THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 32

SERIES EDITOR

ALEXANDER FODOR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

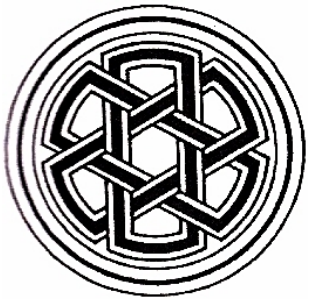
KINGA DÉVÉNYI
TAMÁS IVÁNYI

ISSN 0239-1619

Copyright Ed. Csoma de Kőrös Soc. 2013
MÚZEUM BLD. 4/B BUDAPEST, 1088 HUNGARY

The Arabist
Budapest Studies in Arabic 32

EDITED BY
K. DÉVÉNYI



EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY CHAIR FOR ARABIC STUDIES
&
CSOMA DE KŐRÖS SOCIETY SECTION OF ISLAMIC STUDIES
BUDAPEST, 2013

CONTENTS

Antonella Ghersetti (Venice): *Des animaux parlants : modèles littéraires et contraintes ideologiques* 3

Zoltán Szombathy (Budapest): *Premodern Ethnography: A Cushitic Custom Described and Explained by Mediaeval Arab Observers* 35

Francesco Grande (Venice): *The Composite Nature of* llaḏī, ḥayṯu, man/mā-min: *Distributional, Typological and Pragmatic Aspects of Old Arabic Relative Markers* 61

Anne Regourd (Paris): *Les documents Denise Rémondon conservés au Louvre : identification et inventaire d'une collection* 117

Reviews 127

Volumes of *The Arabist* published so far 135

DES ANIMAUX PARLANTS
MODÈLES LITTÉRAIRES ET CONTRAINTES IDÉOLOGIQUES[1]

Antonella Ghersetti

Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia

Le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* et les apologues qu'il contient ont sans nul doute constitué un élément profondément nouveau (nous ne dirons pas novateur pour des raisons qui seront éclaircies dans ce qui suit) dans le système littéraire arabe des débuts de l'époque abbasside. Ses échos – directs ou indirects – sont donc présents dans un grand nombre d'ouvrages de la littérature arabe. Un trait de cet ouvrage perçu comme saillant par les hommes de lettres est le fait que les animaux soient doués de parole : ce fait est mis en exergue à plusieurs reprises dans les ouvrages de la littérature arabe qui se réclament d'une filiation générique du *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, ainsi que dans ceux qui, d'une façon ou d'une autre, s'y réfèrent pour d'autres raisons. L'attention portée sur la parole des animaux est un indice indirect du fait que les fables et les apologues animaliers introduits dans la tradition arabe grâce à la traduction/réécriture d'Ibn al-Muqaffa^{c} ne sont pas un genre facilement ac-ceptable, du moins dans la littérature « haute »[2]. Cela a évidemment affaire au statut problématique de la fiction dans la culture arabo-musulmane médiévale, mais aussi probablement à d'autres raisons qui feront l'objet de notre étude. La difficile acceptation de la narration fictive dans le champ littéraire de cette culture a été largement étudiée, souvent en faisant précisément appel aux fables et apologues animaliers[3], et nous ne nous pencherons pas sur cette question. Le fait qui nous intéresse ici est plutôt l'emphase que le sources mettent sur la faculté de parole dont les animaux font preuve, au point que dans les textes que nous avons consultés et qui font référence aux fables, un genre dont le trait saillant est l'anthropomorphisation des animaux, cette anthropomorphisation est résumée dans leur faculté de parole et la

[1] Cet article est une version élargie et approfondie de la communication que nous avons présentée à l'occasion du 25^{e} congrès de l'UEAI (Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants) qui s'est tenu à Naples du 8 au 12 septembre 2010.

[2] « …fable collections like *Kalila wa-Dimna* or *Sulwan al-Mutā*^{c} were indeed sophisticated both in style and structure. Moreover, they were compiled by named authors who were esteemed by their contemporaries and successors. They are examples of the high genre of fable literature » (Irwin 1992:42). Le mot 'genre' doit être entendu dans le sens non technique du mot : il n'est en effet pas clair si on considérait la fable un genre à part entière (*ibid*., 36).

[3] Nous renvoyons ici aux études de Bonebakker (1992), Drory (1994) et, dans un contexte plus vaste, à Drory 2000, en particulier le premier chapitre.

THE ARABIST. BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 32 (2013)
https://doi.org/10.58513/ARABIST.2013.32.1

sagesse est dispensée « sur la langue des animaux » (*ᶜalā alsinat al-ḥayawān*)[4]. Le fait que l'attention soit toujours focalisée sur cette faculté, typiquement humaine, semble dénoncer la parole des animaux comme un phénomène digne de mention, mais aussi dérangeant, voire perturbant, aux yeux des savants musulmans. Nous enquêterons donc sur l'attitude des gens de lettres vis-à-vis du procédé qui consiste à donner la faculté de parole aux animaux, surtout dans les ouvrages qui déclarent s'inspirer du modèle du *Kalīla wa-Dimna*[5], sur l'attitude progressive de gêne vis-à-vis de la parole des animaux et sur les raisons qui pourraient en être à la source. Notre analyse portera surtout sur deux ouvrages, d'époque et de contexte géographique différents, appartenant au genre « miroir des princes » dont le modèle est à identifier, selon le dire des auteurs, au *Kalīla wa-Dimna* : le *Sulwān al-Muṭāᶜ* d'Ibn Ẓafar aṣ-Ṣiqillī (m. 565/1170 ou 567-568/1172) et le *Fākihat al-ḫulafā'* d'Ibn ᶜArabšāh (m. 854/1450), ainsi que sur d'autres sources qui font aussi référence, mais d'une manière moins nette, au *Kalīla wa-Dimna* et aux fables et apologues qui y sont contenus.

1. Notre point de départ étant évidemment le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* lui-même, nous nous pencherons très brièvement sur certains aspects de cet ouvrage. Il est bien connu que la littérature persane a eu l'influence la plus grande sur la fable arabe (formes et contenus)[6], et que c'est justement à travers cette littérature que la fable animalière d'origine indienne a été introduite dans le monde arabe, notamment grâce au livre traduit par Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ. L'influence du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* sur les modalités d'expression d'une partie de la littérature arabe a été analysée dans une étude pointue d'Ewald Wagner qui porte sur la réception de la fable animalière d'origine persane dans la littérature arabe en prose, ce qui nous dispense de nous pencher sur ce point[7]. Cet ouvrage, une réécriture plus qu'une simple traduction,

[4] Dans la littérature arabe d'ailleurs il n'existe pas de terminologie pour se référer aux fables : l'expression la plus proche est en fait « *amṯāl/nawādir ᶜalā alsinat al-ḥayawān* » (Marzolph /1998/ à consulter aussi pour une synthèse sur la fable dans la littérature arabe).

[5] Il faut toutefois préciser que ces déclarations de principe ne correspondent pas à une reprise de la structure et des modalités expressives du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (conte-cadre et histoires qui y sont insérées), mais plutôt à une utilisation générique des fables animalières dans des contextes plutôt typiques de la prose d'*adab* (comme le souligne, pour le cas d'Ibn Ẓafar, Wagner 1994:945).

[6] Irwin (1992:38) ; Gholam-Ali, 1975:56 « On ne peut donc parler de véritables fables avant la pénétration de la culture iranienne sous les Abbassides » et 51 « La traduction arabe de *Kalila wa Dimna*… semble avoir inauguré la tradition de la fable et du conte animalier dans la littérature arabe ».

[7] Wagner (1994) ; l'auteur explique par les canons poétiques de la littérature d'*adab*, et surtout par la résistance à accepter la fiction, l'impact somme toute modeste du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* sur la littérature arabe.

est un cas emblématique de deux questions très importantes qui ont sans doute influencé son statut et sa diffusion dans le système littéraire arabe. La première est la question de la fiction représentée par l'anthropomorphisation des animaux[8] ; ce trait était déjà caractéristique de l'ouvrage qui est à l'origine du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* arabe, le *Panchatantra*. Theodor Benfey, le philologue auquel nous devons l'édition de l'original sanskrit, identifiait la particularité de la fable animalière indienne au fait que les animaux agissent comme des hommes déguisés en animaux et au fait qu'elle est axée sur le rapport des hommes aux pouvoir, tandis que la tradition ésopienne fait agir les animaux en fonction de leurs caractéristiques et met en scène la vie quotidienne de gens normaux. La deuxième question est celle des impulsions novatrices apportées à la littérature arabe par les traditions littéraires étrangères. À ce propos, Rina Drory reconnaît un double statut au livre traduit par Ibn al-Muqaffa[c] : le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* est en effet un exemple de canons littéraires étrangers à la tradition arabe et, en même temps, un ouvrage dont la renommée et l'appréciation dans cette culture même ne faisaient pas de doute. Ce double statut le rendait parfait pour promouvoir les nouvelles initiatives littéraires[9]. Pourtant, malgré l'importance manifeste et la célébrité de cet ouvrage, l'impulsion novatrice qu'il put donner à la littérature arabe reste très limitée : Wagner prouve que les ouvrages qui s'inspirent fidèlement de sa structure et de ses modalité d'expression, hormis ceux qui présentent des analogies génériques dans l'utilisation des fables animalières, sont peu nombreux, sans doute à cause de l'influence de la littérature « haute » et de sa méfiance vis-à-vis de la narration fictive. Le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* reste en définitive un élément qui a représenté une nouveauté absolue dans le système littéraire arabe dans la première époque abbasside, mais dont l'impact reste bien limité sur ce système même[10]. Il aurait pu – en théorie – y remplir un vide[11] et ouvrir la porte à l'irruption de la narration fictive dans cette littérature, mais cette impulsion novatrice virtuelle s'est heurtée à l'hostilité à l'égard de la narration fictive, ce qui a fait avorter tout développement significatif dans ce sens.

---

[8] Qui, paradoxalement, est parfois acceptée dans des contextes bien circonscrits (Wagner 1994:939-940).

[9] Drory (2000:25) : « Its dual status in the Arabic literary system, of representing alien poetic norms, yet being a recognized and highly appreciated literary work, made this book a perfect banner for promoting new literary initiatives ».

[10] Pour le statut des traductions dans les systèmes littéraires, sur leur potentielle impulsion novatrice et sur la dynamique des rapports entre les littératures « fortes » et les littératures « faibles », les études d'Itamar Even Zohar (p.e. « Translated Literature ») proposent une approche très prometteuse qui pourrait être utilement appliquée au cas complexe du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* avec toutes ses filiations dans la littérature mondiale.

