*. In the lexicographical sources, however, the difference between noun and adjective should not be traced back to purely grammatical categories but has more of a semantic value.

²⁵ This term indicates a hesitation by uttering “hum [or hem] and haw”.

²⁶ According to Lane (1863-1893, vol. 1: 113), the term *unūḥ* indicates a sound like the one which is called *zafīr*, lit. meaning ‘calamity; misfortune’ since it is arising from grief, anger, repletion of the belly, jealousy.

reduplicated form (n-ḥ-n-ḥ), which also in terms of acoustics suggests, through phonetic imitation, the signified action of making a reiterated hemming in the throat. To the explanation of the variant *anūḥ*, he adds a further term of onomatopoeic origin (*baḥaḥ*), whose root (b-ḥ-ḥ) refers to someone who has a hoarse, rough, harsh voice. Although all these roots refer to hoarseness, the terms derived are different semantically and acoustically.

In other cases, the criterium adopted by Abū ‘Ubayd is different. In all the examples drawn from the opening part of the chapter on the voices, the rare terms are mentioned in pairs, thus showing at once a resemblance of meaning—almost a synonymy—because they fall into the same acoustic category, but also a difference in terms of phonetics (as in the case of *nabbāḥ* and *nabbāġ*) or pattern (*ṣarīr* and *ṣarṣara*), which is reflected in their different significances.

In some cases, Abū ‘Ubayd lists terms whose phonetic distinction—despite being synonyms—is relevant on the semantic level as in the example below:

Abū ‘Ubayda [said]:²⁷ *al-zamġara* is [*i.e.*, means] the sound from deep in the body; *al-zamḥara* is [*i.e.*, means] the cry of a she-ostrich (*al-zammāra*).

(Abū ‘Ubayd, *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. ‘Abd al-Tawwāb 1989, vol. 1: 305).

The terms *zamġara* and *zamḥara* quoted from Abū ‘Ubayda differ concerning the consonant *ġ/h*. While the first term, which means the roaring of the lion or thunder, is described as a sound coming from deep in the body (*al-ṣawt min al-ġawf*), the second term, which means the roaring of rage or hunger, specifically that of the tiger, is compared to the *zammāra*, which is the cry uttered by the she-ostrich (derived from the verb *zamara*, used only when the she-ostrich cries). Only by comparing these terms on the acoustic level does Abū ‘Ubayd differentiate their meaning.²⁸

There are cases where the difference is only a vowel, as in the following example:

From al-Aṣma‘ī: *al-‘arak* and *al-‘arik*, *al-ḥišāram* and *al-ḥuṣāram* are all sounds (*aṣwāt*).

(Abū ‘Ubayd, *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. ‘Abd al-Tawwāb 1989, vol. 1: 305).

The difference transmitted from al-Aṣma‘ī is once again acoustic and semantic. Different in terms of vocalisation (*a/i*), *‘arak* and *‘arik* are synonyms meaning both a strong sound uttered in striving or in

²⁷ Only added in the text edited by ‘Abd al-Tawwāb (vol. 1: 305).

²⁸ Again, in this case, one should note the assonance between the three terms. The first two stem from a quadrilateral root (respectively z-m-ġ-r and z-m-ḥ-r) which have the three radicals of the third one in common.

war. Otherwise, the two terms *hišāram* and *hušāram*, which differ in the vocalisation of the first syllable (i/u) refer respectively to the laugh of the hyena and the roar of the lion. While they indicate animals of similar species, they designate different kinds of cries.

In other cases, such as in the chapter on spoken word and language, Abū ‘Ubayd provides a more grammatical explanation for the term he quotes. In the case of *lahā* (the distorted in the mouth) he also lists the verb from which it derives and the resulting adjectives in the masculine and feminine forms.

And *al-lahā* is [*i.e.*, means] [one] in the [state of being] unsound (*fī al-bāṭil*) [because of being distorted in the mouth]. From this it is said that a man is *alḥā* and a woman *lahwā*, and thus he was obscure in his speech (*lahiya lahā*) [is written] with *alif maqṣūra*.

(Abū ‘Ubayd, *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. ‘Abd al-Tawwāb 1989, vol. 1: 314-315).

In this last chapter, Abū ‘Ubayd makes greater use of technical terms, namely nouns indicating specific speech or language features rather than adjectives relating to persons.

Other [said]: *al-laḥlahānī* is [*i.e.*, means] the one who has an impediment in speech (*‘uǧma*). It is said: there is barbarism in it.

(Abū ‘Ubayd, *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. ‘Abd al-Tawwāb 1989, vol. 1: 316).

As can be seen in this example, the epithet referring to the person who possesses a certain quality in speaking who is called *al-laḥlahānī*, means the one barbarous in speech, and is closely related to its speech defect, a barbarism (*laḥlahāniyya*) (Rabin 1951: 50). The use of the term *‘uǧma*, which means speech impediment, to explain this kind of incomprehensible way of speaking places this defect in a particular category.

Finally, there are examples where Abū ‘Ubayd presents a rare term, such as *ḥarīr*, which is explained using a label that places it in a different category (such as *ṣawt al-mā’*).

al-ḥarīr is [*i.e.*, means] the sound of water.

(Abū ‘Ubayd, *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. ‘Abd al-Tawwāb 1989, vol. 1: 314).

In the following pages, I review all the nouns and adjectives contained in the three chapters on sounds related to voice (*ṣawt*), speech (*kalām*), and speech and language (*kalām* and *lisān*) by ordering them in a series of tables that highlight the categories and the labels but also the nuances that distinguish them.

6. The focus on the voice (*ṣawt*)

In the first of the three chapters, Abū ‘Ubayd offers the first wordlist of sounds related to voices (*bāb al-aṣwāt wa-iḥtilāfihā*). By and large, he distinguishes two macro-categories of voices: the loud voice uttered with force (in the table: 1 *ṣadīd al-ṣawt* or *al-ṣawt al-ṣadīd*) and the low voice not uttered with force (2: *al-ṣawt laysa bi-l-ṣadīd*). Alongside this distinction, on the one hand, he isolates a category of voices uttered in particular circumstances such as calling (3: *bi-l-du‘ā*), and, on the other hand, a variety of voices uttered in conditions that do not fall into any of the previous categories (4 [without a definition]).

Before we go into the details of the categories and their corresponding associated terms I would like to make a few general remarks. This broad division into four acoustic categories reveals the prominence given to the force of utterance of the voice. The adjective *ṣadīd* implies that the sound of the voice possesses the quality of being loud, vehement, and vigorous. This focus recurs in all three chapters and may also be relevant in terms of phonetics. For example, according to the Arabic sound system of some grammarians, one of the cardinal points that underpins the doctrine of the coalescence or incorporation of letters concerns precisely the distinction between “close” or “tight” (*ṣadīd*) and “loose” (*riḥw*).²⁹ This difference may also be important for the choice of terms and links drawn within the list. In many cases, the terms within each category or label seem to hint that there is a close relationship between the tone, the timbre, and the pitch of the voice and the emotional state in which the sound is produced.

The four macro-categories show further possible nuances.

As for the loud voices (1), Abū ‘Ubayd employs two terms—*al-ġahīr* and *al-fadīd*—to establish comparisons if they are uttered vehemently or forcefully (1.1.). The term *ġahīr* refers to a high, loud, or vehement voice. The use of this particular term could be significant in light of the distinction in the sound system of the Arab grammarians, between voiced sounds (*maġhūr*) and voiceless ones (*mahmūs*).

²⁹ Vollers (1892, vol. 2: 134). According to Arab grammarians, the adjective *ṣadīd* refers to “those letters that, in a state of quiescence, prevent the current of the voice in their utterance.” The so-called *al-ḥurūf al-ṣadīda* are ‘, b, t, ġ, d, ṭ, q, and k. See Lane (1863-1893, vol. 4: 1518). They are different from *al-ḥurūf al-riḥwa*, the so-called “lax letters,” namely, ṭ, ḥ, ḫ, ḍ, z, s, š, ṣ, ḍ, z, ġ, f, h. See Lane (1863-1893, vol. 3: 1061). For more on the opposition between the modern notion of voiced/voiceless and lenis/fortis phonemes, see Danecki (2008).

Hence, the voicedness together with the quantity of stress at the moment of its emission may characterise the sound, and thus the voice, defined as *ğahīr*.³⁰

The term *fadīd* denotes a vehement utterance without specifying the degree of its vehemence. The strength and vehemence of this emission is further distinguished from the cry of certain animals that utter a strong sound in striving or from the voice uttered out of rage (1.2.). Another term of comparison is *al-šiyāh* (shout) referring to when a person, animal, or anything raises their voice and cries, utters a loud cry, or even shouts (1.3.). A final group of loud sounds are the cries applied to people and/or animals who exhort them to do something (1.4.).

Regarding voices not uttered with force (2), Abu ‘Ubayd seems to specify two categories: low sounds, emitted without the use of force, in the description of which pitch is relevant (2.1.); and prolonged or repeated sounds, in which frequency of utterance prevails (2.2.). The former are not precisely described and the spectrum of possible low voices is quite varied. The range of repeated and prolonged voices also varies. However, in this case, Abū ‘Ubayd provides an indication regarding the prolongation of the voice and the extension of the sound (*mamdūd al-ṣawt*) also indicating the point of articulation in the repetition (*ṣawt yuraddiduhu fī ġawfihi*, litt. voice that is repeated from the deep in the body).

The sound of the voices uttered when supplicating (*bi-l-du‘ā*) or with a variety of feelings that return the person to a state of difficulty (such as *ma‘a tawağğū*, with suffering) represent a further category (3) that goes beyond the greater or lesser strength of the voice and rather concerns emotional or psychological changes or special circumstances in which something is uttered.

The last category includes a variety of sounds and voices that cannot be easily classified (4), of which Abū ‘Ubayd does not give precise indications except in the case of the sound of water (*ṣawt al-mā*).

As mentioned above, I arranged the terms listed in the three chapters on sounds of the first book of *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* in tables, grouping them according to the acoustic categories provided by Abū ‘Ubayd. Unlike the previous examples, the Arabic text as given in *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*, is unpacked and transferred to the table. The columns of the table (from right to left) provide information on a) the Arabic rare name listed in the text and listed in alphabetical order), b) its meaning as found in the most important Lexicons (Freytag, Lane, Kazimirski), c) the acoustic label to which Abū ‘Ubayd associates

³⁰ Grammarians and linguists have discussed the distinction between the letters *mağhūra* and the letters *mahmūsa*. Equally debated is the meaning of the two terms and whether they actually refer to voicing and voicelessness. On the different opinions on this issue, see in particular Fleisch (1958) and Danecki (2008).

the rare term and of which he gives the general meaning, and d) the name of the transmitter. I have numbered the acoustic category and sound labels. Some rare terms are found in more than one table.

1. loud			
1.1. vehement and strong			
other	<i>al-ḡahīr</i> ³¹ <i>al-ṣawt</i>	rough, loud, vehement voice	أَجَشَّ
other	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	high, loud, or vehement, voice or speech	جَوَّير
Abū Zayd	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	din	حَرَاة
Abū Zayd, al-Aḥmar	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	uproar, vehement utterance ³²	خَوَاة
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	vehement shout	زَأمة
Abū Zayd	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	crying out, clamouring, shouting	ضَوَّة
Abū Zayd	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	howling [of dog, wolf, jackal], clamouring, shouting	عَوَّة
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>al-ism minhu al-fadīd</i>	having a strong voice	فَدَاد
al-Aṣma‘ī		vehement utterance	فَدِيد
al-Aḥmar	<i>al-ṣawt / al-fadīd</i>	loud and shrill	كَصِيس
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>ṣadīd al-ṣawt</i>	having a vehement voice [like a bark] ³³	نَبَّاح
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>ṣadīd al-ṣawt</i>	loud or vehement in voice ³⁴	نَبَّاج
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	heavy sound [of the chiding of camels]	نَهِيم
Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt al-ṣadīd</i>	<i>hā’i’a</i> [vehement sound]	هَائِعَة ³⁵
al-Aḥmar	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	thud	هَدِيد

³¹ The term *al-ḡahīr* denotes the sounds of which musical modulations are formed, which are three in number; the sound thus called being from the head, issuing from the air-passages in the nose, having in it a roughness and hoarseness, and followed by a gradual fall [of the voice] modulated in accordance to that same sound, and then followed by a sound.

³² In the animal sphere, the term denotes the beating of an eagle’s wings.

³³ In the animal sphere, the term denotes a dog that barks a lot.

³⁴ In the animal sphere, the term denotes a loud-barking dog. The distinction between the two terms *nabbāḥ* and *nabbāġ* therefore seems to be one of intensity and amount.

³⁵ This terms goes along with *wā’iya*. They both are onomatopoeic sounds denoting a kind of hullabaloo, loud shout, tumult. This sequence goes together with that of the three terms explained in footnote 32.

al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-ṣawt al-šadīd</i>	loud sound or noise [occasioned by vehement of heavy treading of the ground]	وَأَد / وَئِيد
al-Aḥmar	<i>al-ṣawt / al-fadīd</i>	rustle	وَجْفَةٌ ³⁶
Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	afflatus	وَحَى ³⁷
Abū Zayd	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	sound accompanied by a hoarseness ³⁸	وَحَاة
Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt al-šadīd</i>	<i>wā'īya</i> [vehement sound]	وَاعِيَةٌ
Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	clamour [mixed sound]	وَغَى
Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	tumult, strepitous, clamour	وَغَى
1.2. strong in striving			
from al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-aṣwāt</i>	laugh [of the hyena]	خُشَارِم
from al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-aṣwāt</i>	roar [of the lion]	خُشَارِم
Abū 'Ubayda	<i>al-ṣawt min al-ḡawf</i> ³⁹	roar [of the lion or thunder]	زَمْجَرَةٌ
Abū 'Ubayda	<i>zammāra</i> ⁴⁰	roar [of rage or hunger, of the tiger]	زَمْخَرَةٌ
from al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-aṣwāt</i>	strong [sound uttered when striving or in war]	عَرَكَ / عَرَكَ
al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	wrath	وَغَر
1.3 shout			
al-Kisā'ī	<i>al-ṣiyāḥ</i>	cry vehemently emitted ⁴¹	صَلَقَةٌ

³⁶ The term has the variant with ḥ instead of ḡ and denotes a rustle.

³⁷ The terms *wa'ā*, *waḡā*, *waḥā* are evidently of onomatopoeic origin and indicate voices uttered tumultuously and vehemently.

³⁸ The verb *waḥwaḥa* denotes a sound accompanied by a hoarseness, roughness, harshness, or gruffness, of the voice. It is said that it means “he made his breath to reciprocate in his throat, so as to be audible, by reason of cold.”

³⁹ The label denotes the sound coming from deep in the body.

⁴⁰ This term denotes the cry uttered by the female ostrich. The three terms (*zamḡara*, *zamḥara*, *zammāra*) refer to similar types of sounds but uttered by different animals although tagged by the same label.

⁴¹ In the animal sphere, the term denotes the buttocks of camels rubbing another that make a sound by their being grated.

1.4 cry ⁴²			
Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	exhortation [<i>cried out to him yā wayhāh (Ho! On!)</i>], cry to camels [or horses and men] ⁴³	تَأْيِيه
Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt bi-l-nās wa-l-ibl⁴⁴</i>	shout, crying out	تَهْلِيْت
Abū Zayd		[it is what he says] <i>yāhiyāh (Ho! On!)</i>	هو أن يقول يا هياه
2. not uttered with force			
2.1. low sound			
al-Umawī	<i>mamdūd al-ṣawt⁴⁵</i>	soft sound or low, murmured, voice	جَمْش ⁴⁶
Other	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	low sound, any sound that is not vehement, or a sound that one hears from afar	رَزَّ
from Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt laysa bi-l-ṣadīd</i>	whisper, an act of whispering or speaking softly; sensation caused in the ear by the vibration of the air or the vibration causing this vibration low sound; or a sound that is not vehement: or the sound, or voice, of a man, which one hears from afar	رَكْز
from Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	twang a sad voice when singing said of a woman in her wailing; and of a pigeon in its cooing; and of a bow on the occasion of its string’s being pulled and let go	إِرْزَان
from Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	faint noise	نَبَّأَة
2.2. prolonged / creaking / repeated			
al-Umawī	<i>mamdūd al-ṣawt</i>	crying aloud in weeping	رُنَاء

⁴² This sub-category covers a range of onomatopoeic sounds.

⁴³ Abū ‘Ubayd specifies that the term applies to both men and camels.

⁴⁴ Abū ‘Ubayd specifies that the term applies to both men and camels.

⁴⁵ The label denotes the reiteration of sound.

⁴⁶ Abū ‘Ubayd associates this term with *runā’* giving them both the same acoustic label, although *ġamš* is distinguished by being a low sound and *runā’* by being reiterated.

		uttering of the sound of reiterating the breath with weeping	
from Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	trilling, or quavering, and prolonging the voice hum; humming; intonation; singing; song; chanting	تَرْنَمٌ
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>min al-ṣawt wa-laysa bi-l-ṣadīd</i>	creaking	صَرِيرٌ
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>min al-ṣawt wa-laysa bi-l-ṣadīd</i>	squeak	صَرَصَرَةٌ
other	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	creaking, grating ⁴⁷	صَرِيفٌ
other	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	clanging, loud ringing sound [rumbling] ⁴⁸	صَلِيلٌ
from Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>ṣawt yuraddiduhu fi ḡawfihi</i> ⁴⁹	rumbling, grumbling sound; uttered a sound like that of one throttled, or strangled or like one harassed, or fatigued, or overburdened	كَرْكُرَةٌ
from Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>ṣawt yuraddiduhu fi ḡawfihi</i>	reiterated sound, or made it to reciprocate, in his inside ⁵⁰	نَحِيحٌ
other	<i>al-ḡahīr al-ṣawt</i>	whimpering, sobbing, weeping, feeble note	نَشِيحٌ
3. sound with supplication			
other	<i>al-ṣawt ma‘a istiḡāṭa wa-taḍarru</i> ⁵¹	moan ⁵²	جُؤَارٌ
Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	supplicating, vociferation; long loud deep sound ⁵³	عَجِيحٌ

⁴⁷ The sheave of the pulley caused a sound to be heard on the occasion of the drawing of water denoted by this term.

⁴⁸ This sound is to be heard on the occasion of drinking in consequence of one’s intestines having become dry.

⁴⁹ The label denotes a sound that is reiterated and coming from the deep within the body.

⁵⁰ Meaning one who when asked for something, disliking to give it, has recourse to a pretence, and makes a reiterated breathing [or humming in his throat] as a feint to hide his unwillingness. The term denotes a grave and crass voice.

⁵¹ The label denotes a sound along with a calling for help and supplication.

⁵² In the animal sphere, the terms mean the bellow [of a cow or a bull].

⁵³ Freytag indicates that this sound is emitted when calling camels crying out ‘aḡ ‘aḡ.

from Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt bi-l-du‘ā</i> ⁵⁴	coo	هَتَافٌ
4. other types of sound			
Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	any sound, or any mixed, confused, sound	أَزْمَلٌ
al-Umawī	<i>ṣawt al-mā’</i>	gurgling, murmuring [of the water]	خَرِيرٌ
Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	gnashing	قَيْيبٌ
other	<i>mitlu al-ṣawt al-muḥtaniq aw al-mağhūd</i> ⁵⁵	rattling in the throat; hoarseness or roughness of the voice [occasioned by dust]	كَرِيرٌ
Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī	<i>idā zafara</i> ⁵⁶	roar ⁵⁷	نَحَطٌ

7. The focus on the way of speaking (*kalām*)

In the chapter on sounds regarding how people speak and their motion (*bāb aṣwāt kalām al-nās wa-ḥarratihim wa-ğayr dālika*), Abū ‘Ubayd uses the two general terms *ṣawt* and *kalām* to designate, depending on the rare terms referred to, whether only the sound of the uttered voice or also the spoken words or the speech are involved. Hence, the chapter involves both how spoken words are uttered and how people speak.

In the opening part of the chapter, Abū ‘Ubayd mentions two other important terms—*ḥaraka* (a) and *ğalaba* (b)—in connection with voice and/or speech. *ḥaraka* means motion and movement, but also, more in general, the activity [of speaking],⁵⁸ while *ğalaba* denotes a mixture of cries, shouts or noises, and thus a confusion. Therefore, these two terms indicate two poles in the range of meanings of speaking in general.

⁵⁴ The label denotes a sound [uttered] with supplication.

⁵⁵ Abū ‘Ubayd specifies that the sound is similar to the voice uttered from a narrow place (*al-muḥtaniq*) and the voice of the afflicted (*al-mağhūd*).

⁵⁶ Abū ‘Ubayd specifies the circumstance in which this voice is uttered, that is, if he breathed out.

⁵⁷ This term denotes somebody who drew in his breath to the utmost by reason of distress. It also means the beginning of the cry of the ass.

⁵⁸ Among other meanings, *ḥaraka* means a “letter’s having a vowel immediately following” and a “vowel” itself.

a. motion / activity			
Abū Zayd	<i>kalāmuhum wa- 'alāniyatuhum dūna sirrihim</i> ⁵⁹	desire to talk [of the people] openly	جَرَاهِيَّة
al-Kisā'ī	<i>al-ḥaraka</i>	low, faint, gentle, or soft sound; motion ⁶⁰	خَشْفَة
other	<i>aṣwāt al-nās</i>	crying out, shouting, or clamouring [of people talking]	ضَوْضَاءَة ⁶¹
al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-kalām wa-l- ḥaraka</i> ⁶²	verboesity	هَمَمَّة
Abū Zayd	<i>al-ḥaraka</i>	(the talking) of agitated motion	وَقْشَة
b. talking with noise ⁶³			
Abū Zayd	<i>al-kalām wa-l-ḡalaba</i>	crying out, clamouring, shouting	ضَوَّة
al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-kalām wa-l-ḡalaba</i>	clamour [way of speaking and noise]	ظَاب
Abū Zayd	<i>al-kalām wa-l-ḡalaba</i>	howling [of dog, wolf, jackal], clamouring, shouting	عَوَّة

As in the previous chapter, the force of the sound emission used in uttering words represents a discriminating factor in speaking. In this connection, Abū 'Ubayd distinguishes between speech characterised by loud, soft, and low sounds: while he reintroduces the difference between loud and low speech, namely with force (1: *šadīd*) or without force (3: *laysa bi-l-šadīd*), he adds the variable of soft speech (2: *ḥafiy*), which could be understood as a variable of low sounds. The latter category relates to sounds unperceived or imperceptible by the ear and therefore to an almost inaudible way of speaking.

Abū 'Ubayd then sketches a category of sound patterns generated when murmuring and therefore lists various ways of speaking characterised by a murmuring or trembling voice (4: *ṣawt ma'a baḥaḥ*), optionally accompanied by a reiterated hemming in the throat (*ṣawt ma'a tanaḥnuḥ*). Similar to the previous chapter, Abū 'Ubayd also identifies a category of ways of speaking when the voice is uttered with supplication (5: *al-ṣawt bi-l-du'ā*) or with a variety of attitudes that return the person to a state of difficulty (*al-ṣawt ma'a tawaḡḡu'*, with suffering). These two categories overlap because they include sounds produced in certain moods or circumstances.

⁵⁹ The label denotes their [people's] way of speaking and their openness without secrets. The expression also appears in the Qur'ān (2:275) to mean "openly," "publicly," and "aloud."

⁶⁰ In the animal sphere, this is the sound of the creeping of serpents and the sound of the hyena.

⁶¹ In some editions, the term is written ضَوْضَاءَة.

⁶² The label specifies that the term refers both to the way of speaking and to the motion or the activity.

⁶³ This category includes terms denoting both the manner of speaking and the confusion (of cries, noises) in it.

Incomprehensible speech that cannot be understood or accepted represents a further category (6: *al-kalām alladī lā yubayyinu*). Underlying this category is evidently the idea of not possessing a *clear* or *eloquent language* (*kalām bayyin*). In fact, we find there a variety of ways of speaking that range from the obscure (*zulma*) to the obscene (*huġr*).

Finally, a last category combines various unclassifiable ways of speaking (7).

1. loud			
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	voice, breath, emitted with a moaning; hard breathing	رَجِير
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	speaking or uttering in a warbling manner; speaking in a singing manner	صَدْح
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	stridulation; harsh and loud sound; squeaking; grating; creaking; jarring; chirp;	صَرِيف
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	hoarse, rough, harsh, or gruff, in voice	صَحَل
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	loud ringing sound; uttering the <i>kalima</i> [or sentence] with a feigning, or making a show, of skilfulness	صَالِصَةٌ
al-Kisā‘ī	<i>al-ṣiyāḥ</i> <i>ṣawwata ṣawtan</i> <i>ṣadīdan</i>	cry vehemently emitted; tushes of camels, that make a sound by their being rubbed against one another	صَافَةٌ
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	chest-sound	طَحِير
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	roar of the lion, tiger; voice of the moan of pain; sound of the monkey’s cry; uttering the kind of sound termed <i>za’ir</i>	نَهَيْت
other	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	heavy sound [of the chiding of camels]; roar	نَهِيم
other	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	loud sound or noise [occasioned by vehement heavy treading of the ground]	وَيْد
2. soft			
other	<i>ṣawt ḥafiyy</i>	act of whispering or speaking softly [without vibration of the vocal cords]	هَمْس
other	<i>al-kalām al-ḥafiyy</i>	whisper ⁶⁴	هَتْمَلَة
other	<i>al-kalām al-ḥafiyy</i>	murmur softly, speech concealed	هَيْمَة

⁶⁴ This term denotes an occult way of speaking.

3. low sound			
other	<i>al-ṣawt al-ḥafiyy laysa bi-l-šadīd</i> ⁶⁵	whisper, act of whispering or speaking softly; sensation caused in the ear by the vibration of the air or the vibration causing this vibration; low sound; or a sound that is not vehement: or the sound, or voice, of a man, which one hears from afar	رِكْز ⁶⁶
other	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	twang; sad voice when singing ⁶⁷	إِرْتَان
other	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	trilling, or quavering, and prolonging the voice hum; humming; intonation; singing; song; chanting	تَرْتُم
other	<i>[al-ṣawt laysa bi-l-šadīd] naḥwahu</i>	faint noise, low sound, barking	نَبْأَة
Abū 'Ubayd	<i>al-kalām al-ḥasan</i> ⁶⁸	whispering, twittering	نَغِيَة
Abū Zayd and al- Kisā'i	<i>al-kalām al-ḥafi</i>	melody with or without harmony; gentle-toned speech; and sweetness of voice, or melody, in recitation	نَعْم
al-Aṣma'ī	<i>ṣawt al-ḥallī</i>	rustle; talking indistinctly or in a low, faint, gentle, or soft manner, with confusedness; or with abnormal anxiety; suspicion; scrupulosity	وَسْوَاس
4. murmuring / prolonged			
al-Aṣma'ī	<i>[ṣawt ma'a baḥaḥ]</i>	any sound, or any mixed, confused, sound	أَزْمَل
al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	braying prolonging of the cries of camels	أَطِيَط
al-Aṣma'ī	<i>ṣawt ma'a tanaḥnuḥ yuqāl minhu raḡul anūḥ idā kāna yatanaḥnaḥu ma'a baḥaḥ wa-qad anaḥa</i>	mourning, lament	أَنُوح

⁶⁵ The label relates to a soft voice uttered not loudly.

⁶⁶ The term denotes something unclean and dirty.

⁶⁷ The term is also referred to a wailing woman; and of a cooing pigeon; and of a bow's string being pulled and let go.

⁶⁸ Unlike the other labels, this one seems to indicate a way of producing sounds and thus of speaking that is good or understandable.

	<i>ya’niḥu al-anūḥ al-raġul alladī ya’niḥu</i> ⁶⁹		
al-Aṣma‘ī	[<i>ṣawt ma’a baḥaḥ</i>]	twittering, warbling (a bird and a man) prolonged its, or his, voice, and singing, and modulated it sweetly, or warbled	تَغْرِيد
al-Aṣma‘ī	[<i>ṣawt ma’a baḥaḥ</i>] <i>ṣawt al-qidr ayḍan</i> ⁷⁰	gargling sound with which is a roughness, like that which is made by one gargling with water	غَرَّعْرَة
al-Aṣma‘ī	[<i>ṣawt ma’a baḥaḥ</i>]	making, or sending forth, a sound with which or in which is a roughness, hoarseness	تَغَطَط
al-Aṣma‘ī	[<i>ṣawt ma’a baḥaḥ</i>]	trilling, or quavering singing	هَزَج
al-Aṣma‘ī	[<i>ṣawt ma’a baḥaḥ</i>]	murmur, humming muttered words	هَمَمَة
al-Aṣma‘ī	[<i>ṣawt ma’a baḥaḥ</i>] <i>naḥwahu</i>	trembling uttered a sound accompanied by hoarseness, roughness, harshness, or gruffness, of the voice	وَحْوَحَة
5. with suffering			
Abū Zayd	<i>al-ṣawt ma’a tawaḡḡu’</i>	yearning for effort	نَجِيط
Abū Zayd	<i>al-ṣawt ma’a tawaḡḡu’</i>	sob	نَشِيح
al-Aṣma‘ī and Abū ‘Amr	<i>al-ṣawt ma’a tawaḡḡu’</i>	the voice of lament or remorse; the voice of the supplicant in supplication; the voice of the mourner	نَحْوَب
other	<i>al-ṣawt bi-l-du‘ā’</i>	coo, sound [uttered] with supplication, loud excited utterance of words	هَتَاف
6. Incomprehensible talking			
other	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	gibberish; talked much, and raised a clamour, or confused noise, with his tongue; he cried, or cried out,	بَرِبْرَة

⁶⁹ This long definition that follows has been translated above and goes as follows: “a sound accompanied by a reiterated hemming in the throat (*ṣawt ma’a tanaḥnuḥ*). From this it is said a man *anūḥ* when he is asked for a thing and makes a reiterated hemming in his throat with a hoarseness [of the voice] (*idā kāna yatanaḥnahu ma’a baḥaḥ*), then he breaths and breathed hard (*anaḥa ya’niḥu*) and thus *al-anūḥ* is the man who breaths hard by hemming in his throat (*ya’niḥu*).”

⁷⁰ Abū ‘Ubayd adds that this term may also refer to the sound of a pot that somehow gargles.

		and talked in anger, or talked confusedly, with anger and aversion	
other	<i>al-kalām allaḍī lā yubayyinu</i> ⁷¹	mumbling; talking indistinctly not from impotence	تَجَمُّمٌ
other	<i>al-kalām allaḍī lā yubayyinu</i>	speech that does not make itself distinguished / indistinctly	تَعَمُّمٌ
al-Kisā'ī	[similar to huḡr] <i>wa-miṭluhu aẓlama idā waqa'a fi al-ẓulma wa-aḍā'a idā waqa'a fi al-ḍaw</i> ⁷²	obscure talking	ظُلْمَةٌ
al-Kisā'ī	<i>wa-ahḡara idā balaḡa al-ḡāl allaṭī tūḡibu al-huḡr</i>	obscene talking; spoken, or uttered, foul, evil, bad, abominable, or unseemly, language	هُجْرٌ
7. Other			
other	<i>al-munāṭaqa</i> ⁷³	sermon to someone	مُؤَاظَعَةٌ
al-Umawī	<i>al-ṣawt</i>	gurgling, murmuring sound of the water	خَرِيرٌ

8. The focus on the speech (*kalām*) and the language (*lisān*)

In the chapter on sounds regarding language and speech (*bāb al-alsina wa-l-kalām*), Abū 'Ubayd lists terms dealing with speech (*kalām*), language (*al-lisān*), dialect (*al-laḡa*), diction or the expression of ideas by voice and words (*al-mantiq*). Thus, how sounds are uttered while speaking is no longer his focus of interest, but rather how words are articulated to convey ideas. In line with this, Abū 'Ubayd lists rare terms that range from eloquence to incorrectness in speech and logic of discourse.

In the category of eloquence (1), Abū 'Ubayd enumerates terms relating to persons having different qualities: [a man] whose tongue speaks Arabic correctly (*al-ḡaṣīḥ al-lisān*), eloquent (*al-baliḡ*), clear in the dialect which he speaks by nature (*al-bayyin al-laḡa*). Another small category concerns sharpness (2) in respect of eloquence (*al-ḡadīd al-lisān*).

⁷¹ The label denotes a speech that does not make itself distinguished.

⁷² In the label, the sphere of sound is compared to that of colour and the darkness of language to that of nightfall.

⁷³ The terms indicates a conversation with someone.

Very consistent, however, is the category of the profusion of words or verboseness in speech (*al-kaṭīr al-kalām* or *kaṭrat al-kalām*) (3). Once again, Abū ‘Ubayd lists a large number of rare terms expressing a range of ways of talking from excessive talking (*al-kaṭīr al-kalām wa-l-ifrāt fihi*) to idle talk.

The opposite pole of eloquence is thus represented by a series of ways of speaking that make language from incomprehensible to illogical. Three other categories relate to the negative effects on speaking. The category of disordered speech (4) includes terms that refer to people who are confused in the way they speak (*al-muḥtaliṭ fi kalāmihi*). The incorrect speech and the misspeaking (*al-saqāṭ min al-kalām wa-l-ḥaṭā’ fihi*) generating barbarisms in the language represent a specific category (5). A further category includes terms referring to defects in speech, language and logic (6). The opposite pole of eloquence is incorrectness in language and its illogicality (7).

1. eloquence			
Abū Zayd	<i>al-faṣīḥ al-lisān al-bayyin al-laḥḡa</i>	eloquent in language and clear in pronunciation	حُدَاقِي
other	<i>lisān al-qawm wa-al-mutakallim ‘anhum</i> ⁷⁴	headman, or chief in respect of tongue, on the occasion of contention, or disputation	مِدْرَه
Abū Zayd	<i>al-baliġ</i> fluent and refined in speech	fluent sharp properly speaking; and also chaste, or eloquent; and profuse of speech, or clamorous	ذَلِيْق
Abū Zayd	<i>al-baliġ</i>	eloquent; sharp, cutting, or eloquent, tongue	مِسْلَاق
other	<i>al-ḥaṭīb al-baliġ</i> ⁷⁵	eloquent [because of the vehemence of his voice and his speech]	مِسْلَاق
other	<i>al-ḥaṭīb al-baliġ</i>	eloquent [loud in voice] speaker, orator or preacher	مِصْقَع
Abū Zayd	<i>al-faṣīḥ al-lisān al-bayyin al-laḥḡa</i>	sharp-tongued man	الْفَتِيْق اللِّسَان
2. sharpness			
al-Aṣma‘ī	<i>al-ḥadīd al-lisān</i>	sharp-tongued	الحَلِيْف اللِّسَان
3. profusion of words			
Abū Zayd	<i>al-kaṭīr al-kalām wa-al-ifrāt fihi</i> ⁷⁶	logorrhoea; logorrhoeic if he has exceeded the due bounds in speech	إِذْرَاع / أَذْرَع

⁷⁴ The label refers to someone who acts as the tongue of people and is the one who speaks of them.

⁷⁵ In a second sense, the term refers only to the eloquent preacher.

⁷⁶ The label refers to the one who speaks too much and exceeds in it, i.e., the talkative.

al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-kaṭīr al-kalām</i>	prolix; loquacious, or profuse of speech	مُسَهَّب
al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-kaṭīr al-kalām</i>	Windy; eloquent, or fluent, in speech; running therein like the wind	مِسْهَك
al-Aṣma'ī	<i>kaṭrat al-kalām fa-iḏā kaṭura kalāmuḥu min ḥaraf⁷⁷</i>	weak in judgment, or unsound in mind by reason of extreme old age, or disease; who confounds [things] in his speech; or loquacious by reason of unsoundness of mind	مُفْنَد
Abū Zayd	<i>kuṭrat al-kalām fī al-bāṭil</i>	in the <i>obscure in his speech</i> ; distorted in the mouth [state of being] unsound (<i>fī al-bāṭil</i>)	لَخَا / أَلْحَى
al-Farrā'	<i>al-kaṭīr al-kalām</i>	idiot talkative	لَقَاعَة / تَلْقَاعَة
al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-kaṭīr al-kalām</i>	pratter; quick and voluble in speech; incorrectly, and vainly, or frivolously, loquacious; a great babbler	مِهَت
al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-kaṭīr al-kalām</i>	long-winded; loquacious; garrulous; babbling; a great talker; a bubbler. or nonsensical, irrational, foolish, or delirious, in his talk	هَذِر إِهْذَار
Abū 'Amr	<i>al-kaṭīr al-kalām</i>	stupid, or foolish, and loquacious, man	هَوْب
4. disorder			
Abū 'Amr	<i>al-muḥṭaliṭ fī kalāmihi⁷⁸</i>	disordered; disorder	مُنْبَكِل / تَبَكِّل

5. barbarism			
al-Aṣma'ī	<i>al-saqat min al-kalām wa-al-ḥaṭā' fīhi⁷⁹</i>	deceptive or false talk	هَنْر / مُهَنْر
al-Farrā'	<i>al-saqat min al-kalām wa-al-ḥaṭā' fīhi</i>	garrulous	فَقْفَاق
6. defect in language and logic⁸⁰			
Abū Zayd	'ayy ⁸¹	one with rolled tongue; one unable to find the manner in the expression of his ideas; bradyglossia ⁸²	أَفَف

⁷⁷ The label refers to the circumstance where he increased his words because of a disordered state of the intellect.

⁷⁸ The label refers to the one who is confused in his way of speaking.

⁷⁹ The label refers to the mistake in the way of speaking in which there is an error.

⁸⁰ This category does not include clear labels. Definitions of language problems are often explained with examples.

⁸¹ The term refers to someone *unable to find the right manner* in the expression of his ideas.

⁸² A form of dysarthria characterized by an abnormal slowness or deliberateness of speech.

other		impeded in his speech and such a one was unable to finish a saying that he desired to utter (<i>artaġa ‘alayhi</i>) if the speech was as though it were closed against him (<i>istaġlaqa ‘alayhi al-kalām</i>) ⁸³	رِتَاج
al-Aṣma‘ī	in his language (<i>lisān</i>) there is anarthria (<i>ḥukla</i>) namely barbarism (<i>‘uġma</i>)	anarthria	حُكْلَة
al-Aṣma‘ī		barbarism	عجمة
Abū Zayd	<i>al-kalīl al-lisān</i> ⁸⁴	dull of tongue ⁸⁵	فَهْ
al-Farrā’	the one who speaks with the deepest throat (<i>luqā’a</i>)	hoarse	مُقَامِق / مُمَمَّقَة
7. incorrectness in speech, language and logic			
al-Aṣma‘ī		idle talk	حَطَل
other		barbarous in speech; barbarousness and viciousness	لُخْلَخَانِي / لُخْلَخَانِيَّة
other	the one who does not talk	one unable to utter verse	مُفَحَم
other	<i>al-kalām alladī lā yubayyanu</i>	indistinct speech	تَعَمُّم
al-Farrā’	the one who scrutinizes it, reconsiders it ⁸⁶	refiner of speech	مُنَقِّحٌ لِلْكَلَام
other		polemical; the argument and speech revision; the contrast in the speech	نَقْل / نَقْل / مُنَاقَلَة فِي الْمُنَطَق

⁸³ The origin of the meaning lies in *al-ritāġ* (the door locked) which means the door (*al-bāb*).

⁸⁴ The label refers to someone who is weak in speech.

⁸⁵ The verb denotes a state of confusion and forgetfulness. The example (also reported by Lane) is: I came for some reason, but a guy made me forget what it was to the point that I forgot [it completely] i.e. he made you forget it.

⁸⁶ The verb denotes someone who removes faults or defects of the language.

other	<i>al-mantiq al-fāsīd</i> ⁸⁷	loquacity with incorrectness	هراء
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9. Conclusions

The search for sounds in *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* seems to have led away from the soundscape that would be expected for several reasons.⁸⁸

The first difficulty in understanding the sounds at this stage in the history of Arab culture is inherent in the very Arabic word for sound. If we closely examine the work of Abū ‘Ubayd, it would appear that he uses the term *ṣawt* (and also *aṣwāt*) as a kind of “umbrella” term to comprise several sound dimensions (both abstract and concrete). Hence, depending on the field of application, a *ṣawt* could refer to, describe, reproduce sounds of different types, originating from various sources—human beings, animals, objects, natural and meteorological phenomena, to mention a few—characterised by a variety of dynamics and modulations. We find such a variety of possibilities even in the human sphere. Indeed, the *aṣwāt* are not only the different voices of people in the strict sense; they are also the sounds that characterise their various ways of talking and the languages they speak.

A further difficulty lies in the word lists provided in *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf*. Based on the lists of terms these *aṣwāt* refer to, we can assume that they do not reproduce real sounds. Most of the terms listed do not always refer to nouns, adjectives, or verbs that express or reproduce the very sound uttered but rather how they are uttered. One might, therefore, conclude that for Abū ‘Ubayd, the term *ṣawt* represents a broad sound dimension rather than relating to a specific sound.

Overall, *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* depicts a kaleidoscopic and artificial soundscape, which cannot be immediately established through the list of words of each chapter. But we can infer it, albeit with silent and missing pieces, through the work as a whole. Many of the terms found in the lists of the three chapters above examined are decontextualised. They would rather seem to indicate emotional or physical conditions more than places, individuals or circumstances in which people utter sounds, speak, and use language. For example, there is no mention of any specific sound regarding the Bedouin environment despite many of these terms coming from interviews conducted by lexicographers among the Arab tribes. Just as environmental references are missing, anthropological references are missing too. No terms refer to people speaking different dialects, or people characterized by diverse ways of

⁸⁷ The label denotes the incorrect logic of the speech.

⁸⁸ These conclusions are far from definitive and are rather general reflections that have emerged from the exchange of views I have had with various friends and colleagues whom I gave this article to read. I therefore thank Francesco Grande, Jérôme Lentin, Alessandro Mengozzi, Elias Saba, and Ignacio Sánchez for their precious insights, comments, remarks, and revisions.

talking in different communities, social or ethnic groups. To some extent, through his lexicographic work, Abū ‘Ubayd seems to normalise the Arabic soundscape by giving it a homogeneous and regular profile as if the *aṣwāt* came from a community of Arabic speakers uniform in terms of origin, habitat, and social status.

On the other hand, the three chapters do provide us with a palette of very interesting terms and expressions. Some continue to be used today, whereas others have been lost since they have become effectively rare and obsolete. And precisely because of this consideration, I conclude that the (almost archaeological) excavation research work in these sources provides us with something that, in its own way, may be a true soundscape. For all intents and purposes, *al-Ġarīb al-Muṣannaf* is an artefact of the Arabic lexicographical culture and should be treated as such. It gives back some of the sounds that could be heard in real life, leaving the rest silent or missing.

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Constellations, plants and Arab poetry in a Medieval Berber text

Vermondo Brugnatelli

This paper discusses one paragraph of the *Kitāb al-Barbariyya*, a medieval Berber commentary on Abū Ġānim's *Mudawwana*. The brief note examined is a comment on the answer to a legal question, which mentions the ancient Berber names of a constellation and of a plant, quoting two lines of Arabic poetry. The passage occupies seven lines (f. 126b, ll. 8-14) of the manuscript MS.ARA 1936 found at the Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations (BULAC) of Paris. The Berber words retrieved from this text are *Amanar*, the name of the constellation of Orion, and *tabduyt*, the name of the cotton plant. Moreover, in this ancient text, the word (*a*)*kermus*, which in the contemporary Berber languages applies to some specific plants (figs, prickly pears, dates), and which, in this case, seems to mean simply 'fruit', which supports a possible etymology from the Greek *karpós*. A list of Arab authors quoted within the *Kitāb al-Barbariyya* is added at the end of the paper.

Keywords: Berber languages; Berber manuscripts; Ibadism; Arab poetry; Berber lexicon.

1. Introduction

The learned Abū Ġānim Bišr b. Ġānim al-Ḥurāsānī (2nd/3rd century h.=8th/9th CE) is considered a fundamental point of reference within the Ibāḍī community, above all for his role as a collector of traditions from the earliest members of the movement. Through his vast "*Compendium*" of jurisprudence (*Mudawwana*), he handed on a mass of legal opinions on every aspect of the life of believers.

In the chapter on repudiation (*ṭalāq*), some paragraphs tackle the question of the number of times the formula "I repudiate you" must be pronounced for a divorce to be valid. As is known, the canonical number is three. The *Compendium* deals with a fairly rich series of case studies, one of which is the specific case of a husband who, instead of explicitly using the numeral "three," makes reference to

different expressions, for example “a number equal to that of the stars.” Here is the relevant passage, according to the 2007 printed version:¹

قلت: فرجل قال لامرأته: أنت طالق عدد النجوم؟
قال ابن عبد العزيز: بَلَّغْنَا عن ابن عباس أنه كان يقول: «يُبيئُها منك رأس الجوزاء»؛
وقد بَلَّغْنَا عن ابن مسعود أن رجلا سأله فقال: يا أبا عبد الرحمن إني طلقت امرأتي عدد النجوم؟ قال: «فما يقول الناس
عندكم؟» قال: يقولون باننت منك. قال: «فهو كما قلت».
ثم قال: «من طلق كما أمر الله لم يندم. وقد بيّن الله تعالى لكم الطلاق، ومن لبس على نفسه جعلناه كذلك، ولا تلبسوا على
انفسكم، ونحمله عنكم. هو كما تقولون»

(2007: II, 365 = 2006: 193 = 1984 - *Ṣuġrâ* vol. 1, 282 = 1984 - *Kubrâ* vol. 2, 114)

I said, “And (what about) a man who said to his wife, ‘You are divorced (as many times as) the number of the stars’?”

Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz replied: “It has been handed down to us concerning Ibn ‘Abbās that he used to say: ‘the head of Orion separates her from you;’ and it has been handed down to us concerning Ibn Mas‘ūd that a man had questioned him saying, ‘O Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, (what happens) if I divorced my wife in number (equal to that) of stars?’” and he answered: ‘And what do people say in your country?’ ‘They say: she is separate from you’ ‘then it is as you said.’ Then he added: ‘Whoever divorces his wife as Allah has commanded, will not repent, and God has made divorce clear to you, and he who creates complications (know that) we have constituted it thus, and do not create complications: we have relieved you of it, it is as you say.’”²

The Berber commentary on the *Mudawwana*, known under the name of *Kitāb al-Barbariyya*,³ devotes some explanatory notes to this passage. The answer that Ibn ‘Abbās gave to the question is particularly interesting, as there is a mention of the name of a constellation. Similar interrogatives about the

¹ The text of the *Mudawwana*, still preserved in numerous manuscripts, is known under two redactions: the “shortest” (*Ṣuġrâ*) and the “longest” (*Kubrâ*). Both have been published in various printed editions, which are recapitulated at the end of this paper.

² The authorities referred to in this passage are: ‘Abdallāh Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Baṣrī (2nd century h., one of the main sources of Abū Gānim, quoted more than 1100 times in his *Mudawwana*); ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās (c. 618–688 CE, celebrated traditionist and teacher of ‘Abd Allah ibn Ibāḍ); Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abdallāh Ibn Mas‘ūd (d. c. 32h. / 652 CE, a companion of the Prophet, considered to be the greatest interpreter of the Quran of his time).

³ Authorship of this commentary is credited to Abū Zakariyā’ Yaḥyà al-Yafrānī, of whom very little is known besides the name and the affiliation to the Nukkārīte sect of Ibāḍism. In particular, the time in which he lived is unknown. As to the title of this commentary, besides *Kitāb al-Barbariyya* written in the first page of the largest manuscript, mentions of its author as *Ṣāḥib al-Barbariyya* are attested both in a marginal note within the same manuscript (f. 332b) and in other Ibāḍī works (Salimi & Madelung 2014: 132; Salimi 2021: 21).

number of times a man has to pronounce the formula to divorce his wife are recorded by many traditionists. The most resembling hadith, where the “head of Orion” is mentioned, appears in the Shi‘ite collection *Kitāb al-Kāfi*, among a series of questions the genealogist al-Kalbī asked ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan: “قلت: أخبرني عن رجل قال لامرأته: “أنت طالق عدد نجوم السماء” فقال: تبين برأس الجوزاء.”⁴

The Berber passage under scrutiny appears in ll. 8-14 of f. 126b of the manuscript MS.ARA 1936 found at the *Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations* (BULAC) of Paris.⁵

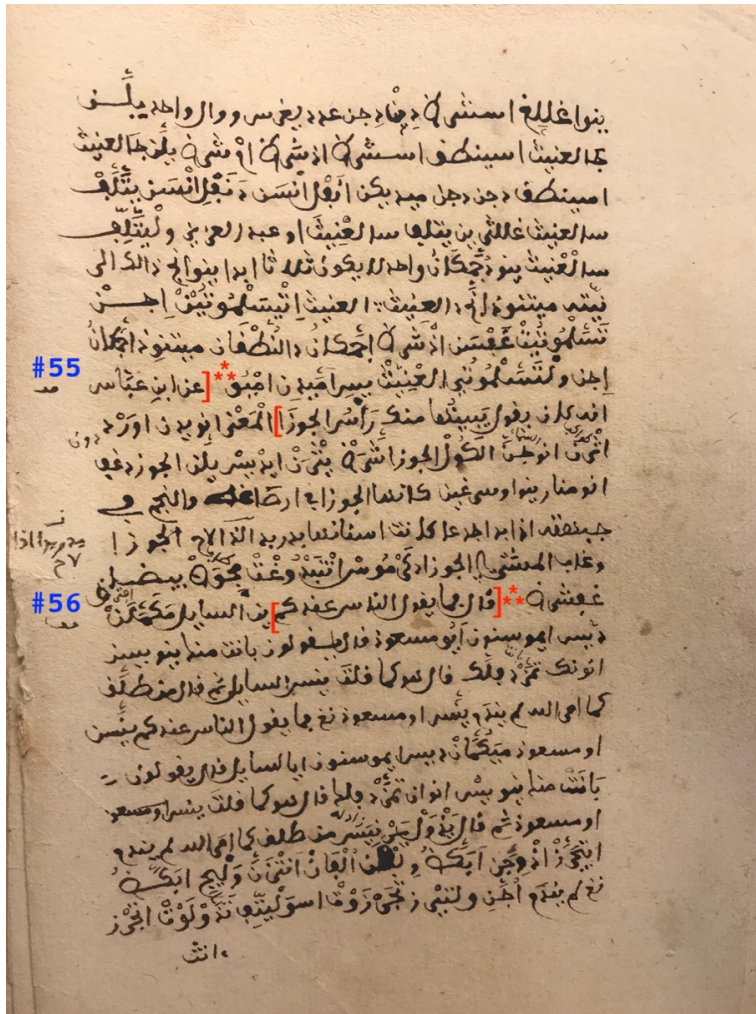


Fig. 1. f. 126b of the manuscript MS.ARA 1936 (BULAC Library-Paris)

⁴ Al- Kulaynī (2007: 216). Ḥadīth #6 of chapter 138 (*Bāb mā yuḥḥalu bi-hi bayna da‘wā al-muḥiqqi wa al-mubṭili fi ‘amri al-‘imāma*).

⁵ The commentary is divided into “paragraphs,” each of which comments on a word or a short passage from the *Mudawwana* (see Brugnatelli 2016: 154-155). According to my calculations, the present passage is the fifty-fifth paragraph of the commentary on the *Kitāb al-Ṭalāq “al- Kabīr”* (named thus to distinguish it from another shorter chapter on the same subject called *Kitāb al-Ṭalāq “al-Saḡīr”*). To be precise, the Berber commentary also devotes two other paragraphs to commenting on the final part of the question (§§ 56 and 57), but these will not be considered here.

As is customary in this commentary, first of all, the text takes up the sentence it is about to elucidate (عن ابن عباس انه كان يقول يبيئها⁶ منك رأس الجوزا) and follows it with observations, aimed first of all at explaining the overall meaning of the sentence, and then at focussing on the Arabic term الجوزا. For greater clarity, I have reproduced the text here by dividing it into three parts of homogeneous content, each followed by its translation. The Berber text is in a Latin rendering, the Arabic is left in Arabic characters:

elmeena n waydin: awerdi iṭran n uǧenna ^{GLOSS dūna kawākibi s-samāʿi} *elkul.*

Eljuza⁷ eš šared yetran ay diy-es yellan

Eljuza d iyef n Umanar.

The meaning of this is: “more than all the stars in the sky.”

As for “الجوزا”, three are the stars that are part of it.

“الجوزا” is the head of Amanar (Orion).

Yenwa useryin :

كانها⁸ الجوزاء في ارساغه⁹ والنجم في جبهته اذا بدا
جدعا كانت اسنانها بدر اذا لاح الجوزا وغاب المشتري

An Arab said:

“(the horse) seemed to have the stars of الجوزاء in his hocks, and the Pleiades on his forehead, when he appeared.”

جدعا (?)¹⁰

“her teeth were (like) the full moon that appeared when الجوزاء dawned and Jupiter disappeared.”

Eljuza d akermus en tebduyt (انتبذو غث) maǧǧ_iwed ^{GLOSS tāba} *yebda* ^{GLOSS iftaraqa} *af šared.*

⁶ Sic. The vocalization of the manuscript is reproduced here.

⁷ This transcription, like others of Berber words without vowel marks, is only conjectural and is based on the observation that most loanwords from Arabic have a form similar to that of modern dialects, in which, in particular, diphthongs are often monophthongized and the *hamza* is not pronounced.

⁸ Reading of the Berber manuscript. All modern publishers have كانما (Haitsma 1773:88; Scheid 1786:7; Boisen 1828:40ar.).

⁹ Reading of the Berber manuscript. All modern editors have ارساغه. On this, see below.

¹⁰ The meaning of جدعا between the first and the second quoted verse remains unclear. If one excludes the possibility of some writing error, one could hypothetically think that a Berber expression marks here a transition between one line by Ibn Durayd and another line by a different author. In this case, a possible interpretation—yet not the only one—would be (with haplography of an *alif*) *aǧ_ǧedea* (= *ay_yedea*) “which [direct object] (re)calls ...”

“*eljuza*” is the fruit of the cotton plant, which, once it has reached maturity, splits into three.

2. The meaning of the Arabic verses

It frequently occurs that the commentary, written by a Berber for an audience of Berbers with little knowledge of Arabic, uses Arabic verses to illustrate the meaning and use of some rare or very specific term.¹¹ In some cases, these verses are taken from known compositions, while in others the authors or poems are difficult to identify. The author’s name is never expressed, and each quotation is usually preceded by the phrase *yenwa useryin* ‘an Arab said’ (*aseryin*, literally ‘Saracen,’ is the term employed for ‘Arab,’ whilst the feminine form *taseryint* means ‘the Arabic language’).¹² In this case, two lines are cited. The first is by a known author, whilst the second—as far as I know—is of unknown attribution. The former is a verse from the *Qaṣīda Maqṣūra* by Ibn Durayd (c. 837-933 CE). This poet and lexicographer must have been particularly dear to the author of the commentary, given that, in addition to this line, in other parts of the work there are no less than five more quotations from him.¹³ Two are found in the chapter on prayer (*Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*, f. 4b, l. 7 and f. 5a, l. 5-6;), two in the chapter on fasting (*Kitāb al-Ṣiyām*, f. 61a, l. 19 ff. and f. 72b, l. 21) and one in a passage on forbidden beverages (*Kitāb al-ʿaṣriba wa al-ḥudūd*, f. 195a, l.1-2).

Boisen (1828: 84) thus describes the meaning of the passage in question: “This verse describes a horse with white marks on his legs and forehead, which among the Arabs was considered, for horses, not only a sign of beauty but also of nobility of lineage.”¹⁴ Interestingly, from the point of view of Arabic dialectology, the spelling *ارصاغه* of the term meaning ‘pasterns,’ contains an emphatic *ṣ* instead of *s*. Although almost all lexicons report only the form with *sīn* (*s*), the annotations of the Andalusian

¹¹ In-depth research on the origin and use of these poetic quotations (*ṣawāhid*) is out of the scope of the present paper. The main reference on the subject are the works by Gilliot (1996a and b). The noticeable lack of attribution for almost all the quotations suggests that no real philological intent is at stake here, and that the quotations are barely used for a basic lexical explanation.

¹² On the other hand, when an Arab proverb or idiom is quoted, the typical expression is *nnan iseryinen* “the Arabs use to say.”

¹³ Given the length of the text and the difficulty of identifying all the sources of the cited verses, the list of authors and citations is still largely incomplete. The poets I could identify so far—without systematic research—are about thirty-three, from the pre-Islamic ones, such as Imruʿ l-Qays or Ṣanfara, up to those of the 10th century, such as Ibn Durayd (see the list in the appendix). The fact that up to now no authors from later periods have been found supports the hypothesis of an early dating of the commentary.

¹⁴ The original reads: “Describitur hocce in versu equus, qui albis pedum et frontis notis ornatus est, id quod apud Arabes non solum per se in equis pulchrum, verum etiam nobilioris generis signum habebatur.”

grammarian Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī (d. 1181-82) affirm that this word might be written in both ways.¹⁵ Most probably, this emphasis, apparently limited to the Maghreb, derives from its proximity to an emphatic *r*, this being a realization of the vibrant that is rather frequent today in the Maghreb and that also seems to be an ancient feature.

In the *Lisān al-‘Arab* of the North African Ibn Manẓūr (1232 – 1311), الرُّصْنُ is considered a “known variant” of الرُّسْنُ in the language “of the common people” (الْعَامَّةُ):

«الرُّصْنُ: لُغَةٌ فِي الرُّسْنِ، مَعْرُوفَةٌ؛ قَالَ ابْنُ السِّكِّيتِ: هُوَ الرُّسْنُ، بِالسِّينِ، وَالرَّسَاغُ وَالرَّصَاغُ: حَبْلٌ يُشَدُّ فِي رُسْنِ الدَّابَّةِ شَدِيداً إِلَى وَتْدٍ أَوْ غَيْرِهِ، وَيَمْنَعُ الْبَعِيرَ مِنَ الْإِنْبِعَاتِ فِي الْمَشْنِيِّ، وَهُوَ بِالصَّادِ لُغَةٌ الْعَامَّةُ»
(1883: 310)

Ibn Durayd’s verse is followed by another, which can hardly be considered a continuation of the previous verse even though the introduction in Berber hints at a single *aseryin*. What follows, in truth, is more uncertain also due to a scribal error, corrected in a note in the margin, itself written in an unclear way. Up to now, I have not been able to find the origin of this second quotation. It must be from another poem in which the name of the constellation occurs, and in which an allusion is made to white teeth (اسنانها: of a mare? of a woman?) whose whiteness would be compared to the luminosity of the stars. The error corrected in the marginal note appears to be a *lām* instead of *alif* as the first letter of اذا. Anyway, it seems certain that the line deals with the appearance (لاح) of الجُوزَاء along with the disappearance (غاب) of Jupiter (المشتري). It must be said that usually الجُوزَاء has a feminine agreement, but apart from this detail the interpretation seems safe.

3. Eljuza

All three early European editors of Ibn Durayd’s text, Haitsma (1783:75), Scheid (1786:31), and Boisen (1828:93) identify الجُوزَاء as the constellation of Gemini.¹⁶ However, this is not straightforward: as Kunitzsch remarks (1961: 22), although a correspondence of Arab names to the Greek names of the twelve mansions of the Zodiac was easily established, possibly as a consequence of a common heritage from old Mesopotamia, “it is evident that the Arabs have only very vaguely preserved the location of

¹⁵ “الارساغ جمع رسغ وهو ما بين الحافر والوضيف (والوظيف) ويكتب بالسين والصاد” in Boisen (1828: 30).

¹⁶ Haitsma 1773 (p. 75, v. 88): “Ac si esset signum Geminorum in tarso eius, atque Stella in ejus fronte, quando exorta fuit”; Scheid 1786 (p. 31 v. 84): “Haud secus ac si in tarsis ipsius astrum appareret Geminorum; in fronte autem Pleiades, primulum promicantes”; Boisen 1828 (p. 93, v. 91): “Ubi procedit, astrum Geminorum in tarsis, Pleiades vero in fronte eius esse videntur”.

the corresponding patterns in the sky (...) their *jawzā*³, which corresponds to the Gemini, is located in Orion.”

As a matter of fact, *jawzā*³ was often used for the constellation of Orion, both as a whole and limited to the three central stars that make up Orion’s belt (as reported, for example, by the dictionary of Lane s.v.). In the text of the *Mudawwana* and its commentary, the reference to its “head” (رأس الجوزاء in Arabic, *iyef n Umanar* in Berber) makes it clear that in this case Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz wanted to allude precisely to the anthropomorphic figure of Orion. This agrees even more closely with the context, in which reference must be made to not two but at least three stars to obtain a number that justifies the legitimacy of the divorce. And this is what the Berber commentary underlines, recalling that this constellation is made up of three stars.

In the schematization of asterism, the head of Orion is identified as a star cluster (Collinder 69 or Lambda Orionis Cluster) in which three stars stand out,¹⁷ of which the brightest is Meissa (λ Orionis, actually a binary star), below which are φ^1 on the right and φ^2 on the left.

¹⁷ According to Monteil (1949: 209), the name of the three stars of the head of Orion (5th lunar mansion) in the Ḥassaniya Arabic of the Moors in Mauritania and southern Morocco is *lhaqqa*. This is consistent with the description of *al-haqqa* (properly ‘tuft of hair’) by Kunitzsch (1961: 64): “nach Ibn Qutayba 41, 6 (auch 45, 9) drei kleine Sterne, die Ṣūfī 268, 21 (Yehuda XXXIV, 4) mit den drei von Ptolemäus als 1. Stern des Orion = λ $\varphi^{1,2}$ Orionis zusammen gefaßt identifiziert”.

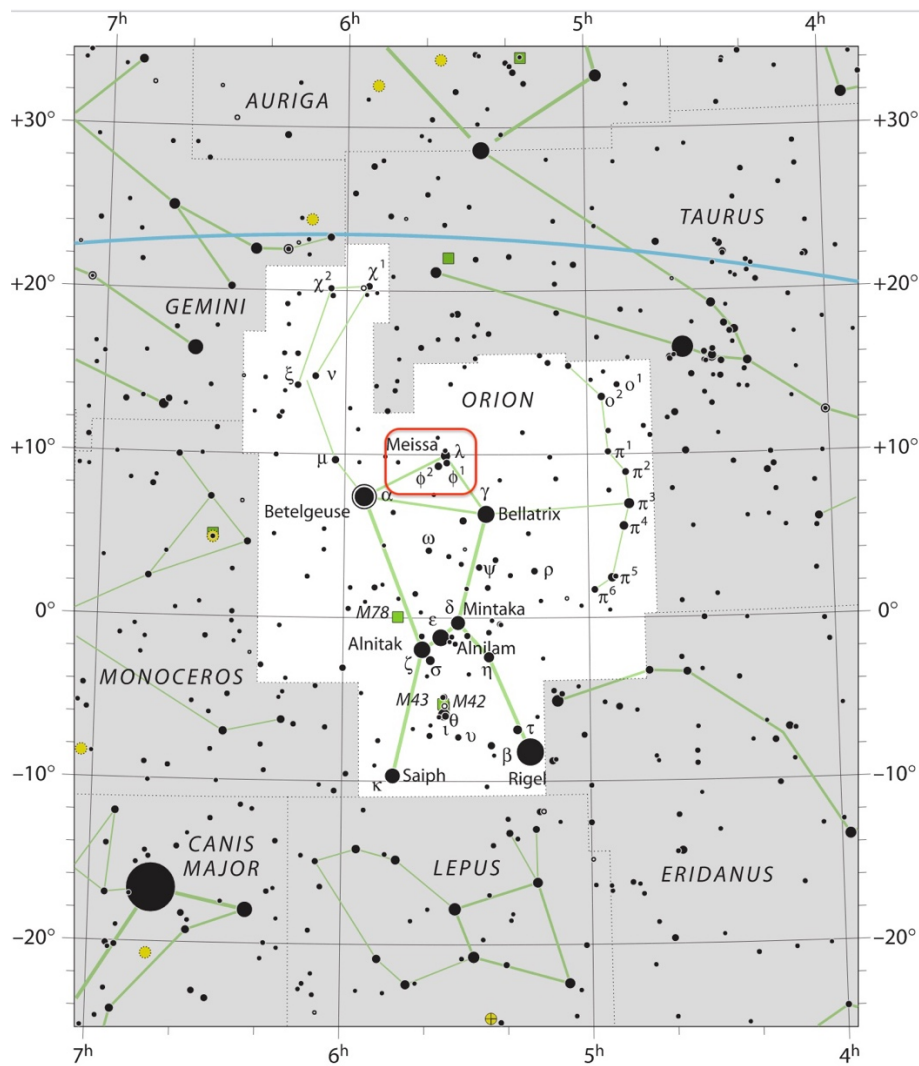


Fig. 2. A chart of Orion showing its ‘head’ (from Wikimedia Commons)

Amanar “the guide” is attested as the name of the constellation of Orion in several Berber-speaking communities, starting with the Tuaregs,¹⁸ for whom *amānar* is generally considered a verbal noun derived from *anar* ‘to guide.’ Prasse *et al.* (2003: 622) give the following explanation: “so named because the caravans navigate with it.”¹⁹ Curiously, however, Ch. de Foucauld reporting on the form *āmanar* of the Ahaggar dialect, connects it to the verb *ar* ‘to open,’²⁰ perhaps since in that dialect the common noun for ‘guide’ derived from the verb *anar* ‘to guide’ is *emānir*. This vocalism in -i- is present in the Mزاب, where Delheure (1984: 119) records, as “vieux mot,” *amnir* ‘rider; name of the constellation

¹⁸ See, among others, Bernus and ag Sidiyene (1989: 145) and Aghali-Zakara (2014: 379).

¹⁹ Similarly, Heath 2006: 430: “Orion. Star used for navigation in the cold season.”

²⁰ Foucauld (1940: 358; 1955, vol. 4: 1553).

Orion.²¹ Souag (2019: 209, 217) states that the constellation name *amanar* is also in use among the Ait Khebbach of Tabelbela Oasis. Also in the Anti-Atlas, *Amanar*, Orion, acts as a guide in the winter season, and in 1968 the Chleuh singer Ahmed Amzal entitled an anthology of his own production *Amanar* (Kratochwil 2002: 284). Among the Berbers of central Morocco, the term *amanar* has not been recorded in the numerous recently published lexicons and seems to have been preserved only among the Ait Izdeg, no longer in the specific meaning of ‘Orion’ but as a generic term for ‘constellation, starlight’ (Taïfi 1991: 424).

The use of the name *amanar* for Orion (as a translation of the Arabic الجُوزَاءُ) has also been attested in the oldest Arab-Berber lexicons, such as that of Ibn Tūnārt of the 12th century and that of ‘Abdallāh al-Hilālī of the 17th century (Van den Boogert 1997: 119). To these ancient attestations from Morocco, the passage from the *Kitāb al-Barbariyya*, now adds the testimony of Medieval Eastern Berber, thus confirming the pan-Berber dimension of this astronomical designation.

4. (a) *kermus* ‘fruit’

In this passage, *akermus* is evidently used in the generic sense of ‘fruit,’ whilst currently in North Africa this term is used—both in Berber and in Arabic—to designate specific varieties of fruit (and fruit plants), such as figs, prickly pears, and dates. Beaussier’s dialectal Arabic dictionary states, under the entry *kermūs* (p. 862): «(du berb. *akerbūz* mauvaise figue) figue; figue sèche.» In the Maghrebian Arabic dialects, this designation is widespread almost everywhere, from the Maltese (*karmus* ‘a fig, or other fruit, which does not ripen’, Aquilina 1975: 302) up to southern Morocco (*karmus* ‘figs,’ but *karma* ‘fig plant,’ Socin and Stumme 1895: 50; Marçais 1911: 449).

In the Berber world, however, the related terms seem limited to the north-eastern and central regions, with the exclusion of the Tuareg and Moroccan dialects, the only exception being the Rif (Amret), where we also find *tagarbazt* “figue non mûre” (Renisio 1932: 352). Among the Berber dialects that use terms of this family we observe: Ouargla *akerbus* «variété de dattier,» *takermust* «variété de datte bleu-noir,» Mzab *akerbuš* «espèce de dattier,» Touat *akaḥbuš* «fig,» Aures *akermus* «fig» (Saed 2013: 84). In Kabyle, there exist both *akermus* «figuier de Barbarie» and *kurbuz* «figue non mûre.»

This variety of results, combined with the testimony of the medieval Berber text, seems to suggest that at its origins this was a generic term for ‘fruit,’ which would then settle on designating, according to the climatic conditions, the types of fruit par excellence: meaning dates in the desert and pre-desert

²¹ Even among Ḥassaniya speakers, Monteil (1949: 220) records the borrowing «*āmnēr* pl. *imnīran* ‘guide.’»