[11] Ce qui est un phénomène fréquent pour les traductions, qui souvent arrivent à remplir un vide dans la culture de la langue cible (Even-Zohar 1990:47-48).

Cependant, il est vrai que le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* constitue une référence incontournable pour les auteurs postérieurs qui, souvent, s'en servent (surtout dans le cas des *maqāmāt*) pour légitimer la fiction en jouant sur le fait que les fables animalières introduites grâce à ce livre, bien qu'étrangères à la tradition arabe, étaient hautement appréciées à cause des maximes de sagesse qu'elles contenaient[12]. Cette sagesse, reconnue comme universelle, semble être perçue comme un des traits saillants de cet ouvrage et ce dès son arrivée dans la littérature arabe. Dans son prologue, Ibn al-Muqaffa[c] qualifie le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* de livre de sagesse reconnu par les savants de toutes époques et de tous pays. Ce livre, qui contient des histoires et des paraboles (*aḥādīṯ wa-amṯāl*) est caractérisé par une forme particulière : les savants indiens « y ont résumé le discours éloquent et plus parfait en faisant parler les oiseaux, les bêtes et les fauves » (*laḫḫaṣū fīhi min balīġ al-kalām wa-mutqanihi [c]alā afwāh aṭ-ṭayr wa-l-bahā'im wa-s-sibā[c]*) (Ibn al-Muqaffa[c], *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, éd. [c]Azzām, 37). Cette phrase renvoie au double aspect de ce livre qui est expliqué plus tard dans le prologue : le sérieux (*ḥikma*) pour ce qui concerne les concepts et les notions véhiculés, et le divertissant (*lahw*) pour ce qui concerne la forme choisie. Ce double aspect implique d'une part le locuteur auquel il assure, Ibn al-Muqaffa[c] le dit clairement, la liberté d'expression (*mutaṣarraf fī l-qawl*) et d'autre part les destinataires de l'ouvrage, en permettant ainsi d'inclure dans le public deux sortes de lecteurs : les sages (*ḫukamā'*) et les légers d'esprit (*suḫafā'*). Les premiers liront le livre pour la sagesse et les deuxièmes pour le divertissement. Une troisième catégorie « de transition » est aussi envisagée : les jeunes qui seront encouragés à lire et retenir le livre grâce à sa forme amène et qui, en même temps, en grandissant, pourront profiter des enseignements ainsi assimilés[13]. Il s'agit donc

[12] Drory 2000:5 et *passim*. Pour l'exemple d'Ibn Šaraf al-Qayrawānī, qui cite le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* pour légitimer la fiction de ses propres ouvrages, voir ci-dessous.

[13] La question des destinataires du *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, normalement considéré par la critique comme un miroir des princes, est traité par Irwin, qui tempère cette interprétation. Selon Irwin, il n'est pas sûr que le destinataire soit le souverain (« was not a mirror too addressed to the Caliph or members of the ruling class » /Irwin 1992:39/), vu qu'Ibn al-Muqaffa[c] semble s'adresser à ceux qui entourent le souverain plutôt qu'au souverain même (« The beast fable might be used to make certain rather generalized political points about the need for justice, loyalty and prudence ; but these were issues which concerned secretaries, merchants and teachers as much as kings. The beast fable was in any case a poor vehicle for conveying advice on issues of more specific concern to rulers-such as the relationship between secular and spiritual powers, the legitimation of dynasties, the maintenance of armies and the levying of taxes », *ibid*., 41). Selon Irwin, le public du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* était sans doute composé aussi d'enfants, à des fins de divertissement et d'éducation linguistique, en considération du fait qu'Ibn al-Muqaffa[c] y propose plaisir et sagesse (*ahwān wa-ḥikma*) (*ibid.*,44-45). Cependant, la réception du livre attestée auprès des

d'un livre qu'il faut prendre très au sérieux (la preuve en est qu'il faudra en comprendre chaque passage avant de passer au suivant) (Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, éd. ᶜAzzām, 38), et nullement d'un livre destiné uniquement à l'amusement.

Le prologue de Barzawayh corrobore cette lecture et ajoute, au caractère initiatique du livre, la spécificité d'être conçu pour enseigner aux souverains l'art du bon gouvernement de leurs sujets[14]. Contenus et forme du livre sont ainsi esquissés synthétiquement : « les contenus étonnants sont exprimés à travers la bouche des oiseaux, des bêtes, des animaux sauvages et des fauves, des bêtes qui traînent par terre et du reste des insectes de la terre »[15]. Ou encore : « tout ce qu'il y a d'étonnant est dit en faisant parler les animaux et les oiseaux »[16]. Le caractère secret et presque initiatique du livre est d'ailleurs souligné dans les métatextes qui sont en rapport avec le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, qui ne peuvent pas être ignorés lorsqu'on s'intéresse à la réception de ce titre[17]. Le prologue de ᶜAlī b. Šāh al-Fārisī, ajouté à une époque tardive aux nombreuses couches dont le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* est constitué[18], dit ouvertement, ce qui n'est pas dans l'introduction d'Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, que le fait de faire parler les animaux était dû à la volonté des sages de préserver ses contenus les plus profonds des gens du commun, et de les protéger jalousement du bas peuple de façon que sa sagesse (*ḥikma*) soit destinée uniquement aux gens de sagesse et aux philosophes[19]. Toujours dans ce prologue, al-Fārisī met en scène le

---

auteurs postérieurs indique plutôt que cet ouvrage était perçu comme un ouvrage destiné aux souverains.

[14] *Mimmā yaḥtāǧ ilayhi l-mulūk fī siyāsat raᶜiyyatihim wa-iqāmat awaddihā wa-inṣāfihā*, (Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, éd.ᶜAzzām, 50).

[15] *Uṯbitat ᶜaǧā'ibuhu ᶜalā afwāh aṭ-ṭayr wa-l-bahā'im wa-l-wuḥūš wa-l-sibāᶜ wa-l-hawāmm wa-sā'ir ḥašarāt al-arḍ* (*ibid*.).

[16] *…al-ᶜilm wa-l-adab wa-l-aᶜāǧīb allatī ḥakawhā ᶜalā alsun al-ḥayawān wa-ṭ-ṭayr* (*ibid*., 55-56).

[17] Ce que les mots de Cheikh-Moussa (1999:169) résument très clairement « …notre souci n'est pas de retrouver ces textes, dans leur pureté originelle, mais bien de voir comment ils ont pu être lus, compris et interprétés dans la forme que nous leur connaissons et sous laquelle ils ont été transmis, recopiés et, bien sûr, modifiés ».

[18] Sur ce prologue voir Beeston 1954 ; sur la base d'un manuscrit persan daté 730/1330 qui porte la version persane du *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, le chercheur anglais date l'inclusion du texte d'al-Fārisī dans la version arabe du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* vers la fin du VIIIe/XIVe siècle.

[19] *Wa-huwa kitāb ᶜalā alsinat al-bahā'im wa-ṭ-ṭuyūr tanzīhan li-l-ḥikma wa-funūnihā wa-maḥāsinihā waᶜuyūnihā wa-ṣiyānatan li-ġaraḍihi al-aqṣā fīhi min alᶜawāmm waḍannatan bihi min al-ǧuhalā' aṭ-ṭaġām* et *wa-ǧaᶜalahu alā alsun al-bahā'im wa-ṭ-ṭayr ṣiyānatan li-ġaraḍihi al-aqṣā fīhi min alᶜawāmm wa-ḍannan bi-mā ḍammanahu min aṭ-ṭaġām* (Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, éd. Cheikho, 5). Le rôle de la parole des animaux dans le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* a été étudié par Cheikh-Moussa (1999:157), qui en donne cette

philosophe Baydabā qui s'adresse à ses disciples pour demander leur avis à propos de l'impasse dans laquelle il se trouve : son devoir de sage lui impose de diriger le roi vers le bien, mais sa prudence lui impose de garder les distances car la parole adressée au roi peut être fatale[20]. La parole humaine ne peut donc pas être utilisée pour accomplir son devoir de philosophe. Aucune allusion n'est faite à la parole des animaux, mais le rapprochement de la parole au monde animal est bien plus nuancée : les animaux, dit Baydabā, bien que sans âme (*lā anfus lahā*), sont dirigés par leur instinct qui leur fait éviter tout péril, et il faudra donc s'inspirer d'eux pour protéger sa vie. Trois noyaux conceptuels se suivent dans le raisonnement du philosophe : la parole humaine, le danger engendré par la fréquentation du souverain, le monde animal et ce qu'il représente en termes de vie instinctive. Ce rapprochement suggère, sans le proposer ouvertement, la voie pour se tirer d'embarras : pour échapper au péril, il suffit de faire parler les animaux, ce qui qualifie le texte comme une façon cryptée de dire la vérité au souverain[21]. Dans le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, sagesse et parole des animaux vont de pair sans que cela pose aucun

---

lecture : « L'introduction d'animaux qui parlent donne une précision supplémentaire : il s'agit de fables ou de contes philosophiques dont les protagonistes ou les héros sont des animaux. Le plaisant, sinon le futile, est que ces derniers puissent prendre la parole et tenir de longs discours. Ce *lahw* est, pour les sages, véhicule de *ḥikma* et d'*adab*, mais il est aussi le moyen dont se sert le pouvoir pour se dérober, pour échapper à la prise, à l'emprise de la *ᶜāmma*, et ce faisant, pour mieux assurer son maintien, sa stabilité et sa pérennité. Il faut noter cependant que ce n'est pas là l'unique raison de recourir aux animaux ou au genre de la fable. C'est aussi une garantie contre les méfaits des traducteurs-transmetteurs, contre les modifications qu'ils ne manqueront pas d'apporter, volontairement ou non, au texte philosophique ».

[20] Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, éd. Cheikho, 8 ; cmp. « Le sage est proprement enchaîné, tenu par sa réputation. Il se doit d'être un savant « engagé ». […] La connaissance du tyran, véritable bête fauve, et le souci de sa propre sécurité vont dicter au sage la prudence : chercher à réformer Dabšalīm tout en évitant, plus exactement en différant, l'affrontement direct » (Cheikh-Moussa 1999:145).

[21] London, qui s'interroge sur le choix de la fable animalière parmi les différents types de discours pour parler vrai au roi, met ainsi en exergue l'apport d'Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ : « I find in his [Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ] use of fables, however, a safe form of frank speech that did not put his life in danger in the way that other forms of his writing may have » et « the particular form of frank speech in Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ's fables suggests that with indirect speech, speakers can achieve pedagogical effects that they cannot accomplish directly » (London 2008:192). Le discours fictif peut ainsi assumer la fonction d'outil de réforme sociale (« This story and its execution suggest that direct speech is not a necessary condition for frank, political expression. Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ not only introduces frank but indirect speech ; he also articulates a link between its use and its reception as a vehicle for social reform » (*ibid*., 208).

problème qui appelle un commentaire ou une glose d'éclaircissement de la part de son traducteur en arabe.

Le côté éducatif du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* est un trait saillant de sa réception auprès les hommes de lettres. Ibn Qutayba, par exemple, reprend une bonne partie de l'éthique véhiculée dans les ouvrages d'Ibn al-Muqaffa^{c}, y compris le livre qui nous intéresse ici de plus près[22]. Dans ^{c}*Uyūn al-aḫbār*, seuls trois passages sont formellement désignés comme des extraits du *Kalīla wa-Dimna.* Cependant, plusieurs maximes, citées littéralement ou exprimant « l'esprit sinon la lettre » du *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, y figurent comme des citations tirées du *Kitāb li-l-Hind* (titre générique), tandis qu'une seule de ces citations reproduit un apologue du *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, celui du dévot et de la jarre de miel[23]. Dans les sources postérieures aussi le côté éducatif de ce livre est perçu très nettement et dûment mis en exergue. Le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* est mentionné par Ṣā^{c}id al-Andalusī (462/1070) qui le qualifie d'ouvrage noble et de grande utilité, et le décrit comme un ouvrage conçu dans le but d'instruire ; il est donc placé dans le champ de l'éthique (*iṣlāḥ al-aḫlāq wa tahḏīb an-nufūs*)[24]. Ce but éducatif est aussi présent à l'esprit des hommes de lettres d'une époque bien plus tardive : Ḥāğğī Ḫalīfa (m. 1067/1657) qualifie le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* de livre visant à l'amélioration morale et au raffinement des âmes (*kitāb fī iṣlāḥ al-aḫlāq wa-tahḏīb an-nufūs*). L'élément intéressant est l'association, mise en

[22] « D'abord, la quintessence de l'œuvre d'Ibn al-Muḳaffa^{c} semble bien avoir passé dans celle d'Ibn Ḳutayba, et notamment dans les ^{c}*Uyūn al-aḫbār* et dans les *Ma^{c}ārif* » (Lecomte, 1975:869 ; et *idem* 1965: *passim*).

[23] *Ibid.*, 184. Pour expliquer la différence qu'Ibn Qutayba fait entre le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* et le *Kitāb li-l-Hind*, Lecomte avance l'hypothèse qu'il existait à l'époque un recueil anonyme de maximes tirées du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* au titre imprécisé, recueil qui aurait été utilisé par Ibn Qutayba.

[24] *Wa-mimmā waṣala ilaynā min ^{c}ulūmihim fī iṣlāḥ al-aḫlāq wa-tahḏīb an-nufūs Kitāb Kalīla wa-Dimna, allaḏī ğalabahu… wa-tarğamahu… wa-huwa kitāb šarīf al-ġaraḍ ğalīl al-manfa^{c}* (Ṣā^{c}id, *Ṭabaqāt* 57). La classification des nations rédigée par l'auteur andalou repose sur l'idée de l'origine orientale de la sagesse, qui voyagerait de l'est à l'ouest, c'est à dire de l'Inde à l'Espagne (Martinez-Gros 1995). Dans la sixième nuit de *al-Imtā^{c} wa-l-mu'ānasa*, sur la supériorité des ^{c}*aǧam* ou des Arabes, at-Tawḥīdī donne la parole à Ibn al-Muqaffa^{c} « *aṣīl fī-l-Furs ^{c}arīq fī-l-^{c}aǧam* » (at-Tawḥīdī, *Imtā^{c}*, I, 71), dépeint comme un fier souteneur de la supériorité des Arabes (au point qu'il affirmerait *innahum a^{c}qal al-umam*, *ibid*., 73). Ibn al-Muqaffa^{c} décrit ainsi les Indiens : « *al-Hind aṣḥāb wahm wa-maḫraqa wa-ša^{c}baḍa wa-ḥila* » (les Indiens sont des hommes d'imagination et de duperie, d'escamotage et de stratagème) (*ibid*., 71). at-Tawḥīdī par contre dépeint les Indiens comme ceux qui détiennent la pensée, le sérieux, la capacité de réflexion, la légèreté (*li-l-Hind al-fikr wa-l-kadd wa-r-rawiyya wa-l-ḥiffa*) et les Persans comme ceux qui détiennent l'art de gouverner, de se comporter convenablement et les règles du protocole (*fa-li-l-Furs as-siyāsa wa-l-ādāb wa-l-ḥudūd wa-r-rusūm, ibid*., 74).

exergue par ces mots, entre ce but et la forme des matériaux qui le réalisent : le livre aurait été composé en faisant parler les animaux pour préserver la sagesse du bas peuple et pour la protéger des ignorants grossiers. En cela, Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa ne fait que reprendre les propos d'al-Fārisī, déjà mentionnés. Ce qui reste implicite dans ce discours, c'est le statut attribué aux fables et, en particulier, les fables animalières : un genre étrange considéré comme méprisable et adapté à un public de bas niveau intellectuel, qui justement pouvait bien, grâce à son statut, cacher un savoir précieux sous une veste insoupçonnable. Dans le passage de Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, la question du double niveau de lecture qui apparaît dans les introductions au *Kalīla wa-Dimna* refait ainsi surface. Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa insiste aussi sur la réception de ce livre et s'empresse de souligner la valeur de modèle que le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* a eue auprès des gens de lettres. Il nous informe ainsi que des gens appartenant à l'intelligentsia se sont donné la peine de rédiger des livres dans ce même genre, contenant des contes étranges (*ḥikāyāt ġarība*) et des histoires étonnantes (*ᶜaǧība*). Parmi ceux-ci, il cite aussi Sahl b. Hārūn qui aurait imité ce livre « dans ses chapitres et des *amṯāl* ». Ces propos mettent en relief l'importance du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* comme modèle dont les épigones s'inspirèrent pour l'utilisation de la fable animalière et des paraboles (*amṯāl*)[25].

2. Un aspect particulier de la réception du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* qui nous semble mériter une enquête approfondie est l'emphase mise sur le fait que les animaux soient doués de la faculté de parole. Les textes qui identifient leur source d'inspiration comme étant le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, ainsi que les textes qui témoignent de sa réception, synthétisent les traits saillants de ce type de narration au fait que la sagesse provient de la bouche des animaux : *ᶜalā alsinat al-ḥayawān/al-bahāʾim/ al-wuḥūš* sont les expressions que nous trouvons associées à la mention des paraboles et des maximes de sagesse. Il s'agit pourtant d'un élément qui, au fil du temps, semble susciter une gêne croissante de la part des gens de lettres, gêne qui se manifeste dans les commentaires que les auteurs introduisent dans leurs textes pour se justifier d'avoir recours à des apologues où les animaux font preuve non seulement de sagesse mais aussi d'éloquence.

Les sources les plus anciennes ne semblent pas ressentir le besoin de justifier la présence d'animaux doués de parole : Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, persan converti, profondément imbibé de sa culture et apparemment croyant tiède, sans doute influencé par les modalités de la littérature persane d'origine, ne semble pas attacher beaucoup d'importance à l'anthropomorphisation des animaux et surtout au fait qu'ils sont doués de parole. À tout le moins, il n'y a aucun indice textuel d'un quelconque souci à propos. Ce trait, qui était sans doute perçu comme profondément étranger

[25] Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf* II, col. 1007.

par un public arabe, ne nécessite aucune explication ou commentaire et, surtout, aucune justification. Dans son catalogue, Ibn an-Nadīm aussi ne semble pas attacher d'importance à ce trait et met apparemment sur le même pied la parole des hommes et la parole des animaux, réunies dans le cadre commun et unifiant de la narration fictive (*asmār*, *ḫurāfāt*). Dans ce cadre, et justement en rapport avec Ibn al-Muqaffa^{c}, les locuteurs protagonistes des narrations fictives sont énumérés l'un à coté de l'autre dans la même liste (*an-nās wa-ṭ-ṭayr wa-l-bahā'im*), toutes catégories confondues (Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 364). Le caractère éducatif de *Kalīla wa-Dimna* n'est pas mis en exergue non plus, vu que le titre est inclus dans la section traitant du genre « léger » de littérature destinée aux femmes et aux enfants, qu'on écoute pendant les soirées de veille. Une fois définie l'appartenance au genre littéraire (*ḫurāfāt*), ce qui place sans équivoque le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* dans la catégorie de la fiction, le deuxième pivot de la discussion est l'origine étrangère du genre : ce sont les Persans qui ont créé les *ḫurāfāt*, bien que le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* remonte encore plus loin puisqu'il s'agit d'un livre appartenant à la narration indienne, et les Arabes n'ont pour ainsi dire qu'importé le genre en traduisant l'ouvrage et en l'imitant[26]. Somme toute, Ibn an-Nadīm semble admirer ce livre plus pour son style que pour son contenu (Irwin 1992:37). La même attitude est partagée, bien plus tard, par l'auteur anonyme d'*al-Asad wa-l-ġawwāṣ* qui fut composé en 530/1136. Dans son introduction, celui-ci rappelle que « les sages ont placé la sagesse dans les histoires où les animaux parlent » (*…anna l-ḥukamā'a ǧa*^{c}*alat al-ḥikma fī ḍimni l-aḫbāri wa-*^{c}*alā alsinati l-ḥayawān*) pour la transmettre sans ennuyer, et pour s'adresser aux gens – notamment aux plus jeunes – d'une façon alléchante qui en stimule l'intérêt : pour cette raison, ils ont eu recours, comme les médecins et les chasseurs, à la tromperie (*ḫid*^{c}*a*) qui est licite quand elle mène au bien (*ṣalāḥ*) et à l'utilité (*manfa*^{c})[27]. Sur la base de cette justification, l'auteur anonyme explique qu'il a choisi de transmettre la sagesse en la mettant "dans la bouche du lion et du *ġawwāṣ [le chacal]*" (*^{c}alā lisān al-asad wa-l-ġawwāṣ*) (*Asad* 37-39). Il ne ressent pourtant aucun besoin de justifier le fait que

[26]Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 363 : « les premiers à créer les *ḫurāfāt* […], dans certaines desquelles les animaux parlaient, furent les premiers Persans ; […] par la suite les Arabes les traduisirent en arabe, et les gens d'éloquence s'en emparèrent, les adaptèrent, les couchèrent sur le papier et en composèrent des pareilles » ; p. 364 pour la question des origines du *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.