(Ouargla, Mzab) and the fig or prickly pear elsewhere. This consideration led us to return to the question of the etymology of these terms. If on the one hand the pansemitic *karm* ‘vine’ (Fronzaroli 1969: 291-292) seems to put forward a basis from which the North African dialectal word would later be derived by means of the suffix *-us*,²² it is well known that this traditional etymology is not without problems. Firstly, because a shift of meaning from ‘vine’ to ‘fig tree’ requires an explanation,²³ and secondly because the origins and functions of the ending *-us* are not clear. Schuchardt (1908: 375-381) devotes several pages to the question of the relationship between the (classical) Arabic term *karm*, *karma* and the dialectal Berber and Arabic words of this family.

From the point of view of meaning, Schuchardt (1908: 375-381) limits himself to pointing out that the fig and vine plants are “not dissimilar in terms of trunk and leaves, and in any case culturally related (*kulturell verschwistert*).” As for the suffix, considering that Dozy’s dictionary qualified this word ending in *-us* as straightforward Berber, he notes that many typically Berber words have a similar, but not identical, suffix *-uš*, often with a diminutive value, but not *-us*. On the contrary, the *-us* ending is present in various names of plants and animals, and above all in loanwords from Latin (*asnus* ‘donkey’ < *asinus*; *qattus* ‘cat’ < *cattus*; (*a*)*fullus* ‘chick’ < *pullus*, etc.). With great prudence,²⁴ the hypothesis is therefore advanced that it could be an ending preserved in very ancient loans, prior to the arrival of the Arabs and also to the neo-Latin evolution of African Latin, which would entail the loss of this ending. That said, however, Schuchardt does not propose any Latin or Greek word to be placed at the origin of this term, which will not even be included in his subsequent examination of loanwords likely to be traced back to Latin or to the Romance languages (Schuchardt 1918).

Taking into account the different forms that the terms of this family have both in Berber and in Arabic from North Africa, the fact that they refer to different types of fruit, and above all the observation of an evident generic value of ‘fruit’ in this medieval text, it seems to me that we can imagine a link with the Greek *karpós*, with the typical phenomenon of alternation between a bilabial stop and the corresponding nasal (typically *b/m*: Berber consonantism does not include a voiceless stop [p]). It is known, in fact, that among the borrowings from Latin and Greek into Berber and North African Arabic, many examples belong to the domain of cultivated plants. Furthermore, the alternation *b/m* is

²² This position has also been recently reaffirmed by Behnstedt and Woidich (2010: 491-2), who speak of “Bedeutungswandel ‘Feigengarten’ > ‘Feigenbaum’ womöglich unter berberischem Einfluss.”

²³ Nowadays, all authors agree on a shift from a general meaning of ‘orchard’ to that of a specific plant and fruit. The generic meaning of ‘orchard’ (*kárm* ‘*šneḅ*, *kárm tīn*, *kárm fāstoq*, respectively ‘vineyard,’ ‘fig plantation’ and ‘pistachio plantation’) is reported in Barthélemy (1935: 713).

²⁴ “Meine Vermutung, ich darf nicht sagen Ansicht” (Schuchardt 1908: 379).

found in many other terms, the most famous of which is the hydronym *Bagrada* (from the Latin era) attested today as *Medjerda*, a river in Tunisia.

There are many examples that can be cited, not only among proper names (toponyms such as Julius Honorius' *Mons Gurbessa*, corresponding to what is now called *Guermessa*, or anthroponyms such as *Meqdeš*, a character in folktales from various Berber regions, but *Biqdeš* in Ouarsenis).²⁵ This also occurs among common names (the pan-Berber *tamuryi* 'grasshopper' in Ghadames is *tomaršé*, but *buryes* in Jerba; *tabejna* «head» in Mzab but *tamegna* and *tabegna* in Touat/Gourara²⁶, etc.), and even in grammatical elements such as the interrogative *batta/matta* 'what?': in the Mzab, both forms are used, in Jerba, Cheninni and Zuara only *matta*, but in Sokna *ba ta* (Sarnelli 1924: 14) and *matta* (Souag 2015:187) and in Ouargla *matta*, but in the nearby oasis of Ngouça *batta*.²⁷

5. *tabduyt* 'cotton plant'

As for *tabduyt* (here probably *tebduyt* in the annexed state), it is evidently the cotton plant, not only due to the comparison with the related terms found in other Berber languages, but also due to the description given here, of a fruit which, having reached maturation, opens into several parts (bringing out the fibre which is collected for the textile industry).

The terms attested in modern dialects are: Sokna (Libya) *tabdayt/tabduxt*, Tuareg *tabdoq*, Ghat *tabduq*, Ouargla and Jerba *tafduxt*, all meaning 'cotton plant.' This lexeme is also present in the treatise on phytonymy *Umdat at-ṭabīb* by Abū l-Ḥayr al-Išbīlī (11th-12th century): *tābuduyt*, *tābadyīt*, *Gossypium herbaceum* L. (Tilmatine-Bustamante Costa 2002: 437). In this case too, the attestation in eastern medieval Berber confirms the pan-Berber extension of this designation. Whilst this Berber term to designate the cotton plant is already known, I have not yet found the denomination *eljuza* for its fruit, homonymous with the astral figure, and perhaps even derived from it if the analogy with the fruit split into three sections put forward by the commentator of the *Mudawwana* can be considered a reliable etymon. However, this is probably an ad hoc etiological explanation, given that the term *eljuz*, widespread almost everywhere in North Africa, is clearly a loan from the Arabic *jawz*, normally used to

²⁵ Other toponyms in Abdul-Wahab (1939: 201).

²⁶ Bellil (2000: 227) records *tamegna* for 'head' but remarks: «pronounced *tabegna* in certain ksours.»

²⁷ This alternation, reported sporadically but never systematically, and to date little studied, was the subject of a talk I gave at the Centro Studi Camito-Semitici in Milan on 4 May 2005 ("On some little-investigated phonetic phenomena of Berber"). See also the considerations by Brugnattelli (2021) regarding the connections between *Byzac-* of the ancient toponym *Bizacene* and **Muzaq*, plural of **Maziq* (the *Mazices* of the ancients) today (*a*)*maziq*.

indicate walnuts or almonds, given its original sense of ‘kernel, nut.’ In this case, it is possible that it could apply to any infructescence with a shell such as the cotton boll.

Appendix: Provisional list of Arab authors quoted in the *Kitāb al Barbariyya*

1. Imru’ l-Qays (f. 62a, l. 3; f. 71a, l. 16-17) [preislamic]
2. Ta’abbaṭa Šarran (f. 147b, l. 6-7) [preislamic]
3. Maṭrūd b. Ka‘b al-Khuzā‘ī (f. 300a, l. 20-21) [preislamic]
4. Šanfara (f. 195a, l. 5-6) [d. c. 525]
5. al-Muṭaqqib al-‘Abdī (f. 11b, l. 4-7) [d. c. 590]
6. Nābiḡa (f. 61b, l. 21-22; 209a, l. 23-209b, l. 1) [c. 535 – ca. 604]
7. Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā (f. 10a, l. 2-3; f. 140a l. 4-5; f. 228a, l. 4-5; f. 242b, l. 13) [c. 520 – c. 609]
8. ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād al-‘Absī (f. 9a, l. 16-17; f. 15b, l. 17-19 = 194a, l. 1-3) [525–615]
9. Umayya b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī ṣ-Šalt b. Abī Rabī‘a b. ‘Awf aṭ-Ṭaqafī (f. 67b, l. 3-4) [d. 626]
10. Maymūn al-‘A‘šā (f. 4b, l. 16-18; f. 147b, l. 11-12) [570– 629]
11. al-Qattāl al-Kilābī (f. 5b, l. 4-5 = 9b, l. 21-22) [unspecified time]
12. Ḍābi’ b. al-Ḥārīṭ b. Arṭā al-Burjumī (f.70b, l.4) [d. c. 650]
13. Qays b. Al-Mulawwaḡ (Majnūn Laylā) (f. 283a l. 10) [c. 645-688]
14. Yazīd b. Mufarriḡ al-Himyarī (f. 249a, l. 27-249b, l. 1) [d. 69 h. (688/9)]
15. Sawwār b. al-Muḍarrab [or Muḍarrīb] al-Sa‘dī al-Māzinī (f. 117a, l. 7-8) [d. 76 h. (695/6)]
16. Jamīl ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ma‘mar (f. 176a, l. 16-17) [d. 701]
17. Hudba b. al-Khashram al-‘Udhri (f. 193a, l.7) [Umayyad era, *rāwiya* of Jamīl]
18. ‘Amrān b. Ḥiṭṭān (f. 38a, l. 9-10) [d. 84 h. (703)]
19. al-‘Aḡṭal (f. 60b, l. 10-11) [c. 640-710]
20. ‘Umar ibn Abī Rabī‘a (f. 252b, l. 4-5) [644-712]
21. Sābiq al-Barbarī (f. 209b, l. 3-4; f. 249a, l. 15) [d. c. 100h. (718)]
22. Abū Sa‘īd ‘Umayr b. Ši/uyaym al-Taḡlibī al-Quṭamī (f. 208a, l. 12) [d. c. 719]
23. Farazdaq (f. 249a, l.18) [c. 641 - c. 728-730]
24. Ḍū r-Rumma (f. 16b, l. 2-3; f. 179b, l. 4; f. 269a, l. 10-11) [d. 735]
25. al-‘Abbās b. al-‘Aḡnaf (f. 25b, l. 11-13) [c. 750-810]
26. al-‘imām aš-Šāfi‘ī (f. 317b, l. 18-19) [150-204 h. (767 - 820)]
27. a poet (*rājjiz*) of the Banū Ja‘da ibn Qays quoted by Abū ‘Ubayda (d.825) (f. 300a, l. 18-19) [< 825]
28. al-Aṣma‘ī? (f. 144a l. 4-5) [c. 740-828]
29. Abū Nahšal Muḡammad b. Hamīd, quoted by al-Marzubānī (d. 994), (f. 222a, l. 6) [3rd century h.?)

30. Abū Ḥukayma (f. 269a, l. 13-14) [d. 240 h. /854-85]
 31. Ibn Abi Mayyās al-Murādī (f. 53a, l. 2-3) [839 – 923]
 32. Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj al-Nahwī (? credited to him) (f. 153b, l. 9) [d. 316 h. (928/9)]
 33. Ibn Durayd (f. 4b, l. 7; f. 5a, l. 5-6; f. 61a, l. 19; f. 72b, l. 21; f. 126b, l. 11-12; f. 195a, l.1-2) [837 – 933]

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Tra *falsafa* e linguistica

Indoeuropeo *es e pronome separante arabo in Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī

Issam Marjani

This contribution aims to discuss some passages by the philosopher Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī concerning the function of the so-called separated pronoun in nominal predicate sentences in Arabic. Through a comparative approach in his *Kitāb al-ḥurūf* between Arabic, Greek and Persian, al-Fārābī gives an original interpretation of the role of this pronoun in Arabic, markedly different from that given by Arab grammarians.

Keywords: copula, *ḍamīr al-faṣl*, verbo essere, *kāna*, εἶναι, *huwa*, frase nominale, predicazione.

1. La questione dell'esprimibilità del verbo 'essere' in lingua araba¹

Nella tradizione araba medievale, l'incessante attività di traduzione dal greco all'arabo delle opere filosofiche e scientifiche nel IX e X secolo² ha fatto emergere problematiche di carattere linguistico relative alla resa in arabo di nozioni e concetti estranei al linguaggio comune. Di questa difficoltà erano consapevoli i traduttori ed i filosofi arabi, in particolare della potenziale ambiguità che poteva emergere dalla coesistenza del senso ordinario di un termine e di quello scientifico. Non solo, alcuni termini non avevano nemmeno un equivalente in arabo, per cui fu necessaria la creazione di nuovi neologismi, prestiti e calchi³. Pertanto, una delle problematiche nella traduzione di queste opere fu

¹ Abbreviazioni: ACC (= accusativo), Aġ (= *Kitāb al-aġānī*), ART (= articolo), Cor. (= Corano), F (= femminile), GEN. (= genitivo), ID (= indicativo), IND (= indeterminato), IMP (= imperfettivo), M (= maschile), NEG (= negazione), NOM (= Nominativo), OBL (= obliquo), PER (= perfettivo) e PL (= plurale).

² Sul movimento di traduzione dal greco all'arabo si veda D'Ancona (2005) e Gutas (2002).

³ Il primo dizionario sistematico che presenta in modo analitico il vocabolario filosofico e scientifico delle traduzioni greco-arabe medievali è GALex. Ideato da Gerhard Endress, massima autorità nell'ambito della lessicografia filosofica in lingua araba, e da Dimitri Gutas, il GALex è lo strumento imprescindibile per studiare il linguaggio filosofico e scientifico arabo e per la conoscenza della ricezione araba delle opere filosofiche e scientifiche dell'antichità greca di epoca classica e postclassica. Il GALex, di cui sono già disponibili 14 fascicoli a stampa, è stato interamente digitalizzato dai ricercatori del progetto ERC Ideas Greek into Arabic. Philosophical Concepts and Linguistic Bridges (AdG 249431) e, dal 2015, è interamente disponibile online

quella relativa all'esprimibilità del concetto di "essere" in una lingua come l'arabo che manca dell'apparato necessario per la traduzione della nozione greca corrispondente, tanto dal punto di vista semantico che da quello logico (Martini 2012: 304).

Sohail Afnan (1964: 29-30; cf. anche Martini 2012: 304)⁴ vede come causa sostanziale di tali difficoltà la mancanza della copula in arabo:

Like all other Semitic tongues, and in marked contrast to the Indo-European group of languages, the auxiliary verb 'to be' corresponding to the Greek 'to einai' does not exist in Arabic. In common speech and composition the meaning may be left *sous-entendu*. In grammar the lack of a specific term to that effect is at best rather awkward. In logic the deficiency becomes a formidable obstacle. In the simple statement that if A is B, and B is C, then A is C, the reasoning has to be expressed by the pronoun *huwa* instead of the verb *is*. When metaphysics is reached the translator can easily find himself helpless. The precise concept of being as distinct from existence proves impossible to express. The *Falāsifah* became conscious of this fact early in their work. *Fārābī* refers to this handicap at some length, pointing out the advantages of Greek and Persian in that respect. And so actually does *Avicenna*. There had to be recourse to improvisations and approximations, none of which adequately served the purpose. (...) Yet Semitic languages are still unable to express the thought adequately.

Oltre all'elemento della copula, Graham (1965), comparando il greco con l'arabo, ha osservato che la lingua greca dispone di un verbo, εἶναι, il quale, oltre a svolgere la funzione di copula, può indicare da solo l'esistere, il trovarsi. La lingua araba manca invece sia della copula, sia di un verbo che abbia da solo tutti i valori del verbo greco εἶναι⁵. Infatti, in greco si osserva che nelle asserzioni predicative il verbo εἶναι si fa carico sia di funzioni copulative (X è Y), sia di quelle esistenziali (X è, X c'è), nonché un concetto di essenza (X è di per sé, sia in senso essenziale che in quello esistenziale) sviluppato in seno alla speculazione filosofica. Oltre alle funzioni già osservate del verbo εἶναι, Kahn (1966) aggiunge

sulla piattaforma del *Glossarium GraecoArabicum* (GlossGA) che contiene la digitalizzazione di circa 80.000 filecards, per un totale di circa 95.000 lemmi tratti da più di 70 opere della *falsafa*: in questa forma, esso copre tutto l'alfabeto arabo. Si veda inoltre Ullmann (2002), Afnan (1964) e (Goichon 1939).

⁴ Afnan (1964: 30-32) indica anche altre limitazioni proprie della lingua araba nella traduzione della terminologia filosofica dei testi greci: "the inability to form compound words"; "the inability to use prefixes and suffixes to convey shades of meaning or precisions or thought"; "almost total absence of abstraction in the language"; "whether existing in the language, or in the terms already and in those newly coined for the purpose, there were dangerous sources of confusion involved"; "lack of initiative of the *Falāsifah* to coin special terms of their own".

⁵ Alcuni studiosi hanno replicato che il verbo εἶναι non è affatto inesprimibile in arabo; al contrario, questa lingua si serve di più espressioni per esprimere tutte le funzioni semantiche di εἶναι; la tesi della "non-singularity of to be" è stata formulata da Shehadi (1975: 147-157), cfr. anche Martini (2012).

quello che chiama “senso veritativo”: un significato di “essere veramente” come significato specializzato nell’uso completo di εἶναι.⁶

Tra i filosofi arabi classici, quello che possiede più sensibilità a tematiche di natura linguistica è sicuramente Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (m. 950). In un celebre passo del *Libro delle lettere* (*Kitāb al-ḥurūf*), al-Fārābī parla della necessità che i filosofi arabi sentirono, nelle loro elaborazioni a partire dalle opere della filosofia e della logica greche, di trovare un modo per sopperire alla mancanza di un nesso copulativo in arabo, in modo particolare in quei passi che prevedevano la presenza del verbo εἶναι in funzione di copula, e mette in guardia dai possibili equivoci in cui potrebbe indurre l’uso, ad esempio, del participio passivo *mawǧūd* (< *waǧada* ‘trovare’), che è un nome derivato utilizzato in arabo per esprimere l’essere.

In queste pagine dedicate al professor Pennacchietti, che scrisse su un argomento affine un contributo nel 1987, cercherò di discutere alcuni passi in cui al-Farābī offre un’interpretazione sul cosiddetto *ḍamīr al-faṣl*, da considerare un contributo originale non solo per quanto concerne il rapporto della lingua araba e il sapere scientifico e filosofico greco e le sue implicazioni sulla storia della *falsafa*, ma anche e soprattutto per quanto concerne la storia della riflessione grammaticale araba medievale. Questa volta l’autore non è un grammatico bensì un *faylasūf*.

Prima di leggere i passi di al-Fārābī, possiamo in rassegna le diverse strutture impiegate nella predicazione nominale in arabo e la posizione dei grammatici medievali relativamente al pronome separante.

2. Il *ḍamīr al-faṣl* nella tradizione grammaticale araba

Com’è noto, la predicazione di tipo nominale in arabo può essere espressa mediante:

1. una struttura bipartita (soggetto in posizione tematica iniziale + predicato, accumulati dalla medesima marca di nominativo) senza nesso copulativo:

⁶ All’interno della linguistica indoeuropea, la questione concernente i valori e le funzioni della radice **es*, nello specifico in relazione alla frase nominale, è stata oggetto di moltissimi studi. Sulla predicazione mediante la frase nominale e quella con il verbo essere l’essenziale è stato detto da Benveniste (1979: 189): “la frase con **esti* non è una variante più esplicita o più ricca della frase nominale, né la prima una forma deficiente della seconda. Sono ambedue possibili, ma non esprimono la stessa cosa. Un’asserzione nominale, in sé completa, pone l’enunciato fuori da ogni localizzazione temporale o modale e al di fuori della soggettività del parlante. Un’asserzione verbale, dove **esti* è sullo stesso piano di **esmi* o **essi* o qualsiasi altra forma temporale dello stesso verbo, introduce nell’enunciato tutte le determinazioni verbali e lo situa in rapporto al parlante”; cfr. anche Meillet (1906) e Moreschini (1966).

1. *wa-Allāh-u sami^t-un ‘alīm-un* Cor. II/224
 e.Dio.NOM ascoltante.NOM.IND Sapiente.NOM.IND.
 ‘Poiché Dio sa ed ascolta’ (trad. Bausani)

2. una struttura tripartita specifica di determinati contesti pragmatici, in cui si inserisce il pronome, la cui funzione è essenzialmente quella di sottolineare che l’aggettivo determinato funge da predicato e non da attributo:

2. *‘ulā’ika hum^u l-mu’min-ūna* Cor. VIII/4
 quelli essi ART.credente.PL.M.NOM
 ‘Questi sono i credenti’ (trad. Bausani)

3. oltre all’aggettivo, al participio e al sostantivo, il predicato può essere un sintagma preposizionale o avverbiale (*šibh ġumla* ‘quasi frase’ nella terminologia grammaticale), una frase nominale oppure una frase verbale:

3. *fa-huwa ‘alā kulli šay’in qadīrun* Cor. VI/17
 e-egli su ogni.OBL cosa.OBL.IND potente.NOM.IND
 ‘Egli è l’Onnipotente’ (trad. Bausani)

4. *wa-kullu šay’in ‘inda-hu bi-miqdārin* Cor. XIII/8
 e-ogni.NOM cosa.OBL.IND presso-lui con-misura.OBL.IND
 ‘Ogni cosa Egli tiene d’appresso, secondo misura’ (trad. Bausani)

5. *Allāhu lā ilāha illā huwa* Cor. II/255
 Iddio.NOM NEG dio.ACC eccetto lui
 ‘Iddio! Non v’è altro dio che Lui’ (trad. Bausani)

6. *wa-Allāh-u ħalaqa kulla* Cor. XXIV/45
 e-ART.Dio.NOM creare.3PS.SG.PERF ogni.ACC
da’abbatin min mā’in
 animale.F.SG.OBL.IND da acqua.OBL.IND.
 ‘Iddio ha creato tutti gli animali dall’acqua’ (trad. Bausani)

4. per il predicato di esistenza, l’arabo impiega:

- a. strutture contenenti dei locativi e deittici, che per semantismo intrinseco esprimono l'esserci e l'esistenza:

7. *fi dāri-hi ṭabaqātun min al-ṣunnā'i* *Ağ. X/439*
 in casa-sua classi.F.NOM di ART.artigiani.OBL
 'Ci sono [diversi] tipi di artigiani a casa sua'

8. *wa-'inda-hu ḡāriyatun li-ba'ḏi l-banāti* *Ağ. X/440*
 e-presso-lui serva.NOM.IND a-alcuni ART.ragazze.OBL
 'E da lui c'è una serva di alcune ragazze'

9. *wa-laysa hunāka min-hu šay'un* *Ağ. IV/440*
 e.NEG lì di-esso cosa.NOM.IND
 'E di esso non c'è niente'

- b. I derivati del verbo *waḡada* 'trovare' (*yūḡadu/tūḡadu/wuḡida* e il participio passivo *mawḡūd*) e ovviamente il verbo *kāna*:

10. *yabtaḡi mā laysa mawḡūdan* *Ağ. I/112*
 desidera ciò NEG esistente.ACC.IND.
 'Desidera ciò che non c'è.'

11. *wa-qālat lā yūḡadu* *Ağ. I/301*
 e-disse non si trova.IMP.ID
 'E disse: "non c'è".'

Delle strutture sopraelencate, come si vedrà, quella a cui fa riferimento al-Fārābī è la predicazione che coinvolge l'uso del pronome (2). Pennacchietti ha analizzato le strutture tripartite della frase nominale in ebraico e siriano in cui "in molti casi, soprattutto nelle cosiddette proposizioni di identificazione, in cui il soggetto e il predicato sono entrambi determinati ($X = Y$), è difficile stabilire con certezza quale dei due nominali sia il soggetto e quale il predicato. Inoltre non sempre il contesto consente di determinare quale sia la struttura più neutra e quali quelle marcate o enfatiche" (1985: 187). Difficoltà molto simili si riscontrano nella tradizione grammaticale araba, ove la definizione dello status grammaticale del pronome separante rientra fra le questioni su cui non vi è consenso unanime tra i grammatici. Il disaccordo ha riguardato perfino la denominazione con cui viene indicato: i grammatici

di Baṣra lo chiamano *ḍamīr al-faṣl* ('pronome di separazione'), mentre quelli di Kūfa *ḍamīr al-'imād* ('pronome di sostegno', 'pilastro'). I punti di divergenza tra le due scuole sono: i. il pronome è da considerarsi come *ḥarf* oppure *ism*, ii. il pronome sottostà alle regole dell'*i'rāb* oppure no e iii. la funzione del pronome è quella di separazione (*faṣl*), affermazione (*ta'kid*) e/o apposizione (*badal*)? Nello specifico, la questione concerne i pronomi separati (*al-ḍamā'ir al-munfaṣila*) *anā* ('io'), *anta* ('tu' m.), *anti* ('tu' f.), *huwa* ('egli'), *hiya* ('ella')... che impiegati sintatticamente tra il soggetto e il predicato quando questi sono ambedue determinati non assumono più un valore univoco e quindi la struttura in cui sono presenti diventa variamente interpretabile. Il grammatico e teologo al-Suyūṭī (m. 1505) dedica una breve sezione alla questione e sintetizza la sostanza del problema:

<p>Traduzione mia</p>	<p>al-Suyūṭī, <i>al-aṣḥāh fi l-naḍā'ir fi l-naḥw</i>, p. 204-205.</p>
<p>“Menzione della differenza tra il pronome separante, l'affermazione e l'apposizione.</p> <p>Dice Ibn Ya'īš: forse vi è confusione tra la separazione e l'affermazione e l'apposizione. La differenza tra la separazione e l'affermazione consiste nel fatto che l'affermazione, quando è pronome, è l'affermazione del nome implicito, mentre la separazione non opera così, ma si manifesta dopo l'esplicito e l'implicito. Quando dici: 'Zayd era in piedi', non è un'affermazione perché segue un nome esplicito. Se invece dici "tu eri in piedi", presuppone entrambi. Tra le differenze tra loro vi è il fatto che se consideri il pronome come affermazione allora rimane un nome, per cui la sua posizione sintattica segue la declinazione del nome antecedente. Questo non vale quando è separante.</p> <p>La differenza tra esso e l'apposizione consiste nel fatto che l'apposizione segue il nome precedente nella declinazione come l'affermazione. La differenza consiste nel fatto che quando c'è apposizione di un nome all'accusativo il pronome deve essere un pronome accusativo come 'ho</p>	<p>ذكر ما افترق فيه ضمير الفصل والتأكيد والبدل قال ابن يعيش: ربما التبس الفصل بالتأكيد والبدل. والفرق بين الفصل والتأكيد أنّ التأكيد إذا كان ضميرا لا يؤكّد به إلا المضمّر، والفصل ليس كذلك، بل يقع بعد الظاهر والمضمّر، فقولك: كان زيد هو القائم فصل لا تأكيد لوقوعه بعد الظاهر، وقولك: كنت أنت القائم، يحتملها. ومن الفرق بينهما أنّك إذا جعلت الضمير تأكيدا فهو باق على اسميته، ويحكم على موضعه بإعراب ما قبله، وليس كذلك إذا كان فصلا.</p> <p>وأما الفرق بينه وبين البدل فإنّ البدل تابع للمبدل منه في إعرابه كالتأكيد إلا أنّ الفرق بينهما أنّك إذا أبدلت من منصوب أتيت بضمير المنصوب، نحو:</p>

<p>ritenuto che tu sia meglio di Zayd'. Invece quando affermi o separi, questo avviene solo con il pronome al nominativo. Un'altra differenza tra la separazione, l'affermazione e l'apposizione consiste nel fatto che la <i>lām</i> di rafforzamento si combina con la sepazione e non con l'affermazione e l'apposizione, dato che la <i>lām</i> distingue tra l'affermazione e il [nome] rafforzato e tra l'apposizione il [nome] antecedente.”</p>	<p>ظننتك إياك خيرا من زيد. فإذا أكدت، أو فصلت لا يكون إلا بضمير المرفوع. ومن الفرق بين الفصل والتأكيد والبدل أنّ لام التأكيد تدخل على الفصل، ولا تدخل على التأكيد والبدل، لأنّ اللام تفصل بين التأكيد والمؤكّد والبدل والمبدل منه.</p>
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Una frase con il pronome molto citata dai grammatici è quella contenuta in *Cor.* II/5 : *'ulā'ika hum" l-muflihūna* ('Questi son coloro che prospereranno!', trad. Bausani). In questo caso, il pronome *hum* svolgerebbe tutte e tre le funzioni: separazione, apposizione e affermazione.

3. Il *ḍamīr al-ḥaṣl* in Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī

Ne *il libro delle lettere*, al-Fārābī dedica una lunga sezione dedicata alle diverse forme di predicazione intitolata *al-mawḡūd* ("l'essere", "l'esistente"). Al-Fārābī dice:

<p>Traduzione Martini (2012: 316)</p>	<p>al-Fārābī, <i>Kitāb al-ḥurūf</i>, ed. Mahdi, p. 111.</p>
<p>“Inoltre in tutte le lingue—come il persiano, il siriano e il sogdiano—esiste un termine che le genti utilizzano per designare tutte le cose e che non si limita a designare una cosa ad esclusione di un'altra. Lo utilizzano per indicare il nesso [scil. la copula] tra il predicato e la cosa di cui esso si predica. Questo nesso è ciò che lega l'attributo al soggetto quando l'attributo è un nome o quando vogliono che l'attributo sia legato al soggetto assolutamente senza alcuna menzione del tempo. Quando invece vogliono attribuire un predicato [sott. ad un soggetto] in un tempo determinato passato o futuro, utilizzano le parole che indicano l'esistenza, ossia <i>kāna</i> [lett. fu] o <i>yakūn</i> o <i>sayakūn</i> [lett. sarà] o <i>al-'ān</i></p>	<p>ثمّ في سائر الألسنة - مثل الفارسيّة والسريانيّة والسغديّة - لفظة يستعملونها في الدلالة على الأشياء كلّها، لا يخصّون بها شيئاً دون شيء. ويستعملونها في الدلالة على رباط الخبر بالمخبر عنه، وهو الذي يربط المحمول بالموضوع متى كان المحمول اسماً أو أرادوا أن يكون المحمول مرتبطاً بالموضوع ارتباطاً بالإطلاق من غير ذكر زمان. وإذا أرادوا أن يجعله مرتبطاً في زمان محصّل ماضٍ أو مستقبل استعملوا الكلمة الوجوديّة، وهي كان أو يكون أو سيكون أو الآن. وإذا أرادوا أن يجعلوه مرتبطاً به من</p>

<p>[lett. ora]. Quando vogliono attribuire un predicato (sott. ad un soggetto) senza esplicitare alcun tempo, utilizzano questa espressione che è <i>hast</i> in persiano, <i>astīn</i> in greco, <i>astī</i> in sogdiano e altre espressioni al posto di queste nelle altre lingue.”</p>	<p>غير تصريح بزمان أصلاً نطقوا بتلك اللفظة، وهي بالفارسيّة " هست " وفي اليونانيّة " استين " وفي السغديّة " استي " وفي سائر الألسنة ألفاظاً آخر مكان هذه.</p>
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In queste righe introduttive, al-Fārābī sente l’esigenza di sottolineare come fatto comune la presenza del nesso copulativo (*ribāt*) in diverse lingue, in seguito discute le diverse strategie e scelte lessicali adoperate dai traduttori arabi per rendere le sfumature del verbo greco. Ma già in questo passo vediamo che il verbo di esistenza *kāna* non viene considerato come elemento copulativo, bensì come marcatore temporale che pone i predicati sull’asse del tempo, quindi non può essere l’equivalente del verbo “essere” con valore di copula in queste lingue che esclude ogni coinvolgimento temporale (*min ḡayri dīkri zamān*). Proprio della radice *kwn* (< *kāna*), alcune lingue semitiche (sudarabico, etiopico, fenicio ed ugaritico)⁷, oltre all’arabo, si servono per esprimere le determinazioni temporali con il passato mediante la loro forma perfettiva e il futuro con quella imperfettiva (Contini 1982: 15). Questa funzione di *kāna* come marcatore di tempo è espressa anche in un altro passo di al-Fārābī, questa volta nel commento al *De Interpretatione* (vedi passo in Appendice).

Al-Fārābī continua sottolineando il fatto che espressioni analoghe al greco *estīn* e al persiano *hast*, elementi necessari nelle scienze speculative e nella logica, non hanno un equivalente in arabo che possa esprimere le diverse funzioni dei verbi indoeuropei:

<p>Traduzione Martini (2012: 316)</p>	<p>al-Fārābī, <i>Kitāb al-ḥurūf</i>, ed. Mahdi, p. 112.</p>
<p>“Nella lingua araba fin dalle sue prime origini non si trova un’espressione che funga da <i>hast</i> in persiano, né da <i>astīn</i> in greco, né espressioni ad esse equivalenti in tutte le altre lingue. Tuttavia, quest’espressione è necessaria nelle scienze speculative e nell’arte della logica. Quando la filosofia fu trasmessa agli arabi, questi filosofi che parlavano arabo e che cominciarono a tradurre i significati della filosofia e della logica nella lingua degli arabi sentirono la</p>	<p>وليس في العربية منذ أول وضعها لفظة تقوم مقام "هست" في الفارسية، ولا مقام "استين" في اليونانية، ولا مقام نظائر هاتين اللفظين في سائر الألسنة. وهذه يحتاج لها ضرورة في العلوم النظرية، وفي صناعة المنطق. فلما انتقلت الفلسفة إلى العرب واحتاجت الفلاسفة الذين يتكلمون بالعربية</p>

⁷ Altre lingue come l’ebraico e l’aramaico hanno un’altra radice: *hyy/hwy* (Contini 1982: 15)

<p>necessità [sott. di un nesso copulativo]. Questi filosofi non trovarono nella lingua araba fin dalle sue prime origini un'espressione che potesse tradurre le occorrenze in cui <i>astīn</i> veniva utilizzato in greco e <i>hast</i> in persiano e che potesse rimpiazzare le equivalenti espressioni in quei passi in cui tutte le altre nazioni le utilizzavano.”</p>	<p>ويجعلون عبارتهم عن المعاني التي في الفلسفة وفي المنطق بلسان العرب، ولم يجدوا في لغة العرب منذ أول ما وضعت لفظة ينقلون بها الأمكنة التي تستعمل فيها "استين" في اليونانية، و "هست" بالفارسية فيجعلونها تقوم مقام هذه الألفاظ في الأمكنة التي يستعملها فيها سائر الأمم.</p>
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Il passo che segue contiene il riferimento di al-Fārābī alla struttura tripartita della predicazione nominale, all'interno della quale è presente il pronome:

<p>Traduzione Martini (2012: 316-317)</p> <p>Alcuni di loro pensarono allora di utilizzare l'espressione <i>huwa</i> al posto di <i>hast</i> in persiano, e di <i>astīn</i> in greco. Quest'espressione è utilizzata in arabo come un pronome (<i>kināya</i>), come quando diciamo "egli fa (<i>huwa yaf'alu</i>)" o "egli fece (<i>huwa fa'ala</i>)". Talvolta, tuttavia <i>huwa</i> è utilizzato in arabo in alcune occorrenze in cui le genti che parlano altre lingue utilizzano le espressioni sopramenzionate, come per esempio in "questo è Zayd (<i>hādā huwa zayd</i>)": in realtà l'espressione <i>huwa</i> in arabo qui non è affatto utilizzata come un pronome. Così avviene anche in "questo è (<i>huwa</i>) quello che ho visto", in "questo è (<i>huwa</i>) colui che ha parlato il tal giorno", in "questo è (<i>huwa</i>) il poeta", in "Zayd è (<i>huwa</i>) giusto" e in casi analoghi. Essi utilizzarono <i>huwa</i> in arabo al posto di <i>hast</i> in persiano in tutte le occorrenze in cui i persiani utilizzavano questo termine <i>hast</i>.</p>	<p>al-Fārābī, <i>Kitāb al-ḥurūf</i>, ed. Mahdi, p. 112</p> <p>فبعضهم رأى أن يستعمل لفظة "هو" مكان "هست" الفارسية و"استين" باليونانية. فإن هذه اللفظة قد تستعمل في العربية كناية في مثل قولهم "هو يفعل وهو" هو فعل". وربما استعملوا "هو" في العربية في بعض الأمكنة التي يستعمل فيها سائر أهل الألسنة تلك اللفظة المذكورة. وذلك مثل قولنا "هذا هو زيد"، فإن لفظة "هو" بعيد جدا في العربية أن يكونوا قد استعملوها ههنا كناية. كذلك "هذا هو ذاك الذي رأيته" و "هذا هو المتكلم يوم كذا وكذا" و "هذا هو الشاعر"، وكذلك "زيد هو عادل" وأشبه ذلك. فاستعملوا "هو" في العربية مكان "هست" في الفارسية في جميع الأمكنة التي يستعمل الفرس فيها لفظة "هست".</p>
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L'interpretazione del pronome separante da parte di al-Fārābī si discosta nettamente da quella data dai grammatici arabi, sia nel modo di esposizione che nella sostanza. Il parallelismo tra il pronome arabo e la radice indoeuropea **es* non è spinto dalla semplice osservazione descrittiva e di superficie di materiale tradotto in arabo. Gli esempi riportati nel passo da al-Fārābī mostrano come egli abbia colto l'aspetto astratto caratterizzante il pronome in determinati contesti sintattici, un'astrazione che rende la funzione all'interno della struttura predicativa come una terza categoria grammaticale che non

rientra nella sfera né del soggetto né del predicato. Questo, a mio avviso, è il senso della frase “in realtà l’espressione *huwa* in arabo qui non è affatto utilizzata come un pronome”. In termini moderni e con strumenti della teoria del mutamento linguistico, possiamo dire che l’aspetto astratto individuato da al-Fārābī non è altro che il passaggio di un elemento, in questo caso il pronome, dal dominio del lessico a quello della grammatica: un processo quindi di grammaticalizzazione che ha comportato la perdita di tratti semantici in determinati contesti senza fatti di erosione fonetica. Tale processo non concerne l’impiego del *ḍamīr* nella sua funzione di apposizione (*badal*) o affermazione (*ta’kīd*), ma nello specifico la struttura predicativa di identificazione con aggettivo determinato. Al-Fārābī dà quindi una doppia interpretazione di *huwa*: da un lato gli conferisce una funzione pienamente nominale, secondo cui *huwa* è un pronome soggetto (*kināya*) con valore semantico pieno, dall’altro, *huwa* possiede tratti più grammaticali fungendo da nesso copulativo (*ribāṭ*). Circa la categoria alla quale debba appartenere il pronome, al-Fārābī dice nel suo commento al *De Interpretatione* che *huwa* “non è in arabo né nome né verbo”, bensì una particella (*ḥarf*).

Il parallelismo tra la radice greca e il pronome arabo si osserva già nella primissima fase del movimento di traduzione e precisamente nella traduzione della *Metafisica* di Aristotele in arabo, con la creazione del neologismo *huwīyya*, sostantivo coniato proprio sulla base pronominale *huwa*. La prima traduzione della *Metafisica* fu eseguita da Uṣṭāt per il filosofo al-Kindī (m. 870 ca.) ed è giunta sino a noi grazie al commento “grande” di Averroè (m. 1198). Uṣṭāt nel tradurre le sfumature del lessema greco non ricorre al materiale linguistico già presente in lingua araba ma, come si legge nei seguenti esempi⁸, al neologismo *huwīyya*:

	Arist., <i>Metaph.</i> Δ 7 ⁹	Ibn Ruṣd, <i>Tafsīr</i> , ed. Bouyges, II.	
1017a7-8	Τὸ ὄν λέγεται τὸ μὲν κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς	والهوية تقال بعضها بنوع العرض	p. 552.3
1017a31	ἔτι τὸ εἶναι σημαίνει καὶ τὸ ἔστιν ὅτι ἀληθές	وأیضا الهوية تدل على أنية ¹⁰ الشيء وحقيقته	p. 555.8-9
1017a35-b2	ἔτι τὸ εἶναι σημαίνει καὶ τὸ ὄν τὸ μὲν δυνάμει ῥητὸν τὸ δ’ ἐντελεχείᾳ	وأیضا بعض الهويات بالقوة وبعضها بالفعل	p. 555.13

⁸ Per altri esempi si veda Marjani (2014).

⁹ Il testo greco è citato secondo l’edizione Ross.

¹⁰ Anche *annīyya* è un neologismo che rientra nel lessico impiegato per tradurre le sfumature della radice greca, si veda D’Ancona (2011), Hasnawi (1990), Endress (1973) e Frank (1956).

Del termine *huwiyya* al-Fārābī dice:

Derivarono inoltre (sott. da *huwa*) il maṣdar ‘*al-huwiyya*’ (essere). Questa forma è in arabo quella del maṣdar di ogni nome primo e che non ha coniugazione, come per esempio ‘*al-insāniyya*’ (lett. umanità) deriva da ‘*al-insān*’ (uomo), ‘*al-ḥimāriyya*’ (asinità) deriva da ‘*al-ḥimār*’ (asino) e ‘*al-ruḡūliyya*’ (umanità) da ‘*al-raḡul*’ (uomo)” (Martini 2012, 317; *K. al-ḥurūf*, p. 112).

Rispetto all’interpretazione farabiana, quella dei grammatici arabi (o almeno una parte di loro) è problematica sul piano teorico. Una parte dei grammatici considera il pronome come un elemento che rientra nella categoria nominale (*ism*), ma al contempo lo etichetta con la consueta frase “*lā maḥalla la-hu min al-’rāb*” (i.e. che non prende le marche dei casi)¹¹; questa è la posizione per esempio del lessicografo omanita al-Fārāhīdī (m. 790)¹². Se vogliamo, lo status sintattico del pronome separante si può chiarire e spiegare meglio solo tenendo conto del carattere astratto e opaco del pronome individuato da al-Fārābī, ovvero che *huwa* nei contesti menzionati sopra non appartiene alla categoria nominale. Diversamente, resta immotivata la considerazione di al-Fārāhīdī secondo cui da un lato il pronome è un elemento pienamente nominale la cui funzione principale è quella di pronome soggetto, dall’altro tale pronome posto tra soggetto e predicato sfugge all’analisi circa il suo ruolo sintattico, assumendo così uno status diverso dagli altri pronomi (“*wa-bidālika yafāriqu sā’ira l-ḍamā’ir*”, al-Suyūṭī, *Al-ašbāh*, p. 205).

A questo punto sorge spontanea la seguente domanda: come è possibile spiegare la ragione della scelta adoperata dai traduttori arabi nel ricorrere al pronome *huwa* per creare il sostantivo *huwiyya*? Tale scelta è da considerarsi dettata dall’impiego da parte dei parlanti di queste lingue di strategie simili nell’esprimere determinate strutture predicative, cui soggiacciono gli stessi meccanismi cognitivi (cfr. Sezione 4). L’astrazione caratterizzante sia la copula indoeuropea che il pronome arabo nei contesti visti ha fatto sì che l’elemento pronominale arabo, nella sua funzione di pronome separante, fosse il candidato più pertinente per rendere certe sfumature di εἶναι. Dando al pronome separante un valore copulativo, quindi, al-Fārābī, svolge per così dire una “comparazione tipologica” facilitata verosimilmente dal fatto che la lingua materna di al-Fārābī era il persiano, e spiega così la scelta dei traduttori dell’astratto *huwiyya*.

¹¹ Questo è sostenuto dai grammatici di Bassora, diversamente dai grammatici di Kūfa che sostengono invece che il pronome sottosta alle regole dell’*’rāb*, cfr. al-Anbārī, *al-Inṣāf...*, V. II, 579.

¹² Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ašbāh...*, 205.

4. *es indoeuropeo e pronome semitico in una prospettiva tipologica

Il parallelismo tra la radice indoeuropea e il pronome semitico¹³ prodotto all'interno della tradizione filosofica araba offre un altro spunto. È stato ipotizzato sia per la radice *es che per il pronome di terza persona semitico il forte legame con i deittici/dimostrativi.

Per l'indoeuropeo, Shields (1992: 53) ipotizza un'origine da elementi deittici/dimostrativi:

In my opinion, it is no coincidence that the verbal root *es- and the deictic particle in *(e)s are homophonous. I want to propose that this verbal root may very well derive etymologically from an earlier demonstrative/deictic *(e)s...I have already established that deictic particles frequently evolve into demonstrative pronouns and have argued that the deictic *(e/o)s is attested in the demonstrative stem *so-, the zero grade of the deictic in probable contamination with the deictic particle *e/o (i.e., *s + *o) (...). In the case of Indo-European root *es-, the surface ambiguity (opacity) results from the fact that many sentences did appear with a phonologically realized copula and the original marker of the third person singular in Indo-European verb was *-∅. This is, Indo/European speakers, being familiar with sentences containing copula verbs and with the use of *-∅ as the indicator of the (second) third person (singular) simply reinterpreted the demonstrative *es “that” as “that is” (a copula), with *-∅ representing the inflectional marker of the non-personal, not the nominative case ending with *-∅. After *es came to be established as the (second) third person copula, its use spread analogically to the first person.

Per il semitico, Fleisch (1979: 27) osserva che il pronome di terza persona “avec *h-* a pu facilment provenir directement de la base démonstrative *h*, vu le lien qui subsiste entre les pronoms pers. de 3^e pers. et les démonstratifs”¹⁴. Della stessa opinione sono anche Garbini e Durand (1992: 106), secondo cui “in tutte le lingue semitiche i temi pronominali delle terze persone sono costituiti (come del resto in indoeuropeo) da elementi originariamente deittici (/š/ /h/, ecc.) vocalizzati diversamente onde polarizzare il genere” (Garbini e Durand 1992: 106) e “la genesi dei dimostrativi semitici è quindi strettamente legata a quella dei pronomi personali ed interrogativi/relativi” (Garbini e Durand 1992: 108)¹⁵.

Sia l'ipotesi di Shields che quella di Fleisch e altri hanno pieno sostegno in sede tipologica. La base dimostrativa sia del pronome di terza persona sia della copula è fatto comune a diverse lingue e rientra nel più ampio processo di grammaticalizzazione DIMOSTRATIVO > PRONOME > COPULA (Heine e

¹³ Per l'impiego in semitico del pronome di terza persona come copula si veda Lipiński (2001: 496-497).

¹⁴ Per una presentazione generale dei pronomi in semitico si veda Lipiński (2001:305 e seguenti).

¹⁵ Posizione analoga in Huehnergard (1997: 54) per cui “the 3rd person forms probably originated as demonstratives”.

Kuteva 2002: 109). Se consideriamo come valide le suddette ipotesi, ciò significa verosimilmente l'impiego degli stessi meccanismi cognitivi nella fase originaria da parte dei parlanti semiti e indoeuropei per esprimere determinate strutture predicative. Pertanto, tale processo di mutamento per il semitico risulterebbe articolato in *deittico* > *pronome* > *copula*, mentre per l'indoeuropeo il passaggio di grammaticalizzazione sarebbe *deittico* > *copula*, con la significativa differenza che in indoeuropeo il passaggio ha coinvolto il sistema verbale in cui il deittico/dimostrativo, mutandosi in nesso copulativo si era integrato pienamente, diversamente, in semitico, o quanto meno in alcune lingue, l'analogo processo è rimasto confinato nel sistema nominale.

5. Conclusione

Da quanto esposto sopra possiamo dire che il pronome arabo ha valore pieno quando svolge le funzioni di pronome soggetto (*kināya*), di apposizione (*badal*), di affermazione o rafforzamento (*ta'kīd*); quest'ultime due sono funzioni spiegabili come fatti di topicalizzazione. Altra questione è quella del pronome separante (*faṣl*), la cui funzione di marcare l'aggettivo con valore di predicato e non di attributo è stata sì descritta da parte dei grammatici arabi, ma senza arrivare a considerarlo come un elemento terzo non ascrivibile né alla sfera del soggetto (*mubtada'*) né quella di predicato (*ḥabar*). Tale funzione libera del pronome corrisponde secondo al-Fārābī, al valore di copula (*ribāt*) all'interno delle proposizioni nominali di identificazione. Affermando che “in realtà l'espressione *huwa* in arabo qui non è affatto utilizzata come un pronome” e che *huwa* è l'equivalente del persiano *hast* e del greco ἔστιν, al-Fārābī fornisce—per usare un'espressione di Pennacchietti—una sorta di “tessera di riconoscimento” (1987: 173) per il pronome. Tuttavia, la nozione di copula proposta per la prima volta nella tradizione araba da al-Fārābī ha avuto seguito soltanto all'interno della produzione filosofica araba¹⁶, senza influenzare minimamente il dibattito presso i grammatici. Tale proposta, inoltre, si presta come si è visto anche ad una lettura moderna, ossia da un lato la funzione del pronome separante che si spiega solo secondo la teoria della grammaticalizzazione, dall'altro il parallelismo tra copula indoeuropea e pronome semitico riconosciuto da al-Fārābī può essere considerato e ulteriormente ispezionato dal punto di vista della tipologia diacronica.

16 Si veda in tal proposito il passo di Averroè in Martini (2012: 310-311).

Appendice

<p>Traduzione mia</p>	<p>al-Fārābī, <i>al-ʿIbāra</i>, ed. W. Kutsch - S. Marrow, p. 42.</p>
<p>Se qualcuno sostiene che in frasi come <i>Zaydun kāna yamšī</i> noi connettiamo il verbo esistenziale <i>kāna</i> con un verbo per formare una frase che è perfettamente corretta e non insensata, la risposta è che, nella frase <i>Zaydun kāna yamšī</i>, <i>kāna</i> funge non come copula ma per significare un tempo passato, <i>yamšī</i> significa qui il tempo presente; e se noi vogliamo esprimere un tempo presente a qualcuno prima del nostro tempo, o un tempo precedente, quando noi stessi eravamo in esso, presente a noi stessi, noi lo esprimiamo dicendo <i>kāna yamšī</i> ('andava'). È tuttavia solo nella lingua araba che la parola <i>kāna</i> si unisce con <i>yamšī</i> quando è utilizzata per esprimere un tempo presente prima del nostro tempo e precedente al momento in cui siamo. In altre lingue il verbo che indica il presente ha una morfologia distinta che da sola denota il tempo presente e nient'altro. La lingua araba è manchevole di questi strumenti: i verbi che esprimono il presente sono strutturati come i verbi che esprimono il futuro. Nelle altre lingue, al verbo che indica il presente il presente viene connesso un elemento che in qualche modo cambia la sua forma e in questo modo fa sì che significhino un presente-preterito. Questo rende superfluo per esso essere connesso con <i>kāna</i>. Questa aggiunta indica il presente-preterito non la connessione del predicato con il soggetto. Quindi la parola <i>kāna</i> in arabo quando è combinata con <i>yamšī</i> indica la stessa cosa di un elemento che cambia la forma del verbo per indicare il tempo presente adesso in modo da renderlo un presente-preterito. E poiché</p>	<p>فإن قال قائل فإنا نقول زيد كان يمشي ونقرن الكلمة الوجودية بفعل فتصح العبارة ولا يكون هذيانا. فالجواب ان قولنا زيد كان يمشي لم يدخل على ان يكون رابطا بل انما أدخل للدلالة على زمان ماض وذلك ان قولنا يمشي في هذا المكان انما يدل به على زمان حاضر. فاذا اردنا ان ندل على حاضر لمن تقدمنا او على ما كان حاضرا من الزمان المتقدم لنا حين كنا في ذلك الزمان دللنا عليه بقولنا كان يمشي. وعلى ان لفظه كان انما تدل على قولنا يمشي متى اخذناها دالة على زمان حاضر لمن تقدمنا قبل الان الذي نحن فيه في اللسان العربي فقط. وذلك ان الكلمة الدالة الزمان الحاضر في ساير الالسنه لها بنية تخصها تدل بنيتها على زمان حاضر لا غير. واما في العربية لضيقها عن هذه الأشياء فان الكلمة الدالة على الحاضر شكلها شكل الدالة على المستقبل فتؤخذ في ساير الالسنه الكلمة الدالة على الزمان الحاضر فيقرن بها حرف يُغير به شكلها تغييرًا ما فيدل به على زمان حاضر قد تقدم فيغنى بذلك عن ان تقرن به كان. فتلك الزيادة انما دلت على حاضر قد تقدم لا على ارتباط المحمول بالموضوع فلذلك صارت لفظه كان في العربية تدل اذا قرنت بقولنا يمشي على ما يدل عليه ذلك الحرف الذي غير بنية الكلمة الدالة على الحاضر لنا الان فصيره حاضرا قد تقدم. واذا كان ذلك الحرف ليس يدل على</p>

<p>questo elemento non indica una connessione ma di <i>kāna</i> deve essere la soltanto un' anteriorità, la forza stessa. Il fatto che oltre a (significare il passato) esso indichi anche la nozione di esistenza è ignorato, infatti, la nozione di esistenza è caduta quando <i>kāna</i> è connesso con <i>tamšī</i>. La ragione è la manchevolezza interna alla lingua araba.</p>	<p>ارتباط بل على التقدم فقط كانت قوة كان هذه القوة بعينها ولم يلتفت بعد ذلك الى ما عليه دلالة لفظة كان من معنى الوجود بل اسقط عن لفظة كان معنى الوجود ومعنى الرباط حين قرن بيمشي وذلك للاضرار الداخلى على اللسان العربية.</p>
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Putting fragments in context: An analysis of 4Q468 fragment B

Corrado Martone

This note presents a linguistic and paleographic analysis of the Qumranic fragment 4Q468a-d Frag. b [olim 4QUnid Frg. D]. Although this is a very fragmentary text, an attempt is made to contextualize it within the Qumranic literature by highlighting connections with the well-known Qumranic themes of light and the importance of priesthood. This fragment aligns with the overall theme of celebrating and elevating the importance of the priesthood within the community. It is possible that the fragment also alludes to the circumstances in Jerusalem that ultimately brought about the downfall of the Zadokite priesthood.

Keywords: Dead Sea Scrolls, Hebrew paleography, Second Temple Judaism.

1. Introduction¹

Although the texts from Qumran have been published in full for some time and are readily available to scholars, they still leave much room for interpretation.² This is especially true of those fragments that have not yet been identified with certainty. In this regard, it is worth remembering that an entire and far from slender volume of the DJD series is dedicated to unidentified fragments (Pike and Skinner 2001). In this short note we will offer an analysis of the fragment 4Q468 b, which was grouped by the editor with 4Q468, 4Q468c, 4Q468d and duly labelled “4Q468a–d Frag. b.”

The fragment was first published in the early 1990s, in B. Z. Wacholder and M. Abegg’s “unauthorized” edition of DJD (1991–1996). More recently, it was published by Magen Broshi (2000) for the “official” DJD series (Broshi 2000). The fragment is visible in photo PAM 43.399, as well as in the earlier photos 40.609 and 42.011, where it is labeled 4QUnidentified D. The fragment is also found in the Leon Levy Scrolls Foundation online archive, where it appears in photos B-473791 and B-473792.³

¹ It is an honor and pleasure to dedicate this short note to Fabrizio Pennacchietti in gratitude for his teachings and friendship.

² See in this regard the seminal study by Eibert Tigchelaar (2010).

³ The image is available at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-473791> and <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-473792> (accessed February 12, 2023). The high-resolution photo, taken on August 23, 2013, is very useful for analyzing the details of the fragment.

It should be noted that the number 4Q468 was assigned to a number of fragments that are found together in the aforementioned photo PAM 43.399 but are not part of the same work or even the same scroll (Broshi 2000, 401).

2. The text and its translation

We present here the text in question as published by M. Broshi (4Q468a–d Frag. b [olim 4QUnid Frg. D]), along with a tentative translation.

Frg. b

נג[שתי אני לנוגהו]	1
באור [משבצתו יתהלכו כול ב]	2
מלך עלי ואור נגהו על]	3
שמ[ש בצאתה מזבול]	4
בני [עול ובני צד]ק	5
קו[דש קוד]שים	6
יד לון]	7

Translation

1 [...] ... I in its splendor [...] 2 its bezel. They will go every ... [...] 3 [...] (?) On me, and the light of its splendor on ... [...] 4 [...] ... coming out from on high ... [...] 5 [...] iniquity and sons of ... [...] 6-7 [...] ... [...]

3. Paleographic observations⁴

The calligraphy is neat and regular, as the letters are hung on horizontal lines drawn with a stylus in accord with standard Qumran practice (Tov 2004, 58–64). The letters are fairly uniform in size and are drawn with multiple strokes of the stylus—features suggesting formal or semi-formal writing. Although the fragment is small, it is possible to detect differences between final and non-final forms of letters (see the kaf at the beginning of l. 3) and the presence of serifs on certain letters (alef, šadi, šin, and taw). These details suggest that this text may have been produced in the late Herodian

⁴ The following discussion is indebted to the classic study by Frank Moore Cross (1965), see also Martone (2021).

period.⁵ Such a date is especially recommended by the left portion of the alef, which leans backward, toward the right (Yardeni 2014: 39). On the basis of these data the fragment can be tentatively dated to the first half of the first century AD. The formal (or semi-formal) ductus indicates that the fragment is of a text of some importance, copied by a professional scribe.⁶

4. Analysis

Although the fragment is incomplete, it contains interesting features that are associated with well-known and important themes in Qumran literature. Particularly noteworthy is a lexicon linked, on the one hand, to light and splendor, and, on the other hand, to the priestly office.

Line 1

Given that there are no indications that our fragment contains a biblical text, at least in the sense in which the term “biblical” is used today,⁷ the use of the first-person independent pronoun אני suggests that it should be viewed in the context of Qumran poetic and liturgical texts.⁸ The use of the first-person singular in the so-called *Hodayot* and in various liturgical texts is widely recognized. In particular, with respect to the *Hodayot*, there is much speculation on whether the first-person speaker in these texts is the Teacher of Righteousness,⁹ that is, the founder of the Qumran sect.¹⁰ In the fragment under consideration here, the pronoun in all probability indicates the subject of a verb ending with the letters -שתי, but it is unlikely that it contains any reference to 1 Sam 17:10 (הפלשתי אני). Given that the following form is introduced by the preposition ל-, the editor opts to interpolate a verb connoting movement, לגשתי, derived from the root גשג, whose main meaning is “to approach.” The root in its various forms appears frequently in biblical Hebrew¹¹ and, at Qumran, in the

⁵ See Yardeni 2014, 30, referring to the periodization established by Cross (1965). A *status quaestionis* on the complex matter of Qumran paleography is now Tigchelaar (2020).

⁶ For the scribal characteristics that can be deduced from the manuscripts of Qumran and other sites in the desert of Judah, see Tov (2004; 2016).

⁷ See the discussion in Martone (2004).

⁸ On liturgy in the Qumran texts, see the fundamental study by Bilhah Nitzan (1994) and, most recently, Russell (2006).

⁹ On the Teacher of Righteousness, cf. most recently Kratz (2017).

¹⁰ See the discussion in García Martínez (2002).

¹¹ Gen 33:7; Exod 20:21; 34:32; 1 Sam 7:10; 2 Sam 3:34; 11:20–21; 17:29; 1 Kgs 20:13; Ezra 9:1; Isa 29:13; Amos 5:25.

abovementioned *Hodayot*.¹² The form נגשתי, however, is not found anywhere in the two corpora,¹³ and to conjecture a *hapax legomenon* is methodologically risky.¹⁴

Be that as it may, the first-person singular independent pronoun of our text is followed by the phrase לְנוֹגְהוּ. This form is derived from the root נגה, which refers to luminescence.¹⁵ The root reoccurs in line 3 of our fragment and is also found in other Qumran texts, including an exquisite liturgical text that is especially resonant (4Q286 1a iib 3).¹⁶

The first-person speaker places himself in relation “to his splendor.” We are thus in the presence of one of the principal and most distinctive themes of Qumran literature. As the so-called *Doctrine of the Two Spirits* in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 3:13–4:26) evinces, this literature is the expression of a community whose members considered themselves sons of light, as opposed to the sons of darkness and their domain, the external world.¹⁷

Line 2

The inferred approach of the first-person subject toward a source of resplendence can be further qualified, albeit speculatively, according to the remains of line 2.

The term משבצת points to a priestly context. The word is found in chapters 28 and 39 of the book of Exodus¹⁸ and signifies a distinctive ornament of the priest’s vestments whose construction God has directly commanded, as explained in Exod 28:3.11:

ואתה תדבר אל כל חכמי לב אשר מלאתיו רוח חכמה ועשו את בגדי אהרן לקדשו לכהנו לי... מעשה חרש אבן
פתוחי חתם תפתח את שתי האבנים על שמת בני ישראל מסבת משבצות זהב תעשה אתם

¹² 1QS 11:13; 1QM 16:13; 19:11; 1QHa 6:18; 20:23; 4Q158 7 8:12; 4Q181 1: 3; 4Q264 1: 1; 4Q271 3: 2; 4Q375 1ii: 7; 4Q422 2: 9; 4Q429 4ii: 4; 4Q434 1i: 11; 4Q468b 1: 1; 4Q491 10ii: 13; 11ii: 11; 4Q492 1: 10; 4Q504 10: 1; 4Q524 15 22: 9; 11QT 61: 15; 63: 3.

¹³ For other possibilities, unfortunately not particularly attractive, see Sander and Mayerhofer (2010 *ad loc*).

¹⁴ On the difficult relationship between biblical studies and the art of conjecture, cf. Catastini (1991), Martone (2012), and Chiesa (2012).

¹⁵ 2 Sam 22:13; 23:4; Ps 18:13; Prov 4:18; Isa 4:5; 50:10; 60:3, 19; 62:1; Ezek 1:4, 13, 27–28; 10:4; Joel 2:10; 4:15; Amos 5:20; Hab 3:4, 11.

¹⁶ See Nitzan (1995, 1998). For other occurrences see 1QHa 14:18; 4Q184 1: 8; 4Q405 20ii 22: 11; 4Q429 4i: 5; 4Q468b 1: 1, 3; 11Q17 7:13; 11Q22 1: 2.

¹⁷ The bibliography on the so-called Qumran dualism is vast; it will suffice to recall here the important collection of studies edited by the late Géza G. Xeravits (2010). On the *Rule of the Community*, cf. Sacchi (2006).

¹⁸ Exod 28:11, 13–14, 25; 39:6, 13, 16, 18; cf. also Ps 45:14.

And you shall speak to all who have ability, whom I have endowed with an able mind, that they make Aaron's garments to consecrate him for my priesthood. ... As a jeweler engraves signets, so shall you engrave the two stones with the names of the sons of Israel; you shall enclose them in settings of gold filigree (משבצות). (NRV)

The term derives from the root שבץ, which indicates a way of decorating wood or metal (and, in fact, in the book of Exodus the term is used with reference to a breastplate) with an intertwined pattern that is probably the root's fundamental meaning. Maimonides explains the term as follows (Mishne Torah, *Klei HaMiq* 8:16):¹⁹

וכיצד מעשה הבגדים הכתונת בין של כ"ג בין של כהן הדיוט משבצת היתה שהיא בתים בתים באריגתה כמו בית הכוסות כדרך שעושין האורגין בבגדים הקשים

How were the clothes made? The tunic, both of the high priest and of an ordinary priest, was checkered (משבצת)—that is, it had rows of [ridged] squares woven into it, like the pattern on the reticulum, in the way that weavers make heavy clothing.

The theme of light sounded in line 1 must therefore be situated in a priestly context, a collocation confirmed by the occurrence of the term משבצות in a Qumran text that is certainly connected to the priesthood, namely 4Q365 (see 4Q365 12b iii: 11, 14; Crawford 2008 and Zahn 2012). This is another sign that the fragment belongs to the literature of the Qumran community, a group that some scholars, with a touch of anachronism, have characterized as sectarian (Martone 2015).

In view of what has been presented thus far, it does not seem risky to interpret the following verbal form (יתהלכו) as a description of a liturgical function performed by the priesthood. This is consistent with the recurrence of the form in Qumran literature and in contexts of this type.²⁰ The passage 1QS III, 20–21 from the aforementioned *Doctrine of the Two Spirits* is particularly interesting in this regard:

¹⁹ The text follows Touger (1988–2002 *ad loc*). For the use of the expression בית הכוסות to indicate the reticulum, i.e. the second compartment of the stomach of a ruminant, which has a ridged, honeycomb structure see b. *Hul* 42a. The intertwined ornamentation to which the root שבץ refers is evoked by the squares of a chessboard, which is one of the meanings assumed by the term משבצת in modern Hebrew.

²⁰ CD 12:22; 19: 4; 20: 6; 1QS 4:15, 18, 24; 6:2; 1QS^b 3:24; 1QM 13:12; 4Q169 3 4ii:2; 4Q257 6:2; 4Q258 2:6; 4Q263 1:2; 4Q266 5i:15; 9ii:8; 15:2; 4Q385a 5a b:7; 4Q387 3:4; 4Q390 1:3, 12; 4Q418 47:3; 69ii:3, 14; 81 + 81a:14; 4Q468b 1:2; 4Q495 2:4; 4Q511 1:7; 4Q525 5:9; 14ii:15; 21:5.

20 ביד שר אורים ממשלת כול בני צדק בדרכי אור יתהלכו וביד מלאך

21 חושכ כול ממשלת בני עול ובדרכי חושכ יתהלכו ובמלאך חושך

20 In the hand of the Prince of Lights is dominion over all the sons of righteousness; they proceed on paths of light. And in the hand of the Angel of 21 Darkness lies complete dominion over the sons of lies; they proceed on paths of darkness.

Line 3

In this line the thematization of light is heightened. The two clearly legible words are **ואור** and **נגהו**. The root **נגה** has already been encountered and examined in relation to line 1.²¹ Here it is connected to the sectarian term *par excellence*, “light,” employed very frequently at Qumran. It refers to that fraction of humanity that includes the members of the community, who, rather unsurprisingly, define themselves as “sons of light.”²² The terminology of our fragment thus focuses persistently on an identitarian formation that is tied to the Qumran community (Collins 2009; Jokiranta 2013).

The first legible letter of this line is a terminal *kaf*. The editor of the text are confident about their reading of a *lamed* and offers a more tentative reading of a *mem*: **מלך**. This reconstruction can be accepted and the identification of a *lamed* can indeed be regarded as certain, and although only a portion of the base and the upper part of the preceding letter is visible, it is certainly a *mem*. Such a sequence is not found anywhere in the Hebrew Bible.²³

Line 4

In this line we witness the departure (**בצאתה**) of something or someone “from on high” (**מזבול**). The root **זבל**, which is found five times in the Hebrew Bible,²⁴ basically indicates God’s dwelling, or in any case a heavenly residence. The same meaning is also found in Qumran texts tied to a liturgical context and strongly linked to the community’s identity as it is articulated in the *Community Rule* and the *Rule*

²¹ See the quite lengthy discussion of the root in Kratz, Steudel and Kottsieper (2017: 42-48).

²² To limit ourselves to a fundamental text of the Qumran group, 1QS, these are the occurrences of the term **אור**: 1QS 1:9; 2:16; 3:3, 7, 13, 19–20, 24–25; 4:8; 11:3, 5.

²³ The only similar sequence in the Hebrew Bible (corresponding only to **ך עלי**) is 1 Sam 2:20 (**ויברך עלי**), which unfortunately is not of much help in our context.

²⁴ Cf. 1 Kgs 8:13; 2 Chr 6:2; Ps 49:15; Isa 63:15; Hab 3:11. For possible Ugaritic parallels, cf. Albright (1936).

of War in particular.²⁵ These two texts speak of the sacred residence of the stars and of God, and in the *Rule of War* (1QM 12:1–2), זבול occurs in a hymn concerning the invocation and awaiting of divine intervention in the eschatological war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness:²⁶

1 כִּיָּא רֹב קְדוּשִׁים [א] לֵּה בְּשָׁמַיִם וְצַבָּאוֹת מַלְאָכִים בְּזִבּוּל קוּדְשָׁהּ לֵה [וְדוֹת אִמְתָּ] כֹּה וּבַחִירִי עִם קוּדֵשׁ
2 שְׁמַתָּה לֵכָה ב[...]. פֶּר שְׁמוֹת כּוֹל צְבָאָם אֲתָכָה בְּמַעוֹן קוּדְשָׁהּ וּמָ[...]. יָם בְּזִבּוּל כְּבוֹדָהּ

1 For there are a multitude of saints in heaven and hosts of angels in your holy dwelling to praise your name. The elect of the holy people 2 you have chosen for yourself in [...] [The] book of the names of all their armies is with you in your holy abode [...] in the dwelling of your glory.

Line 5

Line 5 brings us back to a distinctively Qumran context. The phrase עול [בני] can be translated literally as “sons of iniquity.” These are the members of the world outside the community, who by virtue of this very fact are destined for damnation. The phrase is found in 1QS 3:21,²⁷ again in the *Doctrine of the Two Spirits*:

וּבִיד מְלֹאךְ 21 חוּשֶׁךְ כּוֹל מְשַׁלֵּת בְּנֵי עוֹל וּבְדַרְכֵי חוּשֶׁךְ יִתְהַלְכוּ

And in the hand of the Angel of 21 Darkness lies complete dominion over the sons of iniquity; they proceed in ways of darkness.

The phrase is of biblical origin, but in the Hebrew Bible it does not have any particular identitarian connotations,²⁸ unlike in the Qumran texts, where, in addition to the passage just mentioned, such connotations are common.²⁹ Its identitarian function is also attested by the different *nomina regentia* accompanying עול that are found in the Qumran corpus, mostly in those texts referring to the

²⁵ 1QS 10:3; 1QM 12:1–2; 1QHa 11:35; 4Q256 19:1; 4Q258 8:12; 4Q260 2:2; 4Q298 3 4i:1; 4Q403 1i:41; 4Q405 6:2; 81:2; 4Q408 3 + 3a:5; 4Q468b 1:4; 4Q491 5 6:1; 11Q17 10:8.

²⁶ See Ibba (2000).