[27] Ibn al-Ḫaṣṣāb al-Baġdādī (m. 567/1172) témoigne aussi d'une attitude moins nette de refus vis-à-vis de la fiction, pour laquelle il distingue deux types : celle qui est évidente et donc ne risque pas de faire confondre vrai et faux (comme dans le cas des animaux qui parlent) et celle qui est passible d'engendrer la confusion entre vrai et faux (voir Drory 2000:26 ss).

les animaux sont doués de la faculté de parole ou de s'excuser pour la leur avoir prêtée.

Cette dualité axée sur le contraste entre forme et contenu, la première divertissante, le deuxième sérieux, ainsi que le sens de dépaysement créé par le fait de véhiculer la sagesse à travers la parole des animaux, a eu une influence non négligeable sur la littérature postérieure au *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Placer la discussion sur des éléments sensibles, comme la critique aux vérités révélées ou la critique au pouvoir, dans une région complétement détachée du monde réel, dans un « ailleurs » et « alors » construit sur la fiction permet d'énoncer avec une plus grande liberté des idées potentiellement éversives ou dangereuses qu'il serait difficile d'énoncer ouvertement. C'est sur cette dynamique entre liberté d'expression et espace (fictif) de l'énonciation concrétisée dans la parole des animaux qu'est basée la fortune du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* comme modèle, un modèle dont s'inspirent surtout deux épigones d'Ibn al-Muqaffa[c] dont les ouvrages seront présentés ci-dessous.

3.1 Avant de nous pencher plus en détail sur la réception du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* dans les livres d'Ibn Ẓafar et d'Ibn [c]Arabšāh, nous aimerions nous arrêter brièvement sur un ouvrage moins connu mais dont certains passages peuvent être utiles pour notre but : le *Masā'il al-intiqād* d'Ibn Šaraf al-Qayrawānī (m. 460/1067). Le critique et poète de cour tunisien aurait rédigé cet ouvrage de critique littéraire probablement en Espagne entre 449/1057 et la date de sa mort. Ce petit traité, connu aussi sous le titre de *A[c]lām al-kalām* et *Rasā'il al-intiqād*, n'a malheureusement été conservé que dans un état fragmentaire, ce qui rend la restitution de l'original « pratiquement impossible »[28]. Cet ouvrage contient une liste des poètes les plus appréciés en Occident musulman et un bref exposé des principes de la critique littéraire : à première vue, on n'y remarque donc rien qui rappelle le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, ni dans la structure ni dans les modalités d'expression. Dans les sources postérieures, les données concernant ce titre ne sont pas d'une clarté remarquable : Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī attribue à Ibn Šaraf un ouvrage qu'il appelle *A[c]lām al-kalām*, qu'il décrit comme une compilation (*maǧmū[c]*) contenant *fawā'id, laṭā'if wa-mulaḥ muntaḫaba*, sans aucune référence à un possible rapport avec le modèle du *Kalīla wa-*

[28] Pellat, « Introduction » à *Masā'il al-intiqād*, XXII. Ce qui reste du traité a été édité plusieurs fois : par [c]Abd al-Wahhāb dans *al-Muqtabas*, 4 (1911) (tiré à part Damas 1329/1911) sous le titre *Rasā'il al-intiqād* (réproduit par Kurd [c]Alī dans *Rasā'il al-bulaġā'*, Damas 1365/1946, 302-344 ; par [c]Abd al-[c]Azīz al-Ḫānǧī, Le Caire 1344/1926, sous le titre *A[c]lām al-kalām* ; par Pellat, Alger 1953 sous le titre *Questions de critique littéraire*, avec traduction et notes. Sur l'auteur et l'ouvrage voir aussi l'étude, avec édition et traduction italienne, de Rizzitano /1956/).

Dimna ; le titre *Risālat al-intiqād* est mentionné par contre comme un ouvrage indépendant, dans le style des *maqāmāt* (Yāqūt, *Muᶜǧam* VI, 2640). Umberto Rizzitano, dans son étude sur l'auteur et l'ouvrage, ne signale à son tour aucun rapport avec le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* dans la bibliographie d'Ibn Šaraf ; il affirme seulement qu'il aurait composé un certain nombre de *maqāmāt*, dans le sillon des précurseurs de ce genre (Rizzitano 1956:59). Il nous informe toutefois que, selon les sources, son fils, Abū l-Faḍl Ǧaᶜfar, aurait composé un livre d'apologues dans le genre du *Kalīla wa-Dimna*[29]. Dans les sources anciennes, comme on l'a vu, il n'y a donc aucune perception d'un rapport explicite, pour ne pas parler d'un rapport de dépendance, qui lie le *Masāʾil al-intiqād* et le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Cependant, un passage très intéressant à propos des fables animalières et du procédé de représenter des animaux qui parlent figure dans ce petit traité. Dans le prologue, Ibn Šaraf décrit le type de texte (*aḥādīṯ*) qu'il propose aux lecteurs : il s'agit d'un discours « varié et familier, arabe dans la forme mais d'origine étrangère » et il souligne le caractère éloquent des histoires qu'il invente, leur but raffiné et leur *isnād* étrange. Même si l'état dans lequel le *Masāʾil al-intiqād* nous est parvenu ne permet pas de tirer des conclusions définitives sur le rapport entre les deux ouvrages, les traits saillants qui semblent les réunir sont la fiction et le double niveau de lecture, qui correspondent au traits saillants de la réception du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* dans les sources que nous avons analysées. Ibn Šaraf nous informe en effet qu'il a inventé lui-même (*iḫtalaqtuhā*) les histoires contenues dans son traité et il nous précise aussi que celui-ci a un double niveau de lecture. Il aurait en effet composé ses *aḥādīṯ* de façon que les jeunes les aiment pour leur signification et les adultes pour leur but édifiant[30]. Ibn Šaraf révèle enfin que le modèle duquel il s'inspire est en effet le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, un livre dont la particularité peut être décelée dans le fait de faire énoncer les maximes de sagesse aux animaux sauvages et aux bêtes[31]. Ce même modèle aurait été suivi par Sahl b. Hārūn et, aux dires de Ibn Šaraf, par al-Hamaḏānī dans ses *maqāmāt*[32]. Le passage qui met en rapport le *Masāʾil al-intiqād* avec le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* et les *maqāmāt*[33] nous révèle qu'Ibn Šaraf considérait son ouvrage comme un exemple de fiction dans le sillon des compositions du livre traduit par Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ et des compositions d'al-Hamaḏānī. Le point commun entre les *maqāmāt* et le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* serait donc que les

[29] *Ibid*., 56, sur la base des éléments donnés par Ibn Ḍiḥyah, al-Rāǧakūtī, Ibn Rašīq.

[30] *Yarūqu ṣ-ṣaġīru maᶜnāhā, wa-l-kabīru maġzāhā* (Ibn Šaraf, *Masāʾil* 2).

[31] « *Aḍāfū ḥikamahu ilā ṭayr al-ḥawāʾim wa-naṭaqū bihi ᶜalā alsinat al-waḥš wa-l-bahāʾim* » (*ibid*., 4).

[32] Pour le rapport entre *maqāmāt* et *Kalīla wa-Dimna* sous le commun dénominateur de la narration fictive, voir Drory 2000:24 ss.

[33] Selon Pellat (« Introduction », XXIV), le livret « mérite de prendre place [...] dans la littérature des *maqāmāt* ».

deux sont le fruit de l'imagination, ce que Ibn Šaraf dit clairement[34]. Si l'analogie entre le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, les *maqāmāt* et les *Masā'il al-intiqād* réside donc dans la appartenance commune au domaine fictionnel, à laquelle s'ajoute une analogie plus spécifique entre le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* et les *Masā'il al-intiqād* (le double niveau de lecture), il est intéressant de noter que le critique tunisien identifie le trait saillant qui distingue le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* comme étant le fait de donner la parole (et n'importe quelle parole, car il s'agit d'une parole de sagesse) aux animaux. Cet élément semble donc être devenu l'expression elliptique qui condense l'essence de cet ouvrage.

3.2 Le rapport institué par Ibn Šaraf entre son traité et le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* est plus l'indice d'un choix de principe qu'un élément contribuant à la structure de l'ouvrage. Deux autres ouvrages, par contre, s'inspirent explicitement et d'une façon bien plus importante à ce modèle narratif, dans le sens qu'il contiennent une certaine quantité de fables animalières. Le premier ouvrage, presque aussi célèbre que son modèle, est le *Sulwān al-muṭā*^{c}. Il s'agit du titre le plus célèbre de la production vaste, mais malheureusement en bonne partie perdue, d'Ibn Ẓafar aṣ-Ṣiqillī (aussi al-Makkī), érudit et polygraphe arabe d'origine sicilienne qui vécut au VIe/XIIe siècle. Au cours de ses pérégrinations dans les pays du bassin méditerranéen, Ibn Ẓafar rédigea deux versions de ce livre : la première en Syrie et la seconde, un résumé et une adaptation de la précédente, en Sicile. La première version aurait été rédigée, selon l'hypothèse déjà avancée par Michele Amari et confirmée plus tard par Hrair Dekmejian e Adel Fathy Thabit, en Syrie et serait dédiée à Muğīr ad-Dīn, gouverneur de Damas chassé en 549/1154 par Nūr ad-Dīn. Pour autant que nous le sachions, jusqu'à aujourd'hui elle n'a pas été imprimée et n'est conservée que dans un nombre limité de manuscrits conservés à Paris (BNF Ar. 536), Oxford (Marsh 325), Leyde (Golius 97). La deuxième version, sicilienne, porte une dédicace à Abū ^{c}Abd Allāh b. Abī l-Qāsim b. ^{c}Alī (Abū ^{c}Abd Allāh Ḥammūd) datée 553/1159 ; plus brève, elle est attestée dans maints manuscrits et a fait l'objet de plusieurs éditions imprimées. Le nombre de témoins ainsi que le témoignage des sources anciennes attestent que, déjà entre le VII^{e}/XIII^{e} et le VIII^{e}/XIV^{e} siècle, la version syrienne avait une circulation bien plus restreinte que la sicilienne. Le *Sulwān al-muṭā*^{c} a été traduit en italien par Michele Amari en 1851 ;

[34] … *zawwara ayḍan Badī*^{c} *az-Zamān* (Ibn Šaraf, *Masā'il* 4) : outre « altérer, défigurer par la mensonge », *zawwara* signifie plus spécifiquement « faire un faux (en écriture) ; falsifier (un texte) ».

sa traduction richement annotée est précédée par une introduction qui représente encore l'étude la plus complète, si non la plus récente, sur l'ouvrage et l'auteur[35].