²⁷ Sacchi (2006, *ad loc*) translates the phrase figuratively as “sons of Evil.”

²⁸ Cf. 2 Sam 3:34; 7:10; 1 Chr 17:9; the usual translation is “evildoers” or “wicked (ones).”

²⁹ 1QS 3:21; 1QHa 13:10; 14:21; 4Q88 9:7; 4Q265 1:5; 4Q418 69ii:8; 201:2; 4Q429 1i:3; 4i:5; 4Q511 1:8 .

community and attaching a negative quality to those outside it. Even more obvious are the various deverbals from the root עוּל,³⁰ which refers to acting unjustly.

In the fragment under consideration, the term עוּל is incomplete and only the last letter is intact. Nevertheless, the reconstruction can be considered certain, as traces of a *waw* and the upper part of a *'ayin* are clearly visible. The only completely intact word of the line is בּוּי, followed by traces of a letter among which the right arm of a *šadi* is easily observed. On the basis of what has been said so far, the insertions proposed by the editor, which refer not only to the “sons of iniquity” but also to the “sons of justice” (בּוּי צַדִּיק), repeating the contrast found in the aforementioned passage 1QS III, 20–21, should be accepted. Again, the terminology takes us back to the Qumran community’s literature and its modes of self-definition.³¹

Line 6

The few surviving traces of line 6 point again to a priestly context. The first legible letter is a *šin* preceded by traces of the roof of a *dalet*. After a space, the letters קוּד are clearly legible and are followed by the traces of the right arm of a *šin*. The phrase קוּדֵשׁ קוּדֵשִׁים is found frequently in both Qumran and in biblical literature, and, employed in the well-known construction whereby biblical Hebrew expresses the superlative, it indicates the highest degree of sanctity of the offering to be sacrificed.³² It also indicates, however, the innermost and most sacred part of the temple, which in Ezekiel’s vision (Ezek 45:3ff) becomes the temple itself, the most sacred part of restored Judea after the exile (Eichrodt 1970, 569). As is to be expected, the same phrase is found in Qumran literature, in those texts most closely related to the community’s self-definition and its eschatological priesthood,³³ such as the previously cited *Rule of the Community*. It is also found in the so-called *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*,

³⁰ 1QS 3:19, 21; 5:2, 10; 6:15; 8:13, 18; 9:9, 17, 21; 11:9; 1QM 4:3; 1QHa 8:18; 9:28; 11:19; 13:26; 14:10; 17:36; 21:29; 23:36; 1Q27 1i:9; 4Q88 8:4; 4Q172 4:2; 4Q176 1 2ii:3; 4Q179 1ii:4; 4Q184 8, 10; 3:4; 4Q256 9:2, 8; 18:4; 4Q257 6:2, 3; 4Q258 1:2, 7; 6:7; 8:2, 5; 4Q259 3:4, 15; 4:2; 4Q266 3ii:21; 4Q299 1:1; 4Q367 2a b: 13; 4Q380 1ii:6; 4Q417 1i:6; 2i:7; 4Q418 43 45i:4; 88ii:4; 4Q418c 1:5; 4Q428 7:1; 4Q432 5:6; 4Q468b 1:5; 4Q525 28:5; 11Q5 22:7, 10; 11Q11 5:8; 11Q13 2:11.

³¹ In this regard, it will suffice to mention here Carol Newsom’s *The Self as Symbolic Space* (2004), now almost a classic.

³² Exod 29:37; 30:10, 29, 36; 40:10; Lev 2:3, 10; 6:10, 18, 22; 7:1, 6; 10:12, 17; 14:13; 24:9; 27:28; Num 18:9; Judg 17:3; 1 Chr 23:13; 2 Chr 31:18; Ezek 43:12; 45:3; 48:12; Dan 9:24. For the form, see Joüon and Muraoka (2011, §96 Ag).

³³ On the eschatological priesthood in Qumran, cf. Martone (2003). For occurrences of קוּדֵשׁ קוּדֵשִׁים, cf. 1QS 8:8; 9:6; 10:4; 1QSb 4:28; 4Q158 13:2; 4Q251 15:1; 4Q256 19:2; 4Q258 6:2; 9:1; 4Q259 2:14, 15; 4Q260 2:4; 4Q286 2:5; 4Q287 2:5, 7; 4Q398 9:2; 4Q400 1i:7, 10, 12; 1ii:6; 2:10; 4Q401 6:5; 12:1, 3; 35:2; 4Q403 1i:11, 42–43, 45; 1ii:1, 7–8, 27; 2:1; 3:2; 4Q404 5:1; 4Q405 6:5, 8; 7:2; 11:2; 14 15i:2, 4, 7; 19:2, 4; 20ii 22:10; 23ii:8; 41:3; 85:1; 4Q423 8:3; 4Q468b 1:6; 4Q502 6 10:13; 100:2; 4Q503 15 16:2, 4–5; 23:1; 24 25:1; 27:5; 29 32:23; 11Q17 4:9; 6:5; 11Q19 35:9.

one of the most fascinating works in the Qumran corpus. Here the community presents itself as a community of angels in the priestly service of a heavenly temple (Newsom 1990).

1QS 9:5–6 unequivocally underlines the eschatological conception of the priesthood that membership in the community entails, and in terms that resonate with our fragment:

בעת ההיא יבדילו אנשי 6 היחד בית קודש לאהרון להיחד קודש קודשים ובית יחד לישראל ההולכים בתמים

At that time the men of the 6 community will separate themselves off (as) the holy house of Aaron and join the Holy of Holies, and (as) a house for the people of Israel, (for) those who proceed in perfection.

In essence, to build the community is to build a temple with a Holy of Holies (קודש קודשים) (Sacchi 2006, 139 n. 5).

Line 7

In the last line of the fragment only the first and last letters of two distinct words are visible: יך לו []. This combination is not so frequent. In the Hebrew Bible the cluster is only found in Deut 10:9, 1 Kgs 22:18, and Qoh 8:12, while at Qumran, if we exclude conjectures, it appears only in 11Q5 22:9, one of the so-called apocryphal Psalms.³⁴ It is worth recalling the passage:

8 כמה קוו לישועתך ויתאבלו עליך תמיד לוא תובד תקותך 9 ציון ולוא תשכח תוחלתך

How they hoped for your salvation! How your perfect ones³⁵ have mourned you! The hope of you, 9 Zion, does not perish, nor is the awaiting of you ever forgotten.

11Q5 22:1–10 is a poem known as the *Apostrophe to Zion*. This text is an alphabetic acrostic³⁶ and is not found in any version of the Bible. The text praises Zion and reinterprets negative biblical phrases about Zion in a positive light (Reymonds 2011, 126). The fact that the fragment under consideration can be somehow connected, albeit tentatively, to the *Apostrophe to Zion* is further evidence that the text

³⁴ For the editio princeps, see Sanders (1965).

³⁵ For a discussion on the reading תמיד see Reymond (2011: 136).

³⁶ On the structure of this text see more recently Henderson (2013).

belongs to the literature of the community and it may shed some light on the historical events that led to the establishment of the community itself.

5. Concluding remarks

On the basis of what has been discussed so far, and especially the possible connection between our text and the Apostrophe to Zion, the following can be said by way of provisional conclusion. According to an interesting hypothesis (Delcor 1967), 11Q5 22:8 alludes to conditions in Jerusalem after the murder of Onias III.³⁷ If this hypothesis is valid, a text such as 11Q5 22:8 could be linked to the fragment considered here, since the riots that followed the end of the Zadokite dynasty were probably important for the birth or consolidation of the Qumran community (Martone 2003). This fragment, as we have seen, fits well in the context of praise and exaltation of the priesthood as the center of the community. It is not to be excluded that it contains tacit references to the situation in Jerusalem that led to the end of the Zadokite priesthood (Martone 2015).

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³⁷ Concerning the complex circumstances of the career of Onias III, see now Piotrkowski (2019).

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Common Afrasian (Afro-Asiatic) terms related to the magic, supernatural, spiritual and mythic

Etymologies and reconstructions

Alexander Militarev

The paper contains 38 reconstructed common Afrasian (Afro-Asiatic) terms related to the magic, supernatural, spiritual and mythic rather conditionally combined into 10 groups (Soul, essence of life; Spirits, gods, ghosts and other supernatural creatures; God, spirit as an ancestor; Wonder, miracle, fortune-telling; Evil magic; Healing magic; Sorcery as knowledge; Spell, omen, magic speech or sign; Offering, sacrifice; Mythical and fantastic animals and their origin).

Each Proto-Afrasian term is reconstructed from a set of cognate words with compatible meanings in various branches and groups of the AA superfamily based on established regular consonant correspondences. The PAA language was supposedly spoken by the human community in the Near East at the turn of the Mesolithic and Neolithic—according to my glottochronological calculations, in the last third of the 11 millennium BCE—and their original homeland, according to the author, was the southern Levant. The reconstruction can provide valuable evidence for anthropologists, archaeologists, mythologists, prehistorians.

Key words: reconstruction, proto-forms, Afrasian languages, magic, supernatural, mythic.

In memory of my beloved son Mikhail Militarev (2005-2022)

1. Introduction¹

On topics related to the spiritual, magic, supernatural, mythic, fantastic creatures and the like in the prehistoric and archaic cultures an ocean of literature has been published, and the author – etymologist

¹ I am honored to have the opportunity to make my modest contribution to this special issue of *Kervan* dedicated to my dear old friend Prof. Fabrizio Pennacchietti. This research is supported by the Russian Science Foundation (Project No. 20-18-00159 (<https://rscf.ru/project/20-18-00159/>)); the financing organization is The Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences.

and comparative linguist—can hardly say anything new except to contribute by presenting corresponding terms, trace them up to the proto-forms reconstructed as deep as the Proto-Afrasian (henceforth: PAA) level and equip with etymologies constructed on the basis of regular sound (in the case of Afrasian languages, consonant) correspondences and compatible meanings. The PAA language was supposedly spoken by the human community in the Near East at the turn of the Mesolithic and Neolithic—according to my glottochronological calculations,² ca. 10,350 BCE—whose original homeland was the southern Levant.³ The reconstructed terms can be roughly grouped according to their proposed semantics:

1. soul, essence of life;
2. spirits, gods, ghosts and other supernatural creatures;
3. god, spirit as an ancestor;
4. wonder, miracle, fortune-telling, divination, magic;
5. evil magic;
6. healing magic;
7. sorcery as knowledge;
8. spell, omen, magic speech or sign;
9. offering, sacrifice;
10. mythical and fantastic animals.

The lexical material is organized by the families that make up the Afrasian macrofamily: Semitic, Egyptian, Berber and Chadic (the NAA branch⁴), Cushitic and Omotic (the SAA branch), according to the author's classification based on lexicostatistics.⁵

² Based on Sergei Starostin's radical modification (Starostin 2000)—not yet recognized by the mainstream, but, in my experience, more than workable—of Swadesh's method, also not recognized (which is in part justified).

³ See Militarev and Nikolaev (2020: 1 and Discussion). See also article "Afroasiatic Homeland" in Wikipedia referring to various authors (however, very outdated in what concerns my hypothesis and, especially, dating) and Militarev forthcoming.

⁴ The PNA is dated by the same criterion (see Starostin 2000) to ca. 9,800 BCE. For a most detailed account of my recent understanding and ongoing application of this method, its capabilities and its verification by dating established by related sciences (historical, archaeological, genetics, oral tradition/folklore studies), see Militarev (2023: 52-60 *et passim*). See comments to the most recent Afrasian genealogical tree in Militarev (2022) and the tree itself at Militarev forthcoming or <https://disk.yandex.ru/i/C0kbpXIuH17k8Q>.

⁵ Recently transforming from "a controversial method" into the one half-accepted by the linguistic mainstream.

Almost all of our lexical data is quoted after the Afrasian Etymological Database (AADB)⁶ compiled between the end of the last century and the latter part of the first decade of our century by Olga Stolbova and myself (in the first years, within the framework of the Santa Fe Institute's project "Evolution of Human Languages") and later worked on by the present author alone. At present it contains over 4,000 entries in the main Afrasian etymological base (liable to strong reduction in the final version, of course) and some 15,000 entries in the subordinate bases with lexical data from all branches and main AA subbranches/groups, connected with the main one. The version dated April 2007 is available from <https://starlingdb.org>. According to the description by the editors of this site containing lexical and etymological bases in various world macrofamilies:

[C]ompiled by Alexander Militarev and Olga Stolbova on the basis of multiple published sources as well as constantly on-going newer work. Both the main Afroasiatic database and all of the numerous subordinate databases are in a state of near-permanent construction, containing much raw data that still has to be polished, but nevertheless, the database, even as it is, is a considerable improvement on previously available etymological dictionaries. Subordinate databases include files with Semitic, Berber, Egyptian, Cushitic, and Chadic data (the latter courtesy of O. Stolbova, most of the others supported by A. Militarev).

To this somewhat outdated description I would add the Omotic database and sporadic parallels from non-Afrasian languages. The words "in a state of near-permanent construction" explain why "the final version" is still not posted on the Internet.

Before proceeding to the lexical material, let us introduce the author's criterion for evaluating etymologies (on the example of AA languages) which allows to use the following simple five-point rating of the plausibility of cognation in each lower taxon of the AA macrofamily and on the PAA level:

●●●● terms with identical or matching meaning in all (or in a representative selection) of the languages compared, with strictly regular phonetic correspondences⁷ between them, containing at

⁶ References to other sources are given when they are not mentioned in the database or sometimes when the given lexeme is of particular importance for the proposed etymology or the source is not evident.

⁷ This condition applies to consonants; the correspondence between vowels in the Afrasian languages is not established; the reconstructed vocalism in proto-forms of all levels is conventional in most cases. However, it is quite legitimate to consider as related lexemes with vocalism and base structure even not reducible to a single pattern, provided the same consonantal root composition and comparable meaning, unless each of these lexemes has a better alternative etymology; naturally, this implies a certain degree of hypothetical and tentative nature of the proposed etymologies, which is unavoidable until the Afrasian Database has been made into a comprehensive and well-elaborated etymological dictionary is completed with a step-by-step reconstruction at all taxonomic levels.

least three (or two including one low-frequency/rare) root consonants, fully representative of each of the branches compared or terms doubtless related regardless of the number of root consonants (like in Semitic *ʔil-, ʔilāh- ‘God’):

●●● terms clearly comparable semantically⁸ with regular phonetic correspondences, containing three to two “hard”⁹ root consonants, representing at least one subbranch/group of a given branch and having no alternative etymology;

●● terms comparable semantically and phonetically, containing only one “hard” root consonant, representing groups/subgroups of the branch and having no alternative etymology;

● terms presumably comparable semantically and phonetically, but under-represented in the languages compared or terms with ambiguous phonetic interpretation/origin (especially common in Egyptian where, e.g., the hieroglyph for *n* can stand for and continue either AA **n* or **l*) or terms not obviously matching semantically though fit in all other respects and having no alternative or better etymology;

● terms suspected of borrowing or attested in a late period of the language susceptible to borrowing (late Egyptian, Coptic, postbiblical Hebrew) or having a disputable meaning, or isolated in their taxon, hypothetically commensurable, brought into comparison for the sake of “comprehensive picture.” The rating of any Proto-Afrasian or Proto-North Afrasian root is derived from the rating of at least two constituent parts (branches, groups) of the respective taxon.¹⁰

⁸ In comparative and historical linguistics – while there is a high demand for strict sound correspondences (in the case of Afrasian languages—in consonantism, see the previous footnote), the criteria for semantic comparison are still mainly based on obviousness and common sense or at best on the repetition of the same semantic transition at different roots (Maizel’s “isosemantic series”—see Maizel 1983).

⁹ All consonants can be considered “hard” in the Afrasian languages except *w*, *y*, and *ʔ* (glottal stop) as any of the three may serve as an “extender” of primary, usually bi- or monosyllabic root bases and thus is secondary and unstable; there are rare cases, however, when one of these “soft” consonants persists in the same root in various daughter languages being, therefore, reconstructible as part of the proto-form (see, e. g., *y*- in Semitic **yVdVʔ*- ‘to know’) and hence acting as “hard.”

¹⁰ The meanings of the words are given in the European language of the corresponding bilingual dictionary.

2. The data

2.1. Soul, essence of life

AA **nVf*- ‘breath, soul, self, life’¹¹ (AADB 162): ●●●●●

Semitic: MSA **nVf*- ‘self’: Mehri *nōf*, *ḥə-nōf* (Johnstone 1987: 283), Jibbali *nūf*, Soqotri *nəf* (and *nhəf*) (Johnstone 1981: 181) ●●●●

Egyptian (OK) *nf.t* ‘Wedel, Fächer’, (NK) *nf* ‘breath, wind’, *nfy* ‘ausatmen, hauchen’ (EG II: 250) ●●●

Berber: **naf*:- Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *a-nāfo* ‘fresh humid wind’, Ahaggar *a-nāfo* ‘breath’, *ta-nəff-ut* ‘breath, soul’, Ghadames *ənnəfu* ‘respiration’, Izayan *ta-neff-ut* ‘breath, soul’ ●●●●●

Chadic **nif*:- W.: Kupto *néefō* ‘to live, breathe’; C. **nVf*- ‘heart, soul, life’: Tera *nifi* ‘life’, Fali-Kirya *nəffə*, Bana *nəf(ə)*, Mbedam *nəf* ‘heart’, Logone *nəfu* ‘Herz, Seele’ ●●●●●

Cushitic **na/if*:- N.: Beja *nifi* ‘wehen (Wind)’; E.: Saho *naḥ* ‘breath, soul, self’, LEC: Somali *neef* ‘breath, life, soul, spirit; animal’, *naḥ* ‘life, soul, self’, Oromo *nāfa* ‘breath; soul’ ●●●●●

[] Cf. EDE 1999: 126 (compared, beside Berber, C. Chadic, Beja, E. Cushitic, N. Omotic (likely loans from Ethiopian), to Semitic **ʔanp*- ‘nose’); CED #591 (comp. to Egyptian, Tuareg, Beja, Saho, Somali).

NAA **naḥVs*- ‘breath, soul, life’ (AADB 80): ●●●●

Semitic **naḥš*- ‘breath; soul; vitality, life; person; self’¹²: Akkadian *naḥāšu* ‘to breathe freely,’ *napištu* (*naḥāštu*, *naḥāṣtu*) ‘life, vigor, vitality; breath; good health; person’ (also ‘throat, neck’); Ugaritic *naḥš* ‘soul’ (also ‘throat, gullet’); Phoenician *naḥš* ‘self, desire, person’ (also ‘gravestone’), Hebrew *naḥš* (*nif*) ‘to breathe freely, recover,’ *nāḥāš* ‘breath; soul; life; living being’ (also ‘throat, neck’); Aramaic: Old, Official, Nabatean, Palmyrian, Hatra *naḥš* ‘life, person’ (also ‘funerary

¹¹ It is to note that such concepts as ‘soul,’ ‘life force,’ ‘essence of a living being’ and ‘life’ itself, though commonly and “naturally” derived from such a tangible and objective notion as ‘breathe/breathing’ require a very high level of abstraction (that this derivation occurred parallelly and independently in every language, i.e. much later, is less likely or rare), while in our case, we are talking not about religious, philosophical or even mythological concepts of the ancient world but about the Neolithic or even Epipaleolithic time. It is all the more intriguing in view of a whole “network” of triconsonantal variant roots differing by the quality of one of the radicals like AA **nps* (SED I Verbal Roots No. 46) ~ Semitic **nph* ‘breathe’ (SED I Verbal Roots No. 45) or the presence of a third root consonant vs. the same “biconsonantal base” (like in AA **nVf*- ~ **naḥVs*-), the fact that even raises suspicion of some conscious word creation—or play of words.

¹² There is also Semitic verb **nps* ‘to deliver, give birth’ very likely derived from the present root with a semantic development from ‘to give life’ (see SED I Verbal Roots No. 47).

monument’); Sabaic, Qatabanian *nfs*₁ ‘soul, life, person, self’; Arabic *nafs*- ‘âme, principe vital; sang; personne’, *nfs* V ‘respirer’; Geʿez *nafsa* ‘to blow (wind, spirit),’ *nafs* ‘soul, spirit, breath, life,’ Amharic l *näffäsä* ‘to blow (wind),’ *näfs* ‘soul, spirit, life;’ Mehri *nəfs-ēt* ‘individual, soul,’ Jibbali *ənḥés* ‘to sigh,’ *nəfs-ét* ‘soul,’ Soqotri *nəfoš* ‘respirer, vivre, se ranimer,’ *nófoš* ‘selves’ (pl. of *nafh* ‘âme’) ●●●●●

Berber **ni/ufas*: Ahaggar *unfas* ‘breath’, Ayr *ənfəs*, E. Tawlllemmet *infəs* ‘respiration; vie,’ Izayan *unfus* ‘breath,’ *nəffəs* ‘breathe’ ●●●●

Chadic **nafus*- ~ **sVnf*- (met.): W.: Hausa *númfāši* ‘breathing’ (Abraham 1962: 707; not in Stolbova 2021), Daffo-Butura *nafos*, Sha *lufwos* ‘breathe,’ Monguna *mafòs* ‘to breathe,’ *mafós* ‘life;’ C.: Mofu *-səfn-*, Matakam *-sáfn-*, Munjuk *sinfi*, Musgu *súmfa* ‘breathe’ (Stolbova 2021 #351; compared to Semitic) ●●●●

(?) Cushitic E. **nafs*-: Saho *nafs-e* ‘breathing,’ LEC: Somali, Boni *neefso*, Rendille *nəfsó* ‘breathe’ (borrowing from Arabic or Ethiopian in Saho and Somali is possible, but less so in Boni and Rendille) ●

[]SED I Verbal Roots No. 46.

AA **kirw*- ‘soul/mind in an altered state, (shamanistic?) trance’¹³ (AADB 2700): ●●●●●

Semitic **ku/irw*-: Akkadian (OB, SB) *kāru* ‘to be in depression, in a stupor’ (CAD k 240), *kūru* ‘daze, depression, stupor’ (ibid. 570); Arab. *kry* ‘sommeiller’ [BK 2: 892]; Tigre *kərri belä* ‘talk nonsense,’ *sāb kəyarāt* ‘soothsayers’ (*sāb* is ‘man’), Selti *kārärä* ‘talk much and nonsense’ (Leslau 1979: 350) ●●

Egyptian (OK) *k* (presumably <**kur*) ‘soul, vital essence’ ●●

Berber: Ahaggar *tă-karaww-at*, Ayr *i-kerker-ăn* ‘épilepsie’¹⁴, E.Tawlllemmet *a-t-kər* ‘possessed (by an evil spirit),’ Qabyle *kerrer* ‘faire des sorcelleries, des sortilèges’ ●●●●

Chadic W.: Hausa *kùrw-ā* ‘soul; ghost’ (Abraham 1962), ‘the soul or personality which is supposed to leave a sleeper, returning when he awakes’ (Bargery 1951), (?) Tangale *korom* ‘divination’, Jimi *karoo* ‘spirit (of person)’; C.: Bura *kir* ‘the self; the will’ ●●●

Cushitic **ʔa(n)-kir*-: C. **ʔən-kir*- ‘soul’: Bilin *ʔənkəra*, Qwara *enkera*, Aungi *enk-* (**ʔənk-[ər]* in

¹³ Hardly a random selection of lookalikes based on a frequent *k + r* succession of radicals, this AA root implies a sophisticated notion hard to formulate. The most interesting comparison—between Egyptian *k* and Hausa *kùrw-ā* ‘the soul or personality which is supposed to leave a sleeper, returning when he awakes’—was, if I am not mistaken, first suggested in Hodge (1966).

¹⁴ With an interesting parallel in Hadza *nkoro-ko* ‘epilepsy’ (Miller 2021). On the Hadza-Afrasian hypothesis see Militarev (2022).

Appleyard (2006: 126). All the comparanda starting with Oromo shows otherwise); E.: Oromo *ekeera* (-*ʔVkir-) ‘ghost of dead person’ (Gragg 1982) ●●●●

2.2. Spirits, gods, ghosts and other supernatural creatures

AA *ʔil- ~ *lil- ~ *laʔ- ‘sky/cloud/rain’ or ‘sun’ > ‘God’?¹⁵ ●

Semitic *ʔil-, ʔilāh- ‘God’: Akkadian *ilu* (*elu*); Ugaritic /ʔilu/; Phoenician ʔl, Hebrew ʔēl, ʔāḏō^ah, pl. ʔāḏōhīm; Aramaic Official ʔl, ʔlh, Syrian ʔēl, ʔalāhā, Mandaic *alaha* (‘false god’); Sabaic ʔl, ʔlh; Arabic ʔilah-, ʔilāh-; Jibbali ʔēz̄, Soqotri *aʔ* ‘God.’¹⁶ ●●●●●

a) *laʔ(laʔ)- ‘sun(shine)’ (AADB 1159): ●●●

Semitic: Arabic *lʔlʔ* ‘briller (étoile, feu)’ (BK 2: 953) ●

Chadic *liʔ- ‘daybreak; sunshine’: W.: Kirfi *liʔ-*, *li-ŋi* ‘daybreak’, Daffo-Butura *leʔ* ‘anbrechen (Tag)’, E.: Bidiya *laal* (redupl.) ‘shine (sun)’ (cf. Stolbova 2005 #14a and 55; compared with Arabic) ●●●

Cushitic *laʔ- ~ *lalaʔ- (redupl.): E.: LEC *laʔ-t-: Konso *letta*, Mashile *latta* ‘sun’ (alternatively *IVʃ(IVʃ-) ‘light, sun’ AADB 2878); S. *lalaʔoo ‘sun; day; God’: Iraqw *lalaʔa* ‘God’ (Mous, Qorro and Kiessling 2002), *looʔaa* ‘sun, God’, Gorowa *looʔaa*, *lalaʔaa*, *leleʔaa* id., Alagwa *lalaʔaa* ‘sun, day’, Burunge *leetu*, *letu* id. (Kiessling, Mous 2003) ●●●●●

¹⁵ Though comparing a word with one “hard” root consonant and a glottal stop is kind of a venture, the significance of the Semitic term justifies any etymological effort possible in theory. The “isosemantic series” (Maizel 1983), i.e. the same semantic transitions repeated in different roots in the same or related languages, is long, especially in the Egyptian-Chadic cultural/lexical area. Cf. for ‘sky/cloud/rain’ > ‘god’: (1) Egyptian (PT) *bʃn* ‘sky waters’ ~ Chadic **buwan-* ‘God, sky, rain’ (St. 2021 #236): C.: Gidar *bùwàn* ‘rain’; E.: Mawa *bwān* ‘God, sky’, Ubi *bwane*, Mawa *buan*, Mabire *boŋ* ‘ciel’, E. Dangla *búŋ* ‘le devin, le mystérieux, dieu’, Migama *búŋ* ‘dieu de pluie, ciel’, Bidiya *bùŋ* ‘Dieu’, Mubi *bùn* ‘sky, God’, Jegu *bóŋ* ‘Himmel, Gott’, Toram *bùŋ* ‘Dieu’; (2) AA **raw/ʔ-* ‘sky; god’ (below), etc. For ‘sun’ > ‘god’: (1) Egyptian (NK) *bʃ* ‘Bez. des Sonnengottes’ ~ Chadic W.: Bokkos, Daffo-Butura *bwè* ‘sun’, Ngamo *ḥàḥà* ‘sky’, Gerka *ḥá* ‘sky, god’; (2) Egyptian (PT) ʔ^a*ʔtyw* ‘Bezeichnung für Götter’ ~ Chadic *(ʔ^a)*Vti* ‘sun’, incl. W.: Guus *fiit*, Sha *fat* ‘sun; God’. Cf. also a completely different association: Chadic **law/yʔ-* ‘soul, spirit’: W.: Daffo-Butura *lwàʔ* ‘Seele, Heiliges’; E.: Jegu *láyó* ‘spirit; Geist (auf Bäumen, in Höhlen)’ (Stolbova 2005 #47).

¹⁶ Jibbali ʔēz̄ can continue either *ʔil- or *baʔl- ‘lord’ (cf. Mehri *abeli* ‘God’ Johnstone 1987: 41); in Soqotri, “*aʔ* ‘God’ seems to be attested in a few archaic poetic compositions recorded by our fieldwork team.” (Kogan 2015: fn. 503).

b) *lVw- ~ *lil- ~ *wVl- (met.) ‘cloud, rain, sky’ (AADB 1341): ●●●●

Egyptian (PT) *nw.t* (if <*lVw-) ‘sky’ ●●

Chadic W. *liw- ‘cloud’: Gwandara *llúú*, Sura *llúu*, Chip *liwu*, Ankwe *low-in*, Boghom *lilyu*, *lwai* (cf. Stolbova 2005 #50) ●●●●●

Cushitic *wVl-: ‘cloud’: C. *wVl- ‘cloud’: Aungi *wul*, Kunfal *wel*; E.: HEC: Burji *wáall-a* ‘cloud, fog’ ●●●●●

Omotic *wVl- ~ *lil- ‘cloud, rain’: N.: Gimira (Bench, She) *wol* ‘rain’; S.: Ari *lil- (redupl.) ‘cloud’ ●●●

AA *bari?- ‘god-creator’ (AADB 1689): ●●●

Semitic *bVrV?- ‘to create (God)’: Hebrew *bārā?*; Syrian *br?*, Mandaic *bra*; Arabic *br?* ●●●●

Canarian: Palma *a-bora* ‘dios...que estaba en el cielo’, ‘god’, ‘Dieu, ou le régulateur des astres’ (Wölfel 1965: 432) ●

Omotic S. *bary- ‘god-creator’: Ari *bérri* ‘Gottesname: Erdgottheit’, Hamar *baryo* ‘creator’ ●●●●

AA *raw/?- ‘sky; god’ (AADB 1336): ●●●

(?) Semitic: Geʿez *rāʔot* ‘the name of (God) the Father (seems to be a magical name)’ (LGz.: 458) ●

Egyptian (Gr.) *ry.t* ‘der Himmel’ (EG II: 400; if <*rVy-), (PT) *rw*, als vierfachen Teil des Himmels? (EG II: 403) ●

Chadic (a) *rVw- ‘sky’: W.: Karekare *ráwì*, Fyer *rúrùwê*, Bokkos *ri?*; C.: Hide *lwa* (< *rwa*). In CED #647, compared with Egyptian and S. Cushitic ●●●

(b) *raa (< *raH-) ‘God’: W.: Gwandara (Nim) *rara* (redupl.) ‘God’; E.: Mokilko *ráa* ‘ciel, dieu’, Bidiya *raayà* ‘God (used in funeral songs)’ (In CED #646, compared with Egyptian *rʔ* ‘sun, sun-god’) ●●●

Cushitic S.: Burunge *raw* ‘sky’ (probably also Alagwa, Burunge *raw* ‘above’) ●●

Omotic N. *yar- (met.)¹⁷ ‘god’: Chara *yar*, Kafa, Anfillo *yarō*, *yero*, Bworo *ya/er*, Dizi (Nao) *yeri* (Bender 2003) ●●●●

[] Cf. AA *ʔay/wr- ‘sunlight’ (AADB 2026) and AA *ʔar- ‘moon’ (AADB 2783)

¹⁷ Some authors suggest the origin from *ʔ/ʒar-, but *y < *ʔ or *ʒ is not confirmed (and not given in Bender’s correspondence tables) for any of the quoted languages.

NAA *zVḵ- ‘(night) ghost, phantom’ (AADB 2845): ●●●

Semitic *zakīḵ- ‘phantom’ (Cohen *et al.* 1970: 785; likely < Akk.); Akkadian (SB, NB) *za/iḵīḵ-* ‘phantom, ghost, nothingness, foolishness; haunted place; the god of dreams; soul’ (CAD z 58); Aramaic (Hatra) *zkyḵ?* ‘fantôme’ (?); Arabic *zīḵ* ‘avoir peur pendant la nuit’ (BK 1: 991) ●●●
 Chadic C. *zVḵ- ‘spirit, shadow’ (possibly <*zVḵ-): Daba *zùkò* ‘fetiche, esprit’, Mofu *zakale, zagale* (-l is not etymological) ‘esprit mauvais, sacrifice’, Sukun *žik* ‘shadow, spirit’ (cf. Stolbova 2009 #446). ●●●

AA *zVr- ‘(evil) genius; sky-god; magic’ (AADB 3564): ●●●●

Semitic *zVr- ‘evil genius, magician’: Akkadian (SB, NB) *zīr-* ‘hatred, hate’ (as the designation of a type of magic, hate magic) (CAD z 136); Arabic *zūr-* ‘culte faux; idole, faux dieu’ (BK 1: 129); Tigre *zar*, Gurage **zar* ‘spirit that possesses a person’ (Leslau 1979), Amharic *zar* ‘a spirit which inhabits lakes, wilderness areas or trees and which possesses people’ (Kane 1990: 1624); Jibbali *zír-én*, semi-magical ritual involving fire-eating, etc., Soqotri *zehér-eh* ‘sorcière’, *zrr* ‘user de sorcellerie’ (Leslau 1938: 157) ●●●●

Egyptian (PT) *z*: (if *z* denotes *r*) ‘amulet, fetish’, (NK) *z:w* ‘preserve, guard’ ●●

Chadic: W.: Hausa *zarči* (<**zar-t-*) ‘a decoction to make a man an expert hunter’; C.: Munjuk *zor-o* ‘devinette’ ●●

Cushitic C. **zār-*: Bilin *žār* ‘sky, sky god’, Khamta, Aungi *zār* ‘evil genius’¹⁸ ●●●●

2.3. God, spirit as an ancestor**AA *ni(?)nay- ‘elder/adult male relative’ (> chief, lord’) > ‘god’ (AADB 52):**

a) ‘elder/adult male relative’ (> chief, lord’) ●●●

Semitic: Soqotri *ninhin* ‘elder brother, master, lord,’ *ninho* ‘master, lord’ ●●

Chadic **ni(?)an-* ‘elder male relative:’ W.: Mupun *nāan* ‘a superior person,’ *nēn* ‘adults, people,’ Fyer *nán* ‘Bruder, Nachbarn,’ Pero *nínyà* ‘man,’ Ngizim *nán* ‘person;’ C.: Gude *nwánwá* ‘chief,’ Daba *nánà* ‘neveu, l’oncle maternel;’ E.: Kera *nəṇə* ‘mother’s brother, uncle’ (cf. Stolbova 2005 #360) ●●●●●

¹⁸ The common tenet that the Ethiopian terms are borrowed from the Agaw languages (cf., e. g., Appleyard 2006: 76) does not seem so convincing in the light of the Akkadian, Arabic and Soqotri parallels which rather point to common Afrasian origin (or to an Ethiopism in Agaw).

Cushitic S. **naʔan*¹⁹ ‘elder male relative:’ Iraqw *naana* ‘lover; elder brother,’ Gorowa *naanaa* ‘father,’ Burunge *naanaa* ‘dad’ ●●●●●

Omotic N. **naynay*- ‘male relative:’ Chara *nainaa* ‘relative,’ Gimira (She) *niania* ‘nephew,’ Dizi (Nao) *non*, (Maji) *nānē* ‘brother’ ●●●●

b) Egyptian-Chadic **na(Ha)n*- ‘god’ (AADB 1585):

Egyptian (Gr.) *nn* ‘Urgott’ ●

Chadic W. **na(?)an*- ‘God’: Sura *naan*, Angas *nen*, Mupun *nāan* (also ‘sky’), Montol *nāan*, Ankwe *naan*, Gerka *nàán*, Mushere *naan* (cf. CED #600; compared with Egyptian). ●●●●●

[] Cf. Sumerian *nun* ‘prince; god.’

2.4. Wonder, miracle, fortune-telling, divination, magic

AA **mayh*- ‘wonder, miracle, divination’ (AADB 3642): ●●●

Semitic **ta-mayh*-, with a frozen **ta*- prefix): Hebrew *tāmāh* ‘to be astonished, amazed; to freeze with fear, be horrified;’ Aram.: Biblical *tamah* ‘miracle,’ Syrian *tamayh*- ‘wonder’ ●●●●

Egyptian **myh.t* > Demotic *myh/h* ‘wonder’ (EDE 2010: 154)²⁰ ●●

Berber **may*- ‘wonder tal:’ Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *emăy* ‘conte merveilleux, légende; fable (destiné à tromper qqn.),’ pl. *imăyy-ăn* ‘fantasies, hallucinations, fantasmes,’ Semlal *umiy* ‘conte, fable’ ●●●●

Cushitic E.: HEC: Sidamo *maha* ‘to do the job of a sorcerer, wizard; divine, prophesy’ ●

AA **mar*- ‘diviner, fortune-teller’²¹ (AADB 1475): ●●

Semitic Ethiopian: Geʿez *māri*, *mārəy-ā* ‘heathen seer, diviner, priest of idolaters, magician’ (LGz.: 362), Amharic *mari* ‘sorcerer who foretells the future;’ cf. probably related Hebrew *mirmā* ‘trick, fraud;’ Aramaic: Old *mrm-t* (pl.) ‘treachery’ (JH 694), Syrian *marmīn*- ‘whisperer, calumniator, slanderer’ (according to Payne-Smith 1903: 302, root **rmā*) ●●

Chadic **mar*-: W.: Siri *maraa-cəki* ‘sorcerer’ (*cəki* ‘man, male’) (Stolbova 2009 #604); E.: Kera

¹⁹ Only **-ʔ-* can account for the hiatus in the Inlaut as AA **-h-* would have yielded *-h-* in West Rift languages. The same is true of Chadic.

²⁰ Takács’ comment on this word “no evident cognates” looks odd as he provides it with quite convincing Aramaic, Post-Biblical Hebrew (not including the biblical Hebrew term), Tuareg and Sidamo forms, the more so since **-h* preserved in both the Egyptian (likely), Semitic and Sidamo forms is a rather rare occurrence and can hardly be haphazard.

²¹ Attestation in Ethiopian vs. E. Cushitic is suspicious of borrowings.

kə-maara ‘a small staff used for fortune-telling; soothsayer’ (EDE 2010: 31; included *ibid.* 30 into a bunch of terms presumably matching Egyptian *m*; ‘sehen’ and Semitic **ʔmr* ‘sehen (lassen)’) ●●

Cushitic E.: LEC: Oromo *moru* ‘divine,’ *mor-tu* ‘sorcery’ (LGz.: 362), Rendille *mor-o* ‘soothsayer, star-gazer, who sees visions’ (Pillinger, Galboran 1999: 227), ‘medicine man, witch doctor’ (Heine 1976), HEC: Darasa *mar-aat-* ‘crazy,’ Burji *murum-* ‘wizard, sorcerer, tells fortune by inspecting coffee beans’²² ●●

NAA or Semitic only²³ **cigul-* ‘seal, (sealed, registered) property, treasure’ > Ethiopian ‘divination, magic’²⁴ (AADB 441): ●●●

Semitic **sigu/il-* ‘seal, (sealed, registered) property, treasure:’ Akkadian (OB on) *sikiltu* ‘possession, acquisition, private possessions,’ *sug/kullu* ‘herd (of cattle, horse, other animals),’ in personal names *sikiltu*+divine name(s) also in a religious sense; Ugaritic *sglt* ‘treasure, private property;’ Hebrew *səgullā* ‘Israel as the property of God; (personal) property (of the kings and the provinces);’ Hatra *sgyl* ‘possession’ (prob. designating temple; name of the temple of Shamash at Hatra) (HALOT: 742); Arabic *sʒl* ‘to register,’ IV ‘to be rich,’ *siʒill-* ‘a scroll, roll for writing on it’ (cf. also *siʒʒī-l-* ‘a mysterious stone’); Geʿez (*?a*)*sgala* ‘to practice magic, augury, divine, take omens, have divining power,’ *sagalāt* (pl.) ‘magical instruments’ (LGz.: 491), Tigre *sāb sǎgāl* ‘magicians,’ Amharic *sǎgāl* ‘witchcraft, divination,’ (?) Gurage **sǎgʷārār* ‘magician, sorcerer’ (“probably to be identified with” the other Ethiopian forms; Leslau 1979: 491); MSA **sgl* ‘to register’ (almost certainly from Arabic) ●●●●●

Egyptian (OK) *sd;w.t* (almost certainly <**sVgi/ul-*)²⁵ ‘seal,’ *sd;wt* ‘precious things, treasures’ (cf. *sd;w* ‘ring (?)’) (EG IV: 379). ●●

²² Compared in Sasse (1982: 149) to Oromo *morom-* ‘murmur, disagree, curse,’ Somali *murm-* ‘contradict, disagree,’ Gollango *maram-* ‘deny,’ etc.; with all the phonetic and structural similarity, probably too different semantically.

²³ The meaning ‘seal’ looks too early for proto-Afrasian. It is more likely a Semitism in Egyptian considering a whole network of Semitic derivatives and the proto-form reconstructed on a proto-North Semitic level which I date glottochronologically between 4,500 (separation of proto-MSA or proto-South Semitic) and 3,700 (separation of proto-Akkadian) BCE.

Interestingly, the two other Egyptian (OK) terms for ‘seal’ (*htm* and, probably, *dbʕ.t*) are also connected with Semitic ‘seal’ (**ḥatm-* and **ṭabaʕ-*). For more on Egyptian-Semitic terms meaning “seal,” see Militarev (2023: 50 and footnotes 76, 110, 111).

²⁴ Though the semantic change from ‘seal’ to Ethiopian ‘divination, magic’ (having no alternative etymology) is not so obvious, the identic triconsonantal roots are hardly unrelated.

²⁵ Suggestive comparison with Semitic ‘seal’ is strangely omitted in EDE 1999: 253 where the Egyptian term is instead compared with Semitic **sgr* ‘to close, shut’ and two C. Chadic words hardly fitting phonetically.

2.5. Evil magic

AA *biʿay- ‘hex, evil spells causing antisocial behavior’ ●●●

Semitic: Arab bʿw ‘commettre un crime, un péché; envoûter; se rendre coupable d’une trahison; atteindre qqn et lui nuire de son mauvais œil; susciter à qqn un malheur’, baʿw- ‘crime’ (BK 1: 144); cf. Tigre *bäbša*, Amharic *baba* (redupl.) ‘ê. consterné, angoissé’ (Cohen et al. 1970: 73) ●

Berber: Ahaggar *buy-et* ‘n’être aimé de personne (déplaie à tout le monde)’ ●

Chadic**bVHVy-* ‘to be bad, evil (spirit)’: W.: Hausa *má-biyaa* ‘the spirits which are supposed to cause the various forms of hysteria,’ Pero *bóu* ‘devil,’ Kupto *mbúʔyà* ‘witchcraft,’ C.: Gabin *ḡiḡà*, Gaa’anda *ḡiḡa* (redupl.) ‘evil,’ Gude *bwàyi* ‘bad, evil,’ Logone *mbáawee*, *mááwe* ‘to be bad,’ etc.; E.: Bidiya *beyò* ‘méchanceté,’ Mokilko *bèyyé* ‘bad spirit’ (Stolbova 2021 #73; compared to Arabic)

●●●

Cushitic S. **biʿ-ā* ‘antisocial behaviour:’ Iraqw *biʿ-iri* ‘greed,’ Alagwa *biʿa* ‘adultery,’ Burunge *biʿa* ‘madness, lunacy’ (Kiessling, Mous 2003: 73), Qwadza *beʔ-et-* ‘to scorn’ (EDE 2001: 169) ●●●●

AA *biʿVt- ‘evil spirit or magic’:²⁶ (AADB 2615) ●●●

Semitic **biʿVt-* ‘terror (of God, evil spirit):’ Hebrew *biʿut* ‘terrors (of God),’ *bʿt* (pi.) ‘to terrify so. (evil spirit);’ Aramaic Judaic *baʿāt-ā* ‘terror,’ Syrian *bʿt* (af.) ‘to frighten’ (HALOT: 147) ●●●●

Cushitic E. **bit-*: Afar *but-a* ‘evil eye,’ HEC: Sidamo *bit-a* ‘work of a sorcerer’ ●●●●

Omotiic N. **bit-* ‘to bewitch:’ Wolaita *bit-a* ‘to bewitch; witchcraft,’ Gamo *bit-* ‘to bewitch,’ *bit-a* ‘sorcery’²⁷ ●

AA *bawd- ‘sorcerer, witch-doctor, one with evil eye:’²⁸ (AADB 65) ●●●●

Semitic **ba/ud-* ‘evil priest, sorcerer:’ Hebrew *bad* ‘oracle priest’ (HALOT: 109); Arabic *ʔabdād-*, pl. *bidad-at-* ‘temple des idolâtres’ (BK 1: 93),²⁹ Yemeni Arabic *budā/bidah* ‘elle peut transformer un homme en animal (âne, cheval),’ *bid-eh* ‘witch, sorceress, monster;’ Geʿez *budā*, Tigrinya,

²⁶ Probably derived from **biʿay-* with the fossilized **-t* suffix.

²⁷ Borrowing from Sidamo in N. Omotic is possible. This direction of borrowing, not vice versa, is supposed based on many similar cases of borrowing pointing to HEC as the source.

²⁸ Cf. AA *(?)*bd* ‘go mad, be insane’ (AADB 3769) ●●●● probably related: Semitic: Arabic *ʔbd* ‘become wild (cattle);’ Geʿez *ʔabda* ‘be insane, mad, out of one’s mind, become a fool,’ Amharic *abbādā* ‘be insane, go mad’ ●●●●. Berber **bVd-* ‘be mad:’ Nefusa *beddiw* ‘fou,’ Mzab *biddu* ‘perdre la raison, rendre fou,’ Wargla *abeddiw* ‘faible d’esprit, idiot, niais, et aussi fou’ (Näit-Zerrad 1998). ●●●

²⁹ Cf. also *bdd* ‘causer du dommage à qn.’ (BK 1: 92).

Amharic, Harari *buda* ‘ironsmith, magician, man who causes harm by means of the evil eye,’
 Gurage **buda* ‘tanner, man who has the power of casting the evil eye’ (Leslau 1979: 132) ●●●●●
 Chadic **(?V-)bVd-*: W.: Karekare *bâḍàḍà-kà* ‘blacksmith,’ Ngizim *bádà-rà*³⁰ ‘sorcerer;’ C.: Lame,
 Zime-Dari *bidà* ‘blacksmith;’³¹ E.: Mobu *bábáḍé*, Kwang *bùbbùḍde* ‘to curse’ ●●●●●
 Cushitic C. **bawd-*: Bilin *bawd-a* ‘witch-doctor; werewolf,’ *bōd-a* ‘potter,’ Khamir *bud-a* ‘witch-doctor;
 werewolf,’ Kemant *bud-a* ‘witch-doctor;’ E. **bawd-*: Saho, Afar *bud-ā* ‘witch-doctor; potter,’ LEC:
 Somali *bid-a* ‘witch-doctor,’ Oromo *bawd-a*, *bud-a* ‘man with evil eye,’ *bud-ā* ‘potter,’ Bayso *bud-*
a ‘evil eye,’ HEC (< Oromo?): Sidamo *bud-akko*, Darasa, Burji *bud-a* ‘who has evil eye,’ Kambatta
būd-o ‘potter’ ● (low score if borrowed or a Wanderwort)
 Omotic **bud-*: Dache *bud-a* ‘evil eye,’ Kafa *bud-o* ‘witch-doctor, potter,’ Bworo *bud-o* ‘witch-doctor’
 (cf. also Ongota *buda* ‘to spit’ Kusia, Siebert 1994) ●

[] A widely spread East African term usually treated as a Wanderwort. While some of the terms are possibly loans in Cushitic and Omotic from Ethiopian (Amharic?) or in Ethiopian from Agaw or East Cushitic (so in EDE 2001: 151-152), the Proto-Afrasian origin is secured by the Hebrew-Arabic (with compatible but different meanings) and Chadic cognates (and, perhaps, Somali *bid-a* with its root vowel *-i-* preventing explanation as borrowing. Cf. NS: Bari, Shilluk *bōdo*, Bongo *bodo* ‘smith.’

NAA **bary-* ‘possession by an evil spirit, spell’ (AADB #2673):³² ●●●●●

Semitic **bary-*: Akkadian (OB) *bārû* ‘diviner,’ *barīrī-tu*, ‘a female demon; Mandaic *baraia*
 ‘exorciser,’ Neo-Aramaic *būrā* ‘fou, insensé;’ Geʿez *bāryā* ‘one who is in the service of a demon;
 epilepsy, a spirit that brings an epilepsy’ ●●●●●
 Berber: Ahaggar *būri* ‘attaque de nerfs,’ E. Tawllemmet *bor-t-ən* (pl.) ‘génies, esprits’ ●●●
 Chadic **bury-* ‘possession by a bad spirit:’ W.: Hausa *bóorii* ‘a form of supposed devil possession’
 Tangale *bura* ‘name of a bad spirit (cf. also Bokkos *mburú*, Daffo-Butura *mbúru* ‘medician’);

³⁰ *-ra* is a suffix? cf. Ngizim *gazbər* ‘tall, long’ < AA **gVz/žb-* ‘long.’

³¹ In view of a well-known association ‘smith – sorcerer,’ here probably also belongs Chadic **(?a)bVd?* > **vad-* ‘to forge:’ W.: Warji *vaad* ‘fabricate;’ C.: Ouldem *-vəd* ‘fabriquer, forger,’ Chuvok *mévdēy* ‘forger, couvrir le toit de la case,’ Mada *ávàd* ‘forger,’ Muyong *ávàd* ‘to roof, to forge,’ Mafa *víd-* ‘forger, fabriquer; faire un toit en paille’ (in Stolbova 2021 #36 glossed ‘to fabricate’).

³² It is tempting to unite **bari?* ‘god-creator’ (above) and **bary-* ‘possession by an evil spirit, spell’ into one root implying an arguable evolution from an epileptic fit/possession by spirits (a shaman’s trance?) → the one who deals with spirits → (evil) spirit → god. Cf. a somewhat similar semantic development in AA **kVrw-*.

C.: Mbara *mbré* ‘sorcerer;’ E.: Mokilko *bírre* ‘se promener (mauvais esprit) pour manger les âmes des gens’ (Stolbova 2021 #272; comp. to Akkadian and Geʿez) ●●●●●

NAA *ĉVn(?) - ‘(evil) sorcery’ (AADB 54): ●●●

Semitic *šVnV?- ‘to hate, be enemy;’ Ugaritic *šn?* ‘to hate;’ Phoenician *šn?-t* ‘hate, enmity,’ Hebrew *šn?* ‘to hate,’ *šōnē?* ‘enemy;’ Palmyrean *rwḥ šnyn* ‘evil spirits (?);’ Sabaic *s2n?* ‘enemy, ill-wisher;’ Arabic *šn?* ‘to hate’ ●●●●●

Egyptian (Medical texts) *šny* (unless < šly) ‘zaubern,’ (NE) *šn.w* ‘der Zauberer’ ●●

Chadic *šVn- ‘magic, spirit worshiping;’ W.: Bolewa *sìn-kau* ‘spirit,’ Tangale *seene* ‘to worship (idol);’ C.: Logone *šána* ‘Fetisch;’ E.: Kwang *sóné* ‘fetish;’ Sokoro *súne* ‘magic, medicine;’ Bidiya *čóŋŋà* ‘sorcier thaumaturge’ (in CED #858 compared to Egyptian, Sabaic and Mehri *šny* ‘to see, to consider’ > ‘to show, to be a medicine-man,’ semantically arguable) ●●●●●

2.6. Healing magic

NAA *bVl(bVl)- ‘(healing) magic, sorcery’ (AADB 1154, 1616): ●●

Semitic *bVl-, *bVlbVl- (redupl.) ‘be delivered from an evil spirit:’ (?) Arabic *bll* ‘guérir, être guéri; recouvrer la santé;’ *bill-* ‘remède;’ *balal-* ‘salut, sécurité’ (BK 1: 155-156]; Geʿez *balbala* ‘predict through omens’ (LGz.: 95), Tigre (*?a*)*bālbāla* ‘to talk like one possessed; be delivered from an evil spirit’ (Littmann, Höffner1956: 271) ●●

Chadic *bVl- ‘magic (spirit, sorcerer)’ (CED #213; comp. to Geʿez): W.: Pa’a *bali* ‘bewitch;’ *bàlà-mà* ‘witchcraft;’ Warji *bəla-mai* ‘sorcerer;’ C.: Sukun *ma-mbəlum* ‘spirit, ghost;’ Kuseri *balai* ‘ghost (visible apparition);’ *mbilla* ‘magic;’ E.: Ndam *bàlí* ‘guérisseur, sorcerer;’ Barein (dial.) *bòlí* ‘traditional healer’ ●●●●●

2.7. Sorcery as knowledge

AA *(yV)daʃ- ‘to know’ > S. Cushitic ‘sorcery’ (AADB 3472): ●●●●●

a. ‘to know:’ ●●●●●

Semitic *yVdVʃ- ‘to know:’ Akkadian *idû, wadû*; Ugaritic; Phoenician, Hebrew; Aramaic *ydf ‘to know;’ Sabaic *dʃw* (met.) ‘to know;’ *ydf* ‘to find out;’ Arabic *ʔaydaʃa* IV ‘to inform;’ Geʿez *ʔaydaʃa* (caus.) ‘to make know, inform, declare, report, etc.;’ Harari *ēda*; Mehri *wēda*, Harsusi *yōda*, Jibbali *ʔedaʃ*, Soqotri *edaḥ* ‘to know’ ●●●●●

Egyptian (NE) *idʃ* ‘clever’ (probably < Hebrew) ●

Chadic **di?*- ‘know, learn, teach.’ C.: Mandara *diya*, Masa *di?i* ‘to know,’ Bachama *dyê gúnò*, Kola *dyù gwánj* ‘learn’ ((Jungraithmayr, Ibrizimow 1994: 319); E.: Mokilko *dóoyè* ‘to teach’ ●●●●●
 Cushitic E. *(*ya*)*da?*- ‘know, think.’ Saho, Afar *da?*- ‘be able, know,’ LEC: Somali *da?*- ‘understand,’ Oromo *yaada* ‘think; worry,’ Konso *yaat-* (-*t* < **d*) ‘think’ ●●●●●

b. ‘sorcery:’

Cushitic S. **da?*-³³: Iraqw, Gorowa *da?a-ti*, *da?a-ri* ‘withcraft, sorcery, magic,’ Alagwa *danda?-as* ‘to treat injury, wound,’ Asa *da?-aruk* ‘doctor-diviner’ ●●●●●

AA **kayn-* ‘know’ > NAA ‘magic’ (AADB 912): ●●●●●

a. ‘know, learn, master’: ●●●●●

Semitic: Ethiopian **kayn-* ‘skill, art.’ Geʿez *kin* ‘craft, skill, plan, trick, etc.,’ Tigrinya *käynät* ‘art,’ (?) Tigre *kin* ‘intention, will’ ●

Egyptian (MK) *tny* (unless <**kly*) ‘to learn’ ●●

Chadic: W.: Kirfi *kinn-* ‘to know,’ Maaka *kónò* ‘it is known;’ C.: Bachama *kaná* ‘truth,’ Buduma *káni* ‘true;’ E.: Mokilko *kónyà* ‘knowledge’ (cf. CED #436; comp. to Ethiopian and Cushitic) ●●●●●

Cushitic **kayn-* ‘know’: N.: Beja *-kan* ‘know;’ C.: Bilin *kən-t-*, Khamir, Qwara *kin-t-* ‘learn;’ E.: LEC: Hadiya *ken-* ‘know’ ●●●●●

b. ‘(evil) wizard, magician, priest’ (NAA): ●●●●●

Semitic **kahin-*³⁴ ‘priest; cheat.’ Ugaritic *khn*; Phoenician *khn*, Hebrew *kōhēn*; Aramaic: Egyptian *khn*, Syrian *kāhnā*, Mandaic *kahna* ‘priest;’ Arabic *khn* ‘ê. devin, prêtre; predire l’avenir à qqn.,’ *kāhin-* ‘fortune-teller, diviner; (pre-Islamic) priest’ (the latter meaning may be < Aram.); Geʿez *kāhan* ‘priest, clergyman’ (considered an Aramaic loan), Tigrinya, Amharic *kahən* ‘priest’ (< Geʿez ?); Mehri *kōhən* ‘cunning; cheat,’ *kāthən* ‘to pretend to st. in order to attain one’s object,’ Harsusi *kēhen*, Jibbali *kūhun* ‘adult, clever’ ●●●●●

Chadic **kVn-* ‘k. of magic; evil spirit’ (CED #438; compared to Ugaritic, Hebrew and Arabic): W.:

³³ In view of this AA etymology, more semantically plausible, the idea of this root derived from **da?*- ‘burn’ (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 78) looks much less likely.

³⁴ On a secondary *-h-* in Afrasian see Militarev (2005: 18-20).

Montol *kung* ‘evil spirit,’ Kupto *kònm* ‘spirits,’ *kònm* ‘object of religious worshipping; ritual,’ Bokkos *kuná* ‘sorcerer;’ C.: Gude *kíiina* ‘type of evil spirit,’ Sukun *kyikun* ‘divination,’ Makeri *kunus* ‘magic, God, fetish,’ Munjuk *kìniwì* ‘empoisonner par magic’ ●●●●●

2.8. Spell, omen, magical speech or sign

NAA *ʔayat- ~ *tay(t)- ‘sign, miraculous sign, omen’ (AADB 199): ●●●

Semitic *ʔayat- ‘sign, miraculous sign, omen’: Akkadian (Oakk.) *ittu* ‘mark, sign, omen, ominous sign,’ etc. (CAD i 304); Hebrew *ʔōt* ‘sign, miraculous sign, omen, foretelling the future,’ etc. (HALOT: 26); Aram.: Bib., Syrian *ʔātā* ‘signum, miraculum,’ etc. (Brockelmann 1928: 53-54); Arabic *ʔāyat-* ‘signe, miracle, pierre sépulcrale, signe céleste,’ etc. (BK 1: 72; cf. *tiwāʔ-* ‘marque en forme de croix imprimée sur les cuisses ou sur le cou d’une bête’ (BK 1: 211) ●●●●●
Egyptian (OK) *ty.t* ‘image, form, shape, figure, sign’ (EG V: 239-40) ●●●
(?) Berber: Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *tuta* ‘drapeau’ (Alojali: 187) ●

AA *fa(ʔV)l-³⁵ ‘to curse’ (AADB 842): ●●●●

Semitic *pVʔVl- ‘to wish ill, curse’: Sabaic *fʔl* ‘to wish ill to so.; Jibbali *effél* ‘to bring bad luck by cursing’ ●●●●

Egyptian (PT) *fʔw*³⁶ ‘Bedrohung o. a.’ (EG I: 575) ●●

Berber: Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *fäll-ăn* ‘é. possédé par le diable; s’irriter, s’énervé’ (Naït-Zerrad III: 568) ●●●

Chadic *ful- ‘to curse:’ W.: Montol *ful-ni*, Karekare *fūulu*, Bolewa *full-* ‘abuse, curse’³⁷ ●●●●

Cushitic *fal- ‘bewitch, curse, slander:’ E.: LEC: Somali *fal* ‘to put a spell on’ (Heine 1978: 58), ‘bewitch’ (Sasse 1979: 18), Rendille, Arbore *fal-* ‘to curse,’ Oromo *falfal-* (redupl.) ‘to bewitch’ (Sasse 1982: 69), HEC: Hadiya *far-* (-r < *) ‘to bewitch;’ S.: Iraqw *fool-usamoo* ‘slanderer’ (Mous, Qorro, Kiessling 2002: 35) ●●●●●

³⁵ *f- in the reconstructed form is based not so much on the arguable Egyptian form or the Chadic ones not clearly distinguishing the reflexes of AA *f- and *p- (see AA *palaʔ- ‘magic speech or object’ below) as on the unequivocal evidence of f- in Iraqw clearly distinguishing between f and p. The choice of Sabaic and Jibbali in favor of AA *faʔVl- vs. *palaʔ- relies on the meaning alone.

³⁶ ; more likely renders -l- in view of the very plausible AA parallels.

³⁷ And several verbs of the *fulp- type meaning ‘to abuse’ – see Stolbova 2021 #362 *ful-p (pl.)

AA **pala?* - ‘magic speech or object’³⁸ (AADB 842): ●●●●

Semitic: Hebrew *pālā?* ‘something unusual, miracle’ (HALOT: 928); Syrian *pēlē?tā* ‘simile, proverbium; symbolum; aenigma’ (Brock.: 569); Arabic *fa?l-* (met.?) ‘augure, présage, pronostique, surtout bon’ (BK 2: 530); cf. Mehri *fayōl* ‘to be saved, safe’ (JM:111), Jibbali *fyl* ‘to be saved, save, survive’ (Johnstone 1981: 67) ●●●

Berber **fal-* ‘magic speech or practice:’ Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *ta-nā-falal-t* (Alojali 1980: 141), Ahaggar *ta-nā-fāl-it* ‘paroles magiques ayant pour but de retrouver un objet égaré’ (cf. also Ayr *affal* ‘immunité (contre une maladie)’ (Alojali 1980: 38), Qabyle *a-s-fāl* ‘pratique magique qui consiste à faire tourner une offrande au-dessus du malade, puis à l’égorger’ (Dallet: 204; unless < *fāl* ‘passer par dessus’ (Dallet 1982: 203) ●●●●●

Chadic C.: Mada *fla* ‘génie, esprit lié à un objet magique, souvent maléfique,’ Azum *flei-na* ‘idol, oracle’³⁹ ●●

Cushitic S.: Dahalo *póla?i* ‘amulet’ ●●●

AA **ḥabar-* ‘cursing or charming someone openly, out loud’ (AADB 4081): ●●●●

Semitic **ḥabar-* ‘cursing or charming someone out loud:’⁴⁰ Akkadian *ḥabāru* ‘to be noisy, make noise (of people)’ (context meanings);⁴¹; Phoenician *ḥbr* ‘conjurer, charmer, exorcist,’ Hebrew *ḥābār* ‘spell,’ Post-Biblical Hebrew *ḥabbār* ‘charmer of snakes, magus, Parsee priest’ (likely < Aramaic); Aramaic Judaic *ḥabbār*, Syrian *ḥabbār-* ‘charmer of snakes, magus;’ Geʿez *ḥabr* ‘encantation, enchantment, witchcraft,’ Tigre *ḥābrä* ‘to profess,’ *ḥābre* ‘wonder’ ●●●●

Cushitic E. **ḥabār-*: Saho *abaar*, Afar *abaare* ‘curse’, *abaaro* ‘evil, curse, a devilish act’, LEC: Somali,

³⁸ Differing from the somewhat semblable **fa(?V)l-* ‘to curse’ not only semantically, but also phonetically: **p-* is guaranteed by Dahalo *póla?i* as AA **f* and **p* yield different reflexes in Dahalo (Takács 2011: 115).

³⁹ As the reflexes of **p-* and **f-* do not clearly differ in the corresponding languages (CED: 29), semantically these two terms seem to suit here better than in Stolbova 2021 #361, where they are united under the heading ‘wind’ > ‘ghost’ with W.: Bolewa *pēli* ‘wind’, *pe-mpeli* ‘wind, spirit, ghost’, Karekare *filfilä* ‘wind’, Kupto *filfil* ‘wind, air; spirit, devil’; C.: Hide *fala-k* ‘wind’, Dzepaw *fūr*, Gizey *fūl* ‘esprit’, Marba, Musey *ful-na*, Ham *fūl* ‘esprit-génie’, Masa, Lew *fūl* ‘génie de la brousse’ derived, in its turn, from **fVl-* ‘to blow (away)’.

⁴⁰ There are a few words in Arabic and MSA (probably, Arabisms) either homonymous or (more likely) related with a semantic change from ‘cursing or charming’ to ‘be wizard, magician’ to ‘know, test’: Arabic *ḥbr* ‘know, learn, test,’ *ḥabār-* ‘news, rumor;’ Mehri. *ḥabūr* ‘try, test (so’s character),’ Jibbali *ḥōr* ‘to examine so.,’ Soqotri *ḥabor* ‘to plumb, measure; give news of a death.’

⁴¹ Most likely related is a much-discussed Akkadian *ḥābiru* (rather than *ḥāpiru* which has no feasible cognates; often confused with Egyptian *špr.w* ‘foreign/Asiatic workers’ having a different etymology but perhaps contaminated due to a partial phonetic coincidence) ‘outlaws, rebels, etc.’ originally probably denoting a band of wandering fortune-tellers and magicians.

Boni *habaar*, Oromo, Rendille *abaar*- ‘curse’⁴² ●●●●

2.9. Offering, sacrifice

AA **sa/uk*- ‘slaughter an animal, make a sacrifice’ (AADB 1956):⁴³ ●●●

Semitic: Arabic *skk* ‘to cut ears’ ●

Chadic W.: Hausa *súka* ‘slaughtering a camel’ ●

Cushitic C. **suk*:- Bilin *suuk*- ‘slaughter cattle (after funeral)’ (see Reinisch 1887; 300); S.: Iraqw *saanka* (with a secondary *-n*-) ‘chyme, stomach contents of a slaughtered animal (sheep or cow)... used as an offering to the dead’ (Mous, Qorro and Kiessling 2002)⁴⁴ ●●●●●

NAA **zi(H)b*- ‘(food-)offering, sacrifice’ (AADB 1708): ●●●●●

Semitic: Akkadian (from OB on) *zīb-u* ‘food-offering’ (CAD z 105) ●●●●●

Chadic **zib*- ‘make a sacrifice’: C.: Podoko *gičika žibe* ‘hut for sacrifices’ (*gičika* ‘hut’), Muyang *éžibi* ‘give dowry for a woman, give by stages’, Sakun *zəv* (< **zVb*-) ‘sacrifice, make offering to’; E.: Bidiya *ziib* ‘make a sacrifice before eating the new corn’ (CED #800; compared with Akkadian).
●●●●●

NAA **žVbVh*- ‘make a sacrifice, offering’ (AADB 1707): ●●●●

Semitic **dVbVh*- ‘slaughter, make a sacrifice’: Akkadian (NB) *zebû* ‘slaughter, make a sacrifice’;

Ugaritic *dbḥ*; Phoenician *zbḥ*, Hebrew *zbḥ* ‘to slaughter,’ *zābaḥ* ‘communal sacrifice, sacrifice of slaughtering sheep, goat or cattle’ (HALOT: 262); Aramaic: Biblical *dbḥ*, Syrian *debḥā* ‘sacrifice,’ Sabaic *ḏbḥ* ‘to slay, sacrifice, slaughter; sacrificial victim;’ Arabic *ḏbḥ*; Geʿez *zabḥa* ‘to slaughter, sacrifice,’ Tigre *zābḥa* ‘to skin an animal’ ●●●●●

Egyptian (MK) *dbḥ* ‘(food) offering’⁴⁵ ●●●●

⁴² Semitic **ḥ* (< AA **h*) yields **ḥ* in Saho-Afar and LEC which often appears as *h* or disappears completely in all the languages, see (Sasse 1979: 35-41). Though borrowing in E. Cushitic from Ethiopian is possible phonetically, there is no term in the latter fitting semantically (Harari *habār* ‘curse’ is obviously a loan from E. Cushitic as *ḥ* in Harari is attested only in borrowed words; instead, it confirms the fallen *ḥ*- in the earlier state of E. Cushitic).

⁴³ In spite of scarce evidence, a semantically interesting item worth recording and further search.

⁴⁴ The Iraqw dictionary (Mous, Qorro and Kiessling 2002) gives a more detailed meaning of the noun clearly pointing to an offering, while the W. Rift reconstruction (Kießling and Mous 2003) retains only **saanka* ‘chyme.’

⁴⁵ Though AA **ž* regularly yields Egyptian *z*, not *d*, there are several notable exceptions, e. g. AA **ʔi/užn*- ‘ear’ (> Semitic **ʔuḏin*-) > Egyptian *idn*.

(?) Cushitic E.: LEC: Somali *dabaah*- ‘slaughter’⁴⁶ ●

2.10. Mythical and fantastic animals and their origin

AA *ʔačhayl- ‘(big) reptile’ > Semitic ‘dragon’ (AADB 2606): ●●●●●

Semitic *ʔačhayl- (met.) ‘a mythical reptile, dragon’: Aramaic: Syrian ʔātalyā ‘draco; stella, quae solem tegens eclipsim efficit,’ Mandaic *talia* ‘fictive dragon causing eclipse;’ Tigre ʔashal-ät ‘dragon,’ Tigrinya ʔasäl-ät, ʔashal-ät ‘animale favoloso, di smisurata grandezza e della specie del coccodrilla’ ●●●●●

Berber *Haššayl- ‘sp. of snake:’ Ghat *ašil*, Ahaggar *âššel* ‘serpent,’ Ayr *aššel*, E. Tawllemmet *aššol* ‘couleuvre, gros serpent,’ Mzab *t-iššel-t* ‘vipère’ ●●●●●

Cushitic S.: Dahalo ʔáʔala (met.) ‘puff-adder’⁴⁷ ●

Omotic *ʔ/haylaš- (met.) ‘crocodile:’ N. *ʔaylaš-: Wolaita *aylaaş-uwa*, Zala *aylaš-uwa*, Dawro *allašo*; S. *haylaš-: Ari *hayleša* ●●●●●

[] Militarev, Nikolaev 2021 #9.1. Cf. SED II No. 20.

NAA *ʔalw- ‘elephant’ > Akkadian ‘mythical giant bull’ (AADB 2511): ●●●●●

Semitic *(ya-)ʔalw- ~ *ʔVwal: Akkadian (Bogh, SB, Akkadogr. in Hitt.) *alû* (*elû*) ‘mythical giant bull’ (CAD *a*₁ 377), ‘The Bull (of Heaven);’ Syrian *yašlā* ‘unicornus, rhinoceros’ (Brockelmann 1928: 305); Tigre ʔawal ‘young of the elephant’ (Littmann, Höffner 1956: 477) ●●●●●

Berber *ʔalw ‘elephant:’ Ghat *alu*, Ahaggar *êlu*, pl. *êlw-ān*, Ayr *ilaw*, E. Tawllemmet *elaw*, Zenaga *ažih* (<*ʔVliw) ●●●●●

[] Cf. Blažek 1994: 198 (Akkadian and Berber).

AA *bač- ‘snake, reptile’ > Akkadian, Ugaritic ‘dragon’ (AADB 2625): ●●●●●

Semitic *bač-am/n-: Akkadian *bašm-u* ‘a horned serpent; the constellation Hydra, mythical aquatic

⁴⁶ AA *ʒ > Somali *d* regularly; the isolated triconsonantal Somali term suspiciously coinciding with the Arabic one is likely a borrowing.

⁴⁷ ʔ in Dahalo is usually considered to continue only AA *t – as well as *ɖ* is considered to continue AA *d. There are several cases, however, of Dahalo *ɖ* very likely corresponding to Semitic *ɖ* < AA *ʒ (cf. fn 37). Interestingly, G. Takács, the most authoritative student of the AA consonantal reflexes in S. Cushitic, leaves empty cells for Dahalo reflexes of AA *č and *ʒ in his table of correspondences between PAA and S. Cushitic (Takács 2011: 116).

reptile; Ebla *ba-ša-nu-um* ‘sp. of snake;’ Ugaritic *bṭn*, *bṭn-t* ‘serpent, dragon;’ Arabic *batan-* ‘coulèvre, serpent,’ *buṭn-* ‘genre de reptile’ ●●●●●

Cushitic E.: LEC **(ʔa-)bVč-*: Somali *abes-o*, Arbore *ebés-a* ‘kind of serpent,’ Oromo *bof-a* ‘snake’

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Omotiic N. **biʔas-* (met. < **ʔi-bas-*?): Dizi (Sheko) *biasu* ‘crocodile’ ●

□ Cf. SED II #63.

AA **garyam-* ~ **gumaray-* ‘hippopotamus’ ●●●●● > (?) Ugaritic ‘a mythical beast’ ● (AADB 2526):

Semitic **g^(w)imar(r)ay-* ‘hippopotamus:’ Ugaritic *gmr* ‘a kind of animal capable of fighting ferociously’ (‘hippopotamus?’),⁴⁸ Geʿez *gomāri*, *g^wamāri*, Tigrinya *gumare*, Amharic *gumarre*, Muher *g^wāmarre*, etc. ‘hippopotamus’ ●

Chadic C. **garyam-* ‘hippopotamus:’ Vulum, Mbara *gáriyàm*, Musgu *geryam*, Masa *gáryam*, Banana *garyamba*; E.: Tumak *gírím*, Mubi *gírímtíí* ●●●●●

Cushitic C. **gumar-* ‘hippopotamus;’ E.: Saho-Afar **gumarī* ‘hippopotamus;’ HEC **gumarr-* id.

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Omotiic N.: Kullo *gomára* ‘hippopotamus’⁴⁹ ●

□ Cf. Blažek (1994: 204).

AA **har-* ‘crocodile’ > ‘water monster,’ ‘mythological giant snake’ (AADB 4072): ●●●●●

Egyptian (PT) *h₁w* (if < *hrw*; if < **hyw*, related to Sem. **hVwVr-* ‘sp. of worm, snake’) ‘Schlange (best. Art)’ (EG II: 483), also ‘Monster, (zischende) Schlange?’ ●

Chadic **har-um-* ‘crocodile:’ W. **haram-*: Diri *hurin*, Sha *hàr-àm* ‘some water monster (crocodile, hippo),’ Bokkos *haràm*, Daffo-Butura *hàrà̀m*, Kulere *hárần*, etc.; C. **hurum-*: Gisiga *hurom*, Mbara *húrú̀m*, Masa *hūrū̀m-nā*, etc.; E. **(H)urm-*: Lele *ūr̄m-ō*, Kabalai *ər̄rm-ə* ●●●●●

Cushitic **har(ar)-* ‘large reptile:’ E.: Dullay: Gollango *háar-o* ‘crocodile;’ S. **harar-* ‘mythological giant snake:’ Iraqw *hárár-îo*, Gorowa *haraari-yoda*⁵⁰ ●●●●●

□ CED #332 (comp. to Gollango and W. Rift)⁵¹

⁴⁸ The main argument for this meaning is Ethiopian parallels which are, naturally, suspicious of borrowing from Cushitic. If the Ugaritic term really means ‘hippopotamus’ (and not so interpreted from Eth.), it tips the scale in favor of Ethiopism in Cushitic. If not, an African Wanderwort, of course, is also a possibility.

⁴⁹ Blažek (1994: 202) also quotes Yamma *gumau*, Bworo *goma*, *gomia*, Kafa *gomānā*. If not for these terms, the Kullo form may be considered an isolated Omotiic example and suspected a loan from HEC or Ethiopian.

⁵⁰ According to Kiessling and Mous (2003: 132), “probably of Datoga origin,” which is less likely in view of the Gollango and Chadic cognates.

⁵¹ Ongota *haar-o* ‘crocodile’ compared *ibid.*, if recorded correctly, does not fit here because *h̄-* does not continue AA **h*.

NAA *harnag- ~ *hirguan- ~ *gurhan- ‘sp. of carnivore’ (dog, jackal, hyena) > Canarian demon in the form of a dog (AADB 352): ●●●

Semitic *harnag-: Syrian *harnāgā* ‘golden jackal;’ cf. also Arabic *žāriḥat-* < **gariḥ-* ‘bête ou oiseau de chasse (chien, guépard, faucon)’ ●

Canarian **hir(g)wan-*: Palma *hirguan* ‘...demonio in figura d’uomo lanuto,’ *irvene* ‘el demonio en figura de perro lanudo,’ *irvene* ‘apparitions,’ *yrvene* ‘el Diablo’ (Wölfel 1965: 484, entry “Der Hund”) ●●

Chadic: C. **gurh-an-* ~ **hirg-*: Hildi *gərhaŋ* ‘jackal,’ Musgu *hérge*, Munjuk *hirge* ‘dog,’ Musgoy *gúrnai*, *ŋúrmai*, Masa *ŋurnaita*, Banana *gənira*; E. **gurnay-*: Kera *gòrnòy*, Kwang *gōrény*, Kabalai *gwòrrnày* ‘hyena’ (Jungrraithmayr, Ibriszimow 1994: 107, 205; cf. CED #224a.) ●●●●●

[] Militarev 2020 #1.1.1.6; Militarev and Nikolaev 2021.

AA *kal(u) ‘sp. of large fish’ ●●●● > Akkadian fabulous creature (AADB 2674):

Semitic **kalul-*: Akkadian (SB) *kulil-*, *kulull-* ‘a fabulous creature, part man and part fish’ (CAD *k* 526);⁵² Mehri *kell*, Jibbali *kāl* ‘whale’⁵³ ●●●●●

Chadic **kVl-*: W. **kul-m-*: Hausa *kulma* ‘the name of a large fish;’ C. **kalik-* (partial redupl.): Bura *kalik-o*, *kilakil-a* ‘a sp. of fish’ ●●●

Cushitic E. **kallu-m-* ‘fish:’ Afar *kullu(u)m*, LEC: Somali *kallúun*, pl. *kalluum-o*, Bayso *kunnum-i* (assim.) ●●●●

NAA *kusay- ‘sp. of (large) reptile’ > Semitic mythical (aquatic) reptile, dragon’ (AADB 3727): ●●●●●

Semitic **kuš(a)y-* ~ **kayš-* ‘(mythical) serpent:’ Akkadian (NB) *kušū*⁵⁴ ‘an aquatic (mythical) animal, a crab? a shark?’ (*šinni kušī* ‘a dragon’s tooth’ in CAD); Geʿez *kaysi*, Tigre *kāyəs* ‘serpent, dragon,’ Tigrinya, Amharic *käysi* ‘snake, serpent’ ●●●●●

Chadic **kaws-* ‘dangerous snake or large reptile:’ W.: Hausa *kwáasáa*, *kúusè* ‘puff-adder;’ C.: Mada *mé-ksèw-éd* (met.) ‘sp. of viper;’ E.: Bidiya *kóosò* ‘vipère’, Kera *késé* ‘varan,’ Lele *kōsō* ‘varan de Nil,’ Somrai *gàší* (< **kas-* CED: 37) ‘crocodile’ ●●●●●

⁵² Hardly a Sumerian loan in view of the Semitic and AA cognates.

⁵³ Dolgopolskiy (2008 #1030) apud Thomas (1937).

⁵⁴ In view of Eth. and Chadic cognates, borrowed in Sumerian *kušū*, not vice versa.

□ Cf. SED II No. 120; Stolbova 2011 #125, 127 (comp. to Akkadian).

AA *laḥ-am- ‘large aquatic animal’ ●●●● > Akkadian ‘a mythical being’ ●●●●● (AADB 2516):

Semitic *laḥm- ‘shark:’ Akkadian (OAkk.) laḥmu (*laḥamu*) ‘a monster, a mythical being;’ Arabic luḥm- ‘kind of sea-fish,’ Dat_ina laḥam, Yemenite luḥam, laḥam ‘shark;’ Harsusi léhem, Jibbali lḥum, Soqotri léhem ‘shark’⁵⁵ ●●●●●

Egyptian (NK) ḥrm(w) (<*ḥVlVm-, met.?) ‘crocodile’?⁵⁶ ●

Chadic *lVḥV ‘hippo’ (Stolbova 2005 #151): W.: Dera lǎhyo; C.: Chibak laḥa, Bura laha, Gude lǎh

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Cushitic N.: Beja lehúmbo ‘die graugrüne Meerkatze’ (Blažek 2003: 263) ●

□ Cf. SED II No. 145.

NAA *tVn- ‘snake’ (?) ● or Semitic only ●●●●● (AADB 3805):

Semitic *tannin- ‘(mythical) snake, dragon:’ Ugaritic tnn ‘dragon;’ Hebrew tannīn ‘sea-monster, sea-dragon; serpent; crocodile;’ Aramaic: Official tny ‘dragon,’ Judaic tannīnā ‘sea-monster, crocodile; large snake;’ Samaritan tny ‘serpent;’ Syrian tannīnā ‘belua marina; draco, aspis;’ Mandaic tanina ‘dragon;’ Arabic tinnīn- ‘serpent of enormous size; dragon’ (< Aramaic?) ●●●●●

(?) Egyptian (Gr.) wrj tn.t ‘Schlange (best. Art)’ (EG I 146) ●

Chadic E.: Kera túuni ‘Flusspferd’ ●

□ Cf. SED II No. 227.

AA *(ʔa-)ḡag(w)- ‘sp. of largest herbivore’ ●●●● > Egyptian ‘a mythical animal’ ●●●●● (AADB 2521)

Egyp. (MK) zḡ.t ‘ein Fabeltier’ ●●●●●

Chadic W. *(n-)ḡungw- (met. < *ḡagw-n-): Diri, Pa’a ḡungw-a, Siri ḡiḡw-a ‘hippopotamus;’ Dwot ndzugh-u ‘elephant’ ●●●●●

Cushitic E. *ḡag-am-: Yaaku sogóm-èi ‘elephant’ (s in Yaaku may reflect *z < *ḡ/ḡ) ●●

Omotiic N. *ʔa-ḡag-ay ‘hippopotamus;’ Kačama azāḡē, Koyra azzāḡē, azzagi, Ganjule azagé ●●●●

□ Cf. Blažek (1994: 204); Militarev and Nikolaev (2020).

⁵⁵ Inter-borrowing between the living Arabic idioms and MSA suggests itself, but its direction is not clear.

⁵⁶ “...reconstructed after the sign ‘crocodile’ determining the homonymous place name” (Bla 2003: 264).

3. Conclusions

The fact that our ancestors believed in spirits and the supernatural and practiced different kinds of magic from a much earlier time than the Neolithic is well known, but the reconstruction of the proto-language terms at such a deep chronological level reflecting perceptions, beliefs and practices of the Near Eastern man and society has been carried out for the first time in scholarship and can provide valuable evidence for anthropologists, mythologists, prehistorians, archaeologists. Evidence obtained not indirectly—through the interpretation of archaeological artifacts, rock carvings, much later written monuments or still later modern archaic cultures, but directly—through objective and impartial testimony of language.

4. Discussion

The reconstructed proto-language terms related to the proposed theme do not name objects, actions or qualities in the way many other reconstructed terms with quite concrete and clear meanings (such as ‘goat,’ ‘sun,’ ‘big’ or ‘eat’) do, but rather reflect the etymologist's view of the common notion that unites the given group of cognate words. This approach, with the inevitable element of “semantic subjectivity,” however, creates a framework and paves the way for further research that could cover a significantly larger number of lexical sources, including new ones, for individual languages—to overcome another weakness in part of the etymologies, namely, incompleteness, if not scarcity, of data compared, rather than claims high degree of semantic precision in reconstructed proto-forms or completeness of lexical material. As they say, not perfect but workable...

Alphabetic list of 38 reconstructed proto-forms:

- *ʔačhayl- ‘(big) reptile’ > Semitic ‘dragon’
- *ʔil- ~ *lil- ~ *laʔ- ‘sky/cloud/rain’ or ‘sun’ > ‘God’?
- *ʔayat- ~ *tay(t)- ‘sign, miraculous sign, omen’
- *ʔalw- ‘elephant’ > Akkadian ‘mythical giant bull’
- *biʔay- ‘hex, evil spells causing antisocial behavior’
- *biʔVt- ‘evil spirit or magic’
- *bač- ‘snake, reptile’ > Akk., Ugaritic ‘dragon’
- *bawd- ‘sorcerer, witch-doctor’
- *bvl(bvl)- ‘(healing) magic, sorcery’
- *bariʔ- ‘spirit or god-creator’

- *bary- ‘possession by an evil spirit, spell’
- *cigul- ‘seal, (sealed, registered) property, treasure’ > Eth. ‘divination, magic’
- *ĉVn(?) - ‘(evil) sorcery’
- *(y)daŋ- ‘to know’ > ‘sorcery’
- *faʔVl- ‘to curse’
- *garyam- ~ *gumaray- ‘hippopotamus’ > (?) Ugaritic a mythical beast
- *har- ‘crocodile’ > ‘water monster’, ‘mythological giant snake’
- *harnag- ~ *hirguan- ~ *gurhan- ‘sp. of carnivore’ (dog, jackal, hyena) > Canarian demon in the form of
a dog
- *ħabar- ‘cursing or charming someone openly, out loud’
- *kal(ul) ‘sp. of large fish’ > Akkadian ‘fabulous creature’
- *kayn- ‘know’ > ‘magic’
- *kirw- ‘soul, ghost’
- *kusay- ‘sp. of (large) reptile’ > Semitic mythical (aquatic) reptile, dragon’
- *lah-am- ‘large aquatic animal’ > Akkadian ‘a mythical being’
- *mVh- ‘wonder, miracle, prophesy’
- *mar- ‘diviner, fortune-teller’
- *ni(H)nay- ‘elder/adult male relative’ (> chief, lord’) > ‘god’
- *nVf- ‘breath, soul, self, life’
- *nafVs- ‘breath, soul, life’
- *palaʔ - ‘magical speech or object’
- *raw/?- ‘sky; god’
- *sa/uk- ‘slaughter an animal, make a sacrifice’
- *tVnnVn- ‘(mythical) snake, dragon’ (Semitic)
- *zi(H)b- ‘(food-)offering, sacrifice’
- *žVbVh- ‘make a sacrifice, offering’
- *(ʔa-)žag(w)- ‘sp. of largest herbivore’ > Egyptian a mythical animal
- *žVķ- ‘(night) ghost, phantome’
- *žVr- ‘magic; (evil) genius; sky-god’

Some transcription signs and conventions

ḃ — emphatic voiced bilabial stop

ṭ — interdental voiceless spirant

ɖ – interdental voiced spirant
 ɸ – dental voiceless emphatic stop
 ɗ – dental voiced emphatic stop
 ɕ – alveolar voiceless affricate [ts]
 ʒ – alveolar voiced affricate [dz]
 ɕ̣ – palato-alveolar voiceless affricate [tʃ̣]
 ʒ̣ – palato-alveolar voiced affricate [dʒ̣]
 ʃ̣ – hissing emphatic voiceless spirant
 ɕ̣ – alveolar emphatic voiceless affricate
 ɕ̣̣ – palato-alveolar emphatic affricate
 ɸ̣ – lateral voiceless spirant
 ɸ̣̣ – lateral voiceless affricate
 ɸ̣̣̣ – lateral emphatic affricate
 ɸ̣̣̣ (or q̣̣̣) – emphatic velar stop
 ɸ̣̣̣̣ – uvular voiceless spirant
 ɸ̣̣̣̣̣ – pharyngeal voiceless fricative
 ɸ̣̣̣̣̣̣ – pharyngeal voiced fricative
 ɸ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ – laryngeal voiceless fricative
 ʔ – glottal stop
 ā, ī, ū, ē, ō – long vowels
 ă, etc. – short vowels
 ə – neutral vowel (shwa)

in the reconstructed proto-forms:

V indicates a non-specified (in other words, any) vowel, e.g. **bVr*- should be read ‘either **bar*-, **bir*-, or **bur*-’

H indicates a non-specified laryngeal or pharyngeal consonant

S indicates a non-specified sibilant

/ between two symbols means ‘or’, e.g., **gaw/y*- is to be read **gaw*- or **gay*-’

() a symbol in round brackets means ‘with or without this symbol’, e.g. **ba(w)r*- should be read **bawr*- or **bar*-’

~ means ‘and’ pointing to two or more co-existing proto-forms, e.g. **ʕad-at*- ~ **ʕidd*- indicates two reconstructed variant proto-forms

[] precedes references and comments to the whole entry

Abbreviations

AA – Afrasian

E. – East

LEC – Lowland East Cushitic

MK – Middle Kingdom

MSA – Modern South Arabian

N. – North

NAA – North Afrasian (Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Chadic)

NB – Neo-Babylonian

NE – New Egyptian

NK – New Kingdom

OAKk – Old Akkadian

OB – Old Babylonian

OK – Old Kingdom

PAA – Proto-Afrasian

PNA – Proto-North Afrasian

PT – Pyramid Texts

S. – South

SAA – South Afrasian (Cushitic and Omotic)

SB – Standard Babylonian

W. – West.

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The academic background is zero. Graduated from the Faculty of Translation of the Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages, six lost years. The family duty: to publish a draft doctoral dissertation on Semitics by my grandfather—polyglot and orientalist Solomon Maizel, who passed away at 52—led to graduate school at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, where I miraculously got without knowing either linguistics or Semitics. Had to master everything myself. With great difficulty wrote my first dissertation. Received an offer from Igor Diakonov to participate in the compilation of the Comparative Historical Afrasian Dictionary. In 2001-2013, Head of Afrasian section in the Santa Fe Institute’s project “Evolution of Human Languages.” In 2006, nominated by a group of US, European and Russian professors for the Holberg International Memorial Prize for outstanding scholarly work in the academic fields of the arts and humanities. Founding member, International Association for Comparative Semitics (Barcelona). Like my informal teachers Solomon Maisel, Igor Diakonov and Sergei Starostin, I have always sailed separately from the mainstream. The rest is on Wikipedia.

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On language, dimensionality, and mapping

Mauro Tosco

This short article discusses dimensionality in language: while many languages may be easily conceptualized as bidimensional and covering a discrete portion of the Earth's surface, additional dimensions are provided by verticality—either physical or, more often, metaphorical (in the form of bi- and multilingualism)—and time (when nomadic peoples carry their languages around). Other languages are unidimensional, involving to all practical extents a single point in space, while still others have no physical dimension at all, and are used by diffuse communities.

The article argues that dimensionality—a key property of the nation-state—is largely responsible for how we conceptualize languages and the tools (such as the language maps) we use to represent them mentally as well as in space.

Keywords: dimensionality; language maps; dialects; nation-states; nomadic peoples.

1. Dedication

There are teachers and there are friends. And there are those very few who are both teachers and friends. Fabrizio is one of them, and over the years, many of Fabrizio's publications have nourished my mind and made me think. His still unpublished manuscript "Divagazioni linguistiche lungo un asse continentale" (Pennacchietti 2022) is one of these. Inspired by Diamond's (1997) classic *Guns, Germs and Steel*, Pennacchietti explores how the East-West and the South-North axes have a bearing (actually, a foundational role) on the language typology of the Old World.

My topic here is different but stems from the same fascination (obsession?) for language, geography and their interweaving. Namely: how do we conceptualize languages in space, how do we represent the dimensional properties of languages, and how much such conceptualizations and depictions owe to the nation-state—that overarching political structure and ideological construct that we all live in?

2. Language and territoriality¹

Consider the following hypothetical statement:

Language is an organism and any organism occupies a portion of space.

Ergo:

Language has dimensions.

While the first part of this tenet will certainly (and hopefully) make more than an eyebrow rise in disbelief (and maybe the eyebrow's owner cringe in horror), the second—more abstract—is often tacitly assumed. Insofar as they are “things” used (uttered, signed...) by essentially bipedal, nonflying individuals on planet Earth, languages are obviously connected to a territory. And, as Laponce (1993) suggested, maybe “languages behave like animals,” and tend to encroach into a territory and exterminate or chase away competing species.

The strength of the language/territory connection probably varies along a continuum. For example, ‘[I]n Australian tradition, language varieties are not owned through being spoken, but on the basis that they who own a particular territory thus also inherit its linguistic identity, which was laid down at creation’ (Sutton 2020: 356). Australia is therefore an extreme case of high territory-language association, against most other situations where a language or a language variety is associated to the individual or group speaking it, rather than location.

Following on Lakoff's (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) conceptual metaphors, LANGUAGE HAS DIMENSIONS is shorthand for A LANGUAGE HAS SPEAKERS & SPEAKERS OCCUPY PORTIONS OF LAND. But *how many* dimensions a language can have? Bidimensionality is somehow our most common answer, to some extent forced upon us by a relatively modern tool: language maps—and maps are still mostly two-dimensional objects. But other possibilities exist, as we are going to explore in the following sections.

¹ Parts of this article were meant to appear in a work written jointly with Federico Gobbo (University of Amsterdam) and Marco Tamburelli (Bangor University), but the project never materialized. I thank Federico and Marco for their numerous suggestions and corrections. All errors remain mine.

3. The quest for bidimensionality

The introduction of the modern state had momentous consequences on how we conceptualize languages, which tools we use to do so, how spatial categories are ascribed to language, and how they are used, ideologized and exploited.

Modern states are a by-product of the late Middle Ages and are based upon strict territoriality of jurisdiction: sovereignty. In this sense, it is even doubtful that other polities, the traditional empires of the past included, were states at all (Spruyt 1994). Nation-states are in their turn a much younger construct, essentially harking back to the peace of Westphalia (1648) and nowadays covering in principle the whole crust of the Earth.²

Strict territoriality of power was not a property of pre-Westphalian forms of governments, and it stands to reason that ethnolinguistic minorities fared comparably better in traditional empires than in modern nation-states—see Pavlenko (2023) for pre-modern empires in Europe, and Tosco (2015) for the Islamic world and its minorities. As the symbolic value of language as a flagger and a prerequisite of group membership was considerably lower, the necessity of language uniformity within any given polity was also lower or even non-existent (see Tosco 2015 and 2022 for a cursory treatment).

Languages play a key role in nation-states, and nation-states are essentially bidimensional³ constructs. Therefore, the prototypical language is bidimensional, too, and many language communities are certainly amenable to a bidimensional approach. And still, even if we are conscious of the approximate value of maps for what concerns borders, we tend to forget what Gellner (1983: 139-140) had to say about modern ethnic maps and their possible, hypothetical ancestors:

² Special provisions take care of Antarctica and a few small areas around the globe, all of which, interestingly, tend to have no autochthonous population; ditto for the aquatic part of the Earth surface. As defined by the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, a nation-state has full jurisdiction over a “territorial sea” extending up to a distance of 12 nautical miles (22 kilometers, 14 miles) from the baseline (the low-water line along the coast), as well as upon its internal waters. “Contiguous Zones” and “Exclusive Economic Zones” extend beyond that limit but do not provide exclusive sovereignty rights. Small areas which until a few decades ago were not *de jure* under the jurisdiction of a sovereign nation-states were likewise typically uninhabited and many have since long disappeared. An example is provided by two quite large, desertic neutral zones between Iraq and Saudi Arabia and between Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, respectively. An agreement to partition the Saudi Arabian-Iraqi neutral zone was reached in 1981; as to the second, the Wafra Field Neutral Zone is still in existence; its important oil fields are jointly operated under separate concessions from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

³ They are actually to an extent tridimensional if one considers the national airspace, although there is no international agreement on its vertical extent. A nation-state has also sovereignty over the continental shelf surface and the land under its territory, although to the best of my knowledge the depth of this sovereignty rights has not been internationally codified. Individual property rights on the underground are subject to different laws in different countries.

Consider two ethnographic maps, one drawn up before the rise of nationalism, and the other after the principle of nationalism had done much of its work.

The first map resembles a painting by Kokoschka. The riot of diverse points of colour is such that no clear pattern can be discerned in any detail, though the picture as a whole does have one. A great diversity and plurality and complexity characterizes all distinct parts of the whole: the minute social groups, which are the atoms of which the picture is composed, have complex and ambiguous and multiple relations to many cultures; some through speech, others through their dominant faith, another still through a variant faith or set of practices, a fourth through administrative loyalty, and so forth. When it comes to painting the political system, the complexity is not less great than in the sphere of culture. Obedience for one purpose and in one context is not necessarily the same as obedience for some other end or in some other season.

Look now instead at the ethnographic and political map of an area of the modern world. It resembles not Kokoschka, but, say, Modigliani. There is very little shading; neat flat surfaces are clearly separated from each other, it is generally plain where one begins and another ends, and there is little if any ambiguity or overlap. Shifting from the map to the reality mapped, we see that an overwhelming part of political authority has been concentrated in the hands of one kind of institution, a reasonably large and well-centralized state.

The problem is that many (maybe most) languages are Kokoschka-style, and they are the cause of more than little distress for politicians—as well as, quite often, linguists. The understanding and acceptance of “moving,” “fragmented” or even “non-spatial” languages is fraught with difficulties (theoretical, and of course juridical and political, too). Nor are these overcome by democracy (cf. Tosco 2021 for some inherent problems of democracy with language diversity).

4. From two to three: verticality and bi-/multilingualism

Put simply, there are languages not amenable to bidimensionality, and this may happen for at least three different, and often intertwined, reasons: verticality, bi- or multilingualism, and mobility.⁶

A fascinating but conceptually easy case is provided by languages spoken at different altitudes within one and the same region. Media Lengua [mue],⁴ often considered a bona fide mixed language, is a particularly striking example spoken by descendants of Quechua migrant workers to the urban areas of Ecuador, the language is made up, roughly, by Spanish vocabulary and Ecuadorian Quechua grammar. It is also—in a way, iconically—spoken mid-altitude between Spanish and Quechua (Muysken

⁴ Language names are followed by their ISO 639-3 code in square brackets.

1997). Or consider the bewildering complex situation of upland Southeast Asia, with different languages spoken in the plains and in the hills, and where ‘[I]t is as if the difficulties of terrain and relative isolation have, over many centuries, encouraged a kind of “speciation” of languages, dialects, dress, and cultural practices’ (Scott 2009: 18). Much the same can be said of the different languages spoken in other mountain areas: closer to home, in, e.g. the Western Alps, Occitan [oci], or Franco-Povençal [frp], varieties tend to dominate the higher parts of the valleys, while Piedmontese [pms], is, or was, the language of the lower slopes (and often the common lingua franca).

Verticality can also be metaphorical: there are “low” and “high” languages, and all kinds of linguistic “things” between. Bi- and multilingualism are of course very common, and, quite often, take the form of diglossic situations, where one or more languages occupy the lower echelons, and one, or, more rarely, more languages the higher domains. In Kloss’ (1967) terms, the Abstand status of the “lower” languages is often ideologically negated, and they are recast as dialects of a single Ausbauized variety.

Diglossic situations are special targets of language policies aiming at monolingualism and bidimensionality, and their disappearance makes for a large part of the fast reduction in language diversity we are experiencing in the contemporary world.

Again: how to pictorially represent verticality of languages and bi-/multilingualism? The language cartographer who is cast against such a complexity cannot do much more than decide to represent either the higher, often official, languages alone, or the unrecognized varieties. Each solution is in principle wrong. The next section illustrates this point.

5. Mapping languages or dialects? An Italian case study

A cursory look at three supposedly linguistic maps of Italy—a country well known for its high degree of (mostly unrecognized) language diversity—will show how the choice may result in very different “language” maps.

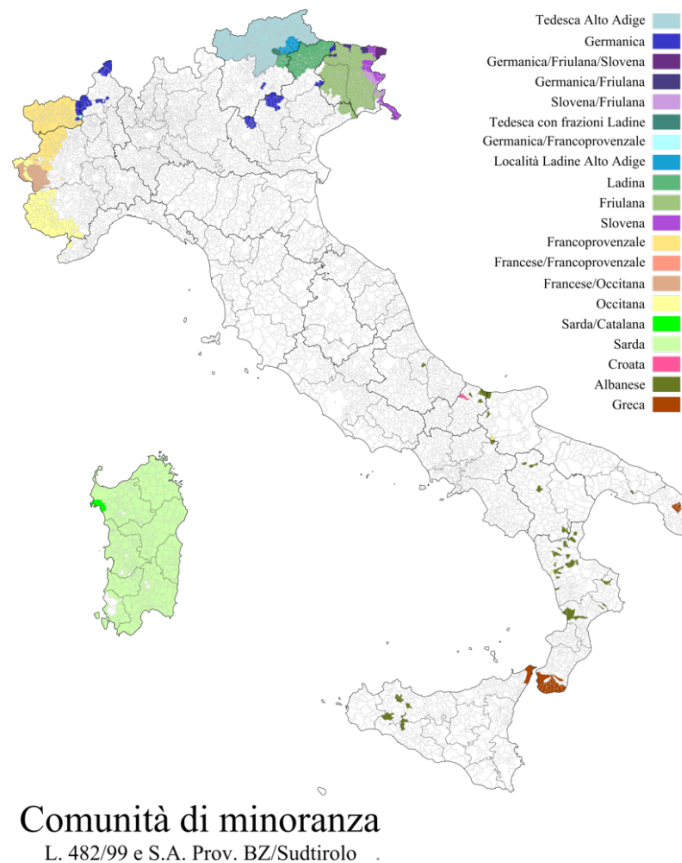


Figure 1. “[Minority communities](#)”

(from https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Legislazione_italiana_a_tutela_delle_minoranze_linguistiche; map by Alessio Cimarelli - Regions, provinces and municipalities in Italy.svg; CC BY 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=27386068>; original svg file, converted)

The map shows the language minorities explicitly approved (through Law 482/1999) by the Italian government. They tend to cluster on the periphery of the country and their recognition is partly due to external pressures from neighboring states, and to be geographically small, therefore demographically—as well as, by implication, politically—weak. All this visually highlights the link to nation building: language minorities are “exceptions” relegated to the periphery, showing how the tenet ONE PEOPLE = ONE LANGUAGE = ONE COUNTRY is imperfect, and special provisions are needed on the part of the modern nation-state to cope with this imperfection. Ultimately, we are confronted here with a socio-political map peddled as a “linguistic” map.

A seemingly more Abstand-based map is the following:



Figure 2. A “Linguistic map of Italy”

(from: Mikima - File:Linguistic_map_of_Italy.svg, CC BY-SA 4.0,

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=47109387>; original format: svg; converted)

Rather than a “linguistic map of Italy,” as its accompanying label claims it to be, this is a mishmash of language classification and dialectology. Specifically, the map contains officially recognized languages such as Occitan [oci] and Sardinian [srd], as well as the contested languages of Italy (Tamburelli and Tosco 2021)—such as Lombard [lmo] and Sicilian [scn]—but also dialectal groups such as Tuscan, which is clearly a variety of Italian (as evidenced by its lack of an ISO code), drawing no conceptual differences between them. The result is a map that is at best uninformative and at worse misleading. The single most important bundle of isoglosses within the Romance domain, i.e., the Rimini-La Spezia line which groups together France, the Iberian Peninsula, Southern Switzerland and Northern Italy and separates them from the rest of the Romance-speaking areas (see Brasca 2023 for a recent, complete overview), is stripped of its significance, being relegated to a mere distinction between some varieties of Italy, i.e., “Cisalpine” or “Gallo-Italic” varieties in green, and central and southern varieties in shades of blue and

purple. Note how there is no way to retrieve from this map a basic classificatory fact, namely that Cisalpine varieties (in green) are genealogically closer to Occitan varieties (in yellow) than to Tuscan varieties (in light blue). All of them simply appear as somehow “different” varieties.

Finally, what follows is a well-known dialect map of Italy:



Figure 3. “Carta dei dialetti d’Italia” (Pellegrini 1977)

Here, languages—whether officially recognized or not—simply disappear, and each area within the nation-state receives a colour shade on the basis of “dialect group” membership, with varieties belonging to the same group sharing the same base colour (e.g., the main Northern group is in different shades of yellow). Rather than a linguistic map of Italy, what we have here is a strictly dialectological map, not only bidimensional but also conceptually flat. Tuscan becomes here a “dialect group” just as “Cisalpine” or Sardinian, with little if any indication of the degree to which they differ from Italian, and absolutely no attempt at identifying which groups of varieties form a separate Abstand language and which do not. We therefore have a situation where “all cats are grey at night,” and language

difference is swept under an dialectological carpet. While the Rimini-La Spezia line is at least discernible, its classificatory importance is blurred among a host of other isoglosses, and its degree of genealogical value concealed as just “one of many” isoglosses that happen to run within Italy.

What emerges from these maps is a specific ideological bias: dialects are “natural” and their identification may or may not feed into Abstand considerations, while languages are defined exclusively by their Ausbau status and taken care of separately (i.e., in separate “linguistic”—rather than dialectological—maps). Bidimensionality has been forced onto the linguistic map and language diversity has been neutered, tamed under the label of “dialects”—thereby achieving an essential step in nation-building.

6. The fourth dimension: when languages move

Moving implies time, and moving, at least seasonally, was probably a feature of early humans and is still usual in many (but not all) foraging lifestyles. In a sense, we can say that languages were and still are typical moving entities.⁵ Regular long-distance mobility (as different from migration) is more recent than seasonal mobility, and is mainly linked to the domestication of camelids (as late as the first millennium BCE) and long-distance sea-faring. From an economic point of view, this is but an instance of occupational mobility. Examples abound: Gypsies in Europe and the Middle East, Dyula (traditionally a merchant caste of West Africa), or Sama(h) or Bajau of Southeast Asia (the most well-known example of “Sea Nomads”) are cases in point. How to represent a nomadic people and its language on a map has always been a problem: the same portion of land is intermittently occupied by speakers of different languages. At the same time, as it is impossible for a dimensional entity X to be fully located at the same time in different portions of the space, Time—the fourth dimension—becomes a variable: different languages are spoken over the same portion of land in different moments, but there is no point where a language is spoken all the time. Two cartographic solutions among many are shown here below.

In the first example (Figure 4), the languages of a few nomadic group of Southern Somalia are grouped together under a common ethnic label of “Digil” (actually a clanic label; in any case not a linguistic entity).⁸ Even without having to deal with the single languages, the map has a serious shortcoming: in the very same area the Maay language is also spoken by the sedentary agriculturalists – and apparently by the “Digil,” too, as a regional lingua franca. In short, the “Digil” languages are actually spoken in a part of the Maay-speaking area. Moreover, the “Digil” roam and partially intersect

⁵ This is still another sense in which, following Laponce (1993), “languages behave like animals.”

among each other. This is tentatively represented in the second map (Figure 5), where differently coloured lines are superimposed upon the Maay-speaking area (the “Digil” languages represented here are Garre, Tunni, Dabarre, and Jiiddu).



Figure 4. Distribution of Somali dialects (by Kzl55 - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=57282896>; from Somali Languages, Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somali_languages)

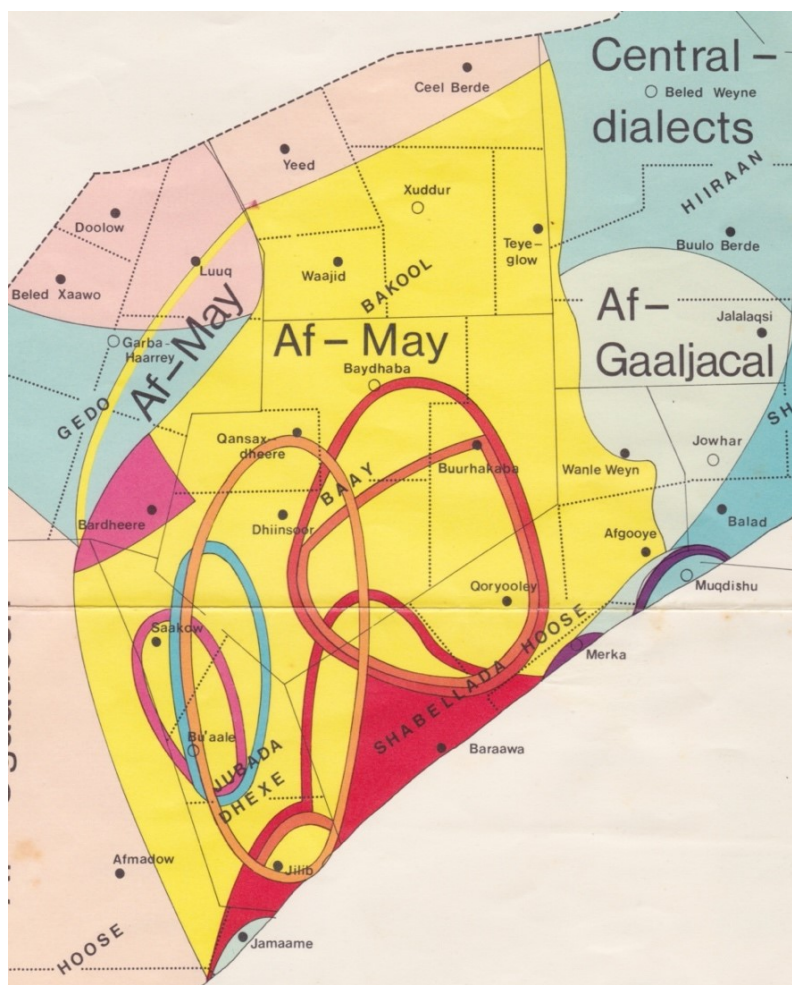


Figure 5. A dynamic view of the Somali dialects in the inter-riverine region (from Lamberti 1986b; detail)

Among the competing classifications of the varieties spoken under the umbrella of “Somaliness,” Lamberti’s (1986a) work is strictly dialectological and synchronic in nature: everything is a dialect. On the other hand, there is no analysis of mutual intelligibility—although even a casual look at the data suggests that some “dialects” are in fact separate languages.⁶ In the absence of any actual measurement, we have to rely on descriptive relations. In the case of Maay and the “Digil” dialects intelligibility is certainly low. At least one Digil variety, Jiiddo (admittedly the most extreme case) is notoriously so different that a closer affiliation beyond Somali with the Baiso [bsw] language of South Ethiopia has been proposed (Ehret and Ali’s 1983 propose a Baiso-Jiiddo node at the very top of their

⁶ Another classification, proposed by Ehret and Ali (1983), is strictly cladistic in nature, with upper nodes portraying Abstand languages and the lower nodes their respective dialects. The results are in strong contradiction to the actual synchronic situation (not to mention the speakers’ perceptions). Moreover, the ideological exclusion of clanic names and the reliance on towns (fixed points in space) for node denominations make the whole enterprise mostly useless.

overarching proposed classification of Somali languages; a proposal further defended and justified in Ali and Arvanites 1985). Another “Digil” variety, Garre (or Karre) has been shown to have special links with Boni, generally considered a separate language and spoken on the Kenyan side of the Somali-Kenyan border (Tosco 1994).

Nowadays, Article 5 of the Constitution of the new Federal Republic of Somalia has Somali and Arabic as the first and second official languages; it nominally recognizes Maay as one of the forms of Somali (but not a separate language), whereas no mention is made of the smaller, nomadic groups of the South and their speech.¹⁰ As is so often the case, it does not mean much that linguists have at least tentatively classified each of them as separate languages and bestowed them their duly ISO 639-3 code (Maay: [ymm]; for “Digil:” Dabarre: [dbr]; Garre: [gex]; Jiiddu: [jii]; Tunni: [tqq]).

7. Point-like (unidimensional) and a-dimensional languages

If we extract Time from our set of variables and further leave aside bi- and three-dimensionality, we can get a group inhabiting a plurality of geographically separate points in space: in a sense, single frames of a film. In each location the group may even constitute the majority (as was often the case of many Yiddish-speaking shtetl of Central and East Europe)—but the group is always a minority in respect to the population of the area at large. Another exemplary case, investigated by Coluzzi, Du and Woo (forthcoming), is provided by the sizeable and linguistically diverse Chinese minorities of Southeast Asia. If one were to follow and elaborate on Gellner’s imagery quoted above, we would not speak here of Kokoshka nor of Modigliani, but maybe of Seurat and pointillism.

At issue here is contiguity—a chief correlate of territoriality. In a modern state, peoples – and languages—must be assigned not only a fixed, stable territory (thus excluding the languages of nomadic groups exemplified exemplified for Somalia above) but also, if possible, a contiguous one. An example of political and juridical text enucleating this proviso is provided by Article 39, Comma 5 of the Ethiopian Constitution, which sets itself the admittedly uneasy task of defining what a people (in Ethiopian political parlance, a “Nation, Nationality or People”) is:

A “Nation, Nationality or People” for the purpose of this Constitution is a group or people who have or share a large measure of a common culture or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological make-up, *and who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory* (emphasis ours).

Other languages do not have problems with contiguity, but are unidimensional in the sense that they occupy single points in the map. Two opposite examples come again from the Horn of Africa: Harari [har] and Chi-Mwiini. Harari is the traditional Semitic language of Harar, a major town in East Ethiopia and a regional Islamic center, has been recognized as the working language of the local, autonomous town (there are no more “official languages” in Ethiopia), it is widely used in education and in everyday life and boasted more than 25,000 speakers in the 2007 census.

Of course, the limited geographical size of the “point” and the limited number of speakers make a town language a likely target of catastrophic events: the indigenous population of Brava, historically a major port on the Somali coast and a center of Islamic culture, has been wiped out during the long Somali civil war, and the speakers of its unique Bantu language, Chi-Mwiini (without an ISO code and often wrongly considered a Swahili dialect) are now scattered worldwide, making its long-term preservation doubtful.

What about the absence of dimensions at all? It is well exemplified by auxiliary languages, whose best example is certainly Esperanto [epo]. Although it boasts a sizable number of speakers, first-language speakers included, it does not meet any dimensional expectation: there is no “Esperantoland,” and the language is spoken where its speakers congregate, physically or virtually.

Another interesting case is provided by sign languages: they are dimensional to the extent that “national” signed languages are sometimes created in multilingual states, as the South African Sign Language [sfs]. Interestingly, this is not the case where the languages spoken in a multilingual state have their own signed varieties—e.g., there is no “Swiss Sign language.”

However, just as auxiliary languages, sign languages do not occupy a fixed and contiguous chunk of territory within the area inhabited by the non-signing community. Contrary to many other three-, four- and unidimensional languages, sign languages and their community are per se highly salient, and no additional ideological props are needed for their continued existence nor for their official recognition: the absence of territoriality—and, therefore, of any possible harm to a nation-state’s indivisibility—plays here in favour of their recognition.

8. In lieu of a conclusion

In a nutshell, we have been cursorily addressing non-bidimensional languages: three-dimensional, four-dimensional, unidimensional, and even a-dimensional languages. Are they “weak” languages? Or: can we suppose that these additional dimensions are prone to collapse to bidimensionality, or even maybe disappear in what would amount to a linguistic black hole?

Apparently not: interestingly, in no case pluridimensionality seems to have been per se the major culprit behind language erosion and language shift.

And yet, imagination goes to *Flatland* (Abbott 1884) and the adventures (and misfortunes) of the Square when trying to comprehend other dimensions. Aren't we a bit like the Square, after all?

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Interlinguistica

Federico Gobbo curavit

“Kristanoj, hebreoj aŭ mahometanoj ni ĉiuj de Di’ estas filoj”

Eta prikonsiderado interkultura kaj interreligia pri la ‘homa familio’
inter Eŭrop-Azio kaj Mediteraneo

Daŭde Astori

Starting with an analysis of the name ‘Europe’ and the ancient myths connected to it, and mentioning at least, as archetypal, Noah and his sons, the history of the founding of the Medical School of Salerno and the utopia of a common language of the 19th c., we will discuss more generally the value of intercultural and interreligious dialogue between Europeans, Hebrews and Muslims, sons of a common cultural background that, as in a *fil rouge*, keeps them together in the folds of History.

Keywords: Eurasia; Noah and his sons; Schola Medica Salernitana; Zamenhof’s Homaranismo; interreligious, interlcultural and interlinguistic dialogue.

“La monda etiko ne reduktas religiojn al etika minimumismo, sed reliefigas la minimumon de tio, kio jam nun estas komuna al mondreligioj rilate etikon.”

(Hans Küng)

1. Kvazaŭ enkonduko

Eŭropo estas tre antikva termino, kiu jam ekde la mito kiu ĝin elportas montras sin, kiel la Kreta taŭro, ligilo inter la du bordoj de la Mediteraneo, kie Ĥam, Ŝem kaj Jafet¹ ekde ĉiam, en iaspeca Jung-a arketipo, rilatas simfonie en antaŭtempa “unuco en la diverseco”.²

¹ La transskribo de la hebreaj nomoj sekvas la modelon de la tiel nomata ‘Londona Biblio’ (*La Sankta Biblio, Malnova kaj Nova Testamento tradukitaj el la originalaj lingvoj*. Brita kaj Alilanda Biblia Societo, Londono, Britujo; Nacia Biblia Societo de Skotlando, Edinburgo [Britujo], s.d), la Esperanta versio de la Biblio redaktita en 1926 de “Brita kaj Alilanda Biblia Societo” kune kun la “Nacia Biblia Societo de Skotlando” en Edinburgo, kies komitato de anglaj paŝtistoj, kiuj tradukis la N.T. el la greka, ankaŭ reviziis, laŭ peto de li mem, la tradukon fare de Zamenhof de la M.T.

² Tion oni rimarkas ankaŭ el la privilegia perspektivo de la multlingveco, kiu de ĉiam karakterizis ĝin: vd. Astori 2018a. Por pli enprofundiĝi en la temon per aparta atento ĉe la rilatoj inter la tri religioj de la Libro kaj iliaj kulturaj radikoj ligitaj kaj

La esplorado de la semiotika unueco de la nomradiko (en 2.) reflektiĝas, inter la pluraj eblecoj, almenaŭ unuflanke en la tradicio de la Noaĥaj Leĝoj (3.), aliflanke en la fondomito de la *Schola Salerni*, t.e. Salerno Skolo (4.), por ekaperi en la karsta rivero de la Historio, en la eksterordinara provoko utopia kaj eŭtopia de planlingvo kreita inter la 19-a kaj 20-a jarcentoj, Esperanto, nutrita per revo kiu transiras la interlingvistikan prikonsideradon (5.).

Nia celo estas prezenti ĉiujn ĉi temojn regale, kaj espereble ŝate, al la Amiko adresito de tiu ĉi Festlibro gastiganta ĉi mian “modestan prikonsider-pladon” pri kiu mi interesiĝis dum multaj jaroj kaj al kiu mi dediĉis parton de mia verkado. Tial, mi pravigas la bibliografion, laŭŝajne kaj unuavide memreferencan, kiu ne celas esti pretendema aŭ paradema. Ĝia celo estas, male, espliciti, per ĉiu elemento, vastan kaj dokumentitan kolekton je bibliografiaj referencaĵoj por plia enkadriĝo kaj pliprofundigo de la individuaj temoj.³

2. La mito kaj ebla etimologio

Estas ĉiam fascine mediti pri la origino de la nomo Eŭropo: ĝi radikas en antikvo preskaŭ arketipa kaj parolas al la nuno kaj al ties plej absolute devigaj defioj.

Laŭ la mito rakontita ĉefe de Apolodoro (III 1,1), Eŭropo, filino de Fenico (aŭ de Agenoro “la Superba”) reĝo de Tiro kaj Sidono, fratino de Kadmo (fondinto de Tebo), estas forrabita de Oriento al

enradikiĝintaj en Mediteraneo (en la plej fajne etimologia signifo, mare nostrum sidejo de profunda tutmondiĝo jam en la antikva mondo), vidu Astori 2021a. La verkinto de tiuj ĉi paĝoj estas aparte sentema pri la temo “Eŭropo”, precipe laŭ lingva kaj lingvistika vidpunkto: li pritraktis ĝin plurfoje, ekzemple Astori 2012, Astori 2011a; 2011b; 2013a; 2016a; ĝis la plej lastatempa Astori - Di Stefano 2022, kie oni argumentas, ke lingvoj, inter la primaraj iloj de la komunika kaj dialoga dimensio en kiu vivas la homo, devas ankaŭ esti komprenataj en sia valoro kiel ‘nemateria havaĵo’, kaj el tiu vidpunkto meritas specifan protekton. Ankaŭ, kial ne, per enmuzeiga agado. Ni atentigas krome pri la studtago “Kiu/j lingvo/j por Eŭropo?”, okazinta marde la 10-an de majo 2022 en la Aŭlo de la Universitato de Parma, dediĉita al temoj rilataj al la lingva situacio de la Eŭropa Unio: la iniciato, premiita per fonduso de la nacia konkurso “University 4 EU. Il tuo futuro, la nostra Europa” (Universitato por EU. Via estonteco, nia Eŭropo) anoncita de la Ministerio pri Universitato kaj Esplora Departemento pri Eŭropaj Politiko de la Prezidenteco de la Konsilio de Ministroj kunlabore kun la Konferenco de Italaj Universitataj Rektoroj (ĉi tiuj estas la oficialaj retejoj: <https://www.unipr.it/notizie/10-maggio-giornata-di-approfondimento-qualei-linguae-leuropa> kaj <https://futureu.europa.eu/processes/Education/f/37/meetings/133717>), rigardeblas ĉe registriĝo ĉe jenaj ligiloj: <https://youtu.be/ouxG-8Hq4YY> (matena sesio), <https://youtu.be/mboFPW9Ht10> (posttagmeza sesio)—por legi raporton oni vidu Astori 2022.

³ Aliflanke, koncerne la eblajn konektojn de ĉi tiuj paĝoj kun la vasta kaj tre riĉa verkaro de Fabrizio Angelo Pennacchietti, alirebla ĉe la retejo <http://www.fapennacchietti.it/>, kaj koncerne nur al la esplorkampo pri la rilato kaj dialogo inter Oriento kaj Okcidento (esplicitita ankaŭ funkcie laŭ la temoj poste proponitaj) ni reliefigas la jenajn, kiuj estas konsiderataj kiel enkonduka kaj esenca legaĵo kaj majstra kontribuo al la konstruado de la pli ĝenerala etoso de interplektiĝo kaj dialogo interlingvistika, interkultura kaj interreligia en kiu disvolviĝas la nuna kontribuado: Pennacchietti (1991; 1994; 1996; 1998; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2010; 2012).

Okcidento fare de Zeŭso taŭroforme; sekve ŝi edziniĝos al Asterio, reĝo de Kreto. Travideblas, filigrane, la origino—aŭ naskrilato—proksim-orienta: Eŭropo, filino de Oriento, transportita tra *mare nostrum* “nia maro” (la taŭro simbolas la minoan civilizon kaj ties peradon, almenaŭ geografian), alvenas en Okcidenton, transen, tien kien la suno moviĝas, iras por subiri (la Okcidento vidata de la Oriento); rilate al Kadmo, signifoplenas la etimologia rilato kun la praŝemida radiko *qdm*: toraa hebrea קדם *qedem* “oriento”, araba قديم *qadim* “malnova, antikva” (koncerne la sunlumon, tio kio estas oriente estas antaŭa, do pli malnova, ol tio kio ĝin sekvas en la ĉiutaga rondiro de la tero ĉirkaŭ si mem).⁴

Ekzistas praŝemida radiko ‘rv/’vr indikanta unue “moviĝon, transiron”: la unua formo, ligita al la koncepto “transiri, antaŭiri, moviĝi, ŝanĝiĝi” troviĝas ekzemple en la hebrea ‘avar ‘superi, antaŭiri’, sed ankaŭ ‘malobei, malobservi’, kaj sekve ‘avar ‘transpasita’ (tio kio estas lasita post niaj ŝultroj), ‘ever ‘kontraŭa’, ‘iber ‘fekundigi’ (ekŝanĝiĝi); ar. ‘abar ‘trairi’, ‘ubûr ‘trairado’, ‘ma’bar ‘vadejo’, ‘ibrâniyyu ‘hebrea’; per kvalita metatezo generiĝas la alotropo ‘rv ligita al la ideoj ‘okcidento’ kaj ‘sunsubiro’, kaj ligiĝas vortoj kiel la hebreaj *ma’arav* ‘okcidento’, *’erev* ‘vespero’, *’arava* ‘boato’ (veturilo kiu povas porti onin de unu bordo al alia), *’arvi* ‘arabo’ (tiu kiu vivas en okcidento); arabaj vortoj *a’rabiyyu* ‘bedueno’ (tiu kiu moviĝas de unu loko al alia), *’araba* ‘veturilo’ (kaj samo validas por la hebrea *’arava*). Tiu ĉi radiko estus do la ruĝa fadeno komuna, almenaŭ etimologie, al Eŭropanoj (supoze kaj ne koncede, ke tia kolektiva nomo sencus), Hebreoj kaj Araboj: de ĝi fakte devenas, unuflanke la hebrea vorto עברי *’ivri* (‘la popolo kiu moviĝis, lasis sian lokon por iri aliloken—tra la Jordano’), aliflanke la araba عربي *’arabi* (kiu emfazas ties nomadan, migrantan naturon). Ni povus do aŭdaci per prikonsiderado ĉirkaŭ la lingvistika elemento eĉ hipotezi ian pli ĝeneralan kulturan humon eŭrop-azian.⁵

3. Noaĥo kaj siaj tri filoj

Tiu ĉi ‘familia unueco’ paŭsas la grandan biblian paĝon kiu komenciĝas per GEN 6.

Dek plenajn generaciojn post ‘Adam, la unua homo, 1656 jarojn post tiu unua pakto, oni petas al Noaĥo ‘trans-konduki’ la homaron, per la Arkeo, tra la diluvo, dekretita de Dio por purigi, per la spirita naturo de la akvo, la Teron de la sekvoj de la pekoj de degenerinta homaro, reasertante la originajn adamajn principojn, kiujn la antaŭa generacio malobeis. Devenante de la Arkeo, la homaro estis unusola korpo: Noaĥo, en la rolo de nova Adamo, estas la prapatro de kiu devenas ĉiuj homaj estuloj: la esprimo

⁴ Por aliaj atestoj vd. *Neue Pauly* 2003, s.v. *Europe*.

⁵ Kaj la provoko povus iri pluen, en la koron de la kapitalisma spirito de la nova, revita eŭropa imperio: la *eŭro*, la sola vera gluaĵo de la nuna Unio kiu, antaŭ ol esti kultura aŭ historia, aŭ eĉ politika, estas ekonomia kaj merkata, ne povus soni pli ŝemida.

נַח בְּנֵי נֹחַ *b'ne' noah* “Filoj/Idoj/Posteuloj de Noaĥo” indikas ĉiun kiu apartenas al la homa genro, evidentigante la koncepto pri homaro kiel posteularo el unusola prapatro.⁶

Tri “makrofamilioj” repopologos tiel la landojn ĉirkaŭ unu sama maro, tiu *mare nostrum*, kiu estis en la antikveco granda sperto pri tutmondiĝo, en trankvilo kaj bonstato, konfirmante tiel la signifon de la hebrea originalo ‘Noaĥ’, devenanta de la radiko נַח en la semantiko je “ripozi, trovi pacon, serenon”, kaj kiun oni retrovas, per tradicia permutado, en הֵן *hen*, “beleco, graco”.⁷

4. La medicina Salerno Skolo

Ni nun atingas mallonge alian signifan momenton je interkultura kaj interreligia dialogo, simbola pri la itinero kiun ni trairas.

La legendo rakontas, ke en Mezepoko je vojaĝoj kaj pilgrimadoj, en Salerno sub la “ponto de la diabloj” (laŭdire konstruita en unusola nokto de la sorĉisto Pietro Barbalario helpita de demonoj), renkontiĝas, dum tempesta nokto, kvar homoj: unu posteulo de nobela familio de Romo; la dua, veninta de Aleksandrio; la tria, hebreo; la kvara, arabo. Dum la kunveno ĉiu deklaras sin medicinisto kaj decidas kunhavigi la malsamajn tradiciajn sciarojn por krei unu grandan medicinan Skolon.

La variantoj de la legendo atestas malsamajn nomojn, interalie atestantaj pri la ekzisto de kultura humo kaj kunteksto pli larĝa en kiun eniras simbola priksiderado ĉe kiu la rakonto fondiĝas; sed la samaj devenoj, okazintaĵoj kaj valoroj de la simbolaj roluloj signifas ĉiukaze, tute sendube, la kunfluiĝon en Salernon de malsamaj medicinaj tradicioj kaj de ties kulturoj.⁸

⁶ Por pliaj informoj kaj rilata referenca bibliografio vidu Astori (2010).

⁷ El tiu nova renkontiĝo, interalie, emerĝas etika sistemo donita al la tuta homaro: la tiel nomataj sep noahidaj leĝoj (נַח בְּנֵי (מִצְוֹת שִׁבְעָה), speco de ampleksaj normigaj kategorioj, larĝaj kadroj en kiuj sinsekve detaliĝas specifaj religiaj leĝoj, ia ĝenerala religio, komuna etika valorsistemo donita al la tuta homaro (la esprimo נַח בְּנֵי *beney noah* indikas iun ajn kiu apartenas al la homa raso): ili ne estas religio, sed universala mesaĝo adresita unuvorte en sia tutaĵo al la homaro, konceptita ĝuste kiel posteularo de ununura pragerinto. La aŭtoro de ĉi tiu artikolo skribis pri ĝi en Astori (2011c; 2016b) kaj, en Esperanto, en Astori (2015°).

⁸ La ebla paralelo kondukus tro malproksimen kun esplorkampo kiu ampleksas ekde *Dialogus inter Philosophum, Judaeum et Christianum*, t.e. Dialogo inter Filozofo, Judo, kaj Kristano, de Pietro Abelardo (ekzemplo inter multaj el tuta kultura sentemo, en kiu estas enmetitaj ne laste *Disputatio* de Gilberto Crispino aŭ *De Pace Fidei* de Nicola Cusano), al la fama Ringparabolo, kiu naskiĝas per la vortoj de Boccaccio (deklarita fonto fare de Lessing mem por lia Natano la Saĝulo, jam esperantigita en la fruaj jaroj de la lingvo).

Salerno, *civitas Hippocratica*, t.e. Hipokrata civito, nova Andaluzio⁹, je la kunfluejo de malsamaj kulturoj, ĉe la bordoj de Mediteraneo, gastigos kaj apogos instruadon kiu estos ‘malferma’ kaj ‘sinkretisma’ kiel la urbo, haveno kaj granda interŝanĝejo de la *mare nostrum*.

5. Nuntempa provoko

Unueco en la diverseco estas granda revo, kiu ekde la plej fora pasinteco venas por instigi la grandajn ŝtatisojn de la naskiĝanta Eŭropo, eĉ tra grandaj utopioj, ne laste je la nivelo ankoraŭfoje lingva.¹⁰

Ĉi tie, oni ne povas almenaŭ ne mencii la esperantisman projekton, naskitan el la menso de *Doktoro Esperanto*, la kuracisto kiu esperas, kies pseŭdonimo, unu jaron post la apero de la Unua libro, en Varsovio la 26-an de julio 1887, definitive indikos la novan kreaĵon.¹¹

Kiel bone scias nia Leganto, la Zamenhofa programo, multe pli aranĝita kaj kompleksa ol oni supraĵe opinius, baziĝas sur la ideo, ke privilegia komunikilo por la homaro devus esti nur la unua paŝo de multe pli ambicia prikonsiderado. Esperanto estis nur subtenilo kontribuonta krei en la mondo komunan kulturon, komunan senton, komunan komunecon (pardonu la vortludon) de celoj: kiel ‘pontolingvo’, eĉ en la protekto de la lokaj lingvoj, estus kontribuinta al la plibonigo de komunikado en la mondo, tiel ‘pontoreligio’, en la samaj konturoj kiel Esperanto, estus helpinta la progreson de la homaro.¹²

Tiu ĉi vizio de la mondo aperas sendube en la malferma parolado de la unua Universala Kongreso okazinta en Bulonjo-ĉe-Marzo la 5-an de aŭgusto 1905. Tiu ĉi Parolado celas ekde la unuaj vortoj reliefigi la celon de la projekto, la “fratiĝado de la homaro” sur “neŭtrala fundamento”, kie Esperanto estas prezentita kiel la antidoto kontraŭ la disigo de la homa socio estiĝinta en la tempo de Babelo. La unueco de la homaro estos restarigita en ago kiu, antaŭ ol esti lingva-kultura, estas religia-sankta, kaj la alta ofteco de radikoj kiel ‘frat-’, ‘famili-’, ‘hom-’, ‘ide-’, ‘sankt-’ estas ĉi-rilate elokventa.

⁹ Kie la religia toleremo kaj lingva-kultura sinergio de la araba periodo estis proverbaj, ĝis la punkto ke Majmonido, inter la plej grandaj hebreaj filozofoj, havas la nomon en duobla formo: רבי משה בן מיימון (Rabeno Moshe ben Maymon, laŭ kies vokalgita akronimo venas la nomo *Rambam*) kaj موسى بن ميمون بن عبد الله القرطبي الإسراييلي (Mūsā ibn Maymūn ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qurtubī al-Isrā’īlī). Tiun ĉi fakton miskomprenas multaj nuntempuloj.

¹⁰ Superrigardo pri la temo fare de la aŭtoro de ĉi tiuj paĝoj estas en Astori (2016c; 2019a; 2020a; 2020b).

¹¹ El la diversaj interlingvistikaj projektoj, kiuj sin sekvis dum la lastaj jarcentoj, ĝi estas la sola kiu montris realan funkciecon. La verkinto de ĉi tiu artikolo produktis, specife por itallingva publiko, kiel ĝeneralan enkondukon al la temo, Astori (2018b), kun ampleksa bibliografio aldonita, kaj Astori (2019b).

¹² La etika aspekto de esperantismo troveblas en Astori (2011d; 2017a; 2018c; 2015b).

Konklude, la *fokuso* de Zamenhof deturniĝis de la lingva al la religia nivelo: tiu komenca parolado, kiu jam montris, maskita sub la vualo de lingva prikonsidero, plene socipolitikan aliron, fermiĝis – *mirabile dictu* – per la “Preĝo sub la verda standardo”. Ĝi enkondukas ian antaŭtempan ekumenismon inter la tri grandaj monoteismaj religioj:¹³ ĝuste ĝia sesa kaj lasta strofo, konsiderata riska en la tempa situacio de la komenco de la jarcento, tiam ne estis legita nek aperis en la *Fundamenta Krestomatio de Esperanto*. Ĝi donas voĉon al la revo, ne nur de Zamenhof, pri mondo en kiu la grandaj tradiciaj klasikaj Revelacioj, flankenlasante por momento siajn diferencojn, kontribuas – en eventuala unueco de celoj – al la bono de la homaro.¹⁴

6. Kvazaŭ konkludo

La ideo de la “homa familio”, antaŭ ol esti la feliĉa kultura reviviĝo de originala mitonukleo, estas—kiel montras la ekzemploj, kelkaj el la multaj eblaj, menciitaj en ĉi tiuj paĝoj – imanenta en la homa naturo,¹⁵ serĉanta pacon baziĝantan sur respekto de la diverseco, en biologia neceso de ilia ekzisto kaj samtempe de ilia natura ebleco de dialogo kaj interrilato.

Prikonsideri la proponitajn temojn malŝtopas novajn breĉojn je pripensado en nuntempo kiu, en la tutmondiĝ-fenomeno, paradokse ĉiam pli polusigas streĉiĝojn kaj malfidon inter la du subtenaj kolonoj de tio, kion en la antikveco neniu hontus nomi, kune, Eŭrazio—ununura kontinento—kaj klara socikultura unueco, kiun ni hodiaŭ emas senti pli kaj pli kiel du apartajn realaĵojn kaj kiuj karakteriziĝis per libereco de moviĝo kaj per ebleco de interŝanĝo kaj kunfandiĝo, kiuj—male al la nuntempa sentemo—estis spertitaj en la antikva mondo en pli trankviliga, pozitiva kaj konstruiva maniero.¹⁶

¹³ Per la *Dogmoj de la Homaranismo* (kiuj aperas unuafoje en la februara numero en 1906 de *Ruslanda Esperantisto* sub la pseŭdonimo ‘Homo sum’, kaj estas reeldonitaj, kun etaj ŝanĝoj, subskribitaj de Zamenhof en 1913), ligitaj al la konceptoj de reciprokaj frateco, egaleco kaj justeco, Zamenhof eĉ finis proponante ian naturan laikan religion, *Homaranismon*, kun la celo starigi la kredojn de ĉiuj homoj sur nivelo de absoluta egaleco, kaj kun la espero atingi la realigon de universalismo, kiu garantios pacon, prosperon kaj bonfarton por la tuta homaro – vd. pri la temo Astori 2021b. Por legaĵo pri la rilato inter Zamenhof kaj lia devenreligio, vidu Astori (2009; 2013b).

¹⁴ Pri la rilato inter tiu ĉi teksto kaj “La espero”, kun kiu konkuris por fariĝi la himno de la esperantista movado, vd. Astori 2011d.

¹⁵ “Ne ekzistas raso – estis argumentita en D. Astori (2017b: 127-148)—sed ununura homaro ido de ununura viro, substrekas la teksto, ĉi tie en la figuro de Adamo kaj poste en tiu de Noaĥo”.