La différence entre les deux versions, hormis une remarquable différence de taille, est visible surtout dans le prologue, drastiquement réduit dans l'édition sicilienne. En outre, les références aux sources des apologues ont été gommées, l'ordre des paragraphes a été changé, les prénoms des animaux parlants ont été éliminés et les espèces de certains d'entre eux ont été changées. Plusieurs histoires et passages d'ordre gnomique ont été éliminés, et ces élisions ont été compensées par l'ajout de quelques vers et deux histoires. Toutes ces modifications semblent motivées par le besoin d'adapter le texte à une orthodoxie plus stricte, probablement à la suite des critiques dont il avait fait l'objet dans la Syrie dominée par les Zenğides[36]. L'excellente traduction italienne faite par Michele Amari reprend la deuxième version, mais y intègre dans les notes certains passages de la première, plus longue, et notamment tout le prologue. Or, celui-ci est particulièrement important pour notre analyse parce que ce n'est que dans le prologue de la première version qu'on trouve l'allusion au *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. L'analyse suivante sera donc basée sur ce prologue[37] ainsi que sur certains passages de la version syrienne auxquels nous n'avons pu avoir accès que dans la traduction d'Amari.

Selon les propres termes d'Ibn Ẓafar, le *Sulwān al-muṭāᶜ* aurait été composé à la suite de la demande d'un souverain doté d'intellect et de réflexion, avec un penchant pour la connaissance et la philosophie morale, lequel demanda à Ibn Ẓafar de rédiger pour lui, dans un moment difficile, un traité de « philosophie et d'érudition » visant à le réconforter ; Ibn Ẓafar affirme aussi que le souverain lui aurait avoué que le livre ne lui aurait été d'aucun soulagement s'il n'avait pas été rédigé en imitant le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*[38]. Cependant, les contes animaliers contenus dans le *Sulwān al-muṭāᶜ* sont, somme toute, bien moins nombreux que ceux de son célèbre modèle et on ne peut pas affirmer que l'ouvrage d'Ibn Ẓafar soit une imitation du *Kalīla wa-Dimna*[39]. Ce fait était aussi évident aux yeux des hommes

[35] Pour les détails sur l'histoire textuelle de l'ouvrage, nous renvoyons à l'introduction d'Amari dans *Conforti*, (en particulier aux pp. LXIV-LXXII pour la liste des témoins manuscrits et la comparaison entre les deux versions) et à Cassarino (2010), qui met à jour Amari sur la base de la bibliographie la plus récente.

[36] Amari, « Introduzione », dans *Conforti* LXX-LXXI.

[37] Dans le ms Leyde or. 97 comparé avec la traduction d'Amari (*Conforti*, note 12, pp. 214-222).

[38] *Wa-zaᶜama anna l-kitāb lā yakūn li-ġammihi nāfiyan wa-lā li-dā'ihi šafiyan illā iḏā ğaᶜaltuhu li-kitāb Kalīla wa-Dimna qāfiyan, Sulwān*, Leyde or. 97, fol. 3b (*Conforti* 217).

[39] Amari souligne à juste titre que l'auteur se limite à imiter le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (« Ibn Zafer, come noteremo ora, non lucidò né copiò il libro di Calila e Dimna, e solo imitò questo genere di componimento », « Introduzione », dans *Conforti* LX). Wagner (1994)

de lettres qui témoignent de la réception du *Sulwān al-muṭāᶜ* : Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, par exemple, identifie les traits saillants de ce livre avec son caractère édifiant (il s'agit d'un « livre sur les règles de la sagesse »), mais aussi et surtout au caractère fictif de ses narrations, et notamment au fait que les animaux sont doués de parole (il contient des « histoires des souverains racontées par les oiseaux et les bêtes »[40]). Il passe toutefois sous silence la dépendance directe de cet ouvrage avec son modèle, le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Aucune dépendance n'est donc reconnue, hormis le fait de prêter la parole aux animaux et le statut royal des destinataires. Ibn Ẓafar reconnaît pourtant pleinement la valeur canonique du *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, ainsi que son efficacité en tant qu'instrument de soulagement et de réconfort pour les souverains, et son caractère initiatique et secret. Ainsi, tout en éliminant de la version sicilienne la référence explicite au *Kalīla wa-Dimna* l'auteur y maintient l'allusion aux paraboles que les rois les plus célèbres ont jalousement conservées et cachées[41].

Dans le prologue de la version syrienne, la première et la plus longue, Ibn Ẓafar déclare avoir fait un ample usage des paraboles, en s'inspirant librement des paraboles originales (il dit exactement « en les faisant tourner autour du pivot des paraboles originales traduites en arabe »), y avoir ajouté l'éloquence et attribué ces maximes philosophiques aux animaux[42]. Immédiatement après cette déclaration de poétique, l'auteur ressent le besoin de se justifier aux yeux de gens « d'esprit limité » pour avoir associé parole des animaux et sagesse, et cela en ayant recours à une autorité irréfutable qui puisse confirmer la licéité d'utiliser la parole des animaux pour des buts de persuasion : le calife ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz. Celui-ci aurait aussi prêté la faculté de parole à des êtres, qu'il est impossible de décrire comme doués de langage articulé et d'esprit (*yastaḥīlu ittiṣāfuhu bi-l-qawl al-lafẓī wa-n-nafsī*), et notamment la terre qui aurait par contre accompli des actes de langue bien déterminés : appeler, informer, donner des ordres (Ibn Ẓafar, *Sulwān*, Leyde or. 97, fol. 5a /*Conforti* 218/). L'exemple du calife ᶜAlī, qui suit dans le texte, sert à corroborer encore plus la licéité du type de narration qu'Ibn Ẓafar pratique, car il s'agit cette fois-ci exactement d'animaux qui parlent et se comportent comme des hommes. En effet, ᶜAlī raconte une histoire où les protagonistes sont des taureaux et un lion : le fait que même ce calife ait eu recours à la fable « est aussi une preuve

---

considère justement le *Sulwān al-muṭāᶜ* comme un ouvrage à la structure typique des anthologies d'*adab*, et non comme un ouvrage qui s'inspire du modèle du *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Sur le rapport entre le *Sulwān al-muṭāᶜ* et *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, voir Cassarino 2010: 27-30.

[40] *Wa-huwa kitāb fī qawānīn al-ḥikma wa-nawādir aḫbār as-salāṭīn ᶜalā lisān aṭ-ṭuyūr wa-l-wuḥūš*, Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf* II, col. 998.

[41] Ibn Ẓafar, *Sulwān*, éd. al-Buḥayrī, 17 (cette édition est basée sur le manuscrit Dār al-kutub, *adab* 1414, non daté) ; *Conforti* 4.

[42] *...wa-ḥikam aqwāl ᶜazawtuhā ilā l-ḥayawān*, *Sulwān*, Leyde or. 97, fol. 4b (*Conforti* 217).

claire de la licéité de ce à quoi je m'attelle » (*wa-hāḏā ayḍan ṣaraḥa fī taswīġ mā ḏahabnā ilayhi*) (Ibn Ẓafar, *Sulwān*, Leyde or. 97, fol. 6a ; *Conforti* 219). Jamais deux sans trois : Ibn Ẓafar insiste avec un troisième exemple dont le protagoniste est Nuᶜmān b. Bašīr, un compagnon du Prophète, qui met en scène une hyène, un renard et un lézard (*ḍabb*), mettant en exergue qu'il cite cette preuve irréfutable pour que personne ne puisse blâmer son œuvre. Pour conclure sa justification, Ibn Ẓafar rappelle qu'il y a consentement des croyants sur la licéité de la fiction qui imite le Coran et il cite les parties narratives du Coran où il est question de faire parler et agir les animaux (Ibn Ẓafar, *Sulwān*, Leyde or. 97, fol. 6b-7a ; *Conforti* 220-221). La boucle est ainsi bouclée et la faculté de parole qu'il prêtera aux animaux dans son livre n'est en fin de compte qu'une imitation de ce que le texte sacré contient déjà : le fictif est ainsi réabsorbé dans le religieux.

La justification qu'Ibn Ẓafar ressent la nécessité de mettre en avant pour prouver à plusieurs reprises le bien-fondé des narrations où les animaux parlent nous fait penser qu'il existait des positions fort critiques à l'égard de ce genre de narration, considérée comme un genre blâmable. D'autant plus que le même auteur fait preuve, dans d'autres contextes, du plus grand respect pour l'orthodoxie et la loi : dans le prologue de la version sicilienne, il s'engage à rédiger un livre qui ne soit pas illicite ni répugnant[43]. Il faudra rappeler que, en conformité avec cette déclaration, la référence au *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, un ouvrage au statut ambigu auprès des orthodoxes, est gommée dans la version sicilienne. La partie narrative est aussi en effet reléguée à la fin de chaque chapitre, après une partie normative et gnomique (Coran, *hadīṯ*, maximes) dans une section qu'Ibn Ẓafar appelle « un jardin pour les cœurs et les oreilles et un gymnase pour l'intellect et les caractères » (Ibn Ẓafar, *Conforti* 5). La nature problématique de la parole des animaux est donc bien présente à l'esprit d'Ibn Ẓafar, qui ne néglige pas l'occasion de se justifier pour les fables qu'il insère dans son ouvrage. Il s'agit d'un souci qui n'apparaissait nulle part dans le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, et qui est dû à la sévère censure de la fiction de la part de l'orthodoxie musulmane. Les tournures de phrase et les prises de distance telles que « il se peut qu'il en advienne ainsi, et il se peut que ces animaux parlent entre eux… »[44] sont fréquentes dans la première version du *Sulwān* et sont de rigueur pratiquement avant chaque conte qui contient des animaux parlants et relève en conséquence du fictif et de l'étonnant. Amari, à juste titre, met en exergue cette particularité, et remarque qu'avant de raconter « ces mensonges innocents » l'auteur prend toujours la précaution d'énoncer des propos qui les justifient : par

[43] *Lā yaḥẓuruhu šaraᶜ wa-lā yanbū ᶜanhu samᶜ*, Ibn Ẓafar, *Sulwān*, éd. al-Buḥayrī, 17 ; *Conforti* 4.