¹⁶ Kiel jam skribite en la komenco de Astori (2011b: 35): “Eŭrazio estas stranga kontinento, vojkruciĝo de renkontoj kaj kunfandaĵoj ekde frua antikveco. Nur kelkaj notoj, kvazaŭ pelmele. La Fenicoj, per komerco, disvastigis la alfabeton tra la tuta Mediteraneo (kiu, ne hazarde, portis la nomon de *nostrum*, nia, en la antikveco kaj, ankoraŭ hodiaŭ, estas *medium*, averaĝa, meza). La hebreoj estis en Romo antaŭ la disvastiĝo de la Kristanismo, en imperio, fandujo de popoloj, kiu estis antaŭtempa ‘melting-pot’, t.e. etnomiksiga, eksperimento. La helenoj, kvankam ili nomis la aliajn ‘barbaroj’, atestas pri Zeŭso serĉanta

Ekde 1954, provoj estis faritaj por reunuigi la Kontinenton sub pli politika vesto. De la fondiĝo de la Eŭropa Komunumo pri Karbo kaj Ŝtalo (Pariza Traktato de la 18-a de aprilo 1951), ĝis la kreo de la eŭro,¹⁷ komuna uniformo certe ne sufiĉas por fari la Eŭropon de la estonteco: la Unio povas kreski nur en interkultura kaj interreligia dialogo bazita sur sana respekto de la du bordoj de Mediteraneo: unu el la ĉefaj, eble eĉ la unua, defio de la moderneco estas en la gradigo, kiu igis la hindeŭropan radikon *g^wosti- iĝi, unuflanke, *hostis* “la malamiko”, aliflanke *hospes* “la gastoj”, se resti nur ĉe la sola latina lingvo kaj kulturo: tiu ĉi insida distingo certe havos rolon en la estonteco, se ne jam en la nuntempo, de nia civilizacio”.¹⁸

“Dans un monde stable, les différences, comme les similitudes, ne sont pas des caractères fortuits, apparaissant à des moments donnés de l’histoire: elles sont éternelles, et prévues dès la création. Mais, derrière cette intentionnelle diversité, subsiste une fondamentale fraternité d’origine, [...] la conception d’une communauté humaine universelle”¹⁹: la signifa konkludo de Sauneron (1960: 41) adresiĝinta pli al la situacio de antikveco sed profunde valora ankaŭ por prikonsidero kaj interpreto de la moderneco, montras denove, ke eblas solvo al unta malfacileco en rilato kun aliulo ĝuste en la konsidero, ke la defio

konsilon ĉe la Etiopoj; kaj Odiseado estas mirinda scivojaĝo pri popoloj kaj kulturoj. Kiel *itinerarium mentis in Deum* ĝi estas la simbola vojaĝo de la kristanismo – laŭ la vortoj de Aŭgusteno – profunda kaj grandioza movado de tutmondiĝo (la *katholikos*, katolika revo de Petro estas signifoplena—*Agroj* 10,9-16—pri la primetita tablo por signifi la venkadon de la limoj kaj rasaj kaj kulturaj baroj). Eneo, fondinto de Romo, troja rifuĝinto el Anatolio, hodiaŭ havus turkan pasporton. Kaj Romo, por resti en la kalejdoskopo de interlingvistikaj kaj kulturaj referencoj, estas nomo de verŝajna etruska deveno, en provoko (laŭ kiu oni kaŝas la manon post ĵetado de la ŝtono) kiu kondukus tro malproksimen al neniam finita debato”. Priksidero kiu etendiĝas en la konkludo de Astori (2014): “En ĉi tiu nia mondo, kun la kapo ĉiam pli malekvilibrigita al estonteco, kiu, eble prave, ne trankviligas kaj skizas scenarojn de timo kaj malfeliĉo, oni povus, konklude, lanĉi provokon kiu formiĝas el la antikva mondo, provante relegi la streĉiĝojn de la nuntempa mondo—almenaŭ momente—el alia perspektivo, por vidi ĉu iuj neatenditaj sugestoj povas doni panerojn de kontribuo por reakiro de nova bonfarto. La mediteranea baseno, fandujo de komuna orient-okcidenta vizio, montris, en la plej antikvaj tempoj (eble ankaŭ ĝuste en funkcio de signifa situacio de mult- kaj plurlingveco, akvo al la muelilo de la graveco de la lingva fenomeno), toleremon kiu en la okuloj de la modernuloj povus aperi nekutima. En ia antaŭtempa ‘fandujo’ de tutmondiĝo, kiel ni hodiaŭ ankoraŭ parte nur sukcesas esperi (por ne diri: revii), la antikva mondo, antaŭ ol barojn, ellaboris reprezentaĵojn de grandaj makro-unuoj, komencante ĝuste de la koncepto de Eŭrazio”.

¹⁷ Cetere, eble indas substreki, kiel la nomo ‘eŭro’ naskiĝis el la ideo de esperantisto, la belgo Germain Pirlot. La 4-an de aŭgusto 1995, li sendis leteron al Jacques Santer, proponante por la komuna valuto—kiu la 1-an de januaro 2002 eniros en la monujojn de la civitanoj de dek du eŭropaj regnoj—tiun ĉi nomadon, kiu estos oficiale adoptita de la Eŭropa Konsilio en Madrido la 16-an de decembro 1995. Por la kunteksto de la serĉado de “internacia valuto” en kiu la eŭroprojekto trovis siajn radikojn kaj limfon, la Aŭtoro de ĉi tiu kontribuajo skribis en Astori (2017c; 2019c).

¹⁸ La temo poste estis evoluigita en Astori (2020c).

¹⁹ [En mondo stabila, la diferencoj, kiel la similecoj, ne estas hazardaj, aperantaj en difinitaj momentoj de la historio: ili estas eternaj, kaj antaŭviditaj ekde la mondkreo. Sed malantaŭ tiu ĉi intenca diverseco restas iu origina, fundamenta frateco (...): la ideo de universala homa komunumo].

de la diverseco estas, malgraŭ la biologia timo de la novo, la ĉefa fonto de kresko kaj riĉiĝo de la memo, kaj individue kaj kiel komunumo.

Por montri la profetan vizion de Zamenhof ni finas la rezonlinion per fragmento de la teologo Hans Küng, intence anticipita en la moto komence de tiu ĉi kontribuaĵo. Al la leganto ni taskas serĉi analogiojn kaj konsonancojn.

Neniu hodiaŭ povus ankoraŭ serioze kontesti la fakton, ke mond-epoko, karakterizata pli ol ajna antaŭa epoko per mondnivelaj politiko, teknologio, ekonomio kaj civilizacio, bezonas mondan etikon. Tio estas, *baza konsento* [diklitere en la originalo, red] pri devigaj valoroj, neŝanĝeblaj kaj fundamentaj kriterioj kaj persona kondutado. Sen baza konsento en etiko ĉiu komunumo estas pli aŭ malpli frue minacata de kaoso aŭ de diktaturo. Ne ekzistas pli bona monda ordo sen tutmonda etiko. Per tutmonda etiko do oni celas nek mondan ideologion nek unuecan mondreligion senkonsidere de ĉiuj ekzistantaj religioj nek eĉ miksaĵon de ĉiuj religioj. [...] Tutmonda etiko eĉ ne intencas anstataŭigi la altan etikon de la unuopaj religioj per etika minimalismo. [...] Tutmonda etiko celas reliefigi tion, kio jam estas komuna al la religioj de la mondo, malgraŭ ĉiuj diverĝoj, kaj ĝuste koncerne homan konduton, valorojn kaj fundamentajn moralajn kredojn. Alivorte, la monda etiko ne reduktas religiojn al etika minimumismo, sed reliefigas la *minimumon de tio, kio jam nun estas komuna al mondreligioj rilate etikon*. Ĝi ne estas direktita kontraŭ iu ajn, sed invitas ĉiujn, kredantojn kaj nekredantojn, alproprigi tiun ĉi etikon kaj agi konforme al ĝi.²⁰

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²⁰ Konkludo de la “Antaŭparolo” en Küng 1995, sekve de la renkontiĝo de la Konsilio de la Parlamento de Mondaj Religioj en Ĉikago en 1993.

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Interlingvistiko retrospektive kaj prospektive

Panoramo pri la originala kontribuo de Fabrizio Pennacchietti al la disciplino

Federico Gobbo

Interlinguistics is one of the oldest branches of Linguistics; nonetheless, its definition and area of application struggles to be accepted by the academe, since its beginning, because it breaks a seldom admitted taboo of linguists, i.e. the fact that even if the capability of languages is natural in the sense that human beings are biologically programmed to learn languages, the languages they are learning are defined by the societies they happen to live in. Therefore, ultimately, all human languages should not be defined as ‘natural’ but as ‘ethnic’, ‘national’, in case they are consciously planned – in the sense of language planning – by ethnic or national groups, or ‘ethnic’, ‘international’, or other adjectives, if defined and shaped by communities of practice that are not identifiable with an ethnic or national group, such as, for example, the Esperantists. This contribution illustrates the consequences of this epistemological and ethical standpoint, elicited from the vast rather often neglected literature in interlinguistics that Fabrizio Pennacchietti published in his long and fruitful academic career.

Keywords: interlinguistics, Esperanto studies, Esperantology, language typology.

1. La pudingo de la pruvo¹

En sia enkonduko al la fundamenta volumo pri interlingvistiko redaktita de Schubert (1989), André Martinet, kiu kunlaboris kun IALA dum la planado de la prototipoj de la lasta serioza rivalo de Esperanto iam ajn proponita, t.e. *Interlingua*, retrospektive al sia periodo kiel direktoro de IALA malfermas sian pripensadon titoligita ‘La pruvo de la pudingo’ tiel:

¹ Ĉi tiu fakartikolo baziĝas ĉefe sur la ĵus publikigita artikolo *Ses difinoj serĉantaj fakon* (Gobbo 2023b), kaj prezentita en la angla kadre de la simpozio *Language planning and planned languages* en la Esperantomuzeo de Vieno, la 29an de oktobro 2019, kaj en la itala sub la titolo *Sei definizioni in cerca di una disciplina* ĉe la Moŝta Kolegio Borromeo de Pavio, la 2an de aprilo 2020. Itala versio de la kontribuo aperis sub la titolo *L'interlinguistica alle soglie degli anni Venti del Duemila* (vidu Gobbo 2019).

Tamen, verkante la artikolon mi decidis elesplori la kontribuaron de Fabrizio pli esplicite. Ties aldono al la difino kaj ellaboro de interlingvistiko estas bedaŭrinde ofte neglektata, eĉ fare de fakuloj, kun la rimarkinda escepto de Davide Astori. Ĉiuj citaĵoj en lingvoj alia ol Esperanto aperas piednote en la originala versio.

Ĝis antaŭ ne multe, prezenti artefaritan lingvon kiel artefaritan estintus la plej malfeliĉa afero kiun oni povus diri pri ĝi. La inventintoj kaj subtenantoj de planlingvoj, ekde Volapuko, akurate evitis substreki tiun econ kaj male evidentigis la internacian kaj helpan karakteron de siaj produktoj. [...] Tial interlingvistoj, t.e., tiuj kiuj engaĝiĝas en la kreado kaj disvastigo de planlingvoj, evitis la terminon artefarita, havante ankoraŭ la tendencon sin konformi pli al la internaciaj kutimoj ol la esenca originaleco. Oni do adoptu kaj eltenu la mallongan kaj tujpretan terminon planlingvoj, eĉ se harfendistoj povus argumenti, ke tia termino povintus aplikiĝi al tiaj naciaj lingvoj kiuj ricevis iuforme planadon.²

En la jaro 1989 la Berlina muro falis, kaj interlingvistiko, estante duonrekonita kaj okcidente kaj oriente de la tielnomata Fera Kurteno, estis devigita transformi sin alian fojon. Pli ol tuberon en la afero—tiel mi adaptas la tipe anglan esprimon ‘la pruvo de la pudingo’—kion Martinet reale ofertis laŭ mi estis tute male pudingo de la pruvo. Ekstermetafore, interlingvistoj ne sukcesis trovi ampleksan interkonsenton pri la kerno kaj la periferio de sia disciplino post preskaŭ 70 jaroj de ekzisto, ekde la invento de la franca vorto *interlinguistique* fare de Meymans (1911), kies difino estis pli malpli tradukita laŭvorte fare de Jespersen dudek jaroj poste (1931) sen ĉia ajn evoluo, kvazaŭ la Ido-skismo kaj la unua mondmilito pasintus vane en la mondo. Eĉ la dua mondmilito ne malfermis la okulojn al la fakuloj pri interlingvistiko, kiuj ne sukcesis aktualigi interlingvistikon, je la punkto ke la sama Martinet en 1946 lamentis, ke:

La areo de la interlingvistika kreado estas, laŭ multaj homoj, ejo en kiu la senbrida fantazio de senrespondecaj amatoroj laŭnecese restas libere kuranta.³

Klare, la origina propono de Meysmans (1911) unue kaj ĉefe Jespersen (1931) havi interlingvistikon kiel tute memstaran fakon tute fiaskis post la sinko de *Interlingua*, kiel agnoskite fare de Martinet (1989) en sia enkondukaj vortoj menciitaj malferme de ĉi tiu fakartikolo. Intertempe, la gepatra disciplino, lingvistiko, profunde transformiĝis, aparte pro la influo de Noam Chomsky (Harris 2021), kaj

² Originalo en la angla: “Not so very long ago, presenting a language as artificial would have been the worst possible thing you could have said about it. The inventors and promoters of planned languages, from Volapük onward, carefully avoided that epithet and stressed the international and auxiliary character of their products. [...] Yet interlinguists, i.e., those who are involved in the creation and diffusion of planned languages, avoid the term artificial, being still more inclined to stress their conformity to international habits and standards than their intrinsic originality. Let us resort then to the short and handy term planned languages, although quibblers might argue that it could also apply to such national languages as have been submitted to some sort of planning” (Martinet 1989: 3).

³ Originalo en la franca: “le domaine de la création interlinguistique reste pour beaucoup celui où la fantaisie débridée d’amateurs irresponsable se donne nécessairement libre cours” (en Blanke 2018: 3).

konsekvence la aplikaj partoj de lingvistiko same devigatis adaptiĝi al la nova situacio. Unu el ili estis la nova branĉo *language planning*, lingvoplanado, laŭ la nova vortigo de la Einar Haugen, priskribante la socilingvistikan situacion de la moderna norvega, kiu estas:

La agado pretigi normigan ortografion, gramatikon, kaj vortaron por la orientiĝo de verkistoj kaj parolantoj apartenantaj al nehomogena komunumo.⁴

Sufiĉe ironie, la pioniroj de lingvoplanado ne konsideris adekvate la historion de interlingvistiko antaŭ la dua mondmilito, ĉar evidente la difino de lingvoplanado perfekte taŭgus por Volapuko, Esperanto, Ido kaj la aliaj rivaloj: la lingvoplananto devas pretigi verke la norman varion de lingvo, inkluzive de normiga gramatiko, vortar(et)o kaj ekzemplaj tekstoj, por faruta ne-homogena lingvokomunumo, samkiel en la okazo de naciaj lingvoj kiel la norvega aŭ minoritataj lingvoj kiel la frisa, kun la grava diferenco, ke, en la ĉi-lastaj okazoj la lingvokomunumo jam ekzistas aŭ ekzistis (ekzemple kiam oni pritraktis la kornovalan aŭ siatempe la hebrean; en ĉi tiuj situacio oni parolas pli prudente pri revigligo, kiel ekzemple Zuckermann 2020). Estas escepto nur Valter Tauli (1968), kiu enkadrigis interlingvistikon kiel la internacian nivelon de lingvoplanado, super la nacian (ekzemple la norvegan, la hebrean) kaj la regionan (ekzemple la frisan, la kornovalan):

Interlingvistiko povas esti difinita kiel scienco pri planado de IL [Internacia Lingvo], aŭ, pli precize, la branĉo de la TLP [Teorio pri Lingvo-Planado] kiu esploras la principojn, metodojn kaj taktikojn plani IL. Per IL mi celas universalan lingvon [tiele!] uzendan kiel komunikilon fare de individuoj apartenantaj al malsamaj lingvokomunumoj.⁵

Bedaŭrinde la alvoko de Tauli restis por la plejmulto voĉo krianta en la dezerto. Parte, la kialo estas en la fortune de lingvoplanado kiel branĉo de aplika lingvistiko, kiu ju pli pasis la tempo des pli ĝi estis alproksimigita al lingvopolitiko, ĝis la punkto, ke oni komencis paroli pri lingvopolitiko kaj -planado (LPP) kiel unuigita branĉo; do, dum lingvoplanado restis en la koro de la disciplino, la atento iris pli al la politikaj aspektoj ol al specifa lingvoingeneria agado por adapti la materialon de la lingvo al la

⁴ Originalo en la angla: “the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community” (Haugen 1959: 8).

⁵ Originalo en la angla: “Interlinguistics can be defined as the science of IL [International Language] planning, or more precisely, the branch of TLP [Theory of Language Planning] which investigates the principles, methods and tactics [sic!] of IL planning. By IL is meant a universal language to be used as a means of communication by individuals belonging to different language communities” (Tauli 1968).

komunumoj (Gobbo 2023a). Do, la marĝeniĝo de lingvoplanado en la dufaca LPP kaŭzis la marĝeniĝon de interlingvistiko. Fakte, male al la malfrua alvoko de Detlev Blanke (2003), laŭ kiu “lingvopolitikaj aspektoj estas gravaj elementoj de moderna interlingvistiko” kvazaŭ interlingvistiko estus la ombrela fako, veras, ke interlingvistiko estas nur apendico de lingvoplanado. La sama Tauli (1968) verkis apartan ĉapitron pri tiu rilato kiu estas pli mallonga kaj teoria ol konkreta, kaj evidente estas interlingvistiko kiu partas lingvoplanadon, ne inverse. Barandovská-Frank (1995) raportas diversajn interpretojn de la disciplino, kiuj finfine ne havis ajnan influon en la lastaj 20-30 jaroj, ĉar ili ne formis skolon. Szerdahelyi (1979) alvokis fakulojn por “apartigi novan disciplinon, kies tasko estu ĝuste la solvado de la interlingva problemoj.” Tio eĥas la perspektivon de W. J. Manders (1950), kiu komparis strukture Esperanton kaj ĉefaj rivaloj. Post la falo de la Berlina muro, nur unuiĝinta Germanio vere restis la bastionon de interlingvistiko ĉar ekzistis—kaj ekzistas—GIL, *Gesellschaft für Interlinguistik*, la asocio por interlingvistiko, laŭ kiu interlingvistiko estas la fako pri “internacia parola komunikado, laŭ la aspektoj politika, lingvistika, ekonomika, kultura, kaj aliaj; kerna punkto de la laboro estas fakte la strukturo kaj funkciado de planlingvoj (ekz. Esperanto).”⁶

2. La itala skolo de interlingvistiko ekde Bausani al Pennacchietti

En sia fundamenta libreto pri la intersekcio inter lingvo kaj inventado, publikigita unue en la germana (1970) kaj poste en la itala (1974), Alessandro Bausani argumentas, ke lingvistoj ne okupiĝas ĉefe pri lingvaj signoj sed pri iposignoj (t.e. subsignoj), alivorte nur funkciaj elementoj de la signoj. Plenaj signoj estas agosignoj, kiel ekzemple ‘jes’, ‘ne,’ ‘dankon’, kiujn lingvistoj pritraktas malvolonte. Pro tio, la psikologiaj, magiaj, kaj religiaj uzoj de la lingvo, normale ne eniras la lingvistikan esploradon, kaj plani lingvon el nenio estas rompo de tabuo kiu finfine estas la kaŭzo de la marĝeniĝo de interlingvistiko. Jen la tubero en la afero, laŭ Bausani: planlingvoj hontas pri sia origino, kvazaŭ ĝi estu peka, kaj streĉe klopodas akceptigi sin fare de la aliaj lingvoj kaŝante sin malantaŭ ŝlosilaj vortigoj kiel ‘internacia helplingva komunikado’, ‘apriora kaj aposteriora’, k.a.

Konsekvence, la nura maniero savi interlingvistikon estas inversigi la perspektivon: estu la lingvoinventado la kerno de la disciplino, senrigarde al la funkcio kaj celo kiuj estas en la menso de la lingvoinventinto. Kontraste al la germana skolo, do, kaj la multaj fakuloj de ĝi influataj, Bausani kaj la

⁶ El la retejo web.interlinguistik-gil.de, laste kontrolita la 13an de julio 2023: “Gegestand der Interlinguistik ist die internationale sprachliche Kommunikation. Die Gesellschaft für Interlinguistik e. V. (GIL) untersucht diese unter politischen, linguistischen, ökonomischen, kulturellen u. a. Aspekten. Schwerpunkt ihrer Arbeit sind dabei die Struktur und Funktion von Plansprachen (wie z. B. Esperanto).”

malgranda—iom izolata, oni koncedu tion—itala skolo baziĝas je la esplorado de la strukturo de la lingvo ne kiel rezulto sed kiel procezo. En la vortoj de Bausani:

necece tuj alvenas la bezonon skizi unue eblan teorion tipologion de lingva inventado [...] Alivorte, eblas inventi lingvojn ĉefe aŭ nur esprimivajn, cele al poezio aŭ ezoterajoj, ofte malregulaj, malfacilaj, ‘originalaj’, aŭ lingvojn cele al pli ampleksa internacia interkompreno (Esperanto kaj la samspecaj).⁷

Fabrizio Pennacchietti havis, inter la aliaj, Alessandro Bausani kiel unu el siaj mentoroj, kaj lia influo sur sia aliro al interlingvistiko estas tute klara. Alivorte, la laboro pri interlingvistiko komenciĝis ekde la aliro de Bausani por disvolviĝi en originala maniero, sen devojiĝi de la sulko de la menciita mentoro. En sia mallonga sed malprave neglektata fakartikolo pri interlingvistiko en la itala akademio, Pennacchietti (2011), post la devigata omaĝo al la plej citita difino de Jespersen (1931), inversigas la direkton de la disciplino menciante, ke kaj Graziadio Isaia Ascoli kaj Alessandro Bausani inventis adoleske esprimivajn lingvojn ludcele uzindajn nur inter geamikaj rondoj. Ili estas respektive la Askola kaj la Markuska; ĉi-lastata evidente estas kreitaĵo de Bausani (pri la Markuska, vidu Gobbo 1998). Jen la du ĉefaj partoj de la prezento de interlingvistiko laŭ Pennacchietti:

En interlingvistiko distingiĝas du aliroj: (a) unu historia kaj retrospektiva, cela al priskribo, klasifikado kaj komparado de la planlingvaj projektoj (gestolingvoj, pazigrafioj, pazilalioj, aprioraj kaj aposterioraj lingvoj), ekde Komenio, Wilkins, Kartezio kaj Leibniz, tra Graziadio Isaia Ascoli kaj Giuseppe Peano ĝis Orwell kaj la modernaj hom-maŝinaj kodolingvoj, kaj (b) la alia teoria kaj perspektiva, cele al trovi la plej efikan kaj racian solvon al la problemo de la internacia lingva komunikado, alternative al la tielnomata ‘lingvara darvinismo’. [...] Ekster la esperantista komunumo la termino ‘lingvoplanado’ estas pli ofte uzata refere al la normigoj de tielnomataj ‘naturaj’ lingvoj, t.e. etnaj aŭ historiaj: konata estas la fakto, ke ĉiuj ‘naturaj lingvoj’, aparte se unue estas ankaŭ uzataj konsiste skribe kaj verke kaj due se ili oficialiĝas en iu ŝtato, enhavas diversnivele elementojn kiujn oni povas nomi ‘artefaritaj’, tiom en la elekto de la skribsistemo, kiom en la ortografio, leksiko, kaj gramatikaj normoj.⁸

⁷ Originalo en la itala: “si impone così fin dal principio la necessità di schizzare preliminarmente una possibile tipologia teorica dell’inventività linguistica [...] Potrebbero cioè inventarsi lingue puramente o soprattutto espressive, a scopi poetici ed esoterici, spesso irregolari, difficili, ‘originali’ [...] oppure lingue a scopi di più ampia intercomprensione internazionale (l’esperanto e le sue congeneri)” (Bausani 1974: 12-13).

⁸ Originalo en la itala: “Nell’interlinguistica si distinguono due indirizzi: (a) uno storico e retrospettivo, mirante alla descrizione, alla classificazione e allo studio comparativo dei progetti di lingue pianificate (lingue gestuali, pasigrafie, pasilalie, lingue ‘a priori’ e lingue ‘a posteriori’), a partire da Komensky (Comenius), Wilkins, Cartesio e Leibniz, passando da Graziadio

La unua distingo ene de interlingvistiko inter retrospektiva kaj perspektiva aliro laŭ la kono de la aŭtoro—eble surprize al la leganto—estas tamen tute originala kaj pensoveka. La retrospektiva aliro estas ellaboro farenda per “benediktana diligento”, por uzi esprimon de la ĉefa fakulo pri Volapuko de la pasinta jarcento, Reinhard Haupenthal. Ofte aperas nekonata eta publikaĵo de aŭtoro de planlingvo kiu mem pagis la kostojn de publikigo de la projekto sen ricevi la atenton de la publiko siatempe, kaj do estante forgesita dum jardekoj. Sendube publikigi kritikajn eldonojn aŭ analizojn de tiuj forgesitaĵoj estas fonto de intereso al historiistoj de la ideoj kaj aparte de la scienco. Bona ekzemplo estas la anglalingva volumo de Michael Gordin (2015) pri la scienca babelo, t.e. la elekto de la lingvo por publikigi originalajn sciencajn rezultojn.

Trarigardante la liston de liaj publikaĵoj, ŝajnas al mi, ke Pennacchietti—kies ĉefa esplorintereso estis en la kampo de orientistiko ĝenerale kaj aparte semidistiko, oni koncedu tion sen ajna dubo—pli interesiĝas al la perspektiva aliro. En la citaĵo esperantigita supre oni povas inkluzivi la lingvopolitikan parton kiu koncernas planlingvojn, aparte Esperanton.⁹ Certe la katedro en la Universitato de Torino estis la pinto de la ĉeesto de interlingvistiko kaj esperantologio en la itala akademia kunteksto, almenaŭ en la lasta jardeko de la pasinta jarcento kaj la unua jardeko de la nuntempa jarcento.¹⁰ Tamen, la laboro de Pennacchietti kadre de interlingvistiko ne estis nur formala aŭ instrucela. La difino de Pennacchietti pri interlingvistiko resumas tiun de Bausani (1974: 4):

Isaia Ascoli e Giuseppe Peano fino a Jespersen, Orwell e i moderni linguaggi uomo-macchina, e (b) un indirizzo teorico e prospettivo mirante alla soluzione più efficace e razionale possibile del problema della comunicazione linguistica internazionale, in alternativa al cosiddetto “darwinismo linguistico”. [...] Al di fuori della comunità esperantista il termine ‘pianificazione linguistica’ fa più spesso riferimento alle misure normative approntate nei confronti di una lingua cosiddetta ‘naturale’, ossia etnica o storica: è noto infatti che tutte le lingue ‘naturali’, soprattutto se sono in primo luogo lingue scritte e se rappresentano la lingua ufficiale di uno Stato, contengono in diversa misura elementi che potremmo definire ‘artificiali’, e ciò tanto nella scelta del sistema di scrittura, quanto riguardo all’ortografia, al lessico e alle norme grammaticali. Nel caso delle grammatiche regolarizzate la linea di demarcazione tra lingue ‘naturali’ e lingue ‘pianificate’ come l’esperanto, che a torto viene definito ‘artificiale’, risulta spesso assai sottile. Avendo appreso l’esperanto quand’ero quattordicenne, posso per certi versi definirmi bilingue. Dopo quattordici anni d’insegnamento universitario di *Interlinguistica*, mi piace definire tale disciplina come “la scienza dell’intervento cosciente dell’uomo sul linguaggio” (Pennacchietti 2011: 17-18).

⁹ Multaj Esperanto-parolantoj iom surface, se mi rajtas mallonge diri anekdote, konsideras interlingvistikon Troja ĉevalo por enkonduki Esperanton en akademian rondon kaj tiamaniere altigi ĝian prestiĝon. Tio nenie ajn favoris interlingvistikon akademie kaj nek Pennacchietti nek aliaj seriozaj fakuloj iam ajn kunpartigas tian aliron, laŭ la scipovo de la aŭtoro.

¹⁰ La posteulo de Fabrizio Pennacchietti estis, dum iom da jaroj, la siatempe mentorito Federico Gobbo, kiu instruis en la Universitato de Torino laŭkontrakte antaŭ ol iĝi speciala profesoro pri Interlingvistiko kaj Esperanto en la Universitato de Amsterdamo. Dum iom da jaroj li instruis en ambaŭ universitatoj. La akademian jaron de la kovima monda krizo la katedro iniciita de Fabrizio Pennacchietto ĉesis ekzisti.

La nura novaĵo [de la volumo] konsistas en tio ke ĝi estas propono – miascie la unua – krei historion kaj tipologion ĝeneralajn de la *nenatura lingvado*. [...] Ekzistas, miaopinie, eĉ en siaj diversaj fenomenologiaj aspektoj, unueco en la fenomeno de artefara lingva kreado, unueco kiu permesas, ke oni studu per la sama rigardo kaj la aŭtoron de la mistera islama balaibalana, kaj la inventinton de la lingvo de primitiva sekreta societo kiel la sigia de la dogonoj, kaj la adoleskanton kiu inventas sian lingvon, kaj la frenezulon kiu lingvadas unuavide sence, kaj pastron Schleyer, iniciatoron de Volapuko, kaj doktoron Zamenhof kaj aliajn el iliaj kolegoj.¹¹

Kohere al tio, kaj danke al sia vasta konaro pri semidaj lingvoj, Pennacchietti komencis tre frue kompari la prepoziciajn sistemojn de hindeŭropaj kaj semidaj lingvoj; fakte prepozicio lingvotipologie estas rimarkinda lingva objekto, kiel jam en Pennacchietti (1976: 137):

Esperanto, samkiel relative malmultaj lingvoj, pleje apartenantaj al la hindoeŭropa kaj hamidosemida lingvogrupoj, posedas la gramatikan kategorion de prepozicio.

Prepozicioj iĝis pli kaj pli la trakonilo por kompari strukture lingvojn tipologie. Kiel en la bestaj kaj homaj korpoj estas la artikoj kiuj donas la strukturon kaj la limojn de la moveblecoj, tiel en “relative malmultaj” lingvoj estas la prepozicioj kiuj donas la strukturon kaj la limojn de la variecoj. Prepozicioj laŭ Pennacchietti ludas la rolon kiun ludis siatempe la baza vortordo (subjekto, verbo, objekto) por Greenberg—nehazarde lingvisto kaj antropologo specialigita en afrikaj lingvoj—kiam li revoluciis lingvotipologion en 1966.

La teoria kadro tiam estis la ‘korelacia gramatiko’, kiu estis ege nova (vidu Blake 1990 por definitiva priskribo); ĝia fundamenta nocio estas la asimetrio inter du lingvaj objektoj, nocio kiu havas ankaŭ kognan bazon (Talmy 2000), kaj prepozicioj agas kiel indikiloj de tiu ĉi asimetrio. En la vortoj de Pennacchietti (1976: 140):

Inter la du termoj de korelacio oni distingas komencan (K) termon kaj finan (F) termon. Ekzemple, la segmenton *soifo je paco* oni povas konsideri kiel la lingvan projekcion de semantika koncepta korelacio, kie la ideo de la determinato soifo rolas kiel K-termo kaj la

¹¹ Originalo en la itala: “La sua unica novità [consiste nell’essere un tentativo – a mia conoscenza il primo – di fare una storia e una tipologia generali del verbigerare non naturale. [...] Esiste, a mio parere, pur nei diversi aspetti fenomenologici, una unità nel fenomeno del creare linguistico artificiale, che permette di studiare sotto lo stesso punto di vista sia l’autore del misterioso balaibalan musulmano, sia l’inventore della lingua di una società segreta primitiva come il sigi dei Dogon, sia l’adolescente che inventa la sua lingua, sia il folle che verbigera in modo apparentemente senza senso, sia mons. Schleyer inventore del volapük, sia il dottor Zamenhof e altri loro colleghi” (Bausani 1974: 4).

ideo de la komplemento paco rolas kiel F-termo. Memkompreneble la prepozicio ja funkcias kiel korelaciindikilo.

Lastanalize, la interlingvistika aliro de Pennacchietti kuraĝis kompari planlingvojn kiel Esperanton aŭ la Markuskan de la adoleskanto Bausani al “tiel-nomataj ‘naturaj’ lingvoj” sen ajna problemo aŭ honto. Male la aliroj de multaj aliaj interlingvistoj, kies la nura komparo estas politika-socia, ĉefe komparis Esperanton kontraste al la angla en la tiel-nomata lingvafranka funkcio (ekz. Gobbo and Maráč 2021; Fiedler and Brosch 2018). Pro tio, gravas agnoski la originalecon en la aliro al interlingvistiko fare de Fabrizio, aliro kiu meritas pli kaj pli da atento kaj pluesploron. Ni nun turnu nian atenton al la plej grava subbranĉo de interlingvistiko.

3. La aliro al esperantologio de Pennacchietti

Esperantologio estas la nura solida branĉo de interlingvistiko, simple ĉar Esperanto estas la socilingvistike plej grava planlingvo, alivorte la planlingvo plej uzata, kvante kaj kvalite. Pro tio Esperanto povas esti analizata interalie sub la lupeo de lingvotipologio.¹² Grava publikaĵo tiurilate estas Pennacchietti 1981, en kiu la aŭtoro argumentas, ke laŭ la vidpunkto de strukturo la lingvoinventinto de Esperanto, Ludoviko L. Zamenhof, planis lingvoprojekton kiu montras internan koherecon,

ne [...] koktelo de diverslingvaj vortoj kaj esprimoj kaprice kombinitaj sur arbitra kanvaso, nek asepsa eksterpolaĵo de eŭropaj lingvoj, nek fine simpla produkto de imito kaj kompromiso [...] ĝi kapablas harmoniigi la postulojn de struktura simpleco, necesajn por vasta internacia uzo, kun la konservado de preciza tipologia stampo, nome tiu de la ĝermanaj kaj slavaj lingvoj de centra Eŭropo (Pennacchietti 1982: 92, 95).

Tamen, malgraŭ la sendubebla kultura eŭropeca fono de Esperanto, la influo de la semidaj lingvoj donas kelkajn nehindeŭropajn trajtojn al la internacia lingvo:

Kun ILO [Internacia Lingvo, t.e. Esperanto] la semidaj lingvoj havas plue la komunan trajton, akordigi la adjektivon kun la koncerna substantivo, kaj la araba esprimas krome la kategorion de “akuzativo” de la nedifinitaj substantivoj kaj adjektivoj ne havantaj dualan finaĵon per la monemo *-an*, ku parte koincidas kun la akuzativ-monemo de Esperanto. Alia semida paralelo kun ILO estas la ekzisto de unuforma difina artikolo kaj la foresto de

¹² Propracele oni limiĝas ĉi tie nur al la kontribuo fare de Pennacchietti kadre de la tipologia klasifikado de Esperanto, alikaze la rezonlinio portus onin tre for.

nedifina artikolo en la hebrea kaj la araba. Krom tio, ĉiam kiam evidentiĝas proksimuma paralelaĵo inter semida lingvo kaj Esperanto, tia paralelaĵo troviĝas ankaŭ en la hindeŭropaj lingvoj konataj de la Aŭtoro de ILo, dank' al la tipologia simileco inter la du lingvofamilioj, la semida kaj la hindeŭropa (Pennacchietti 1982: 94).

Notindas la metodologia aliro de Pennacchietti al la interlingvistika analizo de Esperanto (kaj de aliaj planlingvoj). Male al la etnaj aŭ historiaj lingvoj, kiam oni analizas la strukturon de aposteriora planlingvo, aparte se ĝi estas skemisma, oni devas komenci la analizon ekde la lingva repertuaro de la lingvoinventinto, kun aparta atento al ties ĉefaj lingvoj. L. L. Zamenhof parolis denaske la jidan kaj rusan, kaj do tipologiaj similaĵoj kun tiuj du lingvoj estas unuagradaj, ĉu konsciaj ĉu nekonsciaj, kompare al la similaĵoj kun lingvoj tute fremdaj al li, ekzemple la ĉina aŭ la indonezia, kiuj estas duagradaj. Flanke notite, la komparo inter Esperanto kaj ĝiaj historie plej gravaj rivaloj, t.e. Ido, Occidental/Interlingue, Novial, IALA Interlingua, montras klare, ke la direkto de interlingvistiko estis forpuŝi ĉiujn nehindeŭropajn trajtojn, kaj krome eĉ la slavajn, por alproksimi sin pli kaj pli al latinida prototipo, laŭ la vidpunkto de tipologio. Se la atako al Esperanto pri ĝia troa eŭropeco estas unu el la malmultaj kiuj havas iun bazon, la rivaloj aperas, fronte al la rigardo de nuntempuloj, eĉ pli eksmodaj. Alia kontribuo de Pennacchietti en la kampo de esperantologio estas rilata al lingvoinstruado en la lernejoj, ekzemple 1988. Kiel Esperanto utilas al lernado de la aliaj lingvoj? La respondo de la fakulo klaras: en bazlernejoj, la lernantoj nature rezonas analogie en la lernado de la lingvoj, kaj Esperanto respektas la analogion multe pli ol etnaj aŭ historiaj lingvoj. Ekzemple, la adjektivo de 'akvo' en Esperanto formiĝas per simpla ŝanĝo de la lasta vokalo, t.e. 'akva', ekzemple en la esprimo 'akva baseno' en la itala estas *bacino idrico*, kiu interalie samsonas kiel 'kiseto', vorto multe pli familiara al infanoj. Tiun koncepton Pennacchietti nomis, jam dum siaj lecionoj pri interlingvistiko en la 1990aj jaroj, 'lingva higieno' (persona observado; bedaŭrinde neniam publikigita). Esperanto reprezentas atingeblan sukceson en la lernado de aliaj lingvoj bazlerneje, sen lasi malantaŭe lernejojn kiuj ordinare ne kutimas sukcesi lerneje.

Laste sed ne balaste, Pennacchietti ĉiam prezentis Esperanton ne nur sub la vidpunkto de interna lingvistiko, t.e. laŭ ĝia planado, strukturo, kaj funkciado (fonologie, morfosintakse, leksike) sed ankaŭ kiel kulturlingvo. La origina fono de la projekto de Zamenhof estis juda, sed Esperanto iĝis nejudaj projekto. Pri la unua aspekto, menciindas lia libreto pri la komparo inter Zamenhof kaj Ben-Yehuda, la ĉefa arĥitekto de la novhebrea, publikigita origine en 1987. En la sama jaro, li donis atenton al la komparo inter Esperanto kaj minoritataj lingvoj; fakte Esperanto estas lingvo de minoritato sed ne minoritata lingvo, kaj ideologie ĝi povas ludi la rolon de konsciigilo kaj helpilo, ĉar parole Esperanto estas ĉiam, vole-nevole, elekto kun socipolitika aspekto (Pennacchietti 1987a).

4. Finaj rimarkoj

Malgraŭ la fakto, ke interlingvistiko kaj esperantologio ĉiam estis flanka esplorintereso kompare al orientistiko kaj semida filologio, la kontribuaro de Fabrizio Pennacchietti montras klarajn signojn de originaleco, en la sulko de la itala skolo iniciatita de Alessandro Bausani. La aŭtoro esperas, ke ĉi tiu artikolo kontribuos al ĝia videbligo kaj valorigo per pluaj studoj kaj esploroj en la disciplino.

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Ĉu tipologiaj ŝanĝoj en Esperanto?

Emanuele Miola

In this paper, typological changes that took place, or are taking place, in Esperanto are discussed for the first time. Two varieties, namely, the one used by Esperanto's planner Ludwik Lejzer Zamenhof, and the other one used in modern and contemporary Esperantist magazines, are put in comparison. Three different case studies are discussed: the order of adjective and noun in the noun phrase; the order of verb and manner adverbs in the verb phrase; the usage of pre-nominal participial relative clauses vs the usage of the (post-nominal) relative pronoun strategy. The analysis is based on corpus-driven data, drawn from the existing literature on the topic and from corpus queries carried out by the author. Results show evidence of some changes in the typological shape of Esperanto. The reason behind these changes is also investigated; most notably, influences of English and speakers' mother tongues, as well as natural typological drift, cannot be called into question, as far as syntactic changes are concerned. On the other hand, it seems reasonable to think that changes involving morphology – at least to some extent – are due to the tendency of Esperanto speakers to reduce the number of words and of morphemes in their sentences, fully exploiting the agglutinative morphology of the language.

Keywords: Esperanto, typology, typological change.

1. Enkonduko¹

Ekde la 1980aj jaroj, tre vigla debato leviĝis inter akademiuloj kaj esperantistoj pri la karakterizaĵoj de Esperanto, speciale observitaj el tipologia perspektivo. Tiaj verkoj kutime celas respondi la klasikan demandon ĉu Esperanto povas esti konsiderata simila (aŭ pli simila) al tiu aŭ alia aparta lingvo parolata en Okcidenta Eŭropo, Orienta Eŭropo, aŭ eĉ ekster Eŭropo, aŭ eble esti konsiderata 'neŭtrala kaj averaĝa lingvo'. Tamen, Esperanto, kiel ĉiu alia vivanta lingvo, estas 'en movado', t.e. novaj vortoj kaj konstruaĵoj (laŭ la senco de Goldberg 2003) estas kreitaj kaj uzataj de ĝia parolanta komunumo—

¹ Mi dankas al Federico Gobbo pro la diskuto de antaŭa versio de ĉi tiu kontribuado kaj pro liaj sugestoj, kaj pro lia provlegado.

kvankam ne ĉiam akceptitaj de ĉiuj parolantoj, kaj ĉefe fare de de la Akademio de Esperanto.² Plue, lingvaj ŝanĝoj povas esti observataj ankaŭ en la uzado de certaj konstruaĵoj, kiuj, en multaj okazoj, estas atestitaj ekde la unuaj tekstoj Zamenhofaj: tiaj ŝanĝoj kelkfoje povas konduki al malsama tipologia formo de la lingvo. En tiu ĉi artikolo mi celas mallonge preparoli kelkajn tipologiajn ŝanĝojn, kiuj verŝajne okazas en Esperanto, kaj trakti ilin lingvo-specife (t.e. en la ekonomio de Esperanto mem) kaj interlingve (t.e. konsiderante aliajn lingvojn, speciale tiujn, kun kiuj Esperanto estas en kontakto). Post Sekcio 2, kie la konarstato kaj iuj bazaj tipologiaj konceptoj estas priskribitaj, la dokumento prezentas kelkajn kaz esplorojn en Sekcio 3 kaj diskutas ilin en Sekcio 4 el tipologia perspektivo. Sekcio 4 ankaŭ enhavas kelkajn finajn rimarkojn.

2. Tipologio kaj Esperanto: superrigardo

Kiel tre bone konate, Esperanto estis planita de la oftalmologo kaj poligloto Ludoviko Lazaro Zamenhof por faciligi komunikadon inter homoj kun malsamaj gepatraj lingvoj. Zamenhof mem vivis en tre multlingva medio kaj povis paroli, aŭ almenaŭ havis iom da scio pri, la biblia hebrea, angla, franca, latina, la malnova greka, kaj la pola; krome, oni aldonu la rusan kaj la jidan, kiujn li lernis de siaj gepatroj (Korĵenkov 2011).

Esperanto estis lanĉita en 1887 kaj nuntempe estas konsiderata la sola plenalora planita lingvo (Blanke 2001). Ĝi estis konstruita por esti tiel facile lernebla kiel eble por ĉiuj homoj ĉirkaŭ la mondo. Tamen, konsentite la tiel-nomata *diversitas linguarum*, t.e. lingvardiverseco, kiu montras kiom diversaj estas lingvaj strukturoj, la demando pri facileco de lernado de Esperanto restas ĝis nun sen certa respondo (Koutny 2015). Krome, lingvardiverseco ne estas senlima se oni rigardas la strukturojn de homaj lingvoj. Ekde la unuaj verkoj pri tipologio, kiuj povas esti sekvitaj almenaŭ ĝis la unua duono de la 19-a jarcento (Graffi 2010) kaj estis elpensitaj en ‘moderna’ tipologia esploro fare de Greenberg (1963), la ĉefa ambicio estis trovi limojn kaj trajtojn validajn por ĉiuj lingvoj. Konsiderante la morfologian strukturon de vortoj, ekzemple, ĉiuj lingvoj povas esti klasifikitaj en unu el nur kvar malsamaj ‘tipoj’ nomataj izolaj (aŭ analitikaj), aglutinaj, fuziaj (aŭ fleksiaj) kaj polisintezaj (aŭ kunigaj). Krome, tipologiaj esploroj montras, ke, el la fonologia vidpunkto, ĉiuj lingvoj havas vokalojn kaj ĉiuj lingvoj havas konsonantojn. Asertoj kiel la lasta, kiu estas vera por ĉiuj lingvoj, estas nomataj absolutaj universalaj. Simila aserto estas la jena: se lingvo havas nazalajn vokalojn, ĝi havas buŝajn vokalojn;

² Vidu la decidojn kaj rekomendojn publikigitajn ĉe <https://www.akademio-de-esperanto.org/decidoj/index.html>; por skizo de daŭraj ŝanĝoj vidu Fiedler and Brosch (2022: 335-349).

en tiaj asertoj la unua trajto aŭtomate implicas la lastan, kaj pro tio tiaj deklaroj estas nomataj implicaj universalajoj. Je sintaksa nivelo, implica universalajo estas: se la preferata vortordo en lingvo estas Subjekto (S), Objekto (O), Verbo (V) kaj ne ekzistas alternativa vortordo, aŭ nur OSV kiel alternativo, tiam ĉiuj adverbaj modifantoj de la verbo antaŭas la verbon.³

Kiel jam menciite, lingvoj povas aparteni al diversaj tipoj (de kie deriviĝas la termino ‘tipologio’), rilate al la strukturaj trajtoj, kiujn ili montras. Interese, lingvoj, kiuj ne estas genealogie rilataj, povas esti tipologie identaj. Se oni konsideras la bazan vortordon de S, O kaj V, kaj la pozicion de la substantivo (N) rilate al siaj adjektivoj (Adj) kaj sia genitivo (G), la itala, la vjetnama kaj iuj bantuaj lingvoj apartenas al sama tipo, nome SVO, NAdj, NG; dum Latino (aŭ, por esti pli precize, la malnova latina) apartenas al alia tipo, SOV, NAdj, GN, kvankam ĝi estas la patrino de la itala, same kiel de la aliaj latinidaj lingvoj.

Malgraŭ la fakto, ke Esperanto estas planlingvo, ĝiaj trajtoj respektas ĉiujn universalajn kaj tial ĝi precize kondutas same, ankaŭ ĉi-rilate, al ajna natura, aŭ etna, lingvo. Unu el la celoj de la studoj dediĉitaj al la tipologio de Esperanto—krom priskribi ĝiajn strukturajn trajtojn—estis evidenti ties similecon al specifa lingvo aŭ lingvofamilio. Tio, refoje, revenas en la disputo pri la neŭtraleco de Esperanto, aŭ neekzisto de tio, pro ties troa ‘eŭropeco’, kiu evidentiĝas almenaŭ en la leksiko.⁴ Tamen, aliaj aspektoj de la lingvo ne konfirmas tiel altan nivelon de ‘eŭropeco’.

En en la sekvaj alineoj, mi skizos superrigardon de la tipologio de Esperanto, celante apartigi la lingvojn, kiuj laŭ ĉiu domajn-trajto povus aparteni al sama kategorio. Por profundiĝi en aliaj priskriboj de la tipologio de Esperanto, vidu Koutny (2009, 2015), Pereltsvaig (2017: 170-174) kaj referencoj tie.

Laŭ la vidpunkto de la fonotipologio, surbaze de fonostatistikaj pruvoj, Tambovtsev (2008: 29-32) asertas, ke Esperanto estas pli proksima al la malnova greka kaj al la latinidaj lingvoj (precipe la itala).⁵ Laŭ la morfologio, Esperanto estas ĉefe aglutina lingvo, ĉar ĉiu leksika signifo kaj koncepta aŭ gramatika kategorio estas ĝenerale esprimita per sia propra morfemo (t.e., la indekso de aglutineco de Esperanto proksimiĝas al 1). Plue, la tiel-nomata indekso de sintezeco (t.e., la averaĝa nombro de morfemoj entenitaj en vorto) estas ĉirkaŭ 2. Ekzemple, la Esperanta frazo *la vento movas la standardon* povas esti segmentita per la jenaj morfemoj:

³ La nuntempa tipologia esplorado traktas universalajn tendencojn kiuj elmontras superforte pli grandan ol hazardan oftecon prefere ol kiel regulojn sen kontraŭekzemploj. Ĉi tiu temo tamen ne povas esti elklarigita ĉi tie.

⁴ Latinidaj kaj ĝermanaj lingvoj provizas pli-malpli 80% de la Esperantaj vortoj kaj eĉ 70% de la kerna leksiko estas derivita de la latina (Gledhill 2000: 22). Tiu lasta valoro relative al Esperanto pli-malpli korespondas kun la averaĝaj valoroj de la plejmulto de la hind-eŭropaj lingvoj (Janton 1993: 51, vidu ankaŭ Parkvall 2010: 66).

⁵ Kelkaj rimarkoj pri la Esperanta ortografio ankaŭ direblas: notinde, ĝi prezentas unu-al-unu korespondon inter grafemoj kaj fonemoj, kaj ĝia skribo estas modifo de la latina skribo, la plej vaste uzata alfabeto en la mondo.

(1)	<i>la vento movas la standardon</i>				
	<i>la</i>	<i>vent-o</i>	<i>mov-as</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>standard-o-n</i>
	ART	vent-N	movi-PRS	ART	standard-N-ACC

La frazo (1) enhavas kvin vortojn kaj naŭ morfemojn, do la indekso de sintezeco estas 1.80, kaj ĉiu morfemo havas unu kaj nur unu signifon. En Esperanto polisemio (t.e. plursenceco) kaj multifunkcieco ĝenerale evitindas. Hind-eŭropaj lingvoj ne kutime apartenas al la tipo aglutina, tial tiurilate Esperanto tipologie pli proksimas al la ural-altajaj lingvoj. Tamen, pro la fakto, ke puraj tipoj estas malmultaj—eĉ agnoskite, ke ili entute ekzistas—iuj trajtoj de Esperanto povas simili al izolaj lingvoj, kiel ekzemple la ĉina. Menciindas la ekzisto de unusilabaj vortoj, kiel ekzemple la pronomoj *mi* kaj *ĝi*, kaj primitivaj adverboj (ekz. *nun*, *jam*, *ĉi*), kiuj estas uzataj en analitikaj konstruaĵoj anstataŭ en sintezaj. Estas ankaŭ aliaj trajtoj pli proksimaj al la sintezaj tipoj, kiel ekzemple la agordo inter adjektivo kaj substantivo por kazoj kaj nombro, aŭ la karesaj sufiksoj *-ĉj-* kaj *-nj-*, kiuj estas kapablaj krei alomorfan varianton de la morfemo, al kiu ili aldoniĝas (Piron 1977; Wells 1978: 30; Gledhill 2000: 41).

Kvankam la vortordo kaj semantiko de Esperanto ŝajnas esti pli simila al la hind-eŭropaj lingvoj (Koutny 2015: 59), rilate al la sintaksa tipologio, kiel diskutite en Sekcio 4, la norma Esperanto prezentas korelacian nekonsekvencon en siaj tipologiaj trajtoj.⁶ Fine, ĝeneralaj esploroj, bazitaj sur la trajtoj inkluditaj en WALs, asertis ke la rusa estas la lingvo, kiu estas plej simila al Esperanto, dum la angla kaj la franca tuj sekvas (Parkvall 2010: 66). Parkvall (2010: 68) ankaŭ diras ke Esperanto “is slightly less like the average language, than, as it were, the average language is”. Alivorte, tio signifas, ke Esperanto montras la plej oftan tipologian trajton en la 54% de la kazoj, dum la averaĝa lingvo en 55.4%. Koutny (2015: 59) aldonas ke “[e]ven if it is not a typical language from the statistical viewpoint it has characteristics which make it easily accessible internationally [because] underneath the Romance exterior lies a more general logical form which is also internationally accessible”. Tamen, ne ĉiuj lingvoj estas egale traktitaj en WALs, kaj inter la malpli traktitaj, kun malpli ol kvin trajtoj konservitaj en la Atlo, estas la jida, unu el la hejmaj lingvoj de Zamenhof. Laŭ Pennacchietti (1982, 1987), la ekstreme libera sintakso kaj rigora konkreteco de Esperanto estas pro jida substrato, kiu kombinas la baltoslavajn kaj germanajn modelojn (parte videbla ekzemple en la klara difino de vortklasoj, en la kunmetitaj vortoj, verba morfologio, helpverba uzo, adjektiva morfologio kaj en la paradigmo de la

⁶ Por norma Esperanto mi intencas ĉi tie la skriban kaj formalan varion uzatan ekde la lanĉo de Esperanto ĝis niaj tagoj. Ĉi tiu vario restis sufiĉe konsekvenca tra la jardekoj, kvankam kiel ni vidos, etaj ŝanĝoj povas esti observitaj.

personaj pronomoj). Tial leviĝas la demando pri kiu(j) lingvo(j) estas la fonto de la ŝanĝoj en la tipologia formo de Esperanto, se ekzistas tiaj.

3. Tipologiaj ŝanĝoj en Esperanta sintakso: tri kaz esploroj

Unue, oni devas konscii, ke ĉiu vivanta lingvo spertas lingvajn ŝanĝojn: kiam la distribuo de la variantoj en la parolantara uzado ŝanĝiĝas, tiam okazas ŝanĝo. Esperanto ne esceptas tiurilate, kvankam kelkaj lingvistoj diskutas, ĉu ĝi havas geografiajn, stilajn aŭ sociajn variojn, aŭ ĉu ĝi estas kapabla evolui. La persisteco de tiu diskuto povus iom klarigi kial lingva ŝanĝo en Esperanto ĝis nun estis preskaŭ ne studita (Fiedler and Brosch 2022: 326), se oni flankenmetas rimarkindajn esceptojn kiel tiujn de Blanke (2010) kaj Philippe (1991). Laŭ la scio de la verkanto, tamen, eĉ malpli da vortoj estis dediĉitaj al ŝanĝoj rilataj al la tipologio de Esperanto. En tiu ĉi sekcio, mi esploros tiun kampon unuafoje.

La kaz esploroj, kiujn mi traktos, estas: (i) la pozicio de adjektivaj modifiloj rilate al la substantivoj en la substantiva sintagmo; (ii) la pozicio de adverboj de maniero rilate al la verboj en la verba sintagmo; kaj (iii) la uzado de participaj korelativaj frazoj kontraŭ la uzado de la strategio kun korelativaj pronomoj.

En la sekvonta teksto mi komparos la konduton de du malsamaj tempaj etapoj de la norma Esperanto, nome la Zamenhofa Esperanto (ekde nun ZE) kaj la vario skribita en la nuntempaj esperantlingvaj ĵurnaloj (por kiu mi uzas la mallongigon NE).⁷ La komparo baziĝas sur datumoj el ekzistanta perkorpusa fakliteraturo. Kiel kontrola korpuso mi uzis la *VISL Corpuseye Esperanto* korpuson (ekde nun: *Corpuseye*, <http://corp.hum.sdu.dk/cqp.eo.html>). Precipe, la korpuso de Gledhill (2000) enhavas 156 tekstojn de diversaj registroj kaj stiloj, kaj ĝia grandeco estas de 1563500 vortoj. Jansen (2007; 2008) uzas la *Unuan Libron* kaj la *Fundamenton de Esperanto* por prezenti la ZE (entute: ĉirkaŭ 9000 vortoj), dum lia kunteksta (skribita) NE-subkorpuso konsistas el artikoloj el la revuoj *Esperanto* kaj *Monato* (entute: ĉirkaŭ 280000 vortoj; por kvantaj esploroj estas uzata subkorpuso de 150000 vortoj). *Corpuseye* estas pli granda ol la antaŭaj korpusoj, enhavante ĉirkaŭ 1.5 milionojn da vortoj de la ZE, kaj subkorporo de *Monato* de ĉirkaŭ 1.3 milionoj da vortoj.⁸ La diskuto pri la observitaj tendencoj en la sekvaj subsekcioj estos daŭrigita en Sekcio 4.

⁷ Iu mencio pri la diakronio de Esperanto el lingva kaj traduka perspektivo troviĝas en Astori (2016) kaj en Gobbo & Astori (2021).

⁸ La elekton de tiu korpuso por ĉi tiu pilota studo ŝuldas la antaŭpretigita sintaksa parsado de kelkaj partoj. Ekzistas aliaj Esperantaj korpusoj, ekz. tekstaro.com.

3.1. Ordo de adjektivo kaj substantivo

Kvankam teorie en Esperanto la adjektivoj povas antaŭiri aŭ postiri substantivon en la substantiva sintagmo (vidu 2 kaj 3),⁹ “[a]djective placement is usually prior to the noun” (Gledhill 2000: 101).

- (2) Por **amik-o intima** ne ekzistas vojo malproksima (Zamenhof, *Proverbaro Esperanta*, 1910)

Por amik-o intim-a ne ekzist-as voj-o mal-proksim-a
 por amik-N intim-ADJ NEG ekzisti-PRS voj-N NEG-proksim-ADJ

- (3) Mi neniam estis **intima amiko** de sinjoro Heathfield (Zamenhof, *La batalo de l’vivo*, 1891)

Mi neniam est-is intim-a amik-o de sinjor-o Heathfield
 PRO.1SG neniam esti-PST intim-ADJ amik-N de sinjor-N H.

Tiu ĉi ordo ŝajne validas por ambaŭ ZE kaj moderna Esperanto, kiel oni povas konstati el Tabelo 1 sube (aldonendis kolono montranta la okazojn kaj la procentojn de la sekvenco Adj+N+Adj, en tiaj kazo kiel *troa petolo danĝera*):¹⁰

	AdjN	NAdj	AdjNAdj
ZE	36359 = 93.6%	2340 = 6%	121 = 0.3%
NE	3241 = 96.4%	87 = 2.6%	35 = 1.0%

Tabelo 1. Distribuo de {Adj, N} en la ZEA subkorpuso de *Corpuseye* kaj la NEa de Jansen (2007)

La diferenco estas statistike signifoplena.¹¹ Tiu ĉi diferenco daŭre ekzistas se oni konsideras la datumojn de ZE de Jansen (2008: 25) (359 = 88% AdjN kontraŭ 47 = 12% NAdj). Krome, modernaj datumoj similas al tiuj trovitaj de Gledhill (2000: 101) por Esperanto ĝenerale (97.12% AdjN kontraŭ 2.88% NAdj).

⁹ Numeraloj kaj demonstrativoj ĉiam antaŭas la substantivon en Esperanto. Mi ne konsideros ilin en ĉi tiu subsekcio.

¹⁰ Permana kontrolo de AdjNAdj-okazoj tra la aŭtomata serĉo de *Corpuseye* montras, ke ili eble estos supertaksitaj. Tamen, ĉi tio finfine ne damaĝas la argumentojn elmontritajn en ĉi tiu subsekcio.

¹¹ $\chi^2(2, N = 42183) = 110.5901, p < 0.00001$.

Kvankam en Esperanto la ordo AdjN estis laŭplane libere interŝanĝebla kun NAdj en la substantiva sintagmo,¹² ekzistas tendenco al fiksigo de la unua ordo, kiu estis jam la preferata en ZE.

3.2. Ordo de adverbo kaj verbo

Por studi la pozicion de la adverboj de maniero rilate al la verbo en la verba sintagmo, mi ĉefe baziĝos sur la verkoj de Jansen (2007; 2008). Ankaŭ en tiu ĉi kazo, Zamenhof ne donis klare esprimitan regulon pri la antaŭa aŭ posta pozicio de adverboj. Do ambaŭ (4) kaj (5) aperas en ZE:

- (4) *Tial ni diras: [...] “li kantas bone”* (Zamenhof, *Lingvaj Respondoj*, 1889-1913)
 Ti-al ni dir-as: “li kant-as bon-e”
 DEM-CAUS PRO.1PL dir-PRS PRO.3M.SG kanti-PRS bon-ADV
- (5) *ekzemple: patro bone kantas* (Zamenhof, *Pri Reformoj en Esperanto*, 1894)
 ekzempl-e: patr-o bon-e kant-as
 ekzempl-ADV patr-N bon-ADV kanti-PRS

La datumoj de Jansen (2007: 107ss.; 2008: 26-27) montras, ke la respektiva ordigo de Adv kaj V en ZE estas libera: duono de la okazaĵoj de adverbo estas antaŭ la verbo, duono estas post la verbo. Aliflanke, en la nuna Esperanto, la prefero por AdvV estas klara. Aktualaj okazaĵoj kaj procentoj por AdvV kaj VAdv estas prezentitaj en Tabelo 2:

	AdvV	VAdv
ZE	61 = 50%	61 = 50%
NE	844 = 79%	224=21%

Tabelo 2. Distribuo de {Adv, V} en ZEa kaj NEa subkorpusoj de Jansen (2007)

La menciita diferenco estas statistike signifoplena.¹³ Kontrolserĉo tra ZE per *Corpuseye* liveris la sekvajn datumojn: 18709 da AdvV; 16030 da VAdv (*ne, do, kie, pli, tiel kaj kiel, ĉiuj kun etikedo adverba en Corpuseye*, estas ekskluditaj el la nombroj; procentoj: 53.9% AdvV vs 46.1% VAdv). La pritema tendenco

¹² NAdj povas esti preferata kiam la adjektivo havas predikativan, apozitivan aŭ emfazan funkcion, en propraj nomoj kaj titoloj, kiam la adjektivo estas uzata por specifi la jaron de dato, kaj kun substantivigitaj kvantigiloj (Gledhill 2000: 101; Jansen 2008: 25-26), same kiel en fiksitaj sintagmoj, kiel *lingvo internacia* (Gobbo 2016).

¹³ $\chi^2(1, N = 1190) = 50.6484, p = < 0.00001$.

do estas konfirmita: la diferenco inter la datumoj de Jansen kaj *Corpuseye* rilate al ZE ne estas signifa je $p < .05$,¹⁴ sed tiu inter la ZE laŭ *Corpuseye* kaj la Jansena NE estas statistike signifoplena.¹⁵

Do, kiel montrite, evidentiĝas tipologia ŝanĝo en la nuna Esperanto, nome la fiksigo de la ordo AdvV en verba sintagmo.¹⁶

3.3. Ordo de substantivo kaj korelativa frazo

Por studi la eblan tipologian ŝanĝon en la ordo de substantivo kaj korelativa frazo (KF, *relative clause*) de Esperanto, oni bezonas skizon de la strategio, kiun la lingvo uzas. Kutime, Esperanto estas priskribata kiel lingvo, kie KFoj estas kodigitaj per la tiel-nomata “relative pronoun strategy” (Comrie 1989: 147-153). La karakterizaĵoj de tiu strategio estas “(i) that the relative clause contains a pronoun referring back to the head noun, (ii) that this pronoun is moved to the front of the relative clause, and (iii) that this pronoun is case marked” (Comrie 1996: 40). Tio estas precize tio, kion oni vidas en (6), prilaborite laŭ Comrie (1996: 41):

(6)	<i>la letero, kiun mi skribis</i>				
	<i>la</i>	<i>leter-o,</i>	<i>kiu-n</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>skrib-is</i>
	ART	leter-N	REL-ACC PRO.1SG		skribi-PST

Kiun referencas al la antaŭa *letero*, la tiel-nomata ĉefsubstantivo, kaj estas markita kiel akuzativo, ĉar ĝi estas la rekta objekto en la KFoj. Rimarku ankaŭ, ke *kiun* antaŭmoviĝas en sia gastiga frazo, ĉar kutime rektaj objektoj sekvas la verbon. La strategio de korelativaj pronomoj estas vasta en Eŭropo, sed ne estas ekster tiu kontinento, tiom, ke Comrie (1996) rimarkas, ke la uzata strategio de Esperanto-parolantoj estas frapanta ekzemplo de ties eŭropismo.¹⁷

Tamen, Esperanto povas ankaŭ uzi participojn en konstruoj, kiuj estas “functionally equivalent to ‘full’ relative clauses” (Gledhill 2000: 93). Kiel en multaj aliaj lingvoj (Shagal 2019), aktivaj kaj pasivaj participoj povas esti uzataj por rilatigi, respektive, la aktivaj kaj pasivaj subjektoj de la KFoj – pozicioj sube en la hierarkio de KFoj en Esperanto povas esti enkodigitaj nur per la strategio de rilataj korelativaj

¹⁴ $\chi^2(1, N = 34861) = 0.7273, p = 0.393756$.

¹⁵ $\chi^2(1, N = 35807) = 264.8258, p = < 0.00001$.

¹⁶ La postvorta poziciigo de la adverboj estas ofta kiam ili estas iel emfazita.

¹⁷ Rimarku tamen, ke antaŭ la korelativa pronomo ĉiam aperas komo skriboforme; tio estas ja malofta, almenaŭ en latinidaj lingvoj, por ne-restriktaj KFoj.

pronomoj. La participo kongruas en kazo kaj nombro kun la ĉefsubstantivo en la superordinata frazo.¹⁸
Ekzemplo estas en (7):

- (7) *La libristo premis la **al li etenditan** manon* (Zamenhof, Marta, 1910)
- | | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>La librist-o</i> | <i>prem-is</i> | <i>la</i> | <i>al. li</i> | <i>etend-i-t-a-n</i> | |
| ART librist-N | premi-PST | ART | al PRO.3MS | etend-PST-PASS.PTCP-ADJ-ACC | |
| <i>man-o-n</i> | | | | | |
| man-N-ACC | | | | | |

Konsideru, ke en (7) la konstruo donas sinsekvencon, kiu aperas tre rare en Esperanto krom participaj Kfoj, nome la antaŭpozicio de la difinita artikolo *la* antaŭ rolvorteto (en tiu ĉi kazo *al*). Tiuj Kfoj konservas la trioblan tempodistingon, kiu eblas montri per finitaj frazoj, dum la aganto povas esti esprimita per la rolvorteto *de*, kiu estas ofte uzata en Esperanto por agantoj aperantaj en pasiva frazo. Plue, participiaj Kfoj en Esperanto povas esti poziciigitaj antaŭ- (vidu la supra ekzemplo 7) aŭ postsubstantive (8):

- (8) *Ĉiuj rigardis sin reciproke per vizaĝoj **ŝvelintaj de la pikado*** (Zamenhof, Fabeloj de Andersen 1, 1909)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|--|
| <i>Ĉiu-j</i> | <i>rigard-is</i> | <i>si-n</i> | <i>reciprok-e</i> | <i>per</i> | <i>vizaĝ-o-j</i> | |
| Ĉiu-PL | rigard-PST | REFL-ACC | reciprok-ADV | per | vizaĝ-N-PL | |
| <i>ŝvel-i-nt-a-j</i> | | <i>de</i> | <i>la</i> | <i>pik-ad-o</i> | | |
| ŝvel-PST-ACT.PTCP-ADJ-PL | | de | ART | pik-PROL-N | | |

Koutny (2015: 49) asertas, ke uzi participon kiel Kfon “makes it possible to place it [t.e., la Kfon] before the noun, but is considered awkward”. Tamen, en analizo de la ŝanĝoj okazantaj en Esperanto bazita sur korpuso (Herring 2005) estis pruvita, ke la lingvo malemas uzi komplikitan korelativan formon, dum prefero iras al uzo de antaŭsubstantivaj (“Japanese-style”, t.e., japanstile, laŭ Herring) participaj Kfoj: “specifically, rich, morphologically inflected relative pronouns are no longer needed”. La aserto de Herring (2005) estis subtenita per analizo de tri, iom malgrandaj subkorpusoj el Esperantaj revuoj: *Literatura Mondo* (1922-1923, 47611 vortoj), *La Nica Literatura Revuo* (1955-56, 35968 vortoj) kaj *La Fasko* (2000-2001, 24554 vortoj), kvankam li ne proponas precizajn datumojn pri tio.

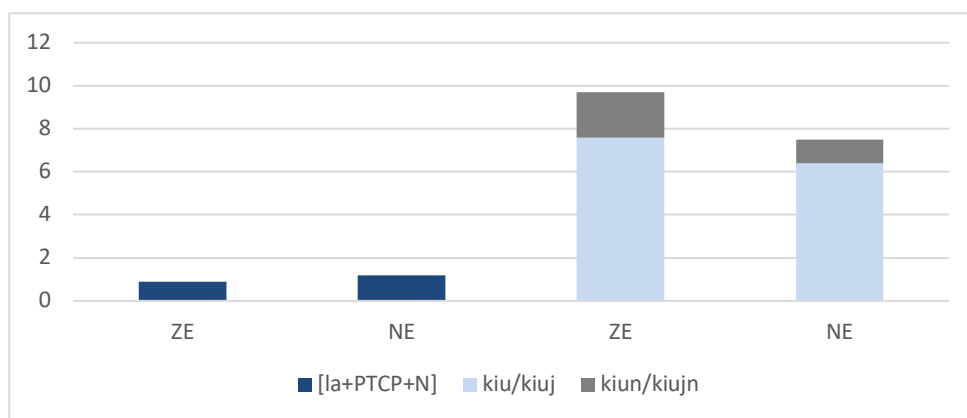
¹⁸ Sekve, foje eble ne estas facile distingi disde participon enkodigantan Kfon kaj participon kiu rolas kiel verba komplemento.

La trovoj ŝajnas iom similaj se oni ĵetas rigardon al pli granda korpuso de datumoj: se oni komparas la ZE kun la NE en *Corpuseye*, la nombro de antaŭsubstantivaj participaj KFOj fakte plinombriĝas nur se oni alkalkulas frazojn, kiuj ankaŭ enhavas komplementojn aldonitajn al la participa verba formo, kiel ekzemple *far Centra Komitato* en (9). En ZE estas trovitaj 43 tiaj frazoj kontraŭ 120 en NE.¹⁹

- (9) **la akceptitajn far Centra Komitato rimedojn (Monato)**
la akcept-i-t-a-j-n *far Centr-a Komitat-o rimed-o-j-n*
 ART akcept-PST-PASS.PTCP-ADJ-PL-ACC *far centr-ADJ komitat-N rimed-N-PL-ACC*

La okazoj de participoj, kiuj aperas post la artikolo *la* kaj antaŭ la substantivo, kaj do eble kaŭzas la participajn KFOjn,²⁰ estas pli-malpli konstanta en ZE kaj NE (respektive, 0.88 kaj 1.2 je 1000 vortoj; nenormaligita entuto 1327 kontraŭ 1570).