[44] Et parfois même d'une façon châtiée, comme le loup qui parle « en bon arabe » (« in buon arabo », *Conforti* 273, note 43).

exemple, dans l'histoire des deux éléphants du cinquième livre, avant de faire parler l'éléphant, Ibn Ẓafar précise, en guise d'excuse, que Dieu a peut-être donné l'intellect et la parole à ces deux animaux[45].

L'efficacité de la représentation que les fables (*amṯila*) mettent sur scène est d'ailleurs bien présente à l'esprit de ceux qui suivent la voie tracée par le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* : Ibn Ẓafar explique leur succès en rappelant à plusieurs reprises que « les similitudes nous touchent plus que les maximes qui y sont dépeintes… telles des peintures auxquelles les regards s'accrochent plus vivement qu'aux originaux »[46]. L'éloquence peut donc s'adresser à l'ouïe (*samāᶜ*) mais aussi à la vue (*ᶜiyān*) (*Sulwān*, Leyde or. 97, fol. 8b ; *Conforti* 222) et les maximes philosophiques, jetées en forme de conte, ont l'effet de mieux stimuler les destinataires à la réflexion (*Sulwān*, Leyde or. 97, fol. 5a ; *Conforti* 218).

3.3 Une autre référence explicite à la valeur paradigmatique du *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, qui sert de modèle idéal sans pour autant déterminer la structure de l'ouvrage, est présente dans un ouvrage postérieur de quelques siècles, le *Fākihat al-ḫulafā'* d'Ibn ᶜArabšāh[47]. Cet auteur polyglotte d'origine syrienne, mort en 854/ 1450, reconnaît ouvertement sa dette envers le modèle introduit dans le système littéraire arabe par Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ dont il se serait inspiré pour son livre. Le *Fākihat al-ḫulafā'* est en effet un miroir des princes écrit en *ṣafar* 852/1448 qui se situe, aux dires de son auteur, dans le sillon du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* et de *Sulwān al-Muṯāᶜ*, mais qui est en réalité une version élargie du *Marzubān Nāmah* d'al-Warāwīnī. Cette dette idéale envers des modèles célèbres a aussi été perçue par les intellectuels des époques postérieures : la notice bibliographique que Kātib Çelebi consacre à ce titre, tout en état très brève, contient la mention des modèles dont l'ouvrage s'inspire. Nous sommes ainsi informés que le *Fākihat al-ḫulafā'* a été « composé en dix chapitres, suivant le modèle de *Sulwān al-muṭāᶜ* et *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, d'une

[45] « Prima di far parlare l'elefante il S. 536 pone la protestazione che Dio forse diè intelletto e parola a questi due animali » (*Conforti* 342, note 64). Le commentaire d'Amari est savoureux : en mentionnant l'histoire du chameau qui se plaignit à Muḥammad des mauvais traitements de son patron, il dit que les chameaux n'avaient pas l'habitude de faire connaître à un Arabe s'ils étaient mal ou bien traités (« a dir vero, non era mestieri che un camelo parlasse per far conoscere a un Arabo se fosse bene o mal trattato ») ; mais surtout il souligne que les compagnons du Prophète ne faisaient preuve d'aucune audace dans la narration des miracles (« si vede che i compagni del profeta non avean molta audacia nel raccontare miracoli »), et en effet la version orthodoxe de l'histoire dit que le chameau « fit une rumeur » (évidemment sans articuler mot) et que Muḥammad le comprit. Pour l'histoire voir *Sulwān*, éd. al-Buḥayrī, 134 ss.

[46] *Conforti* 28 ; cette partie manque dans l'édition du *Sulwān* que nous avons consultée.

[47] Sur l'ouvrage voir Chauvin 1892-1922: II, nos. 145-9.

façon raffinée (*laṭīf*) » (Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf* II, col. 1216.). En effet, ce livre est un recueil très élaboré d'histoires et de paraboles (*ḥikāya, maṯal*), dont plusieurs mettent en scène les animaux : sur dix chapitres, cinq (ch. 5-9) sont consacré aux histoires où les animaux jouent le rôle du souverain et des personnes qui l'entourent, comme le *nadīm* et le *wazīr*. Ibn ᶜArabšāh aurait consciemment choisi ces modèles narratifs pour mieux faire passer un message de sagesse : il souligne que les maximes et les dictons exprimant la sagesse ne sont pas appréciés par le public et les gens n'y prêtent, par conséquent, aucune attention. La fable animalière serait donc un expédient auquel les gens doués d'intelligence et de sagesse ont recours pour rendre attrayants leurs enseignements. Une fois encore, le trait saillant de ce genre de fiction est identifié avec la faculté de parole attribuée aux animaux : la parole est donc placée *ᶜalā alsinat al-wuḥūš wa-sukkān al-ǧibāl wa-l-ḥurūš* (Ibn ᶜArabšāh, *Fākiha* I, 2). Non seulement des animaux tout court, mais surtout – ce qui est mis en exergue par Ibn ᶜArabšāh – des animaux sauvages qui habitent les forêts et les montagnes, ce qui est d'une certaine façon une nouveauté par rapport aux textes antérieurs. Il s'agit d'êtres, précise l'auteur, qui dans la réalité sont plutôt doués d'une nature intraitable, rapace et nuisible, sont portés à l'inimitié et à la méchanceté et qui ne savent que mordre et déchiqueter. Ce passage attire l'attention sur le fait que, dans la narration, le langage (*kalām*) est attribué à ceux qui dans la création n'y ont pas droit et qui, de surcroît, sont en dehors de toute logique de sagesse, de culture et d'intelligence et ne sont nullement doués des qualités typiques de l'être humain, c'est-à-dire l'intellect, le langage et le sens de la responsabilité[48]. Ibn ᶜArabšāh dresse donc un tableau axé sur deux pôles fortement opposés : d'un côté l'humanité, royaume de l'intellect, de la vertu et de la parole ; de l'autre, le monde animal, domaine de l'irrationnel et de l'instinct. Ce portrait dépeint sous des sombres couleurs semble rendre tout à fait impossible de passer d'un royaume à l'autre et de concilier les deux. Voilà pourquoi prêter aux fauves une éthique, des traits louables et un comportement digne[49] a pour effet de réveiller l'attention des gens, d'en susciter l'intérêt et d'en stimuler la réflexion. En homme de lettre rusé, Ibn ᶜArabšāh explique l'efficacité communicative de ce type de fiction par le style étonnant de leur construction et l'étrangeté de leur forme : en d'autres termes, par l'effet de dépaysement d'un tel genre de narration, ce qu'aujourd'hui nous appellerions la violation de l'horizon d'attente des destinataires de l'ouvrage. Le fait de prêter aux animaux des traits typiques de l'homme stimule ainsi l'attention du public. Le rapprochement de deux mondes bien séparés, non communicants mais plutôt opposés l'un à l'autre, a aussi l'effet de permettre un

[48] *… ġayr muᶜtāda bi-šay' min al-ḥikma wa-lā yusnad ilayhā adab wa-lā fiṭna… wa-lā qawl wa-lā ᶜaql wa-lā taklīf* (*ibid*.).

[49] *Usnida ilayhā makārim aš-šiyami wa-wuṣifat bi-maḥāsin al-aḫlāq wa-l-karam* (*ibid*.).

passage rapide et efficace de l'un à l'autre une fois que le pacte entre l'énonciateur de ces fables et son public a été établi : quand l'émetteur du message entame la narration et l'écoute est activé, c'est-à-dire une fois établi le pacte narratif, les animaux peuvent devenir des êtres semblables aux humains et donc être doués de qualités typiquement humaines (*wa-iḏā qaraᶜa samᶜahum qawlu l-qā'il ṣāra l-baġlu qāḍiyan… wa-l-kalbu karīman…*). Dans le cadre de cette suspension d'incrédulité, tout devient possible et le renversement de toute logique se réalise : chat et souris lient amitié, le loup embrasse l'agneau, etc. Ibn ᶜArabšāh est ainsi en train de nous expliquer en bonne et due forme les règles de la communication littéraire qui régissent les canons du conte animalier dans le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* et ses épigones. L'auteur identifie les destinataires possibles aux gens de pouvoir et de bonne culture qui, seuls, savent tirer le juste enseignement de l'exemple de ces bêtes qui sont dépourvues de toute parole et qui n'émettent que des sons incompréhensibles (*ᶜaǧmawāt*). Le procédé analogique est vite établi : si on peut prêter à ces êtres vils des qualités si louables, à plus forte raison l'homme en sera digne en vertu de son excellence sur toutes les autres créatures (*ibid*., 3). De la notion d'exemple à la notion de parabole et d'*exemplum*, il n'y a qu'un pas, celui qui permet à Ibn ᶜArabšāh de replacer ce type de conte dans la plus parfaite orthodoxie et dans la tradition indigène des Arabes : les éléments qui entrent en jeu par la suite sont en effet le Coran et ses paraboles où les animaux (l'araignée, le moustique, la fourmi) parlent. Ce qui, comme il est sous-entendu, rend licite la narration des fables dans un but édifiant, ainsi que la tradition des *amṯāl al-ᶜarab* qui sont tous axés sur l'analogie entre comportement animal et qualités humaines (*akram min asad, ašǧaᶜ min layṯ*…). Le procédé analogique est ultérieurement mis en exergue dans ce qui suit : ce type de récit vise à enseigner, tantôt à travers le divertissement, tantôt à travers la réflexion, par un procédé de « représentation et comparaison » (*at-tamṯīl wa-t-tanẓīr*) et par le truchement d'un principe d'induction ascendant (du petit au grand, du bas à l'élevé) (*ibid*., 4). Finalement, après ce long préambule qui vise à identifier les raisons qui le poussent à avoir recours à la fable animalière pour véhiculer efficacement son message ainsi qu'à en justifier la licéité et expliquer les procédés littéraires sur lesquels repose ce type de narration, Ibn ᶜArabšāh peut se permettre de mentionner ses modèles. Le moment est donc venu de mentionner le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, qualifié de livre « le plus célèbre, supérieur à ses homologues pour son contenu et par son apparence, contenant tout type de sagacité », suivi par le *Sulwān al-muṭāᶜ* d'Ibn Ẓafar et *as-Saḍiǧ wa-l-bāġim* d'Ibn al-Habbāriyya (m. 509/1115-6 ou 504/1110-1)[50], chacun ayant son point d'excellence reconnu soit dans la sagesse

[50] Il est intéressant de constater qu'Ibn Ḫallikān mentionne *Natā'iǧ al-fiṭna fī naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna* comme un titre alternatif du *Fākihat al-ḫulafā'* (*apud GAL*, I, 252 ; aussi *GAL S* I, 447), ce qui met en exergue un rapport hypertextuel.

soit dans la forme littéraire. Ce qui nous intéresse ici n'est pas tellement l'identification des sources ou des modèles (qu'Ibn ᶜArabšāh identifie d'ailleurs avec une source bien plus moderne) mais les canons qui régissent la fable animalière ainsi que les raisons de son succès et de la renommée des ouvrages de ce genre. Il s'agit d'une littérature visant à un but édifiant qui s'adresse aux gens doués d'intellect et surtout à ceux qui détiennent le pouvoir, qui ont besoin d'atteindre un niveau supérieur d'excellence et de sagesse, et qui a comme trait typique de faire parler les animaux et, par cela, de se situer dans le domaine de l'irréalité et de la fiction. Ce contraste entre le domaine de l'irrationnel (les fauves) et celui des êtres auxquels on demande l'excellence dans l'intellect et les qualités humaines (les détenteurs du pouvoir) est souligné avec force détails et dans un style fleuri.