Tamen, la strategio de participaj KFOj estas ĉiukaze multe malpli ofta ol la strategio de pronomaj KFOj en ambaŭ subkorpusoj, kvankam – denove komparante la ZE kaj la NE de *Corpuseye* – la tuta nombro de *kiu* kaj *kiuj* (7.6 kontraŭ 6.4 je 1000 vortoj; en totalo 11403 kontraŭ 8426) kaj de *kiun* kaj *kiujn* (2.1 kontraŭ 1.1 je 1000 vortoj; en totalo 3209 kontraŭ 1508) signife malplinombriĝas.²¹



Tabelo 3. Normaligitaj valoroj (je 1000 vortoj) de la okazoj de la konstruaĵoj [la+PTCP+N] kaj de la pronomoj *kiu(j)* kaj *kiu(j)n* en ZEa kaj NEa subkorpusoj de *Corpuseye*

¹⁹ La rezultoj de la korpusaj traserĉoj estis mane reviziitaj kaj la okazoj de substantivaj participoj, arofragoj kun [participoj+substantivoj] kaj participoj kunordigitaj kun aliaj adjektivoj estis forigitaj; tiuj lastaj pritaksendas kiel simplaj adjektivoj kaj ne kiel verboj.

²⁰ T.e., la rezultoj redonitaj de la serĉo [word="la"] [pos="v" & morph="(?:[:.*])?PCP AKT(?:[:.*])(?:[:.*])?PCP PAS(?:[:.*])"] [pos="(?:N)(?:PROP)"] en en ZEa kaj NEa subkorpusoj de *Corpuseye*.

²¹ Krome, ne estas malutile rimarki ĉi-rilate, ke antaŭsubstantivaj participaj KFOj evitas la enkonstruadon kaj rezultas kogne pli facile prilaboreblaj.

Resume, malgraŭ la fakto, ke la nombro de participaj antaŭsubstantivaj KFOj ne dubinde plinombriĝas, la aserto, ke ili anstataŭas postsubstantivajn KFOjn per finitaj verboj, ŝajnas iom troiga. Tamen, eblas, ke tipologia ŝanĝo okazos en ĉi tiu gramatika domajno.

4. Diskuto kaj konkludo

Rilate al la tri tipologiaj domajnoj priskribitaj en Sekcio 3, almenaŭ iom da tipologia ŝanĝo jam okazis aŭ estas nun okazanta en Esperanto. Tio konfirmas la fakton, ke Esperanto estas vivanta kaj ŝanĝiĝanta lingvo, farita el malsamaj varioj laŭ sociolingvistikaj (ĉe ĉiuj variaj dimensioj) kaj tipologiaj vidpunktoj. Tion oni intencis montri konsiderante du malsamajn diakronajn etapojn de la norma Esperanto, nome la Zamenhofa kontraŭ la Nuna Esperanto. La tipologia diferenco inter varioj apartenantaj al la sama lingvo certe ne devas surprizi la leganton, ĉar ĝi estas esprimo de tiu ‘vertikala diverseco’, kiu estas nun en la centro de tipologiaj lingvistikaj studoj (vidu ekzemple Grandi 2020).

Kelkaj interesaj konsideroj, bazitaj sur la tri kazesploroj ĵus proponitaj, meritas atenton, aparte pri la temo de la faktoroj kiuj inspiris aŭ movas la tipologian ŝanĝon en Esperanto. Supozante, laŭ la ekzistanta literaturo, ke ĝiaj ŝanĝoj kaj reflektaj havas ja eksterajn kaj internajn kaŭzojn, oni povus alvoki, hipotezcelle, (i) la influon de la angla kiel fakte tutmonda lingvo; (ii) la influon kiun la denaskaj lingvoj de la parolantoj havas sur la planita lingvo mem; (iii) tipologiajn tendencojn tipajn de la tiel-nomata *drift* (‘drivado’) al sintaksa konsistenco, laŭ la kutima uzo inter rondoj de lingvotipologoj (vidu Sapir 1921, Lehmann 1978).

Pri (i), kvankam ofte estas dirite ke Esperanto, kiam ĝi estas tuŝita de ŝanĝo, povus “massively borrow from English, possibly more than other languages because of its smaller initial stock” (Van Parijs 2011: 43), la antaŭaj paragrafoj montras, ke tio ne ĉiam estas la kazo rilate al la observitaj ŝanĝoj: nur en la kazo de fiksado de la AdjN-ordo oni povas alvoki la influon de la angla, sed en tiu lingvo adverboj de maniero estas metitaj postverbe kaj antaŭsubstantivaj participaj KFOj ne povas esti anstataŭigitaj per plenaj KFOj (Sleeman 2017) kaj ne povas akcepti komplementojn: tio estas, prefere, tipa trajto de la germana.

Simile, estas malfacile difini la gravecon de la denaskaj lingvoj de la parolantoj kaj skribantoj kiel ŝanĝipovaj faktoroj: la daŭrantaj ŝanĝoj rimarkitaj en la revuo *Monato* ne kongruas kun tio kion oni atendus de okcident-eŭropaj skribantoj. Ekzemple, la tendenco lokigi la adverbojn de maniero antaŭ la verbo (tendenco kiu fakte emerĝis kaj fiksiĝis nur post Zamenhof, kiel ni vidis) estas “[p]erhaps the most deep-seated Slavonic feature in the syntax of Esperanto” (Lindstedt 2009: 12), sed malfacilas solide pruvi, ke parolantoj de tiuj lingvoj amplekse influis post-Zamenhofan Esperanton.

Fine, por esplori la trian proponitan hipotezon, la pridiskutitaj kaz esploroj montras, ke la strukturoj de Esperanto ŝanĝiĝas malkonsekvence al la antaŭatendoj pri lingvo kun elementordo VO en aserta frazo.²² La priesploritaj kazoj fakte montras, ke Esperanto moviĝas al tipologiaj modeloj, kiuj estas pli kutimaj laŭ OV-lingvo. adverboj de maniero ĉiam antaŭas la verbon, dum ZE estis pli libera rilate al tiu ĉi vortorda aspekto. Krom tio, adverboj tipologie emas aperi, rilate al la verbo, en la sama pozicio de la objektoj, kiel montris ekzemple Dryer (1988: 107) per elektita grupo de 142 lingvoj (AdvV&OV kaj VAdv&VO aperas en 63 kaj 61 lingvoj respektive, dum nur 11 lingvoj apartenas al la tipo AdvV&VO – tiu de Esperanto – kaj nur 7 al la tipo VAdv&OV). En NE, Kfoj ŝajnas aperi antaŭ la substantivo kiun ili modifas iom pli ol en ZE, kaj, malgraŭ ĝi ne nepre rilatas al VO/OV-ordo, AdjN-ordo nun fiksiĝis en la substantiva frazo. Tial, dum etnaj lingvoj kutime tendencas ŝanĝiĝi de OV- al VO-vortordo (Vennemann 1974, Givón 1979), la tipologia drivado de Esperanto ŝajnas ilustrati bildon inversan, ĉar ĝi moviĝas al konsekventa kapfina lingvotipologio. *Mutatis mutandis*, variigite variendaĵoj, la tipologia skizo de Esperanto (t.e., SVO, AdjN, AdvV, NRel sed kun RelN iomete pliiĝanta) priskribita per tiu ĉi artikolo—kaj la rilata literaturo subtena al tio—fine aperigas Esperanton tipologie simila al tiu de la finna lingvo, kiu ankaŭ estas aglutina lingvo (krom eble la pozicio de adverboj rilate al la verboj: tiu ĉi ordo estas pli loza en la finna, kaj VAdv estas preferata, Haarman 2008). Tamen, ĉar ĉi tiu estas nur pilota studo, evidente estus oportune konfirmi aŭ refuti la trovojn ĵus priskribitan kun pli da datumoj kaj korpusoj, kaj pli profunde esplori la eblajn kognajn kialojn de la priskribitaj ŝanĝoj.

Efektive, dum estas malpli facile identigi la kaŭzon de la ŝanĝoj de la sintaksaj ordoj diskutitaj en Sekcio 3.1 kaj 3.2, kiam oni observas trajtojn, kiuj ankaŭ implikas morfologiajn ŝanĝojn, kiel en Sekcio 3.3, aŭ temas plene morfologiajn ŝanĝojn, la ripeta modelo ŝajnas esti tiu de la redukto de vortoj kaj morfemoj por plene uzi la aglutinan morfologian karakterizaĵon de Esperanto. Ekzemploj subtenaj al tiu ĉi tezo estas: la forlasado de la progresiva formo [estas + participo] en favore de [formo de la participo + verba finaĵo] (Herring 2005), kiel en *ŝi estas skribanta leteron* kontraŭ *ŝi skribantas leteron*, aŭ la emerĝo de la *iĝ*-formoj por pasivoj anstataŭe de [esti + pasiva participo] (*la kuko estis manĝita* kontraŭ *la kuko manĝiĝis*).

Tiaj preferoj kaj ŝanĝoj, per kiuj Esperanto montras trajtojn similajn al germanaj, slavonaj kaj ugrofinaj lingvoj, aŭ al pli ekzotikaj lingvoj por parolantoj de la latinindaj lingvoj, ŝajnas subteni la aserton de Pennacchietti (1987: 139), kiu, pro sia aglutina morfologia, kadre de tipika mezeŭropa strukturo priskribis Esperanton kiel “la meno indo-europea delle lingue culturalmente occidentali”.

²² La korpusaj esploroj de Jensen (2007; 2008) montras, ke la ĉefa vortordo en Esperanto estas, sendube, SVO, kaj neniu ŝanĝo estas okazanta ĉi-rilate.

Listo de mallongigoj

1	1a persono
3	3a persono
ACT	aktiva voĉo
ADJ	adjektivo
ADV	adverbo
ART	difina artikolo
CAUS	kaŭzo
DEM	demonstra elemento
M	vira elemento
N	substantivo
NEG	negacio
PASS	pasiva voĉo
PRO	pronomo
PROL	daŭra ago
PRS	nuntempo
PST	pasinta tempo
PTCP	participo
REFL	refleksivo
REL	korelativa pronomo
SG	singularo

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Zamenhof la Egipta: Promeno tra kultura memoro

Nicola Reggiani

The contribution discusses a possible relationship between some aspects of the ethical and philosophical background of Esperanto—the international language created by L.L. Zamenhof—and the religious framework established by ancient Egyptian pharaoh Akhenaten. This connection may have been made possible by Zamenhof’s affinity with Freemasonry, which notoriously grounded on ancient Egyptian concepts.

Keywords: Esperanto, homaranism, Akhenaten, freemasonry.

1. Enkonduko

La titolo de mia kontribuo¹ estas eksplicite kaj provokeme rilata al la revolucia eseo de Jan Assmann titolita *Moses the Egyptian* (1997), en kiu la fama egiptologo prezentis la koncepton de kultura memoro por analizi la egiptan religian influon sur la evoluon de la hebrea monoteismo. Tia ideo ne estis nova. En 1788, Karl Leonard Reinhold, profesoro de filozofio ĉe la Universitatoj de Jena kaj Kiel, publikigis *Die Hebräischen Mysterien*,² monografion en kiu li argumentis, ke la origina kerno de la hebreo-kristana monoteismo estis malgranda derivado de la egipta saĝeco, rivelita de Moseo al la Hebreoj - kaj fakte Assmann konfesis, ke li inspiriĝis el la paĝoj de Reinhold. La fundamentoj de ĉi tiu tre larĝa kultura diskurso agas kiel fundamentaj turnopunktoj en la kultura historio de mediteraneaj civilizacioj: la religia ‘revolucio’ de Akenatono, la ‘heretika faraono’ kiu anstataŭis la tradician egiptan politeismon

¹ Mi dankas Davide Astori por ĉi tiu nova ebleco re-legi interkulturajn kaj interlingvajn problemojn el iafoje privilegiita perspektivo de antikva historiisto (vojon, kiun mi komencis antaŭ kelkaj jaroj kaj kiun mi volonte sekvas kiam eble) kaj por la materialoj pri Esperanto, Homaranismo kaj libera pensado, kiuj formas la skeletonon de ĉi tiu kontribuo, kiu estis prezentita itale ĉe la konferenco “Esperanto kaj Libera Penso je 100 jaroj de la morto de la Majstro Zamenhof,” okazinta en la Kastelo de Domagnano, San-Marino, la 24-an de aŭgusto 2018. Mi ankaŭ estas dankema al Federico Gobbo por la ebleco publikigi ĝin en tiu ĉi gravan kuntekston en honoro de Fabrizio Pennacchiotti, kies profunde erudiciaj kaj penetraj analizoj pri ambaŭ semidaj lingvoj kaj Esperanto agas kiel iu speco de ideala referenco por mia nuntempa provizora atako inter antikva Egiptio kaj la kreo de Zamenhof.

² Lastatempe republikigita en komentita itala eldono: Reinhold (2011).

per kulto de unika dio, Ateno, la “sunradio,” en la mezo de la 14-a jarcento a.K.;³ la etika universalismo kiu—post li kaj sen li—disvastiĝis en la ramesida epoko en restaŭrita egipta religio; la egipta edukado—se ne la origino—de Moseo laŭ *Ekzodo 2* kaj sekvaĵoj (li estas nomata “Egipto” ĉe 2,19) kaj en *Aĝoj 7* (“li estis edukita en ĉia saĝeco fare de la Egiptoj;” Moro 2011 a, b).

Kion ĉi tio havas rilaton kun L.L. Zamenhof, la kreinto de Esperanto? Unue, la judismo: oni konas la fortegan influon de la juda kultura matrico sur Zamenhof, la pola okulisto kiu trovas la kialojn de sia interlingva kaj transkultura projekto precize en sia propra kondiĉo kiel elradikiĝinta kaj svagemigranta Judo. Tio videblas en la fakto ke Esperanto, la universala lingvo kiu povas unuigi ĉiujn aliajn naciajn lingvojn, deziras rekonstrui la originalan unulingvismon de la homaro diserigita kaj rompita fare de Babelo.⁴ Tamen, la vidpunkto de Zamenhof estas tio, ke la reveno al unu sankta lingvo ne signifas por la Judoj la revenon al la hebrea, sed ion universalan, konsentan kun la spirito kiu karakterizas la transiron de la progresema optimismo de la 19-a jarcento al la tragedioj de la Mallonga Jarcento (Astori 2016b). Tial la hebreisimo signifas simple la superpaŝon al la radikoj de homa socieco. Per la lingvo, Zamenhof volis restarigi tutan sistemon de ‘homaj’ (homaranismaj) valoroj, unue inspiritaj de Rabbi Hillel,⁵ formitaj per la konceptoj de *reciproka frateco*, *egaleco* kaj *justeco*, egalecigante la kredojn de ĉiuj homoj, kun la espero plenumi universalismon kiu alportu pacon, prosperon kaj bonfarton al la tuta homaro. En la *Plena Ilustrita Vortaro* de 1970, homaranismo estas difinita kiel “doktrino postulanta ke ĉiu consideras kaj amas la homojn de ĉiu nacio kiel siajn fratojn” (Waringhien

³ Pri Akhenaten kaj ties religiaj okazaĵoj, vidu ekzemple Aldred (1996) kaj Hornung (2001a), el kiuj ĉiuj referencoj kaj tekstoj menciitaj kaj citas poste estas prenitaj.

⁴ Vd. ankaŭ Astori (2009, 2016a, 251-62, kaj nun 2019b) kun antaŭaj literaturoj.

⁵ Rabbi Hillel, kuracisto de Hebreismo ĉe la rando de la komuna erao, proponis malferman koncepton de la Leĝo, kiu—laŭ fama anekdoto—povas esti resumita per la aforismo “ne faru al via proksimulo tion, kion vi ne deziras por vi mem,” tiom simila al la iom poste evangelia devizo. Sekvante la kernaĵon de Hillel-analizo, la juna Zamenhof—ankoraŭ forte interesita pri la juda demando kaj, laŭ Gobbo 2005, rekonante en Hillel mem la plej veran esencon de monoteismo, vidu *Talmud Shabbat 31a*—proponas skeletan, malferman kaj universalan religion, malsaman disde la malnova religio de nacia karaktero. Li pensis, ke la ritualoj povas esti konservataj, ĉar ili plifortigas la partoprenon de la popolo, sed nur se ili ekskludas ĉiun dogmatismen. Zamenhofaj principoj en lia Hilelisma fazo povas esti resumitaj jene: (1) ni sentas kaj perceptas la ekzistadon de la plej alta Forto, kiu regas la mondon, kaj ni nomas tiun forton “Dio;” (2) Dio metis siajn leĝojn en la koron de ĉiu homo en la formo de la konscienco; tial vi ĉiam devas obeadi la voĉon de via konscienco, ĉar tio estas la voĉo de Dio, kiu neniam silentas; (3) La esenco de ĉiuj leĝoj donitaj al ni de Dio povas esti esprimata per la moto: amu la proksimulon kaj konduku kun aliaj, kiel vi deziras, ke ili kondutos kun vi. Kiam Zamenhof publikigis *Hillelismo* (Gillelizm. *Proekt reŝenija evrejskogo voprosa*, Varsovio, 1901; reeldono en Esperanto far A. Holzhaus, *Hilelismo: projekto pri solvo de la hebrea demando*, Helsinko, FES, 1972), la broŝuro en kiu li priskribis “projekton por solvi la hebrean demandon,” baldaŭ anstataŭita de Homaranismo, li elektis la pseŭdonimon Homo Sum, sendube rememorante la faman frazon *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto* el Terencio, t.e. *Heautontimorumenos* (verso 77). Pri Hillelismo vd. Moramarco 2018.

1970, s.v.).⁶ La *internacia lingvo* estas konceptita nur kiel rimedo por atingi tiun ‘sanktan’ celon:⁷ superiĉian naciismon, partikularismon kaj diskriminacion, revivigi universalan, religian kaj moralecan lingvan fundamenton por la tuta homaro (Astori 2008a/b, 2011a/b, 2016, 203-49, 2017; Astori-Gobbo-Minnaja-Silfer 2009).

2. Framasonismo kaj Egiptujo

Tia ŝtuparo de valoroj ĉiam estis konsiderata intime framasona.⁸ Moderna (‘spekula’) Framasonado, naskiĝinta komence de la 18a jarcento—la jarcento de la Klerismo—kiel defendanto de libera pensado, etika-spirita progreso, kaj universala fratiĝo, estas klare fondita sur serio de ritualoj de forta biblia gusto: la arĥitekta simbolismo de la Templo de Salomono; la legendo pri Hiram Abif, la majstromasoniston murditan de siaj tri helpantoj pro liaj arto sekretaj; ezoterika historio elvenanta ekde Adamo.⁹ Tamen, eĉ en tiu ĉi okazo, la hebreaj radikoj disvastiĝis en pli vasta kadro, kiu trovas multajn korespondojn en la penso de Zamenhof. Efektive, estas fortaj similecoj inter la *Dogmoj de la Homaranismo*, lanĉitaj de Zamenhof en 1906,¹⁰ kaj la *Old Charges* de Anderson,¹¹ fundamentaj tekstoj de la framasona institucio.

⁶ Interese, la nova versio de la aŭtoritata vortaro, publikigita en 2002, enkondukas eksplikitan referencon al Zamenhof, nomante ĝin “politika-religia doktrino.”

⁷ Pri la koncepto de ‘sankta’ en la penso de Zamenhof, vd. Astori-Reggiani (2012, n-ro 5).

⁸ Pri la rilatoj inter la pensado de Zamenhof kaj Framasonado vd. Astori (2008b, 2010a/b), kaj nun la ampleksan studon de Gamba (2017), en kiu ankaŭ estas kolektitaj la ĉefaj koncernaj tekstoj. Plej rimarkinda estas la konstituigo, en 1905 en Bruselo, de la *Universala Framasona Ligo*, kiu kombinas la idealajn misiojn de Esperanto kaj Framasonado. En 1930, en Parizo, ĝi eldonis fondecan libreton titolitan *La Ligue internationale des francs-maçons: son but et son activité*. Vd. nun ankaŭ Marti 2003. Pri la revivigo de universalismaj temoj de Framasona Esperantismo, vd. ekzemple ankaŭ Moramarco (1995, 354-5) kaj Reggiani (2016).

⁹ Por historiaj kaj kulturaj referencoj pri la franca framasonado vd. ekzemple Clavel (1843), Jacq (1998), Di Bernardo (2002), Jacob (2006), kiuj estis miaj ĉefaj fontoj por la jenaj argumentoj.

¹⁰ Ili aperis en la februara 1906-a eldono de *Ruslanda Esperantisto* sub pseŭdonimo, tuj konfigurate sin kiel unu el la plej kontestataj tekstoj de Zamenhof.

¹¹ La *Konstitucioj* de Anderson estas la fundamentaj dokumentoj de moderna Framasonismo. Ilia elpensado okazis en la fermenta socia kaj politika kunteksto, kiu antaŭis kaj akompanis la fondadon de la Granda Loĝio de Londono en 1717. La *Konstitucioj*, publikigitaj en 1723, konkludis la transformon de la ‘operaciantaj’ loĝioj, tradicie ligitaj al praktika laboro, startis eĉ antaŭ 1717: adoptante la sistemon de tiuj novaj reguloj la identeco de la nova institucio difiniĝas kaj legitimiĝas, agnoskante la utopiajn postulojn por nova societeco (en la senco de asocio), kiu trovos eĉ pli decidan subtenantojn sur la alia flanko de la Kanalo, kelkajn jardekojn poste. Ekis nova fazo en la historio de la Framasonado: per la Granda Loĝio, estas agnoskita la reguleco de la aliĝantaj loĝioj; per la difino de la *Kargoj*, estas difinita la identeco de la Framasonado interne kaj eksterne de la framasona spaco. La *Konstitucioj*, fakte, difinas la regulojn kaj principojn per kiuj iu framasona institucio povas esti konata kiel legitima. Per tiaj identecaj konotacioj kaj propra serio da klerismaj kaj utopiaj aspektoj, la framasona ordo rapide disvastiĝis

Framasonado nin gracie kondukas al Egiptujo, precipe al tiu kultura substrato, kiu—denove, ne hazarde—estis postulita por Hebrea kulturo kaj religio ekde la 18-a jarcento. Fakte, nova Egiptofilio kaj Egiptomano, kiu atingis sian kulminon kun la ekspedicio de Napoleono (1798-1801) en Egiptujo kaj la sekva restarigo de la majesta faraona civilizo, ekis trarompi la unuajn grandajn kanvasojn de la perditaj saĝoj de antikva Egiptujo, ankoraŭ tiam atingitaj per la hermetismo de la malfrua antikveco kaj la Renesanco (Hornung 2001b, *passim*). Jam en 1678, Ralph Cudworth, anglikana pastro, reĝa profesoro de la hebrea ĉe la Universitato de Kembriĝo, platona filozofa kaj pro-republikano, publikigis *The True Intellectual System of the Universe (La vera intelekta sistemo de la universo)*, kiu altigis spiritismon kontraŭ ateismo kaj determinismo, kaj rekonis la egiptan teologion kiel la fonton de naturisma panteismo, kiu superas la specifaĵojn de la historiaj religioj, ĉefe la monoteismoj, al unua, universala monoteismo. Lia samkuntextano John Spencer iris la saman vojon, kredante je la transdono de la egiptaj tradicioj al la hebreoj tra Moseo. Fakte, ĝuste tra la debatoj pri panteismo—sub la signo de la moto *hen kai pan*, “unu kaj tuto”—ekaperis en la germanaj intelektaj rondoj de 1785 (inter ĝiaj plej entuziasmaj subtenantoj, Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi kaj Gotthold Ephraim Lessing), Reinhold, mem framasono, kiu reakiris Egiptujon kiel fonton de juda mistikismo kaj okcidenta okultisma saĝeco, kiu fine fariĝis religio de racio. Precipe, tiam diskutindas la religia nocio de universalismo, kiu efektive estas rekonata en la Ramesida Epoko kiel parta reago al la ‘herezo’ de Akenatono. Pro la daŭre staranta forteco de la universalismo en la framasona movado, multaj pensantoj teorie diskutis la mitojn kaj mistikajn egiptiajn originojn de la Ordeno, kaj en la fino de la 18-a jarcento Egiptujo fariĝis la utopio de la klerisme lumigitaj framasonoj (Jacq 1998, 25-36).¹² Kiel rezulto, en 1747/8, Raimondo di Sangro, Princo de Sansevero,¹³ fondis “Egiptan

en Eŭropo (adaptita kaj tradukita de Romeo 2000). Vd. ankaŭ Santoro (2003). Nova itala versio estis publikigita kiel Anderson (2000).

¹² Intriganta hipotezo—ne pli malprobable ol aliaj—serĉas la originojn de la ‘operaciaj’ framasonaj korporacioj kaj de la legendo pri Hiram Abif en la komunumo de la laboristoj de la Egipta vilaĝo Deir el-Medina, kie loĝis la konstruistoj de la faraonaj tomboj.

¹³ Je la komenco de 1751—kvankam la frontispico portas la daton de la antaŭa jaro—eliris el la privata presejo de la Princo de Sansevero kontestata libro. Fakte, tia libro vekis miregon kaj konfuzon, pro sia tipografia kaj enhavo-malnormalo. Ĝia aŭtoro estis la sama Raimondo di Sangro, kiu publikigis ĝin kun la aprobo de la *Accademia della Crusca*, sub la titolo *Lettera Apologetica dell'Esercizio Accademico della Crusca contenente la Difesa del libro intitolato Lettere d'una Peruana per rispetto alla supposizione de' Quipu scritta alla Duchessa di S**** e dalla medesima fatta pubblicare* (“Apologeta Letero de la Ekzercita Akademiano de la Krusca enhavanta la Defendon de la Libro Titolita Letero de Perua kun respekto al supozo de la Kvipus skribita al Dukino de S**** kaj publikigita de la sama”). Formale, ĝi estas amuza apologio de la efikeco de antikva skribosistemo de la Perua Inkoj, adresita al dukino amikino de li kaj inspirita de la lastatempa publikigo en Parizo de *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* (1747) de Françoise de Graffigny, leterŝanĝa romano de ekzotika gusto. Ties protagonisto, laŭ ĝia aŭtoro, skribis kelkajn el siaj leteroj per la sistemo de la kvipus. En tiu kompleksa verko, densa de notoj, referencoj kaj citaĵoj, Sansevero promociis la panteisman vorton reskribitan tra la tekstoj de John Toland, la neceson de libera pensado, ne tre ortodoksajn teoriojn pri la origino de la mondo,

Riton” en la loĝejo *Perfetta Unione* (“Perfekta Unuiĝo”) en Napolo. Tia loĝejo kaj rito gastigis la nekapteblan Grafon de Cagliostro, la aventuriston Giuseppe Balsamo, kiu vojaĝis tra Eŭropo en la fino de la 18-a jarcento, kaj fondis framasonajn cirklojn de “Egipta Rito,” plej notinde la Parizan loĝejon *Arc-en-Ciel* (“Arko en Ĉielo,” tio estas ĉielarko), datita 1784. Tuj poste, Mozart eternigis la framasonan Egiptujon muzike, per sia *Magia fluto*, datita 1791 (Jacq 2006). En 1815 iu eksnapoleona oficisto, Marc Bédarride, estante li mem judo, fondis la “Riton de Misraim”—fakte jam lanĉitan en Italio, eble en Venecio, antaŭ dek jarojn. Tuj poste, la filo de alia eksnapoleona oficisto, Jacques-Étienne Marconis, reverkis ĝin kiel “Rito de Memphis” en 1839. La du ritoj estos unuigitaj, aŭ en 1881 fare de Giuseppe Garibaldi, aŭ en 1923 fare de Marco Egidio Allegri, en Venecio, depende de la diversaj tradicioj.¹⁴

3. Kvar paraleloj inter Akenatono kaj Zamenhof

Oni revenu al Zamenhof kaj lia universalisma judismo. Li tiom proksimiĝis al la framasonaj idealoj, ke lia aliĝo al framasonado estas ofte supozata. Plue, estas kelkaj rimarkindaj kontaktpunktoj kun la universalisma religia filozofio disvolvita en Egiptujo, post la iniciato de Akenatono kaj lia kulto al la suna disko unue, poste laŭ la linioj de la Ramesida Epoko kiel reago al la antaŭa. En la sekvanta punkto, mi substrekos la ĉefajn paralelajn ecojn.

Unue, estas rimarkinda la naturo de la nova suna religio de Akenatono, kiu estas forte profeta. Aten ne rekte parolas al la homaro, sed li faras tion tra sia filo, kiu estas la Faraono. Tial, la filo de Aten estas lia sola mediisto, kaj ĝi reprezentas universalisman mediacion, sed tre personigitan. Sen ia dubo, estas suba religia-profeta inspiracio en la komenca entrepreno de Zamenhof. Fakte, liaj fermaj vortoj de lia publika parolado ĉe la unua Universala Kongreso en Boulogne-sur-Mer estas: “Baldaŭ komenciĝos la laboroj de nia kongreso, dediĉita al vera fratiĝo de la homaro. En tiu ĉi solena momento mia koro estas plena de io nedifinebla kaj mistera, kaj mi sentas la deziron faciligi la koron per ia preĝo, turni min al iu plej alta forto kaj alvoki ĝian helpon kaj benon. Sed tiel same kiel mi en la nuna momento ne

homo kaj skribado, la malamikecon kontraŭ la enmiksiĝo de la Eklezio kaj la enkonduko de la Inkvizicia Tribunalo en la Regno de Napolo. Citante Bayle, d’Argens, Swift, Pope, Voltaire, anglajn deistojn kaj membrojn de la tiel nomata radikala Klerismo, Sansevero senhezite metis sin en la sekvon de la antitradicia eŭropa kulturo. La Kongregacio de la Indekso pri malpermesitaj libroj kondamnis tiun verkon en 1752 kiel infektitan per “pernicioza pesto,” kaj konfirmis la malpermeson en 1754, post kiam la aŭtoro provis—per sendo de peto al la Papo—pravigi siajn argumentojn, deklarante, ke ili estis skribitaj por la celo de ironio (<http://www.museosansevero.it/lettera-apologetica>).

¹⁴ Interesataj legantoj povas trafolumi la jenajn retpaĝojn, skribitajn en la itala lingvo: *Antico e Primitivo Rito Orientale di Misraim e Memphis*: <http://misraimmemphis.org>; *Grande Oriente Egizio di Memphis e Misraim*: <http://ritodimemphismisraim.com>; Rito Egizio Tradizionale (Sovrano Gran Santuario di Heliopolis sedente in Napoli): <https://ritoegiziotradizionale.it>.

estas ia naciato, sed simpla homo, tiel same mi ankaŭ sentas, ke en tiu ĉi momento mi ne apartenas al ia nacia aŭ partia religio, sed mi estas nur homo. Kaj en la nuna momento staras inter miaj animaj okuloj nur tiu alta morala Forto, kiun sentas en sia koro ĉiu homo, kaj al tiu ĉi nekonata Forto mi turnas min kun mia preĝo.”¹⁵

Sube ni vidos la plej gravajn similajn ecojn inter la preĝo de Zamenhof kaj la Himno al la Suno de Akenatono. Tia forte profetaĵa karaktero facile povus konduki al fenomenoj ĉirkaŭ la kulto de personaĵo. Ekzemplo estas la propono celebri la naskotagon de Zamenhof kiel universalan Esperanto-feston. Notinde, tio estas io, kion li mem poste malaltigis, kvankam ne tute kondamnante ĝin: “La ideo per si mem ŝajnas al mi bona, sed mi ne povas aprobi la proponon, ke por tiu ĉi festotago oni elektu mian tagon de naskiĝo.”¹⁶

La dua paralelo inter Akenatono kaj Zamenhof ankaŭ estas tre forta. Fakte, Akenatono prezentis sin ne nur kiel profeto, sed ankaŭ kiel Majstro: la religio de Aten estas la “instruo” (*sebeit*), kiun la Faraono komunikas rekte al la koro de siaj subuloj, sen iu perado de teologiaj traktatoj. Tia elemento estas ankaŭ tre forta ekde la fruaj tagoj de la Esperanto-movado, kiam Zamenhof estis nomata la Majstro (Astori-Reggiani 2012, #54, kaj Reggiani 2016 pri la eduka potenco de Esperanto). Fakte, *Majstro* estas la alnomo uzata de la esperantistoj por montri respekton al la kreinto de la lingvo internacia, malgraŭ lia propra malvolo. Tio estas klara signo de kvazaŭ-hagiografia respekto. Interese, la timo pri troa atento al lia personaĵo elmontriĝas tre klare el la propraj vortoj de Zamenhof, ekzemple en la Parolado tenita antaŭ la 8-a Universala Kongreso de Esperanto en Krakovo, la 11-a de aŭgusto 1912: “Mi petas vin, ke de la nuna momento vi ĉesu vidi en mi ‘majstron,’ ke vi ĉesu honori min per tiu titolo. [...] Nomu min per mia nomo, nomu min fondinto de la lingvo, aŭ kiel vi volas, sed mi petas vin, ne nomu min plu ‘majstro’, ĉar per tiu morale tro liganta nomo vi malliberigas nian aferon (Zamenhof 1929: 408-409).”

La tria paralelo kongruas kun la aliaj. Akenatono promociis ikonografian ideon de la ‘familio’ de la Faraono, prezentatan en ĝia ĉiutaga intimeco kiel simbolo de amo, kiu devus esti prenita kiel ekzemplo

¹⁵ Zamenhof (1929); vidu sube por tiu preĝo. La ideo de Zamenhof ofte estis konsiderata kiel sankta misio, tiel ke la anonima verketo titolita *La Biblia Profeto Cefanjahu antaŭanoncinta Esperanton*, publikigita en 1910 en Parizo, argumentis, ke *Sofonias* 3,9 profetis la alvenon de Esperanto. Laŭ Maimon (1977), tiu interpreto povis esti aŭtorigita de Nahum Slouschz, profesoro de juda literaturo ĉe Sorbono. La rilato inter Esperanto kaj profetaĵo estis menciita de la rabeno Saphro ĉe la kongreso de Berno en 1913; vidu *The Australian Esperantist* (sep./okt. 1961: 149), kaj *Israela Esperantisto* (n-ro 59, dec. 1976: 13).

¹⁶ Letero de 1906 (Zamenhof 1929: 24). Liaj rekomendoj estis abunde malrespektitaj, kaj eĉ hodiaŭ, en la tuta Esperanto-mondo kaj pli, la Zamenhofa tago estas festata la 15-an de decembro. Estas rimarkinde, ke en 2009 Google dediĉis la ĉiutagan Doodle (dudlo) al li: <https://www.google.com/doodles/150th-birthday-of-il-zamenhof>. La propono estis farita de Gobbo per retmesaĝo al la gugla teamo malantaŭ la dudloj, en kiu estis tiam esperantisto (persona komuniko de Federico Gobbo).

por la tuta mondo. Analoge, la Esperanto-frateco kondukas al la kreo de la koncepto de “rondo familia.” Tio estas la koro de la revo esprimita en la kvina strofo de *La espero*, la poemo de Zamenhof, kiu finfine iĝis oficiala himno de la Esperanto-movado: “Sur neŭtrala lingva fundamento, / komprenante unu la alian, / la popoloj faros en konsento / unu grandan rondon familian.” La himno estas esprimo, kiu montras la unuecon de celoj de la Esperanto-komunumo, bazita pli firme je komunaj sentoj ol ia komuna kulturo. Sur la sama fundamento, estas la esprimo ‘samideanoj,’ “partoprenantoj de la sama ideo,” kiuj, unuigitaj kiel fratoj, engaĝiĝas nutri la Esperanto-idealon kaj fari la mondon partopreni ĝin (Rašić 1994; Astori-Reggiani 2012, #75). Tio ne estas plu la familio de la profeto, sed ĝia etendaĵo al la tuta homaro.

La kvara kaj lasta paralelo troviĝas en la koncepto pri hejmo. Fakte, Akenatono fondis novan ‘idealan urbon,’ *Aĥetaten* (“Horizonto de Aten,” nun Tell el-Amarna), por esti la administra ĉefurbo kaj religia centro. Aliflanke, *Esperantujo*, la hejmlando de Esperanto, estas ideala kaj senmateria: “Kiel la antikvaj Hebreoj tri fojojn ĉiujare kunvenadis en Jeruzalemo, por vigligadi en si la amon al la ideo monoteisma, tiel ni ĉiujare kunvenas en la ĉefurbo de Esperantujo, por vigligi en ni la amon al la ideo Esperantisma. Kaj tio ĉi estas la ĉefa esenco kaj la ĉefa celo de niaj kongresoj” (Zamenhof 1929: 377. Vd. Astori 2011a and Astori-Reggiani 2012, #59).

4. Ĉu nur koincidoj inter la kreema universalismo de Aten kaj la internaciismo de Zamenhof?

Kompreneble, la supre menciitaj eksteraj aspektoj povus esti mera evoluaj konverĝoj. Tamen, estas la interna strukturo de la filozofio de Zamenhof, kiu montras la plej severajn paralelojn kun la religio de Akenatono. La lasta havis Aten ĉe ĝia propra centro, la Sunon kiel puran ‘Lumon,’ fonton de ĉiutaga vivo kaj eterna kreema ago. Ĉiu kosmologio, ĉiu aparta mitologio, eĉ la tradicia koncepto de la Monda Subteraĵo estis subvertita per la percepto de unu dia, energian, nekonatan Potencon, kiu tenas la tutan mondon kaj donas al ĝi la vivon ĉiutage kaj sen distingo, por kiu ĝi devas esti venerata de ĉiuj, senkalkule de ajna distingo. Tia koncepto estus realproprigita kaj evoluigita, kontraste al Akenatono, de la sekvantaj reĝoj de la Ramessida dinastio, en speco de universalisma panteismo.¹⁷

¹⁷ “After Akhenaten, and clearly as a result of the impression made by his monotheistic attempt, there was further thinking about the ‘one,’ as attested above all in hymns of the Ramesside Period. In this thought, the entire cosmos becomes a manifestation and a revelation of the ‘one,’ which is now a cosmic god who is sun and moon, sky and netherworld, water and air, who holds space and time in his hands, and who is also a recourse for individuals in need. This god is thus more comprehensive than Akhenaten’s Aten, and though he leaves room for all the other gods, he is also paramount over them all while concealing his own essence from them. As a papyrus in Leiden formulates it, “He is more distant than the sky, / he is deeper than the netherworld. / No god knows his true form, / his image is not unfolded in the writings, / one teaches nothing

Tiaj aspektoj elmontriĝas precipe en la unua strofo de la *Preĝo sub la verda standardo* de Zamenhof, (de nun: Preĝo), deklamita fine de lia publika parolado ĉe la unua Universala Kongreso de Esperanto, menciita antaŭe. Kiel la suba teksto klare montras, la aŭtoro uzas la universalan bildon de la Granda Arkitekto de la Universo, la supran enton konatan de la framasona filozofio:¹⁸ “Al Vi, ho potenca senkorpa mistero, / fortego, la mondon reganta, / al Vi, granda fonto de l’ amo kaj vero / kaj fonto de vivo konstanta, / al Vi, kiun ĉiuj malsame prezentas, / sed ĉiuj egale en koro Vin sentas, / al Vi, kiu kreas, al Vi, kiu reĝas, / hodiaŭ ni preĝas.” La grandioza alteco, la potenca lumo, la universala karaktero kaj la vivdonanta energio de tiu suprema ento estas precize la samaj temoj, kiujn traktas la unua strofo de la Himno al la Suno, verŝajne komponita de Akenatono mem kaj incizita sur la roka tombo de Aja, kiel transskribita de Urbain Bouriant kaj unue publikigita de James Henry Breasted en 1895: “Mirinde vi brilas / super la horizonto de la ĉielo, / vi vivanta suno, / kiu determinas la vivon! / Vi leviĝas de la oriento / kaj plenigas ĉiun landon per via beleco. / Mirinde, grandioze kaj radiante, / alta super ĉiuj landoj de la tero.” La fino de la himno streĉas la nekonatan karakteron de Aten, kaj tio same okazas en la versoj de Zamenhof: “Kaj ne estas iu, kiu konas vin / krom via filo Neferkheprure Uanre [t.e. Akenatono] / kiun vi permesis koni vian eston kaj vian forton.”

Oni povas identigi pli da koincidencoj. La kreema universalismo de Aten (“Viaj radioj ampleksas la popolojn / ĝis la limo de ĉio, kion vi kreis”) reflektiĝas en la internaciismo de Zamenhof: “Al Vi ni ne venas kun kredo nacia / kun dogmoj de blinda fervoro: / silentas nun ĉiu disput’ religia / kaj regas nun kredo de koro. / Kun ĝi, kiu estas ĉe ĉiuj egala, / kun ĝi, la plej vera, sen trudo batala, / ni staras nun, filoj de l’ tuta homaro / ĉe Via altaro.”

certain about him.” The Ramesside theologians saw or suspected the concealment of the ‘one’ behind the visible, polymorphic cosmos, and behind the divine world as well” (Hornung 2001a: 92).

¹⁸ Kiel ebla paralelo, mi nur aludas la malfermaĵon kaj fermaĵon de la invokoj de la verkoj de la Ĉambro de la 4a grado de la Rito de Memphis kaj Misraim (supozeble nehazarde): “Supera Potenco, kiu estas alparolata sub diversaj nomoj kaj kiu regas per si mem, ĉiopova kaj neŝanĝebla patro de la naturo, fonto de la lumo, suprema leĝo de la universo, ni petegas vin. Akceptu, ho Granda Kreinto de la mondoj, la homaĝon de nia amo, de nia estimado kaj de nia kulto. Ni klinas nin antaŭ la eternaj leĝoj de via saĝeco, indulgu nin gvidi niajn verkojn, lumigu nin per via lumo, dissolvu la mallumon, kiu kaŝas la veron, kaj permesu al ni ekvidi iom el la perfektaj planoj de tiu saĝeco, per kiu vi regas la mondojn, por ke, pli kaj pli meritas vin, ni povu festi per senfinaj himnoj la universalan harmonion, kiun via prezenco donas al la naturo.” “Granda Kreinto de la mondoj, kiu estas alparolata sub diversaj nomoj, kaj kiu regas per si mem, ĉiopova kaj neŝanĝebla patro de la naturo, fonto de la lumo, suprema leĝo de la universo, ni salutas vin. Plenaj je dankemo pro via boneco, ni dankas vin momente de interrompado de niaj taskoj, kiuj havas neniun celon krom la gloron de via nomo kaj la avantaĝon de la homaro. Ni petegas vin ĉiam atenti viajn filojn, forpreni la fatalan velon de senpereco el iliaj okuloj, lumigi iliajn animojn, permesi al ili ekvidi iom el la perfektaj planoj de tiu saĝeco, per kiuj vi regas la mondojn, por ke, merite al vi, ni povu kanti per senfinaj himnoj viajn mirindajn verkojn, kaj festi en eterna koruso la universalan harmonion, kiun via prezenco ĵ?donas al la naturo. Gloro al vi Sinjoro, Granda Kreinto de la mondoj, gloro al via nomo, gloro al viaj verkoj!”

La kreema forto de mondo, kiu unuiĝis en sia diverseco, estas esprimita eĉ de la lingva vidpunkto en la sekvanta strofo de Akenatono: “Kiom multaj estas viaj verkoj, / kiuj kaŝas sin de la okuloj, / vi unika dio, de kiu nenia egalulo ekzistas! / Vi kreis la teron laŭ via deziro, per vi mem [...] / La fremdaj landoj de Sirio kaj Nubio, / kaj la lando de Egiptujo kune kun ili, / vi metis tie, kie ili restas kaj vi zorgas pri iliaj bezonoj, / ĉiuj havas nutraĵon kaj la limo de ilia ekzisto estas establita. / La lingvoj estas malsamaj en la diskursoj / kaj tiel same estas la trajtoj; / la haŭtkoloroj estas malsamaj, ĉar vi distingas la popolojn. [...] / Vi estas la sinjoro de ĉio, kiu laciĝas por ĉiuj [...] / Vi ankaŭ vivigas la plej malproksimajn landojn...” Komparu la antaŭajn versoj kun la tria strofo de la Preĝo de Zamenhof: “Homaron Vi kreis perfekte kaj bele, / sed ĝi sin dividis batale; / popolo popolon atakas kruele, / frat’ fraton atakas ŝakale. / Ho, kiu ajn estas Vi, forto mistera, / aŭskultu la voĉon de l’ preĝo sincera, / redonu la pacon al la infanaro / de l’ granda homaro!”

5. Konkludo

Alia poeta kreado de Zamenhof, *Al la frat’oj* (1889), iu speco de framasona kanto en la stilo de Goethe,¹⁹ levigas la temon de la lumo, la kontraŭstaro de vekigo-kvieto, la valoro de ‘laboro,’ ŝajne neglektita en la Preĝo, sed certe amata de Framasonado²⁰ kaj ankaŭ de Akenatono: “Forte ni staru, frat’oj amataj, / por nia sankta afero! / Ni bataladu kune tenataj / per unu bela espero! / / Regas ankoraŭ nokto sen luno, / la mondo dormas obstine, / sed jam leviĝos baldaŭ la suno, / por lumi, brili senfine. / / Veku,

¹⁹ Vidu ankaŭ la sekcio “Logejo” de liaj poemoj (J.W. Goethe, *Gedichte. Ausgabe letzter Hand 1827*, red. de M. Holzinger, Berlino: Aufbau: 1960 = North Charleston: CreateSpace: 2013), el kiuj mi elektas la plej signifajn versojn: “Heil uns! Wir verbundene Brüder / Wissen doch was keiner weiß; / Ja, sogar bekannte Lieder / Hüllen sich in unsern Kreis” (“Verschwiegenheit” 17-20) “Saluton al ni! Ni solidaraj frat’oj / scias tion, kion neniu scias; jes, eĉ konataj kantoj / kaŝiĝas en nia rondo.” “Nun auf und laßt verlauten / Ihr brüderlich Vertrauten! / Wie ihr geheim verehret / Nach außen sei’s gekehret! / Nicht mehr in Sälen / Verhalte der Sang. / [...] / Die Plage zu vergessen, / Das Gute zu ermessen, / So aufgereggt als treulich / So treusam wie erfreulich / Stimmet zusammen / In herzlichem Sang!” (“Schlussgesang” 25-30 kaj 49-54) “Venu do, lasu la anoncon resonadi / ho vi, frat’aj amikoj! / kiel vi sekrete honoras / faru ĝin ekstere! / Ne plu en la ĉambroj / estu eksilentigita la kanto. [...] Forgesu la malĝojon, / mezuru la bonon, / tiel motivite kiel fidelaj, / tiel lojale kiel ĝojaj / kune kantante / en kanto de amo!” Vidu ankaŭ la temon de frateco en la poemo “Bankeda nokto” (*Banquet Night*) de Rudyard Kipling (1926), kiu instigas la kunvenantojn forgesi siajn profanajn zorgojn, por ke ili povu ĝui la fratan kompanion. La unua strofo estas tiel: “Once in so often, King Solomon said, / Watching his quarrymen drill the stone, / We will curb our garlic and wine and bread / And banquet together beneath my Throne, / And all Brethren shall come to that mess / As Fellow-Craftsmen-no more and no less.”

²⁰ En sia lasta konversacio la 11-an de marto 1832, Goethe konfidis al sia helpanto J.P. Eckermann, ke li estis preta “[to] revere the Sun [...] for he is likewise a manifestation of the highest Being, and indeed the most powerful which we, the children of the earth, are allowed to behold [...] I adore in him the light and the productive power of God; by which we all live, move, and have our being we, and all the plants and animals with us” (Hornung 2001a: 85, citaĵo el *Conversations with Eckermann: Being Appreciations and Criticisms on Many Subjects*, Washington [DC]: Dunne: 1901).

ho veku, veku konstante, / ne timu ridon, insulton! / Voku, ho voku, ripetadante, / ĝis vi atingos aŭskulton! / / [...] / / Iras senhalte via laboro / honeste kaj esperante? / Brulas la flamo en via koro / neniam malfortiĝante? / / [...] / / Glora la celo, sankta l' afero, / la venko – baldaŭ ĝi venos; / levos la kapon ni kun fiero, / la mondo ĝoje nin benos. / / Tiam atendas nin rekompenco / la plej majesta kaj riĉa: / nia laboro kaj pacienco / la mondon faros feliĉa!” La vortoj de Akenatono: “Kiam vi ripozas for de la okcidenta horizonto, / la mondo estas subakve, en la simileco de morto. / La dormantoj estas en siaj ĉambroj / kun sia kapo vualita, kaj la okuloj ne vidas unu la alian. [...] / / Tamen, matene, jen vi estas supre super la oriento / kaj vi brilas kiel la suno en la tago; / vi forpelas la mallumon kaj elĵetas viajn radiojn. / La Du Terajnoj festas ĉiun tagon, / la homoj estas vekitaj...”

La lasta strofo de la Preĝo eble estas la plej plena de ezoterika spirito, ĝis la punkto, kie ĝi estis forigita el la originala publikigo. Ĝi reafirmas la koncepton de unueco en diverseco, kiu denove resonas en la poeta instruado de Akenatono (“Vi estas unika kiam vi leviĝas, / en ĉiuj formoj de via aspekto kiel vivanta Aten, / brilanta kaj briletanta, / malproksime kaj proksime...”): “Kuniĝu la fratoj, plektiĝu la manoj, / antaŭen kun pacaj armiloj! / Kristanoj, hebreoj aŭ mahometanoj / ni ĉiuj de Di’ estas filoj. / Ni ĉiam memoru pri bon’ de l’ homaro, / kaj malgraŭ malhelpoj, sen halto kaj staro / al frata la celo ni iru obstine / antaŭen, senfine.”

Ne ekzistas direkta pruvo ke Zamenhof estis fakte konscia pri la egipta tradicio,²¹ sed la koincidoj estas tiel konvinkaj, ke estas malfacile ne pensi almenaŭ pri nereakta reakiro, eble tra Framasonado, se ne tra la pli ĝenerala etika-universalisma humoro disvastigita dum la 19-a jarcento. Tamen, la egiptaj radikoj de la tuta idealinstalaĵo de la kreinto de Esperanto estas videblaj kaj agas kiel plia pruvo pri la signifo de la antikvaj kulturoj por pli atentaj kaj konsciaj interpretoj de niaj nuna tempoj kaj iliaj historio kaj kultura evoluo.

²¹ Kontraŭe, sugestoj pri la scio de Zamenhof pri la klasika antikveco estas esploritaj de Astori 2018.



Figuro 1: maldekstre, la radiantanta Lumo: supre, la Suno de Akenatono (Ŝtona reliefaĵo el la Amarna epoko), malsupre la esperanta Stelo (poŝtkarto el la unua jaroj de la dudeka jarcento); dekstre, la framasona Okulo: supre, la emblemo de la Rito de Misraim kaj Memphis, malsupre: super piramido sur la usondolaraj biletoj [bildoj haveblaj en libera aliro rete].

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Notæ et salutationes

Dedicato

È ormai passato molto tempo da quel giorno in cui, per la prima volta, ebbi modo di vedere il Prof. Pennacchietti. All'epoca—metà anni Novanta del secolo scorso—ero una dottoranda e il nome di Fabrizio Pennacchietti era ormai divenuto una nota sonora a me familiare. Nella mia fantasia immaginavo un uomo curvo sotto il peso della sua fama: ordinario di Filologia Semitica, esperto di Esperanto e Presidente dell'Istituto Italiano di Esperanto.

E giunse il giorno in cui quel nome prese forma.

Ricordo, la primavera era appena iniziata e la luce benevola della stagione mite filtrava dalle imposte della biblioteca di Africa e Paesi Arabi e io, persa fra gli schedari, fui distratta da una voce e da un accento sconosciuto, mi voltai e... sì, il Prof. Pennacchietti era in visita a “L'Orientale” di Napoli ed era lì davanti a me. Un uomo dall'aspetto giovanile, dall'incedere leggiadro, lo sguardo acuto. Si muoveva con leggerezza voltandosi di tanto in tanto a comunicare con la fila di professori che lo seguivano, come i discepoli seguono il maestro. Come potevo ora associare lui, così vivace, a un uomo curvo e triste? Risi di me stessa. Certo, a volte la fantasia gioca strani scherzi. E quell'uomo che al suo passare aveva lasciato una scia di freschezza in quella sala dai profumi antichi era piuttosto paragonabile ad un elemento della natura: ad un albero, sì, a quel simbolo universale che dall'antichità ai giorni nostri continua a ispirare riflessioni filosofiche, religiose e versi poetici.

Gli anni passano, e quasi per un bizzarro gioco del destino mi ritrovo a Torino a ricominciare il mio percorso accademico. Tante cose sono cambiate, ma un giorno ecco riapparire nello studio che condivido con altri colleghi lui, il professor Pennacchietti. Il tempo può mutare i tratti di un volto ma non sempre riesce a trasformare la vitalità di uno sguardo e la curiosità intellettuale della mente creativa dello studioso, ed ecco che dopo aver scambiato solo qualche parola sento riaffiorare alla mente l'immagine arborea del baobab, l'albero della vita, e la bellezza dei versi di Kithaka wa Mberia:

Mibuyu ambayo

[...]

Imesimama imara

Kama kazi ya fahari

Ya msanii mhariri

[...]

Baobab che

[...]

Forti si ergono

Come l'opera magnifica

Di un artista della penna

[...]

o di Boukheit Amana:

<i>Zitavuma</i>	(I venti) Soffieranno
<i>Zitakoma</i>	Si placheranno
<i>Nitakwima</i>	Terrò duro
<i>Mti-mle</i>	(io) Quest'albero
[...]	[...]
<i>Mizizi yadidimia, ardhini</i>	Le radici affondano, la terra
<i>Imeuma</i>	mordono
[...]	[...]
<i>Zingavuma zitapusa, pepo kali</i>	Soffieranno si calmeranno, i forti venti
<i>Zitakoma</i>	Cesseranno
<i>Dharuba kinitikisa, Mti-mle huinama</i>	Il ciclone scuotendomi, Quest'albero si
	curva
[...]	[...]
<i>Gharika ikishapita, hurudi nikawa</i>	Il tifone passando, di nuovo
<i>Wima</i>	Mi rialzo
[...]	[...]

A distanza di tempo, caro Prof., io continuo a immaginare lei così, come l'albero che "sta", che "è", libero dagli schemi.

Con affetto

Graziella

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Appunti retrospettivi sulla negazione verbale nella lingua minea

La conoscenza della negazione verbale nella lingua minea si è di recente arricchita di nuovi elementi che hanno permesso di integrare un quadro fino a poco fa piuttosto lacunoso, essenzialmente per scarsità di dati, oppure per letture incerte o erranee. Quelle che seguono sono brevi osservazioni che riprendono alcuni spunti precedenti (Agostini 2014: 12, n.14) e che possono oggi avvalersi anche dell'ottimo studio condotto nel frattempo da Sjörs sulla negazione nelle lingue semitiche dove è stata esaminata anche la documentazione del sudarabico antico, accogliendo alcune novità per quanto riguarda il mineo (Sjörs 2018: 267-274). Lo scopo è quello di fare una breve rassegna aggiornata dei dati, limitata per ragioni di spazio alla documentazione monumentale, al fine di offrire qualche riflessione supplementare specie per alcuni testi di natura espiatoria, categoria ben attestata proprio all'interno del mineo.

La speranza è che questi brevi appunti siano per il prof. Pennacchietti un gradito omaggio, oltre che occasione per me di esprimere stima e riconoscenza a un maestro degli studi semitici, non solo per il tanto che ha dato alla disciplina, ma anche per la cortesia e gli ottimi consigli che mi ha sempre dispensato con benevola generosità, specie agli inizi della mia carriera di ricercatore. Mi piace inoltre pensare che l'argomento qui scelto possa essere di suo interesse, considerando che nei suoi lavori scientifici un posto particolare hanno avuto le questioni di sintassi e che alcuni suoi primi studi sono stati dedicati alle particelle di negazione, specie per quanto attiene l'arabo (spec. Pennacchietti 1967; 1968). Senza dimenticare, infine, che la sua bibliografia offre ottimi lavori dedicati al sudarabico, non solo su questioni prettamente linguistiche, ma anche laddove ha tratteggiato in modo magistrale le molteplici connessioni che sono scaturite dalla figura della Regina di Saba.

Fino ad anni piuttosto recenti, l'unica particella negativa ammessa per il mineo era *lhm*, il cui uso sembra ristretto ai verbi di aspetto compiuto, specie in frasi proibitive e condizionali (cfr. ad es. Beeston 1962: 66; 1984: 63; Bron 1994: 184; Kogan e Korotayev 1997: 239; Nebes e Stein 2004: 163). Oggi è condiviso anche l'accoglimento della particella semplice *l-* con funzione di negativo (Sjörs 2018: 267-270; Multhoff 2019: 338; Arbach e Rossi 2022: 60), mentre non è del tutto sicuro che anche *ʾl* sia effettivamente da aggiungere al novero dei negativi minei (ammesso da Sjörs 2018: 273-274; dubbio per Arbach e Rossi 2022: 26; assente in Multhoff 2019).

La particella enclitica *l-* (probabilmente da vocalizzare /lā/) è stata rinvenuta con chiara funzione negativa in un’iscrizione espiatoria minea del Museo regionale di Dhamar (DhM 399: 3-5) pubblicata in anni recenti su DASI¹:

...^ʔhl s²c^r w-^ʔhl l-s²c^r ...

La frase, che possiamo rendere con “... (i peccati?) di cui è consapevole e quelli di cui non è consapevole”, è ricorrente anche in altre iscrizioni espiatorie della regione del Jawf scritte in lingua amirita, ad esempio in Haram 33 (8-9):

... ^ʔl b-hn s²c^rt w-^ʔl lm ts²c[<]r ...

Il ricorso alla stessa radice S²C^R “conoscere” permette di meglio apprezzare le differenze grammaticali tra i due esempi citati, come il genere femminile del soggetto e l’uso della coniugazione a prefissi: “... quelli (=i peccati) dei quali ella era consapevole e quelli di cui non era consapevole ...”². L’amirita, lingua dai tratti sabei con notevoli influenze dall’arabo, ricorre alla negazione *lm* con verbo incompiuto, e l’uso di questa particella con valore di passato è proprio uno dei tratti che avvicina l’amirita all’arabo. La negazione amirita *lm* potrebbe essere avvicinabile alla minea *lhm*, dove la *h* mediana potrebbe essere una *mater lectionis*, dunque probabilmente /lām/ (Stein 2003: 238-239).

Ciò aveva suggerito quindi di rivedere alcuni passaggi di iscrizioni espiatorie minee, specie laddove la costruzione *l*+verbo seguiva la coordinazione causale *b-hn* che introduce di solito la trasgressione che è all’origine del rituale espiatorio³. In alcuni casi, infatti, una rivalutazione con polarità negativa di alcuni enunciati sembrava essere coerente con l’aspetto semantico dei verbi interessati e con la logica dei testi, tenendo conto della possibilità che alcune trasgressioni potessero essere di fatto delle omissioni.

¹ Digital Archive of the Study of Pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions: <http://dasi.cnr.it>. Cfr. anche Prioletta 2013: 225-228.

² Sono note anche alcune varianti sabeie della stessa espressione, dove si ricorre alla particella negativa ^ʔl, tipica del sabeo standard, in associazione al verbo compiuto, ad es. in BynM 1 (13-14): ... *d-s²c^rw w-d-^ʔl s²c^rw ...* | “... (i nemici) quelli di cui sono consapevoli e quelli di cui non sono consapevoli ...”.

³ La possibilità che la negazione *l-* venisse impiegata anche in costruzioni nominali sembra essere suggerito dal testo legale mineo al-Jawf 04.37A: 4, *w-l-t^ʔly* “e senza obiezione” (cfr. Sjörs 2018: 268).

Il celebre testo di Shaqab al-Manaṣṣa (Shaqab 19: 14-16) ha potuto beneficiare di questo nuovo dato per rivedere l'integrazione di un passo mutilo, che comunque già era stato interpretato in senso negativo:

... **b-hn** l[.]^(c)tny ṽqhl s^[ʔ] M^cn k-b^l Ytl ... | “... perché non avevano rispettato certe congregazioni il diritto (del popolo) di Maṣīn sul territorio di Yathil (?)...” (così Gnoli 1993: 111).

In precedenza, l'integrazione della seconda lettera in l[.]^(c)tny era stata piuttosto consensualmente risolta assumendo una seconda ṽalif, per cui Beeston aveva poi accolto come *hapax* la possibilità di una particella minea *l* con funzione negativa (l^[ʔ]-^(c)tny), riproponendola poi nelle sue due grammatiche (Beeston 1962: 66; 1984: 63). Gnoli aveva invece preferito ipotizzare la presenza di una negazione nella forma *ls^t* (quindi integrando l^[s^t]-^(c)tny) che nella funzione di negativo potrebbe avere confronti con l'arabo *laysa*, assiro *laššu* o siriano *layt*, “non c'è” (Gnoli 1993: 108-109), tale ipotesi era rinforzata dal fatto che la presenza di una sibilante in seconda posizione sembra piuttosto plausibile da quello che si intravede nell'unica e non ottimale fotografia disponibile (Fakhry 1952: tav. I-55A). Se vogliamo quindi considerare qui l'uso della particella negativa *l-*, le due ipotesi di Beeston e Gnoli decadono, ma dell'integrazione di Gnoli è quantomeno necessario salvare la sibilante, benché sia da rimodulare nella funzione di componente verbale, il che porta a una integrazione *l-[s^t]-^(c)tny; una simile possibilità era stata vagliata dallo stesso Gnoli a dire il vero, ma esclusa poiché si sarebbe dovuto pensare per la radice ṽNY a un prefisso verbale *s^tt-* (il cosiddetto “causativo-riflessivo”) modificato per metatesi, oppure a un errore del lapicida: si preferì quindi lasciar cadere un'ipotesi così macchinosa, ma che forse ora sarebbe da recuperare. La frase rimane tuttavia incerta per l'ulteriore lacuna che segue (*s^t[ʔ]*) e che rende dubbia la possibilità che le congregazioni (*ṽqhl*) siano effettivamente il soggetto della frase (cfr. Gnoli 1993: 109-110; Rossi 2022: 346-347).*

In un precedente studio (Agostini 2014) avevo inoltre proposto una rimodulazione con polarità negativa degli enunciati causali di altre tre iscrizioni espiatorie di epoca arcaica (fase madhabiena). Una di queste proviene da Kamna e riporta il seguente passaggio (YM 10886: 5-7):

... **b-hn** l-dbh mdbh twwr s²ty mdbh twrt b-^cbr-s¹ ...

La traduzione proposta dal primo editore era stata: “... parce qu'ils ont fait une sacrifice de taureaux à la place (?) d'un sacrifice de vaches en Son honneur...” (Robin 2002: 198). La resa con il negativo, invece, del tipo “... perché essi non hanno fatto un'offerta di tori; invece, hanno offerto vacche in Suo onore ...”,

permette di recuperare la logica del testo in accordo con la dimensione rituale cui questo sottende, per la quale il mancato sacrificio di tori avrebbe potuto essere inteso come una mancanza nei riguardi della divinità. L'ulteriore *crux* interpretativa del testo risiede nell'elemento *s²ty*, un *hapax* che Robin considera una forma avverbiale dal senso “à la place de”, ma che Rossi (2022: 229) propone ora di rendere in modo convincente con l'avverbio “besides”; la sostanza dell'infrazione sarebbe comunque il mancato sacrificio di tori che doveva essere offerto al posto, o insieme a, quello delle vacche.

Il testo seguente (YM 26106: 3-7) presenta una serie di frasi coordinate introdotte dalla congiunzione causale *b-hn*, due di queste frasi presentano la particella *l-* che segue la congiunzione paratattica:

... **b-hn** hlk M⁶n w-³s²b ²tm-s¹m k-s¹nhy gyln w-⁶dbn =
w-l s¹nhy =
w-ys¹nhy-s¹ Wd blt ³ns¹ =
w-s¹qy Wdm b⁶ M⁶n =
w-l-(st)dq b-gyln...

Il primo enunciato esprime la premessa: “perché Ma⁶in e le tribù hanno contravvenuto il loro accordo per l'apertura del canale e del sistema irriguo”, mentre l'infrazione viene dettagliata dalla frase negativa seguente “e non hanno aperto”. È convincente l'ipotesi di Weimar (2021: 382, n.16) che sia la divinità il soggetto della frase successiva “e Wadd lo ha aperto (pur essendo) senza l'uomo (preposto)”, e quindi poi “Wadd ha irrigato il territorio di Ma⁶in”; l'ultima frase presenta una differenza ortografica con il secondo enunciato, che vede congiunzione e particella *l-* unite al verbo: assumendo qui una costruzione negativa, avremmo “e non è stato confermato il diritto sul canale”, che quindi forse esprime la conseguenza dell'omissione.

Fin qui la particella opera in combinazione con verbi di aspetto compiuto⁴, ma sembra possibile individuare costruzioni anche con la coniugazione a prefissi, come nel seguente testo espiatorio (Fr-Şan⁶ā³ 5: 4-11) che presenta però varie incertezze interpretative:

... **b-hn** l-(y)s¹twff²y b-gy(l)-(s¹)m =
w-b-hn yg²w b-s¹wl y¹t⁶d-s¹ m¹l =
w-b-hn l-ykyl d-krb b-ywmh s¹dn b-ywm t¹mr =

⁴ Possibile anche l'occorrenza da un testo molto mutilo del Museo universitario di Şan⁶ā³ (presente in DASI): [...] *b-hn* (l)-h(f)[...] (A-20-266: 1).

w-b-hn l-yfth d-ymthd b-mwfrn ...

Le costruzioni in esame nel primo, terzo e quarto enunciato sono state rese dal primo editore con “because they had to be surely protected”, “because they had to measure” e “because they had to give judgement” (Frantsouzoff 2010: 163), riconoscendo in *l-* l’omografa particella modale (ma forse con diversa vocalizzazione /li/; Testen 1998: 113). Il piano del *desideratum* in cui viene posta l’azione nel passato non è del tutto in conflitto con la percezione di un’azione che non si è realizzata, quindi: “non hanno protetto”, “non hanno misurato” e “non hanno espresso giudizio” sembrano esiti accettabili sul piano logico e grammaticale⁵. La costruzione *l-yf^l* potrebbe anche essere dovuta a contatto linguistico, probabilmente con l’amirita, ma anche nordarabico o arabo (Pat-El 2012: 25-28).

Un’occorrenza più incerta è in un breve testo inciso sui lati di una tavola offertoria (YM 24905: 1):

... *b-hn l-ydbhn-s¹* =
w-(ʔ) ʕrb nd-s¹

La prima frase potrebbe essere interpretata con “perché non lo avevano sacrificato”, ma anche “perché avrebbero dovuto sacrificarlo”, entrambe semanticamente sovrapponibili e coerenti con il contesto espiatorio; il verbo della forma *yf^lln* andrebbe inteso come una scrittura piena della 3 maschile plurale⁶. La frase coordinata successiva introduce però un ulteriore elemento ʔ, dall’incerta lettura, e che Sjörs propone come ulteriore modificatore negativo (“and they did not offered”) che allineerebbe il mineo alle altre tre lingue sudarabiche che hanno tutte attestata questa forma: tale eventualità sarebbe confortata da un paio di esempi in grafia minuscola (Sjörs 2018: 273-274). Le due ulteriori occorrenze in grafia monumentale sarebbero da un testo di cui non è certa l’autenticità (M 375: 6) e da un frammentario pezzo inedito da Barāqish (Y.90.B.A 14 (A+B): 6), la cui fotografia in mio possesso sembra però escludere la lettura di ʔ.

In conclusione, oltre alla negazione *lhm* in uso nelle frasi proibitive e condizionali, per il mineo possiamo senz’altro ammettere anche una negazione verbale con *l+*compiuto; è da rilevare che tale costruzione in abbinamento a *b-hn* sia ricorrente in contesti espiatori della fase arcaica, ma data la ristrettezza del materiale non pare al momento opportuno trarre valutazioni più generali sul piano

⁵ Così anche Sjörs (2018: 270).

⁶ Cfr. commento in Sjörs (2018: 274, n.14) e Rossi (2022: 329-330, n.284). Cfr. anche Beeston (1984: 60).

stilistico o cronologico. La costruzione *l*+incompiuto sembra pure attestata con valenza negativa, ma questa pare in parte confondersi con analoghe costruzioni modali.

L'impiego di *ʾl* come negatore sarebbe di per sé plausibile, perché già attestato nel resto del sudarabico antico, ma finora le evidenze sull'uso nel mineo di questa costruzione sono molto tenui. La presenza delle due negazioni *lām* e *lā* in mineo possono essere di fatto associate allo stesso elemento di base *l*- differenziato dal clitico *-m*.⁷ Il loro uso allontana il mineo dal sabeo e più in generale dal semitico meridionale, avvicinandolo alle forme attestate in semitico centrale.

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⁷Nel caso della particella ampliata, la differenziazione potrebbe essere dovuta alla necessità di enfatizzare la negazione (cfr. Sjörs 2018: 271-272).

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A note concerning Phoenician *spt*

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In the inscription of the Punic ram n. 13 from the Egades islands¹ the first word—to be read as *spt*—has been discussed in the first editions² without founding for it a likely meaning. The same word was also identified by Ph. C. Schmitz and me on ram n. 3, in a difficult context.³ A possible parallel is the noun *spt* attested in the votive inscription RÉS 930 from Sidon, referring to the function of the donor.⁴ It was thanks to Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti that an explanation for this Phoenician word has been provided and it is to him that I am honoured to dedicate this note.⁵

Since the publication of ram 13 it was supposed that the noun *spt* had some relation with the object where it had been engraved. It was not the name of the ram itself, which in the inscription is called *mgh*, whose meaning probably corresponds to Greek ἔμβολον; as for *spt*, I supposed (Amadasi 2022) that it could designate or be related to the firing place where the ram had been melted, in particular because it was cited in the expression *spt 'sklt*, this last word being perhaps the feminine ethnicon “Sicilian,” preceded by the article (*h-* > ’—as frequently in Punic). No persuading explanation came, however, from the damaged text of ram 3 and from a possible parallel with RÉS 930.

Fabrizio Pennacchietti, however, having read Amadasi 2022, immediately proposed that *spt* had to be explained as the Phoenician name indicating a “ship/boat,” corresponding to Arabic *safīna*, deriving from Aramaic. Epigraphically, the word is attested in imperial Aramaic as *spynh* (pl. *spynt*)⁶ and is used in Biblical Hebrew as *sefīnā* (Jonas, 1,5), referring to a boat travelling from Jaffa to Tarshish, and called with the usual word *'anīyā* in the previous lines (1-4). The Phoenician noun shows the assimilation of *nun* to the following *taw* of the feminine gender, regular in this language, the classic example being *šat* < *šant* (pl. *šanūt*) “year” (assimilation apparently not present in *mspnt* “ceiling.” KAI

¹ Regarding the important findings in this zone related to the first Punic war, cf. Royal and Tusa (2020).

² De Simone (2018: 161), reading *skt* or *spt* without proposals of explanation; Amadasi Guzzo (2022: 17-18), reading *spt*, trying to explain it in relation to *sp* “basin.”

³ Editio princeps Garbini (2014); cf. also Garbini (2015 and 2020), who reads these three letters as YWT. Cf. for *spt* Schmitz (2020), translating it as “storm,” and Amadasi Guzzo (in print), who already reported Pennacchietti’s suggestion.

⁴ Apicella and Briquel Chatonnet (2008), with complete bibliography.

⁵ Here the context and meaning of Phoenician *spt* are treated only; aspects regarding the word in the context of the Semitic languages and its possible attribution to a particular type of ship are not dealt with. Some details in Amadasi Guzzo (in print).

⁶ Hoftijzer and Jongeling (1995: 797, s.v. *spynh*), referring also to Accadian *sapīnatu*.

10,6, from Byblos—perhaps from the root *spn* as *spt*—possibly to be analysed, however, as plural, instead of the generally proposed singular).

The noun *spt* present on the rams' inscriptions, applied in these cases to warships, is persuasively explained as “ship/boat.”⁷ Instead, in the inscription RÉS 930, from Sidon, *spt* is not equally clear. The text, traditionally dated to the 2nd century BCE, but now placed around 300 BCE or slightly later (letters' shape), is clear (s. fn. 4):

HMNḤT Z 'Š YTN 'BDMSKR RB 'BR LSPT
RB ŠNY BN B'LSLḤ L'DNY LŠLMN YBRK

“This is the offering that Abdmiskar, *rb 'br lspt*,
rb šny, son of Baalšaloḥ gave to his Lord to Shalman; may he bless him.”

Among the interpretations advanced, Apicella and Briquel-Chatonnet proposed to identify *spt* with the noun meaning “rivage” and to translate the function of Abdmiskar as “chef de l'au-delà du rivage, chef en second,” confronting *spt* with *šph* “bord, lèvres,” written in Hebrew with *šin* developed in *samekh* in Phoenician (cf., differently, 'sr < 'šr “ten,” in some Phoenician attestations). Abdmiskar, according to this interpretation, that fits, although not completely, with the one proposed here, was a naval high officer in the Aegean.⁸

Accepting the meaning “ship/boat” for *spt*, Abdmiskar's function can be understood as “the commander of the other side of the boat, second-in command.”⁹ This expression, however, needs some explanation concerning the composition of the naval crews, and particularly the specific functions of the officials in a Phoenician ship. Our data, however, are not direct and derive mainly from classical authors, often in the context of chronicles of specific events. From these sources, of different ages, it has been reconstructed, regarding especially the Carthaginian fleet,¹⁰ that in a boat there were officers of different levels; but from these sources it is not possible, particularly in the present context, to specify Abdmiskar's charge. According to Apicella and Briquel-Chatonnet translation of *rb 'br lspt*,

⁷ For the kind of boat that could be referred to by the word *spynh* cf. Amadasi Guzzo (in print).

⁸ Apicella and Briquel-Chatonnet (2008 : 182): “La titre d'Abdmiskar correspondrait ainsi à un commandement en Égée, aux côtés de son roi” (Philokles, known as a king of Sidon).

⁹ For the meaning of *rb* connected to military charges in Carthage s. Szyner (1990).

¹⁰ Particularly Medas (1999); I thank Piero Bartoloni to whom I owe the first data concerning the Phoenician equipages. I am particularly grateful to Stefano Medas and to Piero Gianfrotta for their help in this field.

where *ʿbr lspt* is a geographical expression, he was a high naval official, acting as substitute of Philokles, king of Sidon between 286-279 BCE.¹¹ Differently, understanding *spt* as “ship/boat,” I suppose that Abdmiskar was the second commander of a ship¹² of a kind impossible to ascertain at present. If the expression *rb ʿbr lspt* is rightly interpreted as “chief/commander of the other side of the boat,”¹³ the notice reported by Aelianus, *Hist. Var.* IX,40 that the Carthaginian ships had two helms and two helmsmen, could help to understand the concrete meaning of this function (two commanders in relation to each side of the ship, one being perhaps the commander of the whole boat). However, Aelianus description is not generally accepted,¹⁴ even though ships with a double stern and/or a double prow, and in some cases also with a double crew, are attested by some ancient sources, however in different milieus.¹⁵ In any case, Abdimaskar was a naval officer of high rank—we do not know in which field of activity—a rank that is shown also by his votive gift, a marble obelisk high 1,05 m. (reflecting his activity? S. fn. 15), a gift that only a rich member of the society could offer. Perhaps more deep research in the sources will allow to clarify questions concerning the organisation of the command in the Phoenician fleets—in different times, kind of ships, and circumstances—and to understand more clearly the concrete reality under the expression examined here. At present, we owe to Fabrizio Pennacchietti to have added a new word to the Phoenician vocabulary, yet so incompletely known.

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¹² Medas (1999); s. also Bartoloni (1988: 137): “... le navi erano dirette da almeno tre ufficiali, dei quali uno, con funzione superiore, aveva il comando del mezzo, l’altro rivestiva l’incarico di proreuta o ufficiale in seconda, mentre il terzo era il pilota...”.

¹³ A broken inscription from the Eshmun sanctuary in Bostan esh-Sheikh near Sidon is an offering containing in a broken context the expression *rb ʿb[...]*, in relation with the word read as *ʿny* and interpreted as “boat”, attested for the first time in Phoenician; cf. Mathys and Stucky (2018: 366-369).

¹⁴ Medas (1999: 97, fn. 38).

¹⁵ Cf. Felici (2016: 188), treating the naval transport of stones, often from Egypt (particularly hobeliscs; it is perhaps a mere coincidence that the vow of Abdmiskar is in the shape of an obelisk; cf. for the monument Gubel *et al.* (2002: 86-87) by P. Bordreuil and E. Gubel).

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De spe ac fide futuri temporis

Quanta delectatione occasionem mihi modo oblatam, ut in honorem octogesimi quinti diei natalis humanissimi amici Fabritii Pennacchietti, viri tum immensa doctrina tum liberalitate summa præstantissimi, munusculum tribuerem, amplexus sim, verbis satis exprimere nequeo. Quotus enim quisque est, qui nostro sæculo tot linguas tantamque scientiam conciliandam ardore et studio sibi susceperit? Pauciores etiam, qui præter Pennacchietti illum eruditionem suam eloquentia, facilitate, animi inflammatione studiosis tradere valeant. Quem in numero amicorum habere equidem mihi gaudio summoque honori est.

Quum plerosque nostrum premant cura et angor ob continuum humanitatis cultusque senium – *ætas parentum*, ut quidam olim scripsit, *peior avis, tulit nos nequiores, mox daturos progeniem vitiosiore* – iuvat conspicerere nunc ubique fere orbis terrarum scholas emergi, quibus tirones eo docentur, ut denuo peritiam utriusque linguæ quasi naturaliter obtineant. Quæ institutio redintegrata – neque enim aliter erudiri solebant priores – res maximi ponderis necnon indicium, nisi fallor, novæ cuiusdam ætatis artium renatarum videtur esse, quoniam sic imbuti iuvenes cuncta litterarum monumenta per viginti sæcula conscriptarum ipsi expedite aggredi, suasque radices ibi reperire prorsus poterunt.

Spem futuræ humanitatis præcipue in institutione ponendam esse persuasum habeo mihi, ut qui sanctissimo illo officio iuventutem erudiendi et caritate educandi iam diu fungar. Nam nihil aliud est docendi munus nisi studium scintillæ superni numinis tradendæ, quæ quidem in seriis et in rebus simplicioribus vel blanditiis ostenditur. Hoc sensu poetam et magistrum nulla re inter se differre censeo. Dummodo aliquid honesti efficere cupiat, uterque eadem petit: ut poetam lectoribus, sic magistrum decet discipulis magnificentiam mundi et vitæ splendorem pro viribus profiteri.

Gratissimum igitur est mihi exiguos hos versiculos pedibus alcaicis pactos carissimo magistro pie ac reverenter præbere posse.

Salubre consilium

Pridem relicto stare sacrario
deflens columnas marmoreo soles
 emblemate antique decoras
 et putridas. Reverenter aulæ
non iam frequentis mœnia prædicant
muscosa laudes nocte reconditas
 soli viatori benigno,
 quem meminisse iuvat priores
musea plectris grandia tinnulis
crebro replentes ac sapientia
 iuste Sibyllina repletos
 numine perpetuo deorum.
Desiste mæstam futtile neniam
partimque amatam Pallados atriis
 libare vastatis, magister.
 Tu pueris elementa trade;
Phœbus poetas, artifices pios,
doctos regentes sponte sua vocat.
 Delubra mature novantur;
 celsa subinde canunt prophetæ.

Bastenius

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A passeggio con il Prof. Pennacchietti

Del Professor Pennacchietti conservo dei ricordi molto cari dei giorni che segnarono il mio arrivo a Torino. Era inverno e la città mi pareva, allora, un luogo alquanto ostile, imbrigliata in una trama di strade rettilinee e incroci perpendicolari che si ripetevano in successione infinita. In questo rigido reticolo di strade, che come una volta scrisse Italo Calvino invita alla logica e apre alla follia, mi perdevi assai facilmente: non vi erano segni che mi aiutassero a distinguere una via dall'altra, mancavano difformità evidenti fra i palazzi, non vi erano curve dolci e declinanti ma solo incroci taglienti e affilati. Inoltre mancavano edicole religiose o piazze che non fossero quadrati o cerchi perfetti. Torino per me era un esercizio di geometria, dove non avevo alcun appiglio nello spazio che richiamasse alla memoria architetture a me più familiari e in cui smarrivo in continuazione le coordinate. Un folle labirinto di linee rette nascosto dietro un ordine apparente.

Nei lunghi pomeriggi d'inverno nel piccolo studio del primo piano di Palazzetto Gorresio giungeva a volte il Professor Pennacchietti ad allietarci con le sue storie e a domandarci, curioso come sempre, dei nostri lavori. È capitato, talvolta, che mi invitasse a condividere con lui delle passeggiate per il centro di Torino. Quelle brevi passeggiate cambiarono il mio difficile rapporto con la geografia città. Io lo osservavo, ammirata, muoversi per le strade della sua Torino con l'agio e l'eleganza di chi è allo stesso tempo padrone e ospite accogliente del proprio luogo. Una familiarità e una sicurezza che gli invidiavo forse anche un poco, perché sapevo bene che io, come ogni provinciale, quell'eleganza urbana nell'attraversare il proprio spazio non l'avevo allora e non l'avrei mai avuta in nessun luogo. Mi raccontava, poi, con pazienza e grande trasporto, la storia di ogni strada, di ogni edificio, di ogni pietra e di ogni cortile, che lui sembrava conoscere come se avesse vissuto in ciascuno di essi. Ed è stato così che, attraverso le sue parole, quelle strade che prima erano rette insignificanti, hanno iniziato ad acquisire lentamente un senso, un carattere, una storia. Gli angoli, gli edifici, i dettagli delle pietre hanno iniziato a parlarmi e l'architettura sabauda, prima tanto ostile, mi è un divenuta più amichevole e forse anche familiare. In breve, Torino ha cessato di essere un labirinto e io ho smesso di perdermi, o quasi.

Con il medesimo amore per il dettaglio e con la stessa erudizione con cui sapeva descrivere le vie della sua città e ricostruire le storie dei luoghi, il Professor Pennacchietti ci trascinava, in quei pomeriggi, anche attraverso altri itinerari, altrettanto, e forse ancor più, ammalianti. Erano le vie delle etimologie e le passeggiate attraverso le storie nascoste nelle parole, lungo i sentieri delle lingue che

lui tanto ama. Le sue lezioni estemporanee sugli etimi semitici o turchi di parole arabe, ebraiche o italiane erano e sono delle pietre preziose, momenti di pura gioia e divertimento intellettuale che conservo gelosamente nella memoria.

E forse l'etimologia altro non è se non una passeggiata nelle strade antiche delle lingue, per ritrovarne le tracce profonde e non perderne il senso, che risiede nascosto nel significato più intimo e talvolta sorprendente delle parole. Uno strumento per non perdersi nei labirinti di discorsi dominati da linguaggi che hanno perso il loro rapporto con il significato profondo delle parole. Di queste passeggiate, nei segreti di Torino e in quelli delle etimologie, sono e sarò sempre grata al Professor Pennacchietti.

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Caro Fabrizio,

eccomi qui a farti gli auguri più affettuosi per i tuoi 85 anni... E non mi sembra vero che ne siano trascorsi così tanti da quando, incuriosita e affascinata, ascoltavo per le prime volte quelle tue straordinarie disquisizioni nelle quali tu ti muovi nell'universo linguistico, spaziando dal mondo semitico a quello indoeuropeo e anche ben oltre, con la naturalezza e la disinvoltura di chi si trova a proprio agio dovunque, disquisizioni ben note a tutti coloro che hanno avuto la fortuna di godere della tua compagnia. Era la fine degli anni Settanta nell'Istituto di Indologia e le discussioni di linguistica e di etimologia che allora mi capitava di ascoltare nascevano soprattutto nelle tue conversazioni con quei colleghi che mi furono maestri e mi onorarono poi anche della loro amicizia: Stefano Piano, Mario Piantelli e la cara Mariangela D'Onza, che troppo presto ci ha lasciato. Allora io stavo muovendo i primi incerti passi nelle ricerche indologiche, mentre tu eri già un valente studioso a cui guardavo con ammirazione quasi reverenziale. Nel tempo la mia ammirazione non fece che aumentare. L'Istituto di Indologia si trasformò poi nel Dipartimento di Orientalistica, dove chiunque avesse avuto un problema di tipo linguistico sapeva di poter contare su di te e sulla tua disponibilità amabile e accogliente. Le tue dotte spiegazioni erano solitamente accompagnate da aneddoti e storie che prendevano vita nei tuoi appassionati e coloriti racconti, anche di vita personale... E ancora lo sono.

Non sto qui ora a cantare le tue lodi di studioso: altri lo hanno fatto e lo faranno con ben maggior competenza e conoscenza di causa. Del resto la mia stima per te va ben oltre. Ai miei occhi, una persona retta e buona è molto più grande di un illustre studioso, e tu hai entrambe queste qualità. Perciò ho pensato di farti un piccolo omaggio: la traduzione, in anteprima, di un brano sui *sant*, i “buoni”, tratto dal sommo poema della letteratura hindī, il *Rāmcaritmānas* di Tulsīdās, che ti dedico con affetto. Qui a parlare è Rām – che per Tulsīdās è il volto umano dell'Assoluto, la sua “discesa” sulla terra—in risposta al fratello Bharat, che lo interroga sulle qualità dei buoni.

1. “O Ricco di misericordia, ho l'impudenza di rivolgerti una domanda, io un servo e Tu il Datore di felicità per i tuoi devoti.

La grandezza dei *sant*, o Re della stirpe di Raghu, è stata in molti modi celebrata dai *Veda* e dai *Purāṇa*.

2. Tu stesso poi li hai glorificati con la tua bocca radiosa e grande è il tuo amore per loro, o Signore!

Vorrei ascoltare le loro caratteristiche da Te, o Signore, che sei Oceano di misericordia e che perfettamente sai discernere virtù e saggezza.

3. Tu che proteggi chi in Te si rifugia, fammi comprendere distintamente la differenza fra i buoni e i cattivi”.

“Ascolta fratello! Innumerevoli sono le qualità dei *sant*, celebri nei testi della *Śruti* e nei *Purāna*.

4. Il comportamento dei buoni e dei cattivi è simile alla condotta del legno di sandalo e della scure.

Ascolta fratello! La scure taglia il sandalo, mentre il sandalo le fa dono della sua virtù, impregnandola del suo profumo.

37. Perciò la pasta di sandalo sale fino alla testa degli dèi ed è cara al mondo intero.

La testa della scure, invece, viene riscaldata nel fuoco e poi picchiata col martello: è questa la sua punizione.

1. I *sant*, senza alcuna brama per gli oggetti della mente e dei sensi, ricchi di rettitudine e di ogni virtù, provano dolore nel vedere il dolore altrui e gioia per l'altrui gioia.

Non hanno nemici e sono equanimi, umili, distaccati, hanno abbandonato avidità, ira, euforia e paura.

2. Dal cuore tenero, elargiscono la loro pietà verso i miseri e hanno un puro devoto amore per Me, nella mente, nella parola e nell'azione.

Per tutti hanno grande rispetto, ma essi stessi sono privi di orgoglio. O Bharat, queste anime Mi sono care come la vita!

3. Privi di passione, sono dediti al mio Nome e sono sede di pace, di distacco, di umiltà, di serenità,

di calma, di semplicità, di amorevolezza, di quella dilezione per i piedi dei brahmani che genera una condotta conforme al *dharmā*.

4. Sappi, o caro, che coloro nel cui cuore albergano tutte queste caratteristiche sono sempre da considerarsi dei veri *sant*.

Profondamente pacificati, essi mai vacillano nel controllo dei sensi, nell'osservanza dei precetti morali e religiosi e nella retta condotta, mai pronunciano aspre parole.

38. Oltraggi e lodi sono entrambi eguali per loro, che hanno un amorevole attaccamento solo per i miei piedi di loto.

Queste nobili persone, dimore di virtù e tesori di felicità, Mi sono care come la vita”.

(*Rāmcaritmānas* VII, 37.1-38)

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Mia amiko Fabrizio Pennacchetti

Ekzistas pluraj teorioj pri kiom da geamikoj homo povas havi dum sia vivo. Kelkaj difinas amikecon kiel ion facilan, kio estas preskaŭ samenhava kiel konateco. Laŭ ili homo havas dum sia tuta vivo centon da geamikoj. Kelkaj aliaj estas ĉe la alia ekstremo kaj pensas, ke homo havas nur tre malmultajn geamikojn, proksimume 5 kaj temas ofte pri homoj, kiujn li konas de la infaneco.

Mi estas en meza pozicio, ĉar mi pensas, ke mi havas nur malmultajn verajn amikojn [ni preterlasu la prefikson *ge-*, ĉar mi parolas nur pri viraj amikoj]. Sed ili ne estas tiuj de la infaneco, perdiĝintaj dum la movoj pro la vivo de la komenca vilaĝo al la mondo. Ili estas tiuj, kun kiuj mi ĉiam kunlaboris en la Esperanto-movado, pri ĉiaspeca kunlaboro, de organizado de loka kurso al verkado de sciencaj artikoloj. Unu el tiuj 4 aŭ 5 estas Fabrizio, kiun mi konis en la komenco de la 1970-aj jaroj, kiam mi sekvis perfektigan kurson en la Universitato de Torino dum unu jaro kaj kun kiu mi restis en daŭra rilato pro komunaj interesoj pri Esperanto kaj lingvistiko kaj pro komunaj konatoj en tiu kampo. Mi ne povas ne menciigi ĉi tie la de longa tempo forpasintan profesoron Alessandro Bausani, kiu estis grandega fakulo pri orientaj lingvoj, esperantisto kaj okupiĝanto pri sekretaj kaj universalaj lingvoj. Same dum la vivo ni ambaŭ estis en kontakto kun Tullio De Mauro, kiu multe estimis Fabrizion, kaj kun Renzo Titone, kun kiu ni partoprenis kune kun Fabrizio en solena Esperanto-kunveno en Vercelli.

Mi provas nun laŭmemore reiri al la unua laboro, kiun ni faris kune, kiu estis la tradukado kaj adaptado al la itala de la tiam furora lerno-libro “La Zagreba metodo” aperinta fine de la 1970-aj jaroj kaj bazita sur la plej oftaj radikoj de Esperanto komputile eltirita el transskribitaj paroladoj surbendigitaj.

Alia granda komuna laboro estis la revizio de la klasika lernolibro de Bruno Migliorini, kiu okazis komence de la 1990-aj jaroj. La ĝisdatigo de tiu verko estis granda laboro, ĉar temis pri lernolibro, kiu unue aperis en la jaroj 1920-aj, en kiu la respondeco ŝanĝi la klarigojn de fama itala lingvisto, ne povis esti respondeco nur de mi, sed fariĝis komuna respondeco kun Fabrizio, kaj la enkondukon faris Tullio De Mauro.

Sed la okazoj fari komunajn aferojn daŭre prezentiĝis. Mi tre klare memoras okazon, en kiu ni ambaŭ estis vokataj al la Universitato de Udine por komune prezenti Esperanton kaj lingvan politikon al la studentoj de la kurso pri ĝenerala lingvistiko.

Intertempe mi legadis tra la vivo ĉion, kion Fabrizio produktis en la kampo de ĝenerala lingvistiko, kaj memoras la kap-turniĝojn kaŭzigitajn de liaj teorioj pri prepozicioj kaj la plezuron sekvi la ekeston de artikoloj el la antikva Egiptujo tra Grekujo ĝis modernaj Eŭropaj lingvoj.

Kaj ankoraŭ lastatempe mi legas liajn esplorojn pri la migrado de la alfabetaj literoj ekde la fenikoj al la grekaj kolonioj en la nuna Turkujo.

Lia vasta kulturo kaj abunda spertaro daŭre elŝprucis, pretervole, kiam li rakontis ion ajn, ekzemple pri la sinteno de arabaj virinoj en Irako al kristanaj amantoj aŭ pri la elparolo de Esperanto fare de iranaj esperantistoj. Tio igis lin magia kunparolanto.

Sed kompreneble tutviva amikeco ne dependas nur de intelektaj interŝanĝoj. Estante preskaŭ samaĝaj ni havis paralelajn vivojn kaj vivsituationojn: edziĝo, kresko de la familio, matureco kaj maljuniĝo. Psiĥologoj dirus, ke ni apartenas al la sama 'kohorto' kaj ni ĉiam interŝanĝis spertojn kaj kunlaboris ankaŭ pri ĝenaj taskoj en la Esperanto-movado, kiel ĉeestado de tre tedaj kunsidoj de la Itala Instituto de Esperanto, en kiu nuntempe Fabrizio estas prezidanto kaj mi arbitranto.

Dankon, Fabrizio, pro via tutviva amikeco.

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Due note egittologiche

1. Il tema delle statue animate o che occasionalmente si animano percorre la storia culturale dell'antichità ed è un tema di natura composita, nel quale si fondono aneddotica popolare, supposto intervento divino e aspetti magici.¹ Il tema, oltre che nella magia e nella teurgia, è presente anche nell'ermetismo: nell'Asclepio (cap. 37) vengono appunto ricordate tali miracolose statue. C'è generale accordo tra gli studiosi sul fatto che l'ermetismo, nato in Egitto probabilmente nella regione Menfitica - Fayumitica,² è stato il prodotto del pensiero religioso e filosofico greco con l'assunzione di alcuni elementi egiziani³ e ritengo che uno di questi sia proprio il tema delle statue animate. Sin da epoca molto antica il pensiero religioso egiziano aveva attribuito una funzione importante alle statue divine ed alle statue dedicate a defunti o a persone di rango sociale elevato, funzione acquisita grazie ad un rito lungo e complesso, quello dell'apertura (simbolica) degli occhi e della bocca della statua stessa.⁴ Il rito rendeva la statua ritualmente pura ed in grado di ospitare la manifestazione attiva (*b3*) del dio o del defunto, manifestazione che inabitava provvisoriamente la statua rendendola una presenza in grado di partecipare del sacrificio offerto. Per lo stesso motivo si aprivano ritualmente occhi e bocca della mummia in previsione delle visite del suo *b3*.

Non era possibile sapere quando la statua era pervasa dalla presenza del dio: il rituale templare giornaliero prevedeva il mattino inni per il risveglio della statua e comunque il sacerdote officiante era consapevole che all'apertura del *naos* che ospitava l'immagine egli era di fronte alla presenza divina.⁵

La continuità ideologica tra la tradizione egiziana e il pensiero ermetico e successivamente magico e teurgico pare davvero evidente.

¹ Carla Sfameni. 2016. "Statue e polemiche religiose in età tardoantica: la tradizione delle 'statue animate' tra magia, teurgia e prassi oracolare". *MHNH* 16: 153-176.

² Paola Buzi. 2021. "Da Nj-M3't-R' a Premarres fino a Poimandres: L'inarrestabile ascesa divina di Amenemhat III, dio primordiale, nume tutelare e intelletto supremo. Status quaeestionum e nuove prospettive di ricerca," *Quaderni di Vicino Oriente* 17: 87-94 (con ulteriore bibliografia).

³ Sean E. McGrath. 2021. "Promoting Hermeticism through Aetiology in Corpus Hermeticum". In: *Inventing Origins? Aetiological Thinking in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, edited by Antje Wessels and Jacqueline Klooster, 149-163. Leiden: Brill.

⁴ Eberhard Otto. 1960. *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

⁵ Maurice Alliot. 1949-1954. *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*. Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie Orientale.

2. L'*ostrakon* Torino 27001 (ramesside; Ramesse IV) è un *unicum* nella documentazione egiziana.⁶ Redatto occasionalmente sul retro sopra un preesistente disegno di un'epifania divina in forma di vacca sacra da uno scriba non completamente formato, come mostrano i frequenti errori ortografici, esso è un elenco di modi di dire, di frasi di saggezza popolare e di proverbi con un evidente interesse lessicale per le parole usate. Le frasi sono separate da spazi bianchi. Una di queste (righe 9-10) è apparentemente sorprendente, poiché si comprende il commento ma non l'espressione oggetto del commento stesso.

Questo è il commento

tꜣj smj, bw sdm-f zp hr ꜥk-f, hnw r-dd sw

Riferire una notizia (anche nel senso pregnante di rivolgere un'accusa) senza averla sentita precisamente. Espressione usata nei confronti di chi l'ha detto.

Dunque si tratta di un fatto riferito, capito male e peggio trasmesso. La frase oggetto del commento è

pds nhr-f m sꜥdꜣ ꜥꜣ.w

Scritta così la frase è incomprensibile: *Calpestare / appiattare ... del tutto a torto*. La soluzione a mio parere è riconoscere che il testo contiene una parola sinora mai attestata, ossia *n(j)-hr*, una formazione nominale ben nota in egiziano (ad es. *nj-swt* re, letter. che appartiene al giunco) e dunque nostro caso *Che appartiene al volto = aspetto*. La frase dunque va intesa *Appiattare il suo aspetto del tutto a torto*, ed il 'suo' si riferisce alla notizia trasmessa. La parola è stata scritta in maniera errata, senza il determinativo, che in questo caso sarebbe dovuto essere il segno di papiro per indicare il concetto astratto.

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⁶ Edizione e commento sono in corso di stampa nella Miscellanea di studi in onore di Maria Patrizia Bologna.

Fabrizio e Rocca

11 settembre 2023. Scuola secondaria di primo grado di Rocca de' Baldi. Classe prima. Prima ora di lezione del nuovo anno scolastico. Ragazze e ragazzi si presentano all'insegnante che non li conosce e che loro non conoscono. Almeno, così crede lui: ma non sono nemmeno passati trenta minuti quando viene clamorosamente smentito. Una ragazzina alza la mano e chiede: "Scusi, professore, vero che lei è stato allievo del professor Pennacchietti?"

"Ebbene sì, è vero. Tanti anni fa, all'università di Torino, ma tu come fai a saperlo? Hai undici anni..."

La ragazzina sorride e spiega ai compagni chi è il professor Pennacchietti. Sa anche che la sua materia di insegnamento era la Filologia semitica, ma non è questa la cosa più importante per lei: l'ammirazione della ragazzina per il professor Pennacchietti è legata ad altre cose, al fatto che lui sa tutto di arte e di storia, al fatto che a Rocca de' Baldi ha una casa antichissima su cui sa ogni cosa, al fatto che condivide sia la casa sia la cultura con gli altri abitanti del borgo di Rocca. E sa spiegare tutto benissimo anche ai ragazzini.

Sinceramente, tutto mi sarei aspettato dal mio primo giorno di insegnamento in una nuova prima media, tranne di assistere a una così sincera e commovente attestazione di affetto per Fabrizio Pennacchietti. Ma in realtà, a ripensarci con calma, non c'è nulla di cui stupirsi: il professore è una figura di riferimento importantissima per gli abitanti di Rocca de' Baldi, borgo medievale di cui è innamorato e a cui dedica tempo, cura e passione. Tutti lo conoscono e chi lo conosce meglio lo ama, ricambiando il sincero affetto che lui dimostra nei confronti di questo nostro territorio monregalese.

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Pennacchietti, the Prince of Sheba

I first met Prof. Pennacchietti in the Aram conference on the Neo-Aramaic dialects which took place in The Oriental Institute of University of Oxford in July 2009. I was just a young MA student, about to present my first paper in a scientific conference. Prof. Pennacchietti, needless to say, was already then a well-established scholar with over 100 publications behind him. At the time, I had hardly read any of his articles, but his elderly figure certainly inspired some awe. Very quickly I discovered his kindness, openness and human warmth. At the time he was only 70 years of age, but his energy, vast knowledge and genuine interest for his various research topics transpired of youth. After the conference he sent me his remarkable article about the Queen of Sheba,¹ in which he shows his mastery not only in linguistics, but also in philology, religion, and Renaissance art, all intertwined into a fascinating narrative, very far from typical dry scholarly writing.

In short, Prof. Pennacchietti made a huge impression on me! I have been grateful to meet him again in subsequent Neo-Aramaic conferences, such as in Warsaw (2016) and in Uppsala (2018). In the last conference at Uppsala I got to meet also his lovely wife Barbro, and I discovered, to my surprise, that he also speaks Swedish! From that conference I have as a souvenir a wonderful photo of the three of us.

Since we first met, Prof. Pennacchietti has increased his publication count by more than 50 new articles. I wish him many more years of engaging and productive research!

Ariel Gutman

Zürich

¹ Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti. 2002. *Legends of the Queen of Sheba*. In: *Queen of Sheba: Treasures from Ancient Yemen*, edited by St John Simpson, 31-38. London: The British Museum Press.

Amikeco tridekdujara

Mia unua kontakto kun Fabrizio estis fakso de 1991-11-19 de li al mi. Temis tiam pri Giorgio Silfer kaj Perla Martinelli. Tamen ni renkontiĝis persone nur en Rejkjaviko en 2013, kie ni manĝis kune kaj multe parolis, i.a. pri la persa reĝo Mithradatha. En 2013 temis pri leterinterŝanĝo pri la vojaĝo en norda Svedujo de la grafo Carl Mörner, kiu verkis pri tiu vojaĝo en la sveda lingvo. Mi helpis mian torinan amikon pri transkribo de malfacile legebla tekso kaj pri traduko en Esperanton, kiu koncernis veran konservativulon: Leonard Fredrik Rääf, kiu kontraŭis la konstruadon de fervojoj (ĉar la sistemo uzi ĉevalon ja bonege funkciis), kaj la enkondukon de popolaj lernejoj (ĉar ili detruas la tradiciajn sciojn de la popolo). Jen ion por lerni!

Poste, en 2021, temis pri korespondado kun Charles Häberl, ebla kandidato por membreco en Akademio Comenius, fondita en Kopenhago en 1986. Mi samtempe menciis mian verkadon pri la ruslingva gramatiko de jido, verkita de L. Zamenhof ĉirkaŭ la jaro 1881, sed publikigita nur en 1982. Pri ĝi mi publikigis kaj libron en Esperanto kaj ĉapitron en la angla, ambaŭ eldonitaj fare de Petro Chrdle.

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Frequentando Fabrizio Pennacchietti da trenta anni

Fabrizio Pennacchietti fu colui che mi fece scoprire gli scavi di Ebla e il *Dizionario di Ebla*, il più antico dizionario bilingue di cui abbiamo notizia. Stavo raccogliendo materiali per un libro sui dizionari bilingui¹ ed ero molto contenta che a scoprire il *Dizionario di Ebla* fosse stata una spedizione archeologica italiana.² Precedenti opere bibliografiche sulla storia della lessicografia mondiale non lo menzionavano ed è merito di Fabrizio se, dopo le traduzioni in inglese della parte introduttiva del mio libro, gli studi di metalessicografia bilingue cominciano da Ebla.

Sempre agli inizi degli anni Novanta ricordo la sua partecipazione agli incontri linguistici del lunedì pomeriggio, una volta al mese, presso la tranquilla sede dell'Atlante Linguistico Italiano, nelle viscere di Palazzo Nuovo.³ Erano la versione torinese dei circoli linguistici attivi in quegli anni a Berkeley, al MIT, in Danimarca e ovunque ci fosse un numero abbastanza consistente di linguisti di scuole diverse. A Torino era animato dagli allievi di Benvenuto Terracini e di Giuliano Bonfante, dai semiologi/filologi alla Avalle, dal filosofo del linguaggio Diego Marconi e dai linguisti testuali agli inizi come me, nonché ovviamente dalla nutrita schiera di dialettologi che all'Atlante ci ospitavano. Erano discussioni più libere di una vera e propria conferenza: i giovani assistevano affascinati a discussioni fra i docenti o fra i docenti e il relatore di turno. Per alcuni dei giovani chiamati a fare i relatori sui loro studi fu anche una prova del fuoco amichevole, ma memorabile, prima di partecipare con interventi a conferenze.

Pennacchietti interveniva abbastanza spesso a questi incontri del lunedì: ricordo in particolare la sua presenza quando veniva qualcuno a parlare di lingue da lui coltivate ma ignote alla maggioranza dei partecipanti. Fu praticamente il solo a dialogare sensatamente con Silvia Luraghi quando lei venne a esporci i suoi studi sull'ittita.

¹ Marellò, Carla. 1989. *Dizionari bilingui. Con schede sui dizionari italiani per francese, inglese, spagnolo, tedesco*. Bologna: Zanichelli, Bologna.

² Pettinato, Giovanni et al. (a cura di). 1982. *Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L.2769. Materiali epigrafici di Ebla*. 3. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.

³ Allora, come ora, vi si entrava da via Sant'Ottavio 20 e poi si scendevano le scale a metà del grande ambiente di ingresso.

Partecipò anche agli inizi del Dottorato in Studi euroasiatici, nato dalla fusione di precedenti dottorati, seguendo dottorandi di area semitistica, ma non mancando di contribuire con le sue conoscenze linguistiche alla didattica di formazione di quel dottorato.

Ha continuato a collaborare con il Dottorato in lingue e letterature straniere moderne, linguistica e onomastica e infine con il Dottorato in Digital Humanities, cogestito dalle università di Torino e Genova. In seno a quest'ultimo dottorato sono state organizzate giornate di studi arabi e semitici: Pennacchietti ha introdotto quella che ha avuto luogo a Torino il 28 marzo 2014, i cui atti sono poi apparsi nella sezione monografica di studi linguistici incentrati sull'arabo e sull'aramaico moderno della rivista *RiCognizioni*,⁴ rivista per la quale ha anche svolto il ruolo di blind, ma occhiuto, reviewer.

La vastità di conoscenze di Fabrizio è sempre stata accompagnata da grande affabilità e senso dell'umorismo, per cui parlare con lui non è solo un guadagno intellettuale, ma anche una vera gioia.

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⁴ RiCOGNIZIONI. Rivista di lingue, letterature e culture moderne 2 • 2014/1 <https://ojs.unito.it/index.php/ricognizioni>

Fabrizio

Fabrizio Angelo Pennacchietti estas mia plej kara kaj plej longtempa amiko en la E-medio, kaj nia interrilatado dum la jardekoj tuŝis plurajn diversajn temojn. Dum certaj periodoj ni fizike distancis, sed neniam apartiĝis: ni havis ĉiam komunan temon, komunan kunvenon, komunan intereson, komunan institucian agadon.

Kiam mi estis deksepjara kaj estis vizitanta la IJKon en Villeneuve-les-Avignon en 1957 mi aŭdis pri talenta junulo studanta en Romo, kaj supozis, ke li venos eĉ nur preterpase al la IJK, sed renkontiĝo ne okazis. La postan jaron mi ekkonis en la IJK Barbro, la svedinon kiu poste iĝos lia edzino. Kvankam tiam Romo estis mia kutima revenloko post kongresoj aŭ studado en Pisa, mi neniam renkontis Fabrizion, kiu jam estis migrinta al islamaj landoj por perfektigi postuniversitataj studoj. Mi ne memoras pri kunaj estraranecoj, kvankam tiuj estis la jaroj de mia institucia aktivado en TEJO kaj en la Itala E-ista Junularo.

Male, tute precizan memoron mi havas pri pli maturaj tempoj, kiam ni kune partoprenis en studotagoj ĉe la Internacia Esplorcento pri la mediaj strukturoj “Pio Manzù” okazintaj en septembro 1975¹. Ni estis jam stabilaj universitataj profesoroj, li jam sekure lanĉita al pli altnivela katedro pri semidologio, mi pli modeste klopodanta travestii al aplikata matematiko miajn studojn pri lingvistiko. Ni havis tiam okazon gastigi en la sama hotelo en Rimini, manĝi kune kaj longe diskuti kun aliaj partoprenantoj en tiuj tagoj, kiuj ja ne estis principe esperanto-temaj, sed kunigis plurajn fakulojn pri la internacia komunikado, inter kiuj kibernetikisto Silvio Ceccato (moderiganto), Alessandro Bausani, Alberto Mioni, Tazio Carlevaro, Renato Corsetti, Nino Vessella. La tiama parolado de Fabrizio pri la lingvaj minoritatoj en Irako estis elstare klera kaj klara; kiam ni private interparolis pri eblo altiĝi al orda profesoro li modeste, sed realisme, diris “Danĝeraj ni estas kvar”, kaj fakte je la tuj posta ŝanco li iĝis eksterorda profesoro (poste orda) antaŭe en Venecio kaj poste en sia kutima loĝurbo Torino.

Liaj rutinaj irrevenaj vojaĝoj Torino-Venecio donis al mi pluan okazon tre konkrete kunlabori. Estis la tempo de la longe treniĝinta redaktado de la Itala-Esperanta Vortaro, komencita de Stefano La Colla, kiun mi estis klopodanta kompletigi. Mi skribis ĉion mane sur unuopaj slipoj kaj miaj pluraj kunlaborantoj intervenis mane modife sur ilin. Ĉe la kelkminuta halto de la trajno en Padova mi min

¹ Giornate Internazionali di studio organizzate dal Centro Internazionale ricerche sulle strutture ambientali “Pio Manzù”, Rimini, Teatro Novelli, 21-23 settembre 1975; publikigita en *Strutture ambientali* (Rimini) 30 (1976): 5-93.

trovigis sur la ĝusta trotuaro, Fabrizio alfenestriĝis, alprenis de mi reviziotan paketon da slipoj aŭ redonis al mi reviziitan; tio okazis plur-plurfoje. Cetere en Torino li ne nur reviziis miajn slipojn, sed ankaŭ peris la kroman reviziadon de Clelia Conterno. Dum lia instruado en Torino en la komisiita kurso pri Interlingvistiko kaj Esperantologio, kiu daŭris pli ol dek jarojn, mi rolis unu fojon kiel spertulo pri la fako kaj ekzamenis liajn (cetere tre bone preparitajn) studentojn.

Tre intense ni kunlaboris ankaŭ ĉe la Akademio Internacia de la Sciencoj San Marino. Mi estis sekvinta tepide ĝian fondiĝon la 28an de decembro 1983, ĝis iu lia telefonado kelke da monatoj poste stimulis min al partopreno en jam startinta iniciato kiu ŝajnis, kaj dum preskaŭ kvardeko da jaroj ja estis, ekstreme grava. Li estis prezidanto de la Eŭropa Klubo kaj estis peranto inter la iniciatinto Helmar Frank kaj la ministrino de San Marino Fausta Morganti; ja en San Marino aktivis la instruistino kaj virindefendanto Marina Michelotti, kiu pretigis tre favoran terenon por esperantlingva aktivado: fakte nur el San Marino, el la kvar alproponitaj malgrandaj ŝtatoj, venis favora respondo por iniciato de universitatnivela Akademio.

La Sanmarinaj Universitatoj Semajnoj establiĝis en la Respubliko San Marino kiel oficiala ŝtata institucio, disvolviĝis kursoj, okazis kursfinaj ekzamenoj kaj mi kaj Fabrizio dum jaroj ilin plenumis plejofte samkomisione. Tio kondukis nin ankaŭ ekster San Marinon, ĉar la programoj de AIS etendiĝis ankaŭ al Sibiu (Rumanio), Bydgoszcz (Pollando), Nitra kaj Komárno (Slovakio) kaj al la Universalaj Kongresoj. Tiaj programoj de AIS disvolviĝis prefere en lokoj kie loĝis enlandaj minoritatoj, kia la germana en Sibiu, aŭ la hungara en Komárno. Ni ĉiam estis kune kaj prelegis en tiuj kursoj. Vojaĝoj ne estis ĉiam tute glataj: mi memoras kiam ni devis trairi piede hungaran-slovakon landlimon; ni haltis en Hungario ĉe la landlima stacio Győr kaj, atende de la trajno kiu devis konduki nin al Aŭstrio, klopodis deĉifri menuon en restoracieto; tagofine mi memoras kunan vesperon en belega Viena parko.

Plaĉa estis la ĉiujara “assembleo” de AIS, devige okazanta en San Marino por ke la stato de sanmarina institucio estu plu kaj plu konservata. Pro la bedaŭrinde definitiviĝinta senintereso de la sanmarina iama subtena grupo, la assembleo konsistis en la lastaj jaroj el nur tri personoj, Fabrizio, mi kaj la sanmarina sekretario Riccardo Venturini. Fabrizio venis trajne el Torino kaj tranoktis en Rimini; mi, akompanate de mia edzino, venis matene aŭtomobile el Padova, lin kunprenis el la hotelo kaj aŭtis dum la ĉ. duonhora iro ĝis la lokalo de la assembleo, jen en la Urbo San Marino (landcentra) jen en Serravalle, unu el la administraj distriktoj de la respubliko, nomataj “kasteloj”. La kuna vojaĝado stimulis longajn kaj informoplenajn rakontojn de Fabrizio pri siaj pluraj vojaĝoj, studoj, spertoj en landoj kiaj Turkio, Malto kaj Irako: li konis altrangulojn, vezirojn, princojn. Por ni, kiuj neniam estis vizitintaj tiujn landojn, liaj raportoj pri kutimoj, strukturoj, sociaj klasoj estis ekstreme fascinaj. La assembleon kutime sekvis amika kunmanĝo ĉe restoracio laŭ la subenstrato de San Marino al la

marbordo, aŭ iam ankaŭ ĉe prof. Fausta Morganti, eksa ministro de San Marino, kiu oficialigis la aktivadon de AIS.

Post la estingiĝo de AIS San Marino, kiu plu aktivas sub la simpla nomo AIS, nia kunlaboro daŭras konstante en la Itala Esperanto-Instituto, kies prezidanto Fabrizio estas ekde pluraj jaroj (kaj mi estas ĉiam invitata kiel membro de la arbitracia kolegio); ni intervidiĝas periode dum la italaj E-kongresoj aŭ per zomo kaj mi lin sekvas sur la paĝoj de Literatura Foiro, kies konstanta kunlaboranto li estas; interesa lia teorio pri la evoluo de la lingvoj laŭ la globzonoj, depende de la horoj dum kiuj ili estas lumigataj de la suno.

Pluan sanon kaj laboron!

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El maldekstre: Tazio Carlevaro, Fabrizio A. Pennacchetti, Alessandro Bausani kaj Carlo Minnaja (25 septembro 1975; Grand Hotel, Rimini)

Nomignoli: “Ganaulùn” e “Roscòf”

Da piccino e magrolino, mi è spesso capitato di sentirmi apostrofare dai vecchi della famiglia con il nomignolo di “ganaulùn”, di cui conservo un ricordo misteriosamente incerto tra un leggero compatimento e una totale vanità di spirito. Non era peraltro il “matòt” o “fulìn”¹ che distingueva le birichinate indebite ma perdonabili, diminutivi comprensibili e facilmente deducibili dalla loro radice, senza dover ricorrere al *Sant’Albino*.²

Si trattava di qualcosa di più puntuto, accompagnato da un’impercettibile insofferenza di fronte a miei atteggiamenti o ragionamenti che io giudicavo tuttavia pertinentissimi, e che—proprio per questo—mi procurava un certo malessere psicologico, nonché diffuso rossore. Gli anni son passati, ma quel disagio è rimasto; e ora l’occasione del riunirci per celebrare Fabrizio Pennacchietti mi riporta alla mente la sua elegantissima ricerca linguistica e specchio di tradizioni: *Fusciacche e margherite: divagazioni etimologiche nel Vicino Oriente*³ che resta un garbato modello di civiltà, al quale vorrei poter annodare questo minimo nastrino.

Son tornato dunque al mio “ganaulùn”, alfine trovando, passando per le nostre valli franco-provenzali—quale possibile origine—il “ganaulo” di Tolosa: “Ganaulo, long gâteau sans œufs pour le carême, sorte d’échaudé”.⁴ *Ganaulo* o più largamente *canaulo*:⁵ e l’artigiano che li fabbrica è il *canaulié*.

¹ Ortograficamente in piemontese *folìn*.

² *Gran dizionario piemontese-italiano, compilato dal Cavaliere Vittorio Sant’Albino*. Torino: Dalla Società L’unione tipografico-editrice: 1859.

³ Alessandria: dell’Orso: 2012.

⁴ Jean Doujat [1609-1688], *Le Dicciounari moundi de la oun soun enginats principalomen les mouts les pus escarriés, an l’explicaciu francozezo. Dictionnaire de la langue toulousaine*, A Toulouso, de l’imprimario de Jan Boudo, imprimur ordinari del rey, à l’ensegno de S. Jan, prép del Couletge de Foüis. MDCXLII, *ad vocem*. E si vada anche: *Dictionnaire de la langue toulousaine* ([Reproduction en fac-similé]), Genève—Marseille, Slatkine—Laffitte Reprints: 1974: 53.

⁵ François Lacombe, *Dictionnaire du vieux langage français; contenant aussi la Langue Romance ou Provençale, & la Normande, du neuvième au quinzième siècle; enrichi de Passages en vers & en prose, pour faciliter l’intelligence des Loix, des Usages, des Coutumes & des Actes Publics*, À Paris: chez Nicolas Augustin Delalain: MDCCLXVII: 84, *ad vocem* “long gâteau sans œufs pour le carême”.

Lo confermerà alla lettera il Mistral: “*Canaulo*: long gâteau fait sans œufs que l’on mange en carême, dans le Languedoc, sorte d’échaudé”.⁶

Sebbene la variante bordolese del *canelé* (o anche *cannelé*)⁷ sia, al solito, di elaborata pasticceria, la tradizione occitana, provenzale e di Languedoc, è vicina all’*échaudé*, piccoli dolci che bisogna “échauder, passer à l’eau chaude” prima di metterli in forno. Si tratta insomma di un lungo biscotto quaresimale, preparato senza impiego di burro, e non di un ghiotto *cannolo* (siciliano) o *cannelé* bordolese. Bisogna semmai osservare che a Bordeaux l’arte ebbe tale successo che divenne pienamente una *maîtrise*, una corporazione con i propri regolamenti, assolutamente distinta dai “facitori di pane” o *boulangers*. Ecco, da un antico Regolamento, i pezzi di prova da approntare dagli aspiranti *canauliers*: “chaque qualité de ladite maîtrise: sçavoir un Pain bény pour celle des faiseurs de Pain bény; une Canaule, un Retortillon, un Eschaudé ou Chaudalet pour être reçus Maistres de faiseurs de Pain beny, Canauliers et Pancoussiers, moyennant que lesdits Aspirans ayent satisfait par préalable aux anciennes coùtumes, en rendant leurs visites et civilités aux dits Maistres”.⁸ Solo la Rivoluzione livellerà le specificità e i privilegi di questa antica corporazione, assimilandoli prosaicamente ai *boulangers*.⁹ (Del resto il Leopardi, vedendo gli effetti ordinari del lascito della Rivoluzione, osserverà—e non certo con compiacimento—che la “civiltà tira sempre ad uniformare”).¹⁰

⁶ Frédéric Mistral, *Lou tresor dóu felibrige ou dictionnaire Provençal-Français, embrassant les divers dialects de la langue d’oc moderne*, Aix-en-Provence, Imprimerie veuve Remondet-Aubin, 1878-1886, vol. I : 441, ad vocem. Stessa definizione nel *Dictionnaire des idiomes Romans du midi de la France : comprenant les dialectes du Haut et du Bas-Languedoc, de la Provence, de la Gascogne, du Béarn, du Quercy, du Rouergue, du Limousin, du Bas-Limousin, du Dauphiné, etc.*, par Gabriel Azaïs : Montpellier—Paris: Maisonneuve: 1877, vol. I: 372, ad vocem: *canaulo*.

⁷ «Le *canelé* est-il plutôt la version moderne de la *canaule* (ou *canaulé*, ou encore *canaulet*) en vogue à Bordeaux au XVII^e siècle ? Cela paraît vraisemblable» (Annie Perrier et Robert, *Dictionnaire de la gourmandise. Pâtisseries, friandises et autres douceurs*. Paris: Laffont: 2012, ad vocem: *canelé*).

⁸ *Anciens et nouveaux statuts de la ville et cité de Bordeaux, reveus, corrigez et augmentez de tous les Arrêts du Conseil et du Parlement, des Ordonnances et Reglemens qui ont été rendus sur iceux depuis l’Édition de 1612*, À Bordeaux, chez Simon Boe’ Imprimeur de la Ville: MDCCI: 516.

⁹ “Le pain du *canaulier* soit soumis au même règlement que celui du boulanger, et qu’il soit ordonné aux boulangers, canauliers et autres marchands de pain de vendre au poids et au détail le pain de toute qualité” (Archives municipales de Bordeaux: 1789, anno VIII, vol 1: 161).

¹⁰ “Ora, la civiltà tira sempre, come altrove ho detto, ad uniformare; [...]. Ed ella tira quindi sempre a confondere, risolvere, perdere ed agguagliare i caratteri nazionali, e quindi quelli delle lingue” (Giacomo Leopardi, *Zibaldone*, p. 1517; nota del 18 agosto 1821; cito dall’edizione a cura di Francesco Flora, Milano: Mondadori: 1973, tomo I: 999). Ben prima che il Leopardi dovesse convenire che «la civiltà tira a uniformare», già Carlo Goldoni in una lucidissima lettera da Parigi del 24 gennaio 1763 osservava: “Parigi è un bel paese per chi ama il bel mondo. [...] Evvi una certa uniformità di vivere e di costume, che toglie la

Il mio nomignolo “ganaulùn” era dunque il segno, protratto e peggiorato dall’accrescitivo, di un lungo tormento quaresimale (“Lungo come la Quaresima” ancora si dice oggi), che infliggevo al mio prossimo, probabilmente per i miei “prolissi”—questo è toscano—ragionamenti, pieni di subordinate, ma forse secchi e poco appetibili come un *ganaulo* occitano... (senza contare i rischi di apparentamento con *candolo*, dalle venature di insipienza ben marcate—e ben “fades, in ogni caso, entrambe le accezioni):

mets composé d’amidon, de fromage, de miel et de lait, s. f. Gâteau sans levain, que les Juifs du Midi font avec de la fleur de farine, du sucre et de l’eau rose, pour célébrer la fête des pains azymes ; sorte d’échaudé, v. *canaulo* ; niais, imbécile, v. *nèsci*.¹¹

Assai diversamente, il nomignolo che i “vecchi” di famiglia avevano foggiato per mio fratello, più piccolo di un anno, era “roscòf”: non certo a causa della città bretone di Roscoff (neppure si sapeva, dalle mie parti, delle sue squisitissime, e oggi appetite, cipolle dolci—dacché non arrivavano da noi neppure quelle di Tropea); bensì probabilmente—per la diligente e apprezzata puntualità esibita dal cadetto—da *Roskopf*, eponimo di un orologio da taschino («cipollone», come si diceva allora—ma senza alludere certo a Roscoff) dal nome dell’inventore di un meccanismo semplificato, detto “scappamento Roskopf”, che permetteva di congegnare questa *montre prolétaire* (costituita da 57 pezzi anziché 160) a molto minor prezzo. Georges-Frédéric Roskopf (Niderweiler, 1813—Berna, 1889) rese il tempo appannaggio di tutti: possesso e schiavitù, misura dei processi lavorativi, del principio che “tempo è denaro”. Tale *montre prolétaire*¹² (o per eccellenza *La Prolétaire*) venne costruita a partire dal 1867 e

fatica o il piacere di far delle osservazioni particolari. In oggi tutti i vizi e le virtù sono mediocri; non vi si scopre un ridicolo originale in nessuno» (Carlo Goldoni, *Opere complete*. Venezia: per i tipi della stamperia già Zanetti: 1952, vol. XXXIX: 53).

¹¹ Frédéric Mistral, *Lou tresor dóu felibrige*, cit., vol. I, p. 444, ad vocem: *candolo*, *caudolo*.

¹² Si veda Eugène Buffat, “Historique et Technique de la Montre Roskopf.” *Journal Suisse d’Horlogerie* 1914 ; e ora *History and Design of the Roskopf Watch*, trad. di Richard Watkins, Kingston Beach, Australia 2007. Rinvio anche a Jean-Marc Barrelet et Jacques Ramseyer, *La drôle de montre de monsieur Roskopf*. Neuchâtel: Alphil: 2013 [“catalogue de l’exposition du bi-centenaire [della nascita] au MIH de la Chaux-de-Fonds”].

E subito nel 1867 tale orologio da taschino venne salutato con favore in Italia: “Un orologio pratico / è stato immaginato dal signor Roskopf, fabbricatore d’orologi in La Chaux de Fonds, nella Svizzera, il quale diedegli nome di ‘orologio pei lavoratori’ ovvero ‘la Prolétaire’. Quest’orologio non tarderà molto di essere adoperato dalla classe più povera, in quanto ché oltre d’avere il vantaggio del modico prezzo in confronto degli altri orologi, vanta eziandio una carica e manutenzione molto pratica” (in *L’Amico dell’Artiere. Giornale dell’Associazione triestina per le Arti e l’Industria* 2/45, domenica 8 dicembre 1867, alla rubrica “Rivista di Giornali”, p. 177). *L’Amico dell’Artiere* era diretto e animato da Francesco Camerini, garbato divulgatore.

presentata, con successo, all'“Exposition universelle de Paris” dello stesso 1867 ; si diffuse rapidamente e in pochi decenni vennero venduti più di trentacinque milioni di esemplari sino agli Settanta del XX secolo (nella famiglia anche mio nonno Carlo ne possedeva uno).

Per la sua esattezza impeccabile, mio fratello era entrato nel nuovo secolo della civiltà meccanica: *roscòf* se non ammirato,¹³ tuttavia al passo col tempo; io restavo *ganaulùn*, esercizio quaresimale che assorbe l'altrui pazienza (non so come abbiamo fatto i miei genitori a “reggere” due figli così...; del resto siamo rimasti quelli che eravamo: il *ganaulùn* ha scelto le Lettere, il *roscòf* l'Ingegneria).

Oggi, redigendo questa minuscola nota lessicografica (e cercando di non essere, per eccesso di lunghezza, *ganaulùn*), misuro quanto insegnino, nella cancellazione generalizzata di ogni lascito del vissuto quotidiano, siffatte microstorie di parole. Pensando a quelle generazioni nate a fine XIX secolo, tra riti agresti, ricordi liturgici, o paraliturgici secolari¹⁴ e tumultuosa inurbazione nelle fabbriche, resto ammirato da tanto affabile misura.

Erano uomini che non avevano titoli, ma moltissime parole dialettali a disposizione, limate dal lavoro e dalla povertà,¹⁵ e dunque essenziali, provenienti dai commerci e dalla memoria di tutta Europa. E sapevano soppesare e dipingere un carattere, con benevola finezza.

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¹³ Anche la «montre prolétaire» s'incepava, al punto che alcuni vocabolari piemontesi ci testimoniano come il termine *roscòf* avesse preso, poco alla volta, il significato opposto: «Catorcio, macchinario mal funzionante» (Primo Culasso e Silvio Viberti, *Rastlèire. Vocabolàri d'Arba, Brà, Langa e Roé. Vocabolario illustrato di Alba, Bra, Langhe e Roero*. Savigliano: Gribaudo: 2003: 374, ad vocem: *roscòf*).

¹⁴ Gian Luigi Beccaria, *Siciterat. Il latino di chi non lo sa: Bibbia e liturgia nell'italiano e nei dialetti*. Milano: Garzanti: 2002. Ringrazio il Maestro e l'Amico per la preziosa rilettura del mio testo.

¹⁵ Povertà che resta il vero *Leitmotiv* della storia e del vocabolario italiano; cfr. Piero Camporesi, *Il paese della fame*. Bologna: Il Mulino: 1978 e ss.

An addendum to the verbal system in Senaya

After having published my two articles “The Verbal System in the NA Dialects” (Panoussi 2012)¹ and “A Comparison of the Verbal Systems in Senaya and Urmežnaya” (Panoussi 2015)² some colleagues sent me some questions concerning some verbal forms in Senaya, a fact that prompted me to write the following as an addendum to those articles which were first written with Printer Polyglott Program³ when I was in Germany and Sweden, before being converted into Office Word once I came to the U.S.A. Due to this fact, the charts and tables do not appear exactly like in the Printer Polyglott version. In addition to that and due to the fact that I was (and I still am) lacking enough time to do a real editorial work on these articles, I was not able to correct some words or phrases occurring here or there in the related context, e.g. in footnote 39 of Panoussi (2015: 42): ‘he sah [German] the man’ instead of ‘he saw the man.’ Further, in Panoussi (2012: 28-29), the origin of /našqenele/ ‘I♂ am kissing him’ is wrongly given as to have been */našqen-yen-ele/, whereas it clearly seems to be an alternative to the original form /našqen-le-yen/. The ending *-lele* is to be, namely, considered a generalization from *-lele*, in /nāšeqlele/ ‘he is kissing him,’ which has been analogically applied to the other subjects, too. The modern speakers of the Senaya, especially the younger ones, are, however, using the more simple and generalized form rather than the grammatically correct one. Thus: /našqanele/ ‘I♀ am kissing him’ instead of /našqaneyan; /našqetele [< *našqetlele] / instead of /našqet[l]eyet/; /našqatele [< *našqatlele] / ‘you♀ are kissing him’ instead of /našqatleyat/; /našqoḥlele/ ‘we are kissing him’ instead of /našqoḥleyoḥ/; ⁴ /našqitonele/ [< /*našqitōnlele/] ‘you are kissing him’ instead of /našqitoneyiton/ [< /*našqitonleiton/]; /našqilele/ ‘they are kissing them’ instead of /našqilelu/.

The following synoptic charts are made to illustrate only the simple present and the progressive or durative present in only the indicative mood in Senaya. As indicated in the endnote 5 in this article

¹ Estiphan Panoussi. 2012. “The Verbal System in the NA Dialects.” *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 26/1-2: 15-43.

² Estiphan Panoussi. 2015. “A Comparison of the Verbal Systems in Senaya and Urmežnaya.” *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 28/1-2: 16-47.

³ A program made by my polymath colleague Jost Gippert, to whom I am deeply thankful for all the help I enjoyed since he was at the University of Bamberg. A procedure which could not have been done for my works without the generous help of the technical editor of the *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, deacon Atour Bejan, to whom I here express my cordial thanks, too.

⁴ We are using here [ḥ] as being derived from [ḥ] and [x] as being derived from an original [k] or from [x] in surrounding languages.

at hand, any reference given here or there for a phrase and/or verbal form in Senaya is from my still unpublished Senaya Texts.

As to the tables, the following is to be said: A verbal form like /garšen/ ‘I pull,’ can be used without an intra-conjugational object and without a marker indicating the progressive status of the present tense. Being the word order in Senaya a SOV order, /garšen/, being a transitive verb, needs an object which should be an undetermined, indefinite, object, and put before the verb. e.g. /ḥa mendi garšen/ (OV) ‘I pull something.’ If the object is determined, definite and contextually known, then the verb should display an intra-conjugational pronominal object too, as correlated to that determined object, yielding to a OV pattern, e.g. /ay mendi garšene/ ‘I pull this thing’ (< “this thing, I pull it”), /ō mendi garšene/ ‘I pull that thing,’ /mendiake garšene/ ‘I pull this (/that) very thing,’ or ‘as to this (/that) thing, I pull it.’ If the verb itself is mainly concerned, then a suffixed marker indicating the action itself is used, e.g. /garšenyən/ ‘I am pulling.’ This form can, however, have also an extra-conjugational definite or indefinite object, OV, but always with a correlated intra-conjugational object, OV, /ḥa mendi garšenyen/ ‘I am pulling something’ (OV), or /mendiake garšenyen/ ‘the thing in question, I am pulling it,’ or /ay mendi garšenyen/ ‘I am pulling this thing,’ or ‘[as to] this very thing, I am pulling it.’

Given the fact that the accent in Senaya can have a distinctive function, these verbal forms in these charts are using it in its penult position to signal the indicative mood. Thus, /garšéne/ means ‘I pull it’ vs. /keben gáršene/ meaning ‘I want that I pull it’ (subjunctive mood) → ‘I want to pull it.’ The accent in verbs made of two syllables is, therefore, ambiguous: /ḥa nāša gáršen/ ‘I pull someone’ vs. /keben ḥa nāša gáršen/ ‘I want to pull someone.’

I present these charts now in the hope they complement my previous articles wherever the verbal system in Senaya is explained. They will surely also benefit those who are starting to learn Senaya as one of the Neo-Aramaic dialects. Indeed, it is a very special, and unfortunately a moribund, dialect. These charts are especially intended for those who start with Senaya to become acquainted with the verbal system in any of the Neo-Aramaic dialect.

As these charts show, each subject with its related verb has theoretically, morphologically and syntactically, several options in combination with the intra-conjugational object and the related marker of the progressive or durative present. As the case of, e.g., /garšen/, in the first chart, shows, there are 15 usage possibilities of this verb. The first three columns (under the subject with a transitive verb) are reserved for a subject which is, in its case, a 1 sg ♂, first person in singular masculine, the use of which is, then, for eliminating the other two options of 1 sg ♀ and 1 pl common, which would be otherwise used whenever their related verbal forms would require them.

Vertically, the third use of /garšen/ in the third row cannot have an intra-conjugational object in neither sg ♂ or sg ♀, or 1 pl ♂&♀, i.e. such a case cannot grammatically be given or applied, it is a NA (not applied) case. But if the object in 1 sg ♂ is to be taken for a reflexive pronoun, then a form like /(*begyāni*) garšen ta gyāni/ ‘I myself pull myself,’ or like /ta gyāni garšen/ ‘I pull myself,’ or ‘I pull for myself.’ In the latter case, there can be need for an object, /ḥa mendi ta gyāni garšen/ ‘I pull something for myself.’

The simple present in Senaya is usually negated by prefixing a particle /lē/: /lēmaḥelpate?/ ‘don't you change him,’ II [i.e. Text #2 from the unpublished Texts],⁵ Nr. 1209; /hīčī lēlapli [< lēnapli/] ‘in no way, they don't fall,’ II, 1209; /āna lēṭalbənyen/ ‘I am not asking,’ III,59; /lēkamet/ ‘you don't say,’ III,193; /lēšōqet ḥāken/ ‘you don't let that I speak out,’ III,298; /waxte lēbi [< lā iṭ bi] mē hōdan/ ‘when I can't, what should I do,’ III,??; /lē lāpel/ ‘it does not fall,’ IV,19; /čəməndi lē fāker čəməndi lakīde [note, however, not /lē kīde!/] lē ḥāke/ ‘he doesn't think of anything, he doesn't know anything, [and] he doesn't speak [at all],’ IV,158; /mṣāle yān lē mṣāle/ ‘he prays or he doesn't pray,’ IV,131; /dey lēšōqet ḥāken/ ‘as a matter of fact, you don't let that I speak out,’ III,298; /pelse xū lē dārēlu gāw ḡēbe/ ‘as to money, well, he does not put them in his pocket,’ V,194; /lē fakra/ ‘she doesn't think,’ VII,60; /en āyet [...] ḥērāt lōdet [<*la-hōdet] ta snīqe, ḥērāt [ḥa mendi] hawale, ḥērāte lē qablenu/ ‘if you don't give alms to the needy people, [knowing that] alms are something good, I don't accept his alms,’ IV,198; /aṣṭan čīḥamnu lē qablenu/ ‘no a single one of them, I [would] not at all accept (them),’ V,30.

For other cases and some tenses, consider the following: /ḥāke/ ‘he speaks’ (/lē ḥāke/ ‘he doesn't speak’ vs. /ḥā:ke/ ‘that he speak’ (/laḥāke/ ‘that he not speak!’); /ḥkēle/ ‘he spoke,’ vs. /laḥkēle/ ‘he didn't speak;’ /gīḥkēle/ ‘he has already spoken,’ vs. /lagīḥkēle/ ‘he has indeed not [yet / at all] spoken.’

The rest of the remaining usage cases in the *garšen*-related chart are, under the light of the above cases, essentially clear and need no further explanation.

Here are some preliminary notes to ease navigating through the tables, intended to replace long textual expositions, and help clarify the whole field of the verbal system in the Neo-Aramaic dialects.

The metalinguistic symbols sg ♂ and ♀ are used for, respectively, masculine and feminine. We had already use in our previous articles ▲ and ▼, first used by Pennacchietti (1994).⁶

⁵ The references here are to my not-yet-published Texts, which will be soon put online in my website still in preparation.

⁶ Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti. 1994. “Il preterito neoaramaico con pronome oggetto.” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 144/2: 259-283.

Each table has a verbal form in one of its multiple rows. This verbal form given or repeated in the first column has multiple options to be using a pronominal object suffix without or with a present progressive marker. If that verbal form is the same also in the last column, that means it is in its semantically basic function, e.g. /garšen/ ‘I am pulling.’ Compared to the next row, it becomes /garšenyən/ because of the related suffixed present progressive marker. The third row is marked with NA, i.e. not applied. From the fourth row to the end the verbal form /garšen/ is used with either only a pronominal suffix alone, /garšenox/ ‘I m. pull you m.,’ or with an additional marker for the present progressive tense, /garšənoxyən/ ‘I m. am pulling you m.’

As to the etymological origin of the suffixed present progressive marker, we assume it being derived from the root /YHB/ ‘to give.’ As explained in endnote 85 of Panoussi (2012), it is probably originated etymologically from /*ihīb-/ ‘given’ > ‘there is,’ to be compared with the German existential phrase /es gibt/ ‘there is.’ Thus, from *yəhīb-ənā ‘I am given’ the existence marking verb /īwen/ ‘I am’ is originated. The related conjugation in Present is then: /īwen/, /īwan/, /īwet/, /īwat/, /īle/, /īla/, /īwoḥ/ (< *[ih]īb[īn]+aḥ[nan]/ (with the progressive nasalization of the vowel in -aḥ-), /īton/, /īlu/, we easily get the suffixed present progressive markers: -yən, -yat, -le (-ile), -la (-ila), -yoḥ, -īton, and -īlu (-lu).