La parole des animaux, trait saillant de la fable animalière d'origine indienne et persane qui ne suscitait au début aucune gêne évidente, est ainsi définitivement rangée dans la catégorie que Blachère définit comme « le fait coranique ». Ibn Ẓafar et Ibn ᶜArabšāh, dans un souci de respect pour l'orthodoxie et pour justifier le recours à des matériaux évidemment fictionnels, ne font donc que rapporter la fable animalière au paradigme coranique. En cela, on pourrait très bien reprendre, *mutatis mutandis*, les mots de Blachère sur les contes merveilleux et les contes des héros : « le merveilleux s'y [dans le « fait coranique »] estompe et cède devant l'édifiant » (Blachère 1952-66, III, 751). La parole des animaux doit être rangée dans le sillon de la narration coranique pour être licite : c'est le grand souci d'Ibn Ẓafar et, plus tard, d'Ibn ᶜArabšāh, de pouvoir la justifier ainsi vis-à-vis de l'orthodoxie[51].

4. Si la parole des animaux est un élément dérangeant dans la littérature « haute » au point que les hommes de lettres, tout en soulignant le lien entre sagesse et parole des animaux (la sagesse est toujours mise « dans la bouche des animaux », *ᶜalā alsinat al-ḥayawān*), ressentent le besoin de la justifier, il y a d'autres champs littéraires où cette réticence n'est pas aussi perceptible. Les animaux doués de faculté de parole constituent en effet un phénomène bien attesté dans la littérature où l'élément religieux est dominant, comme la littérature hagiographique et les traditions populaires connectées au Prophète et à ses miracles. Plusieurs légendes populaires contiennent des animaux qui se plaignent auprès de Muḥammad. Parfois il s'agit d'animaux qui gémissent et qui parlent dans leur propre langue animalière, que le Prophète comprend, mais parfois il s'agit bel et bien

[51] D'autres auteurs, dans des ouvrages qui ne relèvent pas du genre « miroir des princes », ont recours au texte coranique pour justifier la faculté de parole qu'ils prêtent aux animaux : un exemple intéressant est celui de la *Ṣāḥil* d'Abū l-ᶜAlā' al-Maᶜarrī, qui ressent le besoin de justifier ainsi le fait que les animaux parlent (éd. Bint aš-Šāṭi', 91 ; voir Smoor 1981-82: part 2, 23-24).

d'animaux qui sont à même d'articuler exactement comme le font les êtres humains. Dans les deux cas, le miraculeux y est : dans le premier cas, le miracle consiste dans la capacité du Prophète à comprendre la parole animalière (capacité propre des prophètes comme, par exemple, Salomon), mais dans le deuxième cas, plus intéressant, le miracle consiste dans le don de la parole que Dieu octroie aux bêtes, qui partagent donc la faculté de langage avec les êtres humains. La légende de Muḥammad, du chameau et de la gazelle, dont plusieurs versions sont connues dans le monde arabo-musulman, témoigne que, dans ce type de littérature, les bêtes sont à même de parler, non leur propre langue mais bien la langue des hommes. Preuve en est que d'autres que Muḥammad les comprennent, comme le bédouin qui entend l'histoire de la gazelle de la bouche même de l'animal (*samiᶜa ḏālika min kalāmihā*). Dans ce type de narrations, le chameau par exemple est *mutakallim* et fait ainsi un rapport détaillé de ses malheurs, et la gazelle articule un discours en bonne et due forme et même dans une langue châtiée (*naṭaqat bi-lisān faṣīḥ*). Que les bêtes soient douées de la faculté de parole est évidemment un signe de la grandeur de Dieu, qui rend possible ce qui serait impossible : les traditions mettent constamment en exergue le lien entre la parole des animaux et la puissance de Dieu (le chameau est un *mutakallim bi-qudrati llāh*, la gazelle *takallamat bi-iḏni llāh* et tout cela ne se manifeste que grâce à la puissance divine *ẓahara bi-qudrati llāh*)[52]. Dans certains cas, c'est l'intervention directe de Dieu qui se manifeste : le chien des gens de la caverne (Cor. 18) donne preuve d'une locution claire et convaincante parce que Dieu lui donne la faculté de parole (*anṭaqahu llāh*)[53]. La parole des animaux est aussi mentionnée sans aucune gêne apparente et, d'ailleurs, sans besoin de rappeler l'intervention divine, dans d'autres types de textes où le merveilleux l'emporte, comme la tradition manuscrite des *Mille et une nuits*. Un cas intéressant est celui des singes qui peuplent l'île où arrive Ǧānšāh, le protagoniste du conte homonyme des *Mille et une nuits*. Dans les manuscrits de la recension égyptienne, ces singes « parlent », sans que cela pousse le scribe à faire le moindre commentaire sur le fait. La chose pourtant ne semblera pas anodine aux savants d'une époque plus tardive, qui visent à donner une dignité littéraire à un texte d'un statut inférieur : cette faculté de parole exercée par des animaux, de plus dérangeants car physiquement très semblables aux hommes, est réinterprétée selon une logique plus orthodoxe dans la vulgate où les éditeurs ont soumis le texte à un travail de révision qui en change la logique narrative ainsi que le registre linguistique. Il arrive donc que, si les singes « parlent » tout court dans les manuscrits, dans les vulgates,

[52] Canova (2009) particulièrement 267-269 ; 262 pour une version turque qui met l'accent sur l'incrédulité d'Abū Masᶜūd à propos de la faculté de parole du chameau. Voir aussi la tradition populaire algérienne mentionnée par Lauzi (2012:171) d'après Massignon.

[53] ad-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt* II, 265 ; sur ce point, voir Lauzi 2012:168-171.

qui se ressentent d'un effort de standardisation, ils « parlent » sans articuler, vu qu'ils s'expriment par le truchement des signes (*qāla lahu l-qurūd bi-l-išāra*)[54]. Il s'agit d'une petite retouche sur le plan textuel, mais qui révèle des implications conceptuelles sans doute importantes.

5. Vis-à-vis de cette gêne manifestée par les hommes de lettres dans l'acceptation de la parole des animaux, il faut donc se demander pourquoi dans la littérature « haute » la parole des animaux est dérangeante au point de pousser les auteurs à en justifier l'usage. Les raisons qui, a notre avis, pourraient expliquer l'embarras qui est progressivement ressenti par les intellectuels vis-à-vis des fables animalières, sont doubles : la première réside évidemment dans la question de la licéité de la fiction, que l'orthodoxie condamne résolument. Des animaux qui parlent n'appartiennent qu'au domaine de l'irréalité et sont donc en principe objet de censure, même si c'est justement leur appartenance au domaine de l'irréel qui permet de s'adresser au souverain en énonçant des vérités parfois difficiles. La deuxième raison est plus nuancée et il faudra se pencher sur deux aspects : les contenus que cette parole véhicule et le fait que les animaux partagent cette caractéristique avec les hommes.

Il faudra donc se demander avant tout en quoi consiste la parole des animaux. Les sources le disent : elle consiste en proverbes, maximes et dictons de sagesse, donc en une forme très particulière d'éloquence ; de plus, le statut bas des locuteurs qui énoncent cette sagesse n'invalide nullement la valeur de ces maximes[55]. L'éloquence des animaux est souvent mise au service de la persuasion, un des trois types de parole que Breton identifie avec une des trois formes de la parole : celle qui sert à convaincre[56]. Les bêtes essaient de convaincre ou de dissuader leur interlocuteur, s'approchant en cela d'un usage perlocutoire de l'énonciation. De surcroît, cela est très souvent en rapport avec la sauvegarde de leur propre vie ou la mise en danger de la vie des autres (Irwin 1992:47-48). Parler, et surtout trouver la bonne façon de parler, revient donc à avoir la vie sauve ou à la sauver à d'autres. Les animaux sont donc non seulement doués de parole, mais aussi d'une parole efficace et éloquente.

Le rapport entre parole animale et sagesse (maxime ou proverbe) est un rapport très ancien dans la culture arabe et, dans un certain sens, un rapport à double sens.

[54] Ce point apparaît dans la thèse de doctorat de Mlle Elise Franssen (2012: I, 219 et 232).

[55] «The language of the animals consisted of proverbs, wise saws and maxims, and the animals sometimes offered yet more proverb-laden fables. Every fox or cockerel could aspire to this sort of eloquent sententiousness, and indeed it is a characteristic of the Arabic beast fable that unworthy narrators often transmit moralizing fables » (Irwin 1992:45).

[56] Breton 2007:46 : « La parole se diffracte ainsi en trois grandes formes, qui servent à exprimer, à convaincre, à informer ; mais qui permettent aussi de mentir, de manipuler ou de désinformer ».