The correct interpretation of /garšənele/, instead of /garšəneyən/ ‘I m. am pulling him’ (alternatively, ‘I^o am pulling him’), as expected in the table, is, as said above, not other than a generalization from the ending -lele in/ gārešlele/ ‘he is pulling him’ (Panoussi (2012: 28-29)).^{7 8}

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⁷ In today’s Senaya, many speakers are confused in using the forms with the ending -lele besides the related original copulative endings. I hope that my tape recordings, starting from, approximately, a half century ago and my unpublished Senaya documentations from the past, once, hopefully very soon, published in my website (www.estiphanpanoussi.com), will cast some light over the confusions in today’s Senaya.

⁸ To restructure the tables, as suggested by the reviewers, would make for a totally different article, with objectives which, by the way, are already imbedded here in the final recapitulating table.

Appendixes: Indicative Present and Progressive Present

A. The *garšan*-type

B. The *garšan*-type

Notes: As in A, /*garšan*/ cannot take an intraconjugational pronominal object in no of the three 1 persons, masculine, feminine or common pl. In /*garšane*/ ‘I pull him,’ the suffixed *-e* is originally *-le*. Thus, /**garšanle*/ > /**garšanne*/ > /**garšane*/; in /*garšana*/ ‘I pull her,’ the suffixed *-a* is originally *-la*; and in /*garšanu*/ ‘I pull them,’ the suffixed *-ū* is originally *-lū* (< *-lāhōn*).

C. The *garšet*-type

Notes: As in A. and B., there are no such forms as /*garšetox!*/, /*garšetax!*/, /*garšetōxən!*/, /*garšetoxyet!*/, etc. The suffixed *-ī* is originally *-lī*. Thus, /**garšetli*/ > /**garšetti*/ > /**garšeti*/ ‘you pull me;’ in /*garšete*/, the suffix *-e* is from *-le*, and in /*garšetu*/ the suffix *-ū* is from *-lū* (< *-lāhōn*) as explained above.

D. The *garšat*-type

Notes: Again, there are no /*garšatox!*/, no /*garšatax!*/, no /*garšatōxən!*/, and no /*garšatoxyat!*/, etc. The suffixed *-ī* is originally *-lī*. Thus, /**garšatli*/ > /**garšatti*/ > /**garšati*/ ‘you pull me;’ in /*garšate*/, the suffix *-e* is from *-le*, and in /*garšatu*/, the suffix *-ū* is from *-lū* (< *-lāhōn*) as said before.

E. The *gāreš*-type

Notes: Here there is no case to be excluded. The suffix *-le* in /*gārešle*/ ‘he pulls him’ cannot be considered as a reflexive pronoun, in which case one would say: /(*begyāne*) *gāreš ta gyāne*/ ‘he himself pulls himself’ or /*ta gyāne gāreš*/ ‘he pulls himself’ or ‘he pulls for himself.’ In the last case, there is need for an object, /*ḥa mendi ta gyāne gāreš*/ ‘he pulls something for himself.’

The suffix *-le* in this chart is ambiguous, as it functions both as an intraconjugational pronominal object and as a marker for the 3 sg ♂. In the latter case, it is derived from *-īle* (< /**īhīb-leh*/, meaning ‘is.’ Thus, /*gārešle*/ means ‘he pulls him,’ and /*gārešlele*/ means ‘he is pulling him.’

F. The *garša*-type

Notes: All the possible cases apply without exception. Thus, the suffix *-la* in /*garšāla*/ ‘she pulls her’ cannot be considered as a reflexive pronoun, in which case one would rather say: /(*begyāne*) *garša ta gyāne*/ ‘she herself pulls herself,’ or /*ta gyāne garša*/ ‘she pulls herself.’ If /*ta gyāne*/ is understood as indirect object, then here is need for a direct object, /*ḥa mendi ta gyāne garša*/ ‘she pulls something for herself.’

The suffix *-la* is ambiguous, as it functions both as an intraconjugational pronominal object and as a marker for the 3 sg ♀. In the latter case, it is derived from *-īla*. Thus, /garšala/ means ‘she is pulling;’ /garšāla/ means ‘she pulls her;’ and /garšālala/ means ‘she is pulling her.’

As in the preceding charts, the suffix *-lū* is derived from *-lahōn*, thus, /garšālu/ means ‘she pulls them,’ and /garšālula/ ‘she is pulling them.’

G. The *garšoḥ*-type

Notes: There are no /garšoḥli!/, /garšoḥliyoḥ!/, /garšoḥlan/, etc. Again, *-lū* is derived from *-lahōn*, thus, /garšoḥlu/ means ‘we pull the,’ and /garšoḥluyōḥ/ means ‘we are pulling them.’

H. The *garšiton*-type

Notes: Forms like /garšitōnox!/, /garšitōnoxiton!/, or /garšitōnax!/ are, as expected, not existant. The suffixes *-e*, *-a*, and *-ū* are, respectively, from *-le*, *-la*, *-lū*.

I. The *garši*-type

Notes: The suffix *-lu* is, as expected, ambiguous; it is either an intraconjugational pronominal object or a marker of the progressive present, in 3 pl. c.; thus, /garšilulu/ means ‘they are pulling them.’

It must be noted that /garšilu/ means not only ‘they are pulling,’ but also ‘they are (things) to be pulled,’ in which case an extraconjugational subject is understood to which /garšilu/ would be a predicate, as if one could, in changing the perspective, say '[they] are, (-lu), [things that *other agents*] pull (*garši*)' → ‘they are pulled [by others].’

In addition to that, considering the function of the accent, as noted in A., /garšīlu/ means ‘they pull them,’ but /gáršilu/ means ‘that they pull them,’ and /garšī-lu/ can also mean ‘they are [thing which] are pulled.’

J. The overall picture

A. The <i>garšen</i> -type										
Subject with a transitive verb			Intraconjugal Pronominal Object (ICO)				Present Progressive Marker		Resulting Forms	
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšen</i>
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-yən	-	-	<i>garšenyən</i>
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	NA	-	NA	NA	-	-	NA
				2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀				
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-oX	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšenox</i>
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-oX	-	-	-yən	-	-	<i>garšənoxyən</i>
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-	-aX	-	-	-	-	<i>garšenax</i>
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-	-aX	-	-yən	-	-	<i>garšənoxyən</i>
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-	-	-ōxen	-	-	-	<i>garšənoḵən</i>
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-	-	-ōxen	-yən	-	-	<i>garšənoḵənyən</i>
				3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂&♀				
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-e (<-le)	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšəne</i>
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-e	-	-	-yən	-	-	<i>garšəneyən</i>
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-	-a (<-la)	-	-	-	-	<i>garšəna</i>
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-	-a	-	-yən	-	-	<i>garšənyən</i>
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-	-	-ū	-	-	-	<i>garšənu</i>
1 sg ♂	<i>garšen</i>	-	-	-	-	-ū	-yən	-	-	<i>garšənyən</i>

B. The <i>garšan</i> -type										
Subject with a transitive verb										
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	
1 sg ♀	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšan</i>
1 sg ♀	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	-	-	-	-	- <i>yan</i>	-	<i>garšanyan</i>
1 sg ♀	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	NA	NA	NA	-	NA	-	NA
1 sg ♀	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	-	<i>garšanox</i>
1 sg ♀	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	- <i>ox</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšanoxyan</i>
1 sg ♀	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	- <i>ox</i>	-	-	-	- <i>yan</i>	-	<i>garšanox</i>
1 sg ♀	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	-	- <i>ax</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>garšanaxyan</i>
1 sg ♀	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	-	- <i>ax</i>	-	-	- <i>yan</i>	-	<i>garšanaxyan</i>
1 sg ♀	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	-	-	- <i>ōxen</i>	-	-	-	<i>garšanōxən</i>
1 sg ♀	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	-	-	- <i>ōxen</i>	-	- <i>yan</i>	-	<i>garšanoxənyan</i>
1 sg ♂	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂&♀	-	-	-	<i>garšane</i>
1 sg ♂	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	- <i>e</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšaneyan</i>
1 sg ♂	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	- <i>e</i>	-	-	-	- <i>yan</i>	-	<i>garšana</i>
1 sg ♂	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	-	- <i>a</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>garšanayan</i>
1 sg ♂	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	-	- <i>a</i>	-	-	- <i>yan</i>	-	<i>garšanay</i>
1 sg ♂	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	-	-	- <i>ū</i>	-	-	-	<i>garšanu</i>
1 sg ♂	-	<i>garšan</i>	-	-	-	- <i>ū</i>	-	- <i>yan</i>	-	<i>garšanuyan</i>

C. The <i>garšet</i> -type												
Subject with a transitive verb				Intraconjugal Pronominal Object (ICO)				Present Progressive Marker				Resulting Forms
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀			
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšet</i>	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-yet	-	-	-	<i>garšet</i> yət	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-ī	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšeti</i> (ICO is ♂)	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-ī	-	-	-yet	-	-	-	<i>garšeti</i> yət (ICO is ♂)	
s sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-	-ī	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšeti</i> (ICO is ♀)	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-	-ī	-	-yet	-	-	-	<i>garšeti</i> yət (ICO is ♀)	
				2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀						
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	NA	-	-	-yet	-	-	-	NA	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-	-ax	-	-	-	-	-	NA	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-	-ax	-	-yet	-	-	-	NA	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-	-	-ōxen	-	-	-	-	NA	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-	-	-ōxen	-yet	-	-	-	NA	
				3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂&♀						
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-e (<-le)	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšate</i>	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-e	-	-	-yet	-	-	-	<i>garšate</i> yət	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšata</i>	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-	-a	-	-yet	-	-	-	<i>garšata</i> yət	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-	-	-ū	-	-	-	-	<i>garšatu</i>	
2 sg ♂	<i>garšet</i>	-	-	-	-	-ū	-yet	-	-	-	<i>garšatu</i> yət	

D. The <i>garšat</i> -type											
Subject with a transitive verb											
Subject			1 sg ♂			1 sg ♀			1 pl ♂&♀		
sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀
2 sg ♀	-	<i>garšat</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšat</i>
2 sg ♀	-	<i>garšat</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-yat	<i>garšatyat</i>
2 sg ♀	-	<i>garšat</i>	-ī	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšati</i> (ICO is ♂)
2 sg ♀	-	<i>garšat</i>	-ī	-	-	-	-	-	-	-yat	<i>garšatyat</i> (ICO is ♂)
2 sg ♀	-	<i>garšat</i>	-	-ī	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšati</i> (ICO is ♀)
2 sg ♀	-	<i>garšat</i>	-	-ī	-	-	-	-	-	-yat	<i>garšatyat</i> (ICO is ♀)
			2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀						
2 sg ♀	-	<i>garšat</i>	-ox	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 sg ♀	-	<i>garšat</i>	-ox	-	-	-	-	-	-	-yat	NA
2 sg ♀	-	<i>garšat</i>	-	-ax	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 sg ♀	-	<i>garšat</i>	-	-ax	-	-	-	-	-	-yat	NA
2 sg ♀	-	<i>garšat</i>	-	-	-ōxen	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 sg ♀	-	<i>garšat</i>	-	-	-ōxen	-	-	-	-	-yat	NA
			3 sg ♂	3 sg ♂	3 pl ♂&♀						
2 sg ♂	-	<i>garšat</i>	-e	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšate</i>
2 sg ♂	-	<i>garšat</i>	-e	-	-	-	-	-	-	-yat	<i>garšateyat</i>
2 sg ♂	-	<i>garšat</i>	-	-a	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšata</i>
2 sg ♂	-	<i>garšat</i>	-	-a	-	-	-	-	-	-yat	<i>garšatayat</i>
2 sg ♂	-	<i>garšat</i>	-	-	-ū	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšatu</i>
2 sg ♂	-	<i>garšat</i>	-	-	-ū	-	-	-	-	-yat	<i>garšatuyat</i>

E. The <i>gāreš</i> -type													
		Subject with a transitive verb				Intraconjugational Pronominal Object				Present Progressive Marker			Resulting Forms
		sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀			
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>gāreš</i>	
3 sg	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-īle	-	-	-	<i>gārešile</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-īlī	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>gārešī</i> ((ICO is ♂))	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-īlī	-	-	-le (-īle)	-	-	-	<i>gārešīle</i> (ICO is ♂)	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-īlī	-	-	-	-	-	<i>gārešī</i> ((ICO is ♀))	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-īlī	-	-le	-	-	-	<i>gārešīle</i> (ICO ♀)	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-lan	-	-	-	-	<i>gārešlan</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-lan	-īle	-	-	-	<i>gārešlanile</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	-	-	<i>gārešlox</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-lox	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>gārešloxile</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-lox	-	-	-īle	-	-	-	<i>gārešloxile</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-lax	-	-	-	-	-	<i>gārešlax</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-lax	-	-īle	-	-	-	<i>gārešlaxile</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-lōxen	-	-	-	-	<i>gārešlōxən</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-lōxen	-īle	-	-	-	<i>gārešlōxənile</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂&♀	-	-	-	-	<i>gārešle</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-le	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>gārešle</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-le	-	-	-īle (-le)	-	-	-	<i>gārešlele</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-la	-	-	-	-	-	<i>gārešla</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-la	-	-īle (-le)	-	-	-	<i>gārešlale</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-lū	-	-	-	-	<i>gārešlu</i>	
3 sg ♂	<i>gāreš</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-ū	-īle (-le)	-	-	-	<i>gārešlule</i>	

F. The <i>garša</i> -type														
Subject with a transitive verb														
Subject			1 sg ♂			1 sg ♀			1 pl ♂ & ♀			Present Progressive Marker		
sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂ & ♀	1 sg ♂	2 sg ♂	3 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	2 sg ♀	3 sg ♀	1 pl ♂ & ♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂ & ♀	Resulting Forms	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garša</i>	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšala</i>	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	<i>-lī</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšāli</i> (ICO is ♂)	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	<i>-lī</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšālīla</i> (ICO is ♂)	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	-	-	<i>-lī</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšālī</i> (ICO is ♀)	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	-	-	<i>-lī</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšālīla</i> (ICO is ♀)	
			2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂ & ♀									
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	<i>-lox</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšālox</i>	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	<i>-lox</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšāloxila</i>	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	-	-	<i>-lax</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšālox</i>	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	-	-	<i>-lax</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšāloxila</i>	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>-lōxen</i>	-	-	-	<i>garšāloxən</i>	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>-lōxen</i>	-	-	-	<i>garšāloxənila</i>	
			3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂ & ♀									
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	<i>-le</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšāle</i>	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	<i>-le</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšālela</i>	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	-	-	<i>-la</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšāla</i>	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	-	-	<i>-la</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšāla</i>	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>-lū</i>	-	-	-	<i>garšātu</i>	
3 sg ♀	-	<i>garša</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>-lū</i>	-	-	-	<i>garšātula</i>	

G. The <i>garšoḥ</i> -type										
Subject with a transitive verb			Intraconjugational Pronominal Object				Present Progressive Marker			Resulting Forms
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂ & ♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂ & ♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂ & ♀	
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšoḥyoh</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	NA	-	-	-	-	-	NA
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	NA	-	-	-	-	-	NA
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-	NA	NA	-	-	-	NA
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	-	<i>garšoḥlox</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-lox	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšoḥloxyoh</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-lox	-	-	-	-	-yoh	<i>garšoḥlox</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-	-lox	-	-	-	-yoh	<i>garšoḥlax</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-	-lox	-	-	-	-yoh	<i>garšoḥlaxyoh</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-	-	-loxen	-	-	-	<i>garšoḥloxan</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-	-	-loxen	-	-	-yoh	<i>garšoḥloxanyoh</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	-	
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-le	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšoḥle</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-le	-	-	-	-	-yoh	<i>garšoḥleyoh</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-	-la	-	-	-	-	<i>garšoḥla</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-	-la	-	-	-	-yoh	<i>garšoḥlayoh</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-	-	-lū	-	-	-	<i>garšoḥlu</i>
1 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšoḥ</i>	-	-	-lū	-	-	-yoh	<i>garšoḥluyoh</i>

H. The <i>garšiton</i> -type										
Subject with a transitive verb			Intraconjugational Pronominal Object				Present Progressive Marker			Resulting Forms
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂ & ♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂ & ♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂ & ♀	
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšitoniton</i>
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-ī	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšitoni</i> (ICO is ♂)
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-ī	-	-	-	-	-īton	<i>garšitoniton</i> (ICO is ♂)
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	-ī	-	-	-	-	<i>garšitoni</i> (ICO is ♀)
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	-ī	-	-	-	-īton	<i>garšitonī</i> ICO is (♀)
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	-	-lan (-nan)	-	-	-	<i>garšitonan!</i>
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	-	-lan (-nan)	-	-	-īton	<i>garšitonaniton!</i>
				2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂ & ♀				
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	NA	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	NA	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	NA	-	-	-	-	NA
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	NA	-	-	-	-	NA
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	-	NA	-	-	-	NA
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	-	NA	-	-	-	NA
				3 sg ♂	3 sg ♀	3 pl ♂ & ♀				
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-e	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garšitone</i>
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-e	-	-	-	-	-īton	<i>garšitoneyton</i>
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	-a	-	-	-	-	<i>garšitona</i>
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	-a	-	-	-	-īton	<i>garšitonayiton</i>
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	-	-ū	-	-	-	<i>garšitonu</i>
2 pl ♂ & ♀	-	-	<i>garšiton</i>	-	-	-ū	-	-	-īton	<i>garšitonuyiton</i>

I. The <i>garsī</i> -type										
Subject with a transitive verb				Intraconjugational Pronominal Object			Present Progressive Marker			Resulting Forms
	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	1 sg ♂	1 sg ♀	1 pl ♂&♀	sg ♂	sg ♀	pl ♂&♀	
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garsī</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	-	-	-	-	- <i>lu</i> (<- <i>īlu</i>)	<i>garsīlu</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	- <i>lī</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garsīli</i> (ICO is ♂)
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	- <i>ī</i>	-	-	-	-	- <i>lu</i> (<- <i>īlu</i>)	<i>garsīlilu</i> (speaker ♂)
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	- <i>ī</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>garsīli</i> (ICO is ♀)
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	- <i>ī</i>	-	-	-	- <i>īlu</i> (- <i>lu</i>)	<i>garsīlilu</i> (ICO is ♀)
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	-	- <i>lan</i>	-	-	-	<i>garsīlan</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	-	- <i>lan</i>	-	-	- <i>īlu</i>	<i>garsīlanilu</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-		2 sg ♂	2 sg ♀	2 pl ♂&♀	-	-	-	
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	- <i>lox</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garsīlox</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	- <i>lox</i>	-	-	-	-	- <i>īlu</i>	<i>garsīloxilu</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	- <i>tax</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>garsīlax</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	- <i>tax</i>	-	-	-	- <i>īlu</i>	<i>garsīlaxilu</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	-	- <i>lōxan</i>	-	-	-	<i>garsīloxan</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	-	- <i>lōxan</i>	-	-	- <i>īlu</i>	<i>garsīloxanilu</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-		3 sg ♂	sg ♂	pl ♂&♀	-	-	-	
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	- <i>le</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>garsīle</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	- <i>le</i>	-	-	-	-	- <i>īlu</i> (- <i>lu</i>)	<i>garsīlelu</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	- <i>a</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>garsīla</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	- <i>a</i>	-	-	-	- <i>īlu</i> (- <i>lu</i>)	<i>garsīlalu</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	-	- <i>lū</i>	-	-	-	<i>garsīlu</i>
3 pl ♂&♀	-	-	<i>garsī</i>	-	-	- <i>lū</i>	-	-	- <i>īlu</i> (- <i>lu</i>)	<i>garsīlulu</i>

J. The overall picture

With Intraconjugal pronominal object		with intraconjugal pronominal object										
With Intraconjugal pron. subj.		1 sg♂	1 sg♀	1 pl c	2 sg♂	2 sg♀	2 pl c	3 sg♂	3 sg♀	3 pl c		
1 sg♂	no progressive marker	NA	NA	NA	garšenox	garšenax	garšenoxen	garšene	garšena	garšenu		
1 sg♂	progressive marker	NA	NA	NA	garšenoxyan	garšenaxyan	garšenoxenyən	garšeneyən	garšenayən	garšenuyən		
1 sg♀	no progressive marker	NA	NA	NA	garšanox	garšanax	garšanoxen	garšane	garšana	garšanu		
1 sg♀	progressive marker	NA	NA	NA	garšanoxyan	garšanaxyan	garšanoxenyən	garšaneyən	garšanayən	garšanuyən		
1 pl c	no progressive marker	NA	NA	NA	garšoħlox	garšoħlax	garšoħloxan	garšoħle	garšoħla	garšoħlu		
1 pl c	progressive marker	NA	NA	NA	garšoħloxyoħ	garšoħlaxyoħ	garšoħloxanyoħ	garšoħleyoħ	garšoħlayoħ	garšoħluyoħ		
2 sg♂	no progressive marker	garšeti	garšeti	garšetan	NA	NA	NA	garšete	garšeta	garšetu		
2 sg♂	progressive marker	garšetiyyet	garšetiyyet	garšetanyet	NA	NA	NA	garšetayet	garšetayet	garšetuyet		
2 sg♀	no progressive marker	garšati	garšati	garšatan	NA	NA	NA	garšate	garšata	garšatu		
2 sg♀	progressive marker	garšatiyyat	garšatiyyat	garšatanyat	NA	NA	NA	garšateyyat	garšateyyat	garšatuyat		
2 pl c	no progressive marker	garšitoni	garšitoni	garšitonan	NA	NA	NA	garšitone	garšitona	garšitonu		
2 pl c	progressive marker	garšitoniyiton	garšitoniyiton	garšitonan	NA	NA	NA	garšitoneyiton	garšitoneyiton	garšitonuyiton		
3 sg♂	no progressive marker	gārešli	gārešli	gārešlan	gārešlox	gārešlax	gārešloxen	gārešle	gārešla	gārešlu		
3 sg♂	progressive marker	gārešlile	gārešlile	gārešlan	gārešloxile	gārešlaxile	gārešloxenile	gārešlele	gārešlale	gārešlule		
3 sg♀	no progressive marker	garšāli	garšāli	garšālan	garšālox	garšālax	garšāloxen	garšāle	garšāla	garšālu		
3 sg♀	progressive marker	garšālila	garšālila	garšālamila	garšāloxila	garšālaxila	garšāloxemila	garšālela	garšālala	garšālula		
3 pl c	no progressive marker	garšili	garšili	garšilan	garšilox	garšilax	garšiloxen	garšile	garšila	garšilu		
3 pl c	progressive marker	garšililu	garšililu	garšilamilu	garšiloxilu	garšilaxilu	garšiloxenilu	garšilelu	garšilalu	garšilulu		

Ogni parola un mondo pluridimensionale di storia, viaggi, scambi e incontri

Colgo con molto piacere l'occasione di fare i miei migliori auguri a Fabrizio, ed esprimere, ancora una volta, la mia profonda gratitudine ed ammirazione. Ho avuto il privilegio di avere Fabrizio come maestro, unico e indimenticabile: ha ispirato i miei interessi e la mia ricerca verso quella che è ora la mia carriera professionale, e il suo ricordo continua a guidare la mia didattica come esempio a cui aspirare. Nelle sue lezioni, le lingue più diverse prendono vita come creature che si muovono nel tempo e nello spazio, si trasformano adattandosi ai territori che incontrano, e si arricchiscono attraverso innovazione e contatto, allo stesso tempo portando dentro di sé fondamentali tracce di un antico ingegno umano che rimane invisibile ai più. Come moltissimi altri studenti, ammiro profondamente Fabrizio per la sua capacità unica di trasformare ogni lingua, sistema di scrittura, parola, o etimologia, in un mondo pluridimensionale di storia, incontri, viaggi, scambi, e uomini e donne con necessità quotidiane da soddisfare, dal contare, navigare, ed amministrare, all'allevare animali e coltivare piante, ma anche per averci insegnato che il più proficuo dialogo accademico è quello che si svolge tra una vasta comunità internazionale di studiosi che si interroga e comunica superando le differenze linguistiche e i confini nazionali. Il lavoro di Fabrizio non è solo frutto di profonda intelligenza ed incredibile erudizione, ma anche di straordinaria empatia e genialità umana.

Con profonda gratitudine e ammirazione,

Alberto Rigolio

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“Come si chiama?” Così gli Egizi scrissero i nomi stranieri

Tra i sodalizi accademici che mi è occorso di stringere quello con Fabrizio Angelo Pennacchietti è stato uno dei più lunghi e proficui. Eppure i nostri percorsi si sono svolti parallelamente ma non si sono mai veramente incrociati. Dopo il primo incontro durante gli anni universitari sulla gradinata della facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Roma “La Sapienza” fino al breve periodo finale in cui siamo stati colleghi nell'Università di Torino. Ricordo Fabrizio come devoto allievo di Alessandro Bausani e appassionato esperantista, e non c'è mai stata una conversazione tra noi, anche solo telefonica, che non mi abbia illuminato e arricchito; anche se non sono mai riuscito ad attirarlo nella valle del Nilo: non ostante l'interesse per lingue africane e orientali che ci accomunava, fin da quando esplorammo insieme, nella soffitta di una casa di Cavour, un deposito di memorie appartenute ad Amedeo Peyron.

Vorrei ora sottoporli una ennesima questione. L'antichissima civiltà egizia ebbe precoci frequentazioni con popoli che parlavano lingue flessive. È noto l'uso dei Greci di grecizzare gli antroponomi indigeni, a cominciare dai nomi dei faraoni, che ricevettero le desinenze della flessione greca: Sesostri-s, Touthmosi-s, Amenophthi-s, Harmai-s, Psammeticho-s ecc.¹

I nomi personali degli Egizi antichi di solito portavano un significato, anche se talora si trattava di diminutivi o vezzeggiativi di nomi complessi, e lo stesso vale per i nomi dei faraoni.² Ci si domanda quindi come gli Egizi si comportassero di fronte a nomi di origine straniera dei quali ignoravano il significato e dei quali percepivano solo approssimativamente i suoni.³ Nomi di origine cananea (semitica) e nubica sono bene rappresentati nelle liste di esecrazione compilate durante il Medio Regno (circa 2000-1700 a.C.) con la ricerca di notazione anche di vocali.⁴ Durante il primo millennio a.C. dominarono l'Egitto sovrani africani di origine nubica e libica, che conservarono i loro nomi.

Quando gli Egizi vennero a contatto con popoli parlanti lingue flessive come quelle indoeuropee, furono necessariamente condizionati dalle diverse forme che furono riportate, dovendo a volte

¹ Jozef Vergote. 1986. “A la recherche des noms authentiques des pharaons.” *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Academiae Analecta. AWLsK, Klasse der Letteren* 18: 69-82.

² Alessandro Roccati. 1991. “La polionimia nella civiltà egizia.” *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici* 8: 171-174.

³ Esempio è il lavoro di Thomas Schneider che si apre con un abbaglio.


⁴ Georges Posener. 1940. *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*. Bruxelles: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth.

confrontarsi anche con modelli scritti. Nell'Egitto stesso spesso avveniva che gli stranieri cambiassero nome, assumendone uno locale, come accadde nei confronti di principesse o dignitari.

Quale fu l'atteggiamento degli Egizi di fronte ai nomi declinati che volevano menzionare nella loro scrittura e dei quali non conoscevano certo i paradigmi grammaticali? Ho qui raccolto una scelta di soluzioni, seguendo un ordine cronologico.

a. Nomi della lingua hittita


Le trascrizioni egizie riportano in genere forme abbreviate dei sovrani hittiti contemporanei.⁵

 H-t-s-i-r Khattusili (KRI II 226, 8),

questo e gli altri nomi di sovrani Mursilis, Muwatallis (KRI II 227, 9), Suppiluliumas (KRI II 226, 11-12) omettono la desinenza -s del nominativo. Egualmente gli Hittiti non declinavano i nomi propri egiziani.

b. Nomi della lingua greca arcaica

Il termine che definisce gli Achei:

 A-q-w-i-š [*A-qa-i-wo-š] (KRI IV 22, 13)

con la terminazione in Vs denota forse una forma accusativa. La stessa si ritrova nella voce alla linea successiva: š-k-r-š.

c. Nomi di sovrani achemenidi

La trascrizione dei nomi dei sovrani achemenidi sembra corrispondere al modello di notazione proprio del sillabario persepolitano:

 Xéps(ης)

Questo esempio fu già considerato da Champollion nei primi passi del deciframento, tenendo conto dell'interpretazione della scrittura cuneiforme persiana da parte del Grotefend.

Il nome di Dario fu però talora riportato nel caso genitivo:⁶

⁵ Henry Robert Hall. 1922. “The Egyptian Transliteration of Hittite Names.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 8: 219-222.

⁶ David Klotz. 2008. “Darius with the Letter h.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 83: 108-115.

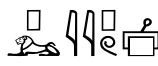
 Dā-ra-ya-wa-hu-š,

anche qui seguendo fedelmente l'uso achemenide. Occorre specificare che quest'ultimo esempio è dovuto ad un Persiano di lingua madre.

d. Nomi di sovrani greci e romani


Normalmente il greco (e il latino) flettono i nomi egizi secondo la declinazione appropriata, e i nomi maschili assumono pertanto al nominativo la terminazione -s (Cheops, ma Chephren, Sesostris, Amenoph(th)is, Psammetichos, ecc.).

Si riscontra qualche esempio di traslitterazione aderente ad un'altra scrittura in quella geroglifica alle soglie del periodo tolemaico. Il nome di Filippo Arrideo è trasposto in geroglifici

 Plipos (Urk. II 10, 6. 14; GM 11, 1974, 51)

secondo una resa approssimativa della pronuncia. Vi è però un esempio (Urk. II 9, 11) in cui è notato

 Philipos,

ossia con una precisa corrispondenza, lettera per lettera, includendo anche tutte le vocali, con la grafia originale Φίλιππος, tenendo conto che la scrittura egizia normalmente non scriveva le consonanti doppie. La scrittura  suggerisce un passaggio anche attraverso il demotico, di cui è una fedele trasposizione in geroglifico. Inoltre la scomposizione dell'aspirata greca φ anticipa la soluzione latina (Philippus). In questo senso l'egiziano va oltre il greco nella resa di una lettera complessa di scrittura con due segni fonetici, come ancora

 = ξ:  Αλέξανδρος

 Ξάνδικος


ovvero

 = δ, τ in Διοκλητιανος,

che allude probabilmente ad una pronuncia spirante delle consonanti dentali davanti a vocale palatale.

D'altra parte tra i nomi romani, "Cesare" è scritto costantemente

 Kirs

come se fosse un genitivo, ricordando forse la κράτησις Καίσαρος. Invece "Tiberio" 
*T-i-be-r-i-o*⁷

sembrerebbe una forma di dativo o di ablativo, come anche “Nerone”

 *N-a-r-i-n-y*

in un caso obliquo. Per Tiberio, accanto alle forme citate sono attestate anche quelle al nominativo, con desinenza -s.

Spero che questi appunti risveglieranno la curiosità di colui al quale son dedicati, e forse ne riceveranno illuminanti commenti.



Fig. 1. Il nome di Tiberio come scritto nel tempio di Kom Ombo (fotografia dell'autore)

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⁷Tempio di Kom Ombo.

Rakonteroj kaŝitaj preter kaj inter la linioj

Rakonti pri Prof-ro Fabrizio Pennacchetti signifas rakonti pri elstara kaj subtila intelekto, intuiciema, scivolema; signifas paroli pri plurtalenta klerulo, neniam enfermita en la mallarĝa anguleto de specialiĝfako, sed ĉiam interesita pri la ligoj kaj resendoj inter temoj, lingvoj, vortoj, kulturoj; signifas rakonti pri esploroj fame konataj.

Por mi, rakonti pri Fabrizio Pennacchetti signifas rakonti pri antikva hebrelingva manuskripto je vinkolora dika kovrilo, en kiu oni mencias la tagon kiam oni memoras pri ĉiuj vundoj kaj funebroj de la juda popolo, Tisha b'Av. Nia unua renkontiĝo okazis en 2006 en Torino, en la universitata konstruaĵo kie mi tiam studis kaj la biblian kaj modernan hebrean, samtempe. Tiu jaro estis por mi aparte malfacila, ĉar mi sentis perdon je ĉiuj koordinatoj, je ĉiu kompasoj. Kiel magistriĝa studentino, mi revis vojaĝi al Israelo por viziti someran kurson pri la hebrea, sed tio ne eblis pro milito. Estis mia tiama instruistino pri la moderna hebrea kiu instigis min enkonduki min ĉe Prof-ro Pennacchetti kaj aliĝi al liaj kursoj pri semida filologio, ankaŭ por retrovi mian orientiĝon kaj mian iaman entuziasmon. Tute ne estis tempo por interkonaj, ŝablonaj paroloj, ĉar Fabrizio prezentis al miaj okuloj tiun manuskripton, petis min legi kaj traduki, kaj resumi pri kio parolas la teksto. Lia komenca severeco estis klare perceptebla, sed ĝi ial ne malkomfortigis min, eble ĉar mi eksentis en ĝi lumon kaj varmon, tiun sunecon kiun mi estus spertinta poste, dum lia kurso. Tiujare la kurso estis fokusita pri orientaramea literaturo, sed fakte ĝi estis pli ol kurso: ĝi estis aŭtenta intelekta aventuro inter lingvoj, kulturoj, tradicioj. La disputo inter la kerubo defendanta Edenon armita per fajroglavo kaj la bona latrono, pri kio la liturgia kristana dramo kunlegata dum la lecionoj rakontis; manlibro por unuavida identigo de lingvoj; la anekdotoj de la Profesoro, kiuj vojaĝigis min al Turkio, al Irako, al nekonataj mondopartoj (en tiu epoko, kvankam nun tio ŝajnas nekredebla, mia vivo disvolviĝis nur en mia naskiĝurbo, Torino); lia aparta maniero sproni nin (“Se vi volas malfermi vian menson, lernu la hungaran!”); liaj promenadoj sur la kvar radetoj de sia oficeja seĝo inter la vicoj de niaj sidlokoj, tiel ke ni ĉiuj povu vidi la vortarojn kiujn li montris al ni por klarigi al ni ke la percepto kaj difino de la koloroj ne estas simple fizika aŭ ĥemia afero, sed ĉefe kultura afero. Danke al tiuj kolor-promenadoj, mi tuj ekturmentis miajn familianojn, amikojn kaj konatojn rakontante al ili ke la ideo pri la blua koloro aperis malfrue en la okcidenta historio, pro la ĝermanaj popoloj kiuj kontaktiĝis kun la Romia Imperio, kaj ke antaŭe nek Grekoj nek Romianoj povis difini la bluan (kian koloron havis la okuloj de la diino Atena, kial en la homeraj poemoj la maro estas vinkolora, kial estas tiom malfacile difini tiun koloron, kaj jen kial restis tiu konservema spuro en la rumana, latinida lingvo, kiu indikas la bluan nomante ĝin *albastru*, “blankeca”, kaj multe pli).

Mia studpado ne estintus la sama sen la scivolemo, la instigado, la entuziasmo vekitaj de Fabrizio dum tiuj lecionoj. La sciencaj artikoloj kiujn ni regule interŝanĝis estis niaj estimdeklaroj; mi memoras kun fiereco ke post pluraj jaroj—tiam mi jam ne plu loĝis en Italio—Fabrizio skribis al mi ke li relegis unu el miaj artikoloj, kaj ke tiu relego konfirmis ankoraŭfoje lian profundan admiron. Mi ĉiam havis la senton esti akompanata, silente, de seninterrompa fluo el estimo kaj amikeco.

Kiel doktoriĝa studentino, mi partoprenis, kiel aŭskultantino, la lastan kurson pri Interlingvistiko kaj Esperantologio gvidatan de Fabrizio Pennacchietti ĉe la Universitato de Torino, en 2009, antaŭ lia emeritiĝo. Intertempe, plia ligo kreiĝis inter ni, danke al Esperanto, kiun mi eklernis en 2007 rete, kaj ekde 2008 ĉe la Torina Esperanto-Centro, kies Prezidanto Fabrizio estis dum longa tempo, donante al la asocio tre altan prestiĝon.

Nia ligo, el estimo, amikeco, komunaj intereso, pliprofundiĝis kun la tempopaso, ankaŭ danke al pluraj renkontiĝoj kaj epizodoj, intelektu riĉigaj sed ankaŭ teneraj, kiuj akompanas min: lia ĝuo de bongustaj manĝaĵoj dum instruista seminario okazigita de la Itala Instituto de Esperanto ĉe la Liguria marbordo; lia leĝera senzorgemo dum Universala Kongreso de Esperanto en Islando; liaj laŭdmesaĝoj, kiuj ĉiam alvenis ĝuste kiam mi sentis ke ĉio estis perdita, kiam mi emis pravigi la plumban senton pri mia nula valoro; lia ĉeesto, tiom nobleca kaj diskreta ĉe mia ĝeedziĝfesto; fine, tiun fojon kiam—kaj tiu anekdoto ĉiam estigas rideton—dum Itala Kongreso de Esperanto en Sicilio, surmetinte pajlan ĉapelon kaj lumegan rideton, li enmanigis al mi kaj al mia kunulo opuntiojn, dolĉegajn sed dornoplenajn, spite la trankviligon de Fabrizio laŭ kiu li jam sendornigis la fruktoŝelojn.

Rakonti pri Fabrizio Pennacchietti estas ĉio ĉi, kaj multe pli, ĉefe tio kio restis preter tiuj ĉi linioj, aŭ bone kaŝita inter ili.

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I racconti brevi di Dalal Khalifa, scrittrice qatariota



Una decina di anni orsono,¹ nell'ambito di una serie di collaborazioni culturali fra il Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere e Culture Moderne dell'Università di Torino e il Ministero della Cultura e dell'Heritage del Qatar, tradussi dall'arabo all'italiano un'antologia di racconti a firma di una delle prime donne qatariote cimentatesi nella scrittura di testi letterari, Dalal Khalifa. L'idea del ministero era quella di far tradurre nelle principali lingue asiatiche e occidentali una serie di testi scritti in arabo da autori qatarioti, per farne omaggio agli ospiti che, per ragioni soprattutto diplomatiche e/o commerciali, si recavano nella sua sede a Doha. Per rappresentare la letteratura qatariota di fronte agli ospiti italiani, erano appunto stati scelti alcuni racconti di Dalal Khalifa, che nel 2013 vennero pubblicati in edizione limitata a Doha per i tipi di *Al-sharika al-ḥadītha li-l-ṭibā'a*, in duplice copia araba e italiana, con copertine color fucsia che si corrispondevano specularmente. Quanto al titolo, per scelta dell'autrice si stabilì di usare quello del primo racconto, *Anā al-yāsaminā al-bayḍā* 'Io, gelsomino bianco'. Data l'iniziativa in cui si inseriva, l'opera tradotta non è mai circolata fuori dal Qatar né in forma

¹ In questo testo, i nomi degli autori arabi vengono trascritti in caratteri latini nel modo in cui si trovano sulle copertine dei loro libri e, in genere, sul web.

cartacea né in forma digitale, e oltre alle poche decine di copie regalate agli ospiti italofofoni del ministero qatariota, non è disponibile in alcuna libreria né si può trovare online.

In questi anni, solo rare volte ho incontrato qualcuno che a una tavola rotonda, a un incontro o a una conferenza, mi ha chiesto di quei racconti e di Dalal Khalifa, a cui ho comunque sempre fatto cenno quando mi è capitato di parlare di letteratura femminile araba contemporanea. Nello scorso anno 2022, però, i Mondiali di Calcio disputati in Qatar hanno portato questo paese alla ribalta delle cronache internazionali e diverse persone si sono interessate non solo ai giocatori, ai loro fantasmagorici compensi e ai vari gossip che li riguardano, ma anche alla società del paese dove si sono svolte le partite, ai suoi usi, ai suoi costumi e alle sue forme d'arte... ivi compresa la letteratura. Così mi è capitato di venire interpellata da persone che cercavano informazioni su autori e autrici qatarioti, e che volevano sapere se era possibile leggere qualche loro testo tradotto in italiano. Perciò vorrei cogliere l'occasione di questa pubblicazione in onore di Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti per accennare all'opera di Dalal Khalifa, e in particolare a quel libro di racconti brevi che ho tradotto. Perché il prof. Pennacchietti, che insieme alla filologia semitica mi ha insegnato a chiedermi il perché dei fenomeni linguistici (e dunque anche di quelli letterari), fa sicuramente parte di quelle persone "curiose" che, sentendo le notizie delle partite di calcio in Qatar, si sono interrogate sul paese dove queste partite si svolgevano, e mi auguro quindi che queste poche pagine su una scrittrice come Dalal Khalifa possano avere per lui qualche interesse. Del resto, se gli autori qatarioti sono poco conosciuti in Italia e in Occidente, romanzi, racconti e poesie di scrittori come Yousef Ni'ma e Abdulaziz al-Mahmoud hanno contribuito a creare una tradizione letteraria qatariota che da quando, negli anni '60 del secolo scorso, il Qatar ha aperto l'istruzione alle ragazze,² ha visto emergere anche una cospicua presenza femminile con autrici come Kaltham Jaber al-Kuwari, le sorelle Dalal e Shu'a Khalifa e, più recentemente, Nora al-Saad e Sumayya Tisha.³

Resta però il fatto che questa tradizione letteraria, redatta esclusivamente in arabo, è a tutt'oggi scarsamente tradotta nelle lingue occidentali (inglese compreso) e pochi sono gli studi che ne parlano:⁴ per lo più si trovano alcuni racconti o poesie all'interno di antologie più ampie incentrate su Medio

² Se in altri paesi della penisola araba l'istruzione ufficiale per le ragazze è iniziata nella prima metà del XX sec., in Qatar non esistevano scuole femminili fino al 1954. In tutta la penisola, comunque, i primi testi scritti da donne sono una serie di articoli che compaiono sui giornali sauditi alla fine degli anni '40 (cfr. al-Mana 2008: 254).

³ Il ruolo di queste scrittrici come pioniere della letteratura femminile qatariota è affermato da tutti i commentatori: cfr. tra gli altri Hassan (2017: 710), Bhavnani (2019), Perrone (2019).

⁴ Per un'introduzione alla letteratura qatariota in arabo e in inglese, cfr. al-Mana (2008) e Laduke (2019).

Oriente, Nord Africa e Corno d'Africa,⁵ e una serie di romanzi o di raccolte di poesie e racconti brevi prodotte localmente e pubblicate in gran parte dal Souq Waqif Art Center di Doha o dal Ministero della Cultura del Qatar.⁶ Fra le opere più importanti si trova senz'altro il romanzo *al-Qursān* ("Il corsaro"), dell'ingegnere, giornalista e scrittore Abdulaziz al-Mahmoud, pubblicato a Doha inizialmente in arabo (2011) e poi anche in inglese (*The Corsair*, 2013), che descrive il passato del Qatar prima dello sfruttamento del petrolio, concentrandosi principalmente sulla vita del leggendario pirata Rahma ibn Jaber al-Jalhami.⁷ Ambientato in una società in rapida evoluzione sconvolta dai conflitti tribali e dall'arrivo delle forze britanniche all'inizio del 1800, l'opera affronta il tema della pirateria nel Golfo arabo e offre ai lettori qatarioti lo spunto per vedere il passato della propria nazione non come quello di un territorio spesso trascurato e marginale, ma come parte integrante e centrale della storia della regione del Golfo.⁸

Quanto alla produzione letteraria femminile in Qatar, sino alla fine del primo decennio del XXI sec. comprendeva una dozzina di raccolte di poesie, sei libri di racconti, quattro romanzi e un testo con tre opere teatrali, oltre a una quindicina di libri di letteratura per l'infanzia (Al-Mana 2008: 262-263).

I primi testi scritti da donne qatariote sono alcuni articoli di giornali che datano ai primi anni '70,⁹ mentre la prima raccolta di racconti brevi scritti da una donna qatariota venne pubblicata in arabo nel 1978: si intitolava *Anyā wa ghābāt as-samt wa al-taraddud* ("Anyā e i boschi di silenzio e indecisione") ed era a firma della scrittrice e poetessa Kaltham Jaber, che con quei racconti voleva esprimere il desiderio delle donne qatariote di avere un ruolo nella strutturazione delle norme sociali e della cultura in Qatar.¹⁰

⁵ Fra le più citate ricordiamo le raccolte di poesie *The Poetry of Arab Women* (Handal 2001) e *Gathering the Tide* (Paine, Lodge e Touati 2011) e quella di racconti brevi *Oranges in the Sun* (Akers e Bagader 2006).

⁶ Cfr., fra le altre, Henderson e Rajakumar (2009, 2010); Rajakumar e Subaiey (2010); Al-Azab (2016).

⁷ Raḥma ibn Jābir al-Jalhamī (ca. 1760-1826), viene descritto dal viaggiatore e scrittore inglese James Silk Buckingham come "il pirata di maggior successo che abbia mai infestato un mare" (Buckingham 1829: 356) e dallo statista britannico Charles Belgrave come "un audace filibustiero senza paura né pietà" (Belgrave 1972: 126). Dopo aver perso un occhio in battaglia, fu il primo pirata di cui si abbia notizia a indossare una benda oculare.

⁸ Su Al-Mahmoud e sulla rilevanza del suo romanzo, cfr. Griffin (2021).

⁹ Si tenga presente che in Qatar il giornalismo si sviluppa alla fine degli anni '60 (Al-Mana 2008: 255).

¹⁰ Allora ventenne, Kaltham Jaber scrisse in seguito due saggi di analisi sociale: *Wajh imrā'a qatariya* ("Il volto di una donna qatariota") (1993), e *Dawra al-hayā fi taqālid al-mujtami' al-qatari* ("Il cerchio della vita nelle tradizioni della società qatariota," 2015), corredato di molte illustrazioni e diverse informazioni sulla società del Qatar. Nel 1999, infine, ha pubblicato un'antologia di racconti per bambini insieme allo scrittore saudita Khalil al-Fāzī. Laureata nel 1992 in Social Work alla Helwan University del Cairo, nel 1997 ha ottenuto un dottorato presso la Cairo University e dal 1999 insegna al Department of Social Sciences presso la Qatar University (cfr. Subayyil 1991 e Hassan 2017). Alcuni estratti di articoli in cui la scrittrice critica la condizione delle donne in Qatar e nel mondo arabo, si trovano tradotti in inglese nel Memri's Editorial Board (2016).

Per quanto riguarda la poesia, che come abbiamo visto, in termini di quantità domina la letteratura femminile in Qatar, le prime raccolte sono invece state pubblicate negli anni '80: fra tutte vanno segnalate *Fī maʿbad al-ashwāq* (“Nel tempio dei desideri”), di Zakiya Mal Allah Abd al-Aziz (1985)¹¹ e *Mīlād* (“Nascita”), di Hissa al-Awadi (1998).¹² I temi trattati sono diversi e vanno da argomenti mistico-religiosi all’ansia della scrittura, dalle preoccupazioni sul futuro della nazione alle espressioni della sofferenza umana (Al-Mana 2008: 263).

Nel 1993, Dalal Khalifa e sua sorella Shu’a pubblicano entrambe il loro primo romanzo: quello di Dalāl s’intitola *Uṣṭūrat al-insān wa-l-buḥayra* (“Il mito dell’uomo e del lago”)¹³ e quello di Shu’a è *Al-ʿubūr ilā al-ḥaqīqa* (“Il passaggio verso la verità”). Nello stesso anno, Shu’a pubblica anche *Aḥlām al-baḥr al-qadīma* (“Gli antichi sogni del mare”) e l’anno seguente *Fī intizār al-ṣafīra* (“Aspettando il fischio [d’inizio]”), mentre nel 1994 Dalāl pubblica *Ashjār al-barārī al-baʿīda* (“Gli alberi delle lontane steppe”), nel 1995 *Min al-baḥḥār al-qadīm ilayk* (“Dal vecchio marinaio a te”) e nel 2000 *Dunyanā mahrajān al-ayyām wa-l-layālī* (“Il nostro mondo è la festa dei giorni e delle notti”).¹⁴ Oltre ai racconti brevi e ai romanzi, Dalal Khalifa ha scritto anche molte poesie, una serie di testi per bambini e alcune opere teatrali, tre delle quali si trovano raccolte in un unico volume, *Insān fī ḥayz al-wujūd* (“Un uomo nella sfera dell’esistenza”) del 1995 (Bhavnani 2019). Sul sito web dell’autrice si possono trovare una serie di foto e molti dei suoi scritti in arabo, compresi alcuni articoli di critica letteraria pubblicati su giornali locali.¹⁵

L’istituzione, nel settembre 2014, del Qatara Prize for Arabic Novels, con un premio di 200.000 dollari per il miglior romanzo, ha senz’altro incrementato la produzione di questo genere letterario, che pochi anni più tardi vantava una quarantina di testi non solo a firma di uomini, ma anche di donne: fra questa seconda generazione di scrittrici, vale la pena citare Hanan al-Fayyad, Iman Hamad, Shamma al-Kuwari, Huda al-Nuaimi, Muhshina Rashid, Nora al-Saad, Amala al-Suwaidi, Munira al-Thani e

¹¹ Zakiya Mal Allah Abd al-Aziz ha conseguito un dottorato in farmacia all’università del Cairo. Giornalista e poetessa, scrive su diversi giornali qatarioti e ha pubblicato nove libri di poesie, molte delle quali sono state tradotte in spagnolo, turco e urdu, cfr. Ashur, Ghazoul e Reda-Mekdashī (2008: 337).

¹² Hissa al-Awadi, formatasi alle università del Cairo e di New York, ha pubblicato in arabo e in inglese sei volumi di poesie e molti racconti brevi sia per bambini sia per adulti: in questi ultimi critica l’istituzione del matrimonio, che interpreta come un mezzo degli uomini per esercitare il controllo sul corpo delle donne (cfr. Abu Shehab 2021).

¹³ Di quest’opera è disponibile una versione in francese pubblicata nel 2012 dalle Editions Aden, a Londra, con il titolo *La fable du lac*.

¹⁴ Cfr. Perrone (2019), che nota come, al pari dei romanzi scritti da uomini qatarioti, le opere delle scrittrici donne sono incentrate sulla trasformazione sociale vissuta dal Qatar dalla scoperta del petrolio, ma anche—e forse soprattutto—sui limiti sociali affrontati dalle donne.

¹⁵ <http://www.delalkhalifa.com>. Negli ultimi anni, però, il sito non è stato aggiornato.

Sumayya Tisha. I temi principali della letteratura femminile riprendono quelli già introdotti dalle scrittrici precedenti e riguardano essenzialmente il ruolo della donna nella società e la transizione sociale ed economica del Qatar.

Dalal Khalifa è una scrittrice eclettica, la cui ricca produzione spazia dai racconti brevi ai testi teatrali, dai libri per bambini ai romanzi, alla poesia, alla saggistica letteraria.¹⁶ Nata e vissuta in Qatar, fa parte della famiglia attualmente regnante nel paese e ricopre alte cariche pubbliche in campo culturale, ma è prima di tutto una donna, una “semplice” insegnante di inglese, che guarda il mondo dal punto di vista dei rapporti umani, della cosiddetta “vita privata”. E proprio nella sua opera *Anā al-yāsamīna al-bayḍāʾ* ‘Io, gelsomino bianco’, i rapporti umani sono indagati con particolare attenzione, nella misura in cui si trovano influenzati dalle vicende della vita pubblica e dalle consuetudini della società araba in cui l’autrice stessa vive. L’antologia comprende 16 racconti scritti fra il 1987 e il 2002, che parlano di svariati tipi di rapporti: intimi od occasionali, amorosi, filiali, di lavoro o di mera utilità reciproca.¹⁷ Molti dei protagonisti—ma non tutti—sono donne e il tema che li unisce è quello della “sorpresa”, declinata in molteplici varianti: da una semplice battuta che sintetizza e svela un rapporto di affetto, di amore o, anche, di incomprensione e di odio, fino al “ribaltamento” del rapporto stesso: come nel racconto *Al-ṭifl* ‘Il bambino’, dove sembra di aver di fronte una giovane madre che porta in braccio il figlioletto dirigendosi non si sa dove, sotto un sole rovente che le rende difficile il cammino... ma poi si scopre che quanto descritto, in realtà, è la fantasia di una donna anziana, che sentendosi ospite nella propria casa ormai diventata “di sua nuora”, dove viene accudita come una bimba dal figlio ormai adulto, si industria per scappare stringendo fra le braccia pochi—ma pesantissimi—bagagli. La più bella sorpresa, forse, è offerta da *Al-nāfidha al-muḍīʿa* ‘La finestra illuminata’, che descrive l’aspetto più tenero dell’amore, quello della condivisione: in questo caso la condivisione di una sofferenza, visto che il racconto descrive una donna che si muove maldestramente per casa e solo alla fine l’autrice ci dice che quella donna tiene gli occhi chiusi per condividere la cecità che ha colpito il suo compagno. In tema di ribaltamento, comunque, va ricordato il più teatrale, quello de *Al-mufājaʿa al-kubrā* ‘La regina delle sorprese’: un monologo di riflessioni di un padre che si rivolge al figlio chiedendogli—o piuttosto chiedendosi—il perché di tutta una serie di improvvisi capovolgimenti da quello operati nella sua vita: il cambio di università, l’annuncio di un fidanzamento poi subito annullato, un figlio nato da una relazione giovanile presentato ai genitori dopo svariati anni, il lavoro lasciato non si sa perché e per che cosa, ecc., per concludersi con un gran colpo di scena finale che mette in discussione la paternità

¹⁶ Per la produzione letteraria di Dalal Khalifa si veda in particolare ʿĀmir (2009).

¹⁷ Sulla pluralità di voci in questi racconti di Dalal Khalifa cfr. s.n. (2000) e al-Saʿd (2005).

stessa del protagonista. Anche in un altro racconto, *Dāʿnī arḥalu* ‘Lasciami andare’, un padre si rivolge al figlio con un lungo monologo mentre il figlio resta muto, quasi “senza parole” di fronte all’intensità dell’affetto paterno, e in entrambi i casi, lo scopo dell’autrice sembra quello di far emergere come non si tratti di affetto vero, ma di semplice inerzia: un’inerzia capace di essere più forte della morte e dei legami di sangue.

L'astrazione dei rapporti umani dalla vita esterna, il loro correre su piani paralleli ma toccati o solo sfiorati da reciproche interferenze, è il modo in cui l’autrice legge l’esistenza e rappresenta le persone con i loro drammi più o meno intensi, i loro sogni effimeri o tenaci, le loro speranze durature o momentanee, le loro disillusioni. Il narratore è spesso polifonico, si sdoppia continuamente fra l'autore e i personaggi, immedesimandosi ora in questo ora in quelli con ritmi che talvolta si fanno ossessivi, conferendo al testo quel tono allusivo che pervade tutta l’opera di Dalal Khalifa. Il narratore, talvolta oggettivo nel descrivere la realtà, si confonde altre volte con uno dei personaggi e dietro a questo si nasconde. Così, in *Ashiyāʾ fawqa banafsjayya* ‘L’invisibile agli occhi’, il narratore pone una domanda (“Cosa guardano quei tre?”) e subito gli risponde una delle figure del “coro” di spettatori, che esclama “Ah, sta disegnando il mare!”. A questi fa eco la voce del protagonista, che scopriamo essere un pittore con doti “magiche”, giacché afferma “Veramente, disegno anche la voce delle onde...” Il racconto prosegue in un alternarsi di considerazioni provenienti da altre figure dello stesso coro, senza alcun segno di punteggiatura relativo al dialogo (nemmeno le virgolette aperte o chiuse) che sottolinei l'intervento dell'uno e/o dell'altro personaggio. Finché entra in scena l’antagonista, un poliziotto, che per un po’ asseconda il magico accordo tra protagonista e coro, ma che alla fine riporta tutto quanto alla burocratica “realtà” dei fatti accertabili. Nel racconto *Al-lawḥa* ‘Il disegno’, invece, la protagonista affianca, una dopo l’altra, le “tessere” di una verosimilmente tragica, cruenta storia familiare, senza riuscire tuttavia a ridarle vita perché l’antagonista, il marito della donna, irrompe con la scarna realtà del presente, imponendo con violenza le sue banali, futili esigenze.

L’ignoto, tanto più inquietante in quanto perfettamente familiare a entrambi i personaggi fin dall’inizio della narrazione, irrompe con drammatico crescendo in *Ṣadiqatī*, ‘Amica mia’, dove l’antagonista si rivela progressivamente alla protagonista, che resta sempre in silenzio fino al muto, accorato, disperato gesto di addio a quella che era sempre stata, in realtà, la sua nemica—perché seconda moglie di un uomo a cui lei, la prima moglie, non aveva potuto dare un figlio. Ma l’impianto drammatico, per Dalal Khalifa, è quasi sempre temperato da elementi simbolici, metaforici, irreali e fin assurdi. Come in ‘Io, gelsomino bianco’, dove al culmine della vicenda entra in scena—la scena mentale delle protagoniste—qualcosa di inquietante, di incombente: il fantasma di un branco di “zulù” che minacciano l’interagire dei personaggi fin quasi a sopraffarli, ma che svaniscono quando i personaggi

stessi, ritrovata la loro “umanità”, riprendono in mano il loro rapporto. O ancora le belve che entrano dalla finestra del salotto in *Al-thuqb* ‘Il buco’: prefigurazioni grottesche del “troppo umano” risentimento finale del protagonista, un ricco anziano malato, costretto sulla sedia a rotelle, che se la prende con il maggiordomo a cui, suo malgrado, è costretto ad affidarsi. Le identificazioni con animali-preda o predatori—narcisistiche, per dirla in termini psicanalitici—arrivano a occupare tutto lo spazio mentale della protagonista di *Li-nafsihā šana’at ghāba* ‘Una savana tutta per sé’: fino al punto che gli scarni dialoghi con i suoi pretendenti (gli unici “dati di realtà” del racconto) svaniscono, per lasciar campo libero all’identificazione della donna e del suo “uomo ideale” con la coppia animale predatrice, che la realtà quotidiana riduce però a preda potenziale di onnipresenti cacciatori ben armati.

Il racconto più ironico è senz’altro *Al-shāḥanāt* ‘I camion’, il cui tema è il “gap” sociale fra i due personaggi: qui la schizzinosa protagonista, costretta ad accettare un passaggio in camion perché l’autobus non arriva, si ostina a “mantenere le distanze” dall’umile, invadente antagonista, un autista sporco e maleducato che la ripagherà della stessa moneta, mettendola nella condizione di dover... tornare a casa a piedi. Quello dal contenuto più ambizioso, invece, è *Al-kā’in* ‘L’oggetto volante’, sull’esibizionismo degli aiuti umanitari occidentali contrapposto—un po’ semplicisticamente—alla tragedia dei disastri naturali di un’Africa descritta come “ingenua” e tribale. In questo racconto, la tragedia e la morte non possono che emergere come unica realtà reale in mezzo alla commedia degli aiuti alla sopravvivenza, che vengono “calati dall’alto” non solo metaforicamente, da un elicottero che sorvola la radura. L’impianto narrativo meglio articolato, infine, lo troviamo ne ‘Io, gelsomino bianco’, che si svolge in un ambiente ben noto all’autrice, quello scolastico: qui i diversi stili della narrazione, del dialogo e dell’intreccio si alternano con garbo da operetta, fino alla sorprendente inversione dei ruoli fra insegnante e allieva.

La realtà descritta dall’autrice, che guarda il mondo com’esso è restituito dai molteplici specchi del sentimento, si colora di sfumature cangianti, di figure messe a fuoco lentamente—o, più spesso, all’improvviso—nel tentativo spesso riuscito di “attraversare” lo strumento che distanzia, riflette e rifrange le immagini, per rivelarci il senso e il sapore immediato di un rapporto, di un incontro, di un addio. In ciò, paradossalmente, la scelta della lingua araba *fuṣḥā*, letteraria, aiuta l’autrice, perché è una lingua in sé colorata di metafore, che privilegiano la realtà, la fisicità: così il paesaggio di fronte al quale siedono le due vedove nel racconto ‘Amica mia’ è quello di un mare “vecchio e stanco”, mentre la cucina de *Al-nāfidha al-muḍī’a* ‘La finestra illuminata’ è “ammantata di tristezza” e ne ‘Il buco’ il vento “ulula” e “ruggisce” con fragore, quasi fosse “un latrato di bestie feroci”. In *Al-ḥaqā’iq* ‘Le verità distorte’ l’oratore che “impasta le verità” è esplicitamente paragonato a un panettiere e in *Nazariyyāt*, ‘Riflessioni,’ la protagonista inneggia all’amore che fa vibrare gli amanti all’unisono, come “note di una

stessa canzone”. Per il resto, la lingua dell'autrice è ricca di vocaboli e di costruzioni letterarie, anche se presenta aspetti moderni come un uso disinvolto della frase nominale (laddove, com'è noto, l'arabo letterario predilige quella verbale) e il ripetuto utilizzo dei puntini per indicare, il più delle volte, una sospensione—anche temporale—nello svolgersi degli avvenimenti o delle riflessioni.

A sottolineare la polifonia della voce narrante e i caleidoscopici paesaggi in cui si muove il gran numero dei personaggi, lo stile di Dalal Khalifa passa dalla formulazione decisamente classica di 'Io gelsomino bianco'—che pure mantiene un tono un po' infantile, dato che la bambina protagonista ha solo quattro anni—allo stile da cronaca, quasi “giornalistico” di 'L'oggetto volante'; dalla complessa sintassi di 'Una savana tutta per sé' al rapido e scattante periodare di 'Le verità distorte'. Talvolta la lingua della narrazione si fa così criptica da arrivare a rendere incomprensibile il susseguirsi degli eventi, per lasciare spazio solo al riecheggiare del motivo di fondo. E' il caso de 'Il disegno', dove la materia del ricordo s'intuisce tragica, “troppo” dolorosa per essere narrata dalla protagonista: perciò ella tenta invano di disegnarla, limitandosi a descriverla con una serie di negazioni (l'auto che tratteggia “non è capottata”, l'anziana donna “non è morta”) che permettono al lettore di intuire—ma non certo di capire—quale sia la verità.

Se ne 'Il disegno' la protagonista si rifugia in un mondo di sogno, di ricordi spezzati, e la realtà irrompe, nelle vesti del marito/antagonista, come un risveglio che separa definitivamente il sogno dalla realtà, negli altri racconti l'autrice si limita a insinuare un dubbio che, nei casi meglio riusciti, integra la realtà e porta il lettore a guardarla dalla giusta distanza, per metterla meglio a fuoco: il figlio tanto amato e viziato non era, in realtà, un figlio e l'amica più cara si rivela essere la nemica che aveva strappato l'uomo alla prima moglie. La piccola allieva vestita come un gelsomino bianco, che dice sempre “no”, diventa l'educatrice delle sue stesse maestre e della direttrice della scuola. Un volgare camionista si rivela più eloquente e “dialettico” della sua raffinata passeggera. Il misero funerale di un “selvaggio” africano, morto d'inedia, suggerisce il mistero della vita al corteo dei suoi pretesi salvatori...

In tutti questi rapporti di coppia, rapporti privati o pubblici, siano essi d'amore, di odio, di lavoro, di classe o addirittura di civiltà, la realtà si fa strada, nel racconto dell'autrice, come il terzo incomodo, da cui il rapporto stesso traeva però la sua vita: la cecità condivisa che rende l'amore veggente. Il marito morto di due donne che, lungi dall'essere amiche, sono in realtà nemiche mortali. La nuora di una donna anziana tornata mentalmente bambina. La vita di un padre che, morendo, credeva di staccare se stesso dal figlio troppo amato. La stanza “misteriosa” dove molti uomini si rifugiano impedendo alla donna amata di “vibrare all'unisono con loro come note di una stessa canzone”—e facendo “incespicare” la loro musica, la sintonia che li rappresenta... Con timida discrezione, l'autrice insiste nel ricordarci che un rapporto di coppia, di qualunque natura esso sia, esiste in funzione di altro dalla

coppia stessa. E' un "segreto" che tutti conoscono, eppure tutti tendono a dimenticare. Per ciò lei insiste a ricordarcelo.

I racconti di Dalal Khalifa parlano di una società, quella qatariota, che per gli italiani è tutta da conoscere, così come la letteratura femminile che di questa società è figlia. Si tratta di un aspetto del Qatar sicuramente meno noto degli avvenimenti calcistici, ma altrettanto interessante da scoprire.

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Fabrizio Angelo Pennacchietti: storia di un'amicizia

Ho conosciuto Fabrizio Angelo Pennacchietti molti anni fa a Torino, quando, all'inizio degli anni novanta, lavoravo all'Einaudi. In una cena molto simpatica da lei organizzata a casa sua, Silvia Luraghi ci presentò. Ancora ricordo la mirabolante avventura della ricerca di un'iscrizione punica in Sardegna che Fabrizio ci raccontò in quell'occasione. Ebbi subito l'impressione di una curiosità e di una cultura sconfinata, di una grandissima simpatia.

Passarono molti anni prima che ci rivedessimo e fu dopo il mio arrivo all'Università di Bergamo, nel 2005. Con l'amico e collega Alessandro Mengozzi, che di Fabrizio era stato allievo e che allora insegnava arabo nella mia stessa Università, decidemmo di organizzare, per il 1° dicembre del 2006, una giornata di studio dedicata a *Relative e pseudorelative tra grammatica e testo*. Era e probabilmente ancora è, quello delle relative, un tema al crocevia di molti interessi delle diverse prospettive della linguistica attuale e i risultati di quella giornata di studio ne danno chiaramente traccia. Grazie ad Alessandro intervenne anche Fabrizio, con un bellissimo contributo riguardante *L'impiego di frasi pseudorelative con verbi finiti*,¹ che spaziava, nel panorama linguistico considerato, dai dialetti del sud della penisola arabica ai dialetti curdi, in una sorta di rassegna insieme amplissima e sintetica, capace cioè di rintracciare in lingue tanto diverse un modo misteriosamente analogo di costruire la relazione sintattica oggetto dello studio.

Non fu tuttavia la ricchezza della relazione a creare l'amicizia: fu invece... la mancanza di denaro! Mancavano infatti i fondi per invitare a cena i relatori la sera del loro arrivo e dunque decisi di invitarli io a casa mia. Grazie a Fabrizio e alle sue doti di narratore l'atmosfera fu subito splendida: distesa, allegra, assolutamente informale, tanto che quando, alla fine della giornata di lavoro, Fabrizio decise di non tornare a Torino e di fermarsi a Bergamo per continuare a discutere delle molte cose di cui si era parlato, alcuni altri condivisero questa decisione e ci ritrovammo di nuovo tutti da me: una meraviglia che raramente succede.

Ci sono state in seguito alcune altre rare occasioni di rivederci ma poi è venuto il mio lungo lavoro di traduzione e commento di *Die Lingua franca* di Hugo Schuchardt (1909) per il quale mille volte sono ricorso a Fabrizio. Lo chiamavo, gli scrivevo, trovando ogni volta un maestro e un amico, sempre pronto

¹ Cfr. Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti (2007). *L'impiego di frasi pseudorelative con verbi finiti*. In: *Relative e pseudorelative tra grammatica e testo*, a cura di Federica Venier, 133-148. Alessandria: dell'Orso.

a illuminarmi, a illustrarmi qualche dettaglio di quel suo mondo semitico tanto ricco e complesso. A volte, alle mie domande, Fabrizio rispondeva con un suo articolo in cui, ogni volta, trovavo, oltre alle risposte che cercavo, la scoperta di nuovi mondi, di nuovi orizzonti di indagine, scoperta trasmessa da una scrittura scientifica narrativamente tanto affascinante quanto i suoi racconti orali.

Al momento della pubblicazione del libro², che, com'è ovvio, gli mandai immediatamente, Fabrizio mi telefonò per ringraziarmi sorprendendomi di nuovo. Mi disse infatti, unico in assoluto, la cosa più affettuosa e cara che io abbia mai udito da chi mi ha letto, quella che più mi ha commossa per l'empatia e l'amicizia di cui è testimone: “Bellissima la dedica a tuo papà”. Chi va a leggere le dediche? Chi si preoccupa del dolore e del lutto che esse spesso racchiudono?

Sono queste stesse parole che voglio dedicare a Fabrizio, poiché se mio papà “mi ha insegnato la lingua franca dell'amore per gli altri e per le loro lingue”, certo Fabrizio, con la sua sapienza, la sua generosità, la sua simpatia, ha contribuito a rafforzare questo amore, a renderlo più attento e profondo.

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² Federica Venier. 2012. *La corrente di Humboldt. Una lettura di La lingua franca di Hugo Schuchardt*. Roma: Carocci.