Pour le conte animalier, le lien entre le proverbe et la maxime et leur représentation est constitué d'un système d'aller-retour : souvent les récits étiologiques sont le développement d'un adage « mais … dès que le conte-fable se détache du conte d'animaux … la présence d'une locution proverbiale a dû assurer le survie du récit » (Blachère 1952-66: III, 773). Dans *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, le fil rouge est constitué par un dialogue entre le philosophe et le roi, entre celui qui possède la sagesse et celui auquel l'enseignement de la sagesse est adressé. Le discours gnomique est renforcé et soutenu par la narration qui en incarne le contenu. Le roi et le philosophe ne sont rien d'autre que les éléments fonctionnels pour l'énonciation des maximes de sagesse. La narration s'intègre dans les maximes en fonction paradigmatique, mais aussi dans le cadre dialogique : la parole du philosophe est reprise par les animaux qui, à leur tour, s'en font porteurs et énoncent des règles de sagesse et de moralité[57]. La parole du sage est ainsi remplacée par la parole des animaux : la souris raconte l'histoire de l'ascète et de son invité ; le singe raconte l'histoire du lion et du chacal. Le passage entre une fable et l'autre donne une impression d'interchangeabilité entre les différentes voix qui racontent, tout être considéré, et les animaux prennent la relève de l'homme (Borruso 2002:116-118). Ce procédé d'interchangeabilité entre le philosophe et les animaux au niveau de l'énonciation présente, on l'a déjà vu, l'avantage de constituer une sorte d'espace neutre où l'on peut profiter d'une plus grande liberté d'expression et, en conséquence, éviter la colère du souverain. Breton rappelle que la parole est une alternative à la violence du pouvoir et souligne l'enjeu du dialogue, qui est une forme de démocratie. Toutefois, pour être acceptée, cette parole ne peut pas venir d'un être humain, sujet ou souverain, ce qui est le problème intrinsèque des miroirs des princes que Michel Foucault résume dans la simple question « Qui dira le vrai au Prince? Qui parlera franchement au Prince? Comment peut-on parler vrai au Prince? » (Foucault 2001:364). Le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* donne un exemple de la façon dont cette question peut être résolue : la liberté de s'adresser au prince est garantie en même temps par le parallélisme et l'extranéité des deux mondes qui sont confrontés. Si le roi est dépeint comme un être méprisable, il peut bien l'être parce qu'il s'agit là d'un animal qui n'a soit disant aucun rapport avec le roi auquel le discours est adressé. De plus, dans la fable, le conseiller peut adresser au roi un discours critique étant donné qu'il s'agit d'un animal, ce qui le place en dehors de toute logique de vengeance et de danger. Ce rapprochement entre les deux mondes sert à deux choses : suggérer qu'il existe un modèle de comportement et, en même temps, le placer en dehors de toute réalité, ce qui garantit la possibilité de pouvoir

[57] Sur la sagesse véhiculée par la parole des animaux et sur le mélange entre parole humaine et parole animalière, entre être humain et animaux dans le *Kalīla wa-Dimna* et *al-Asad wa-l-ġawwāṣ* voir Wagner 1994:950-954.

s'exprimer librement. Si la fable animalière est utilisée avec tant de succès dans les *Fürstenspiegeln*, c'est donc parce qu'elle profite d'une double extranéité : celle de la dimension fantastique intrinsèque de la fable qui la place dans un ailleurs temporel et spatial, et celle de la dimension animale, qui place les protagonistes des fables sur un autre échelon de la création par rapport aux hommes.

6. Pourtant, il y a un élément qui établit un lien entre les deux mondes, celui de l'humanité et celui de l'animalité : les animaux sont doués de parole et, grâce à cela, ils sont immédiatement assimilés aux humains. Mais il s'agit d'un lien qui en fait viole une frontière infranchissable car, comme on le verra dans ce qui suit, c'est bien la parole, et pas une quelconque parole mais la parole de sagesse, qui constitue la vraie différence entre les êtres de la création, dont la hiérarchie place l'homme au niveau supérieur qu'il est impossible de rejoindre aux animaux.

La ressemblance et la différence entre l'homme et les animaux ont apparemment toujours fait l'objet d'une réflexion, plus ou moins consciente, dans la culture arabe. Dans les époques anciennes, voire antéislamique et des débuts de l'islam, les analogies comportementales entre homme et animaux ont été expliquées comme étant le résultat d'une métamorphose dérivant d'une punition[58]. Plus tard d'autres raisonnements ont fait leur apparition pour expliquer ou justifier la différence et certaines ressemblances frappantes. Dans le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, les caractéristiques principales qui distinguent l'homme des animaux sont au nombre de quatre : *ḥikma* (sagesse), *ᶜiffa* (tempérance), ᶜa*ql* (intellect, raison), *ᶜadl* (justice), les quatre vertus dont Baydabā dresse la liste[59]. Ce sont donc des vertus qui ont affaire au côté éthique auxquelles s'ajoute une qualité : l'intellect. Les encyclopédies d'*adab* normalement considèrent *al-ᶜaql* comme le trait typique de l'être humain et comme la frontière qui sépare les deux mondes. Pourtant, le fait que les animaux puissent avoir un côté éthique et faire aussi preuve d'intelligence n'est pas rare dans la littérature, soit dans les récits soit dans la littérature à caractère non narratif[60]. Il y avait manifestement une réflexion sur les analogies de comportement et de caractère entre les créatures de Dieu, ce qui ne pose aucun problème si ces analogies sont envisagées dans le cadre de l'acte de création de Dieu. Les animaux qui y figurent, chacun étant l'incarnation d'une qualité particulière et reproduisant les rôles et les dynamiques de la société humaine, ne font au fond que représenter la « comédie

[58] « …constatant chez certains animaux quelques comportements propres à l'homme, l'Arabe dès cette époque s'est plu à en découvrir l'origine dans une métamorphose : un être humain a péché, et en punition, il a été transformé en bête », Blachère 1952-66: III, 752.

[59] Voir Cheikh-Moussa 1999:149.

[60] Les anecdotes sur l'intelligence des animaux sont légions ; à titre d'exemple on peut mentionner le 22ᵉ chapitre du *Kitāb al-aḏkiyā'* d'Ibn al-Ǧawzī (m. 597/1201) entièrement consacré aux animaux qui font preuve d'intelligence. Sur ce sujet voir aussi Ghersetti 2005.

humaine » (Borruso 2002:81) : la souris sage, les chacals astucieux, le chameau naïf, le lion roi… Si ces caractéristiques sont normalement données comme escomptées, il n'en est rien.

Le discours orthodoxe pose normalement la frontière entre l'être humain et les animaux au niveau de l'intellect, qui est un don divin et qui distingue l'homme des autres créatures. Il existe pourtant une tendance visible dans les textes à tracer la frontière entre l'homme et les animaux sur la base de la capacité humaine à articuler. Dans les textes sacrés (le Coran mais aussi la Bible), la barrière insurmontable entre les animaux et l'homme prend la forme de la faculté de parole dont seuls les humains sont doués. En effet, les deux livres sacrés reconnaissent un indice de la supériorité des êtres humains dans la nomination, c'est-à-dire la capacité de nommer, de donner un nouveau nom à une chose et de la désigner par le truchement d'un signe verbal. Les versets de Cor. 2:31 « Et Il apprit à Adam *tous les noms* ; puis les présenta aux anges en leur disant : Faites-Moi connaître les noms de tous ces êtres, pour prouver que vous êtes plus méritants qu'Adam! » ; et Genèse II:19 « L'Éternel Dieu forma de la terre tous les animaux des champs et tous les oiseaux du ciel, et il les fit venir vers l'homme, pour voir *comment il les appellerait*, et afin que tout être vivant portât *le nom que lui donnerait l'homme* » (nous soulignons) sont plutôt explicites à ce propos. La capacité à articuler, la faculté de langage dans sa forme primordiale, c'est-à-dire la nomination, est donc la frontière qui sépare les animaux de l'homme, qui leur est supérieur.

Les exemples coraniques d'animaux auxquels la parole est donnée, comme la fourmi et la huppe, ne peuvent pas être ignorés, mais la perplexité de certains hommes de lettres et intellectuels à l'égard de ce fait est clairement perceptible dans les sources. Al-Ǧāḥiẓ en est un exemple : ce polygraphe et penseur mu^{c}tazilite, dont la sympathie pour l'approche rationnelle ne fait pas de doute, exprime prudemment son scepticisme à propos de la faculté de parole que le Coran attribue aux animaux (al-Ǧāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, éd. Hārūn, VII, 49-50). En se référant aux versets du Coran où il est question de la langue des animaux (*manṭiq aṭ-ṭayr*), al-Ǧāḥiẓ fait preuve d'un certain malaise quand il s'agit de prendre l'expression *manṭiq aṭ-ṭayr* au pied de la lettre. Les propos des exégètes à la main, il souligne que cette expression serait plutôt à interpréter dans un sens figuré, comme une similitude avec la faculté de parole dont les êtres humains seuls sont doués (*qālū manṭiq aṭ-ṭayr ^{c}alā t-tašbīh bi-manṭiq an-nās*). La difficulté à accepter l'idée que les animaux puissent s'exprimer comme les hommes dérive du fait que parole (*manṭiq*) et intellect (*^{c}aql)* sont intimement liés. La frontière visible qui sépare l'homme et les animaux ne consiste que dans la faculté de parole, qui est un signe irréfutable de l'intellect, et non seulement de ce dernier mais aussi de l'esprit et de

la capacité d'agir[61], toutes caractéristiques qui sont propres à l'homme[62]. La difficulté de concilier son attitude rationaliste avec l'exigence de respecter le texte coranique pousse donc al-Ǧāḥiẓ à trouver une position plus nuancée, et toute l'argumentation révèle clairement ses hésitations vis-à-vis des faits qui vont à l'encontre de la logique.

Le débat entre les animaux et l'homme contenu dans la 22e épître (8^{e} du deuxième livre) des Iḫwān aṣ-Ṣafā' contient des propos fort intéressants sur la comparaison et le contraste éventuel entre ces deux domaines, l'humain et l'animal[63]. La haute estime où les auteurs de ces épîtres tenaient Ibn al-Muqaffa^{c} et son œuvre est évidente dans les renvois textuels de la 22^{e} épître, où un chacal nommé Kalīla, frère de Dimna, prend la parole à deux reprises (Iḫwān aṣ-Ṣafā', *Animals* 86-90 et 159-165). Cela est sans doute l'indice d'une influence plutôt marquée du *Kalīla wa-Dimna* sur cet ouvrage, mais il s'agit d'une influence qui ne touche pas aux idées de fond et reste plutôt limitée à l'aspect formel[64]. Dans l'introduction de cette *risāla*, les Frères de la Pureté reconnaissent en fait l'efficacité de la fable en tant que moyen de transmettre la sagesse, quand ils affirment avoir choisi de manifester leurs théories à travers la parole des animaux pour que leur raisonnement soit plus efficace, plus claire et puisse rejoindre plus efficacement les oreilles et les intellects. La différence fondamentale entre le traitement narratif des deux textes réside dans le rapport entre les animaux et les hommes : si, dans le *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, la parole des animaux est au service de l'homme en ce que il s'agit d'une parole de sagesse qui indique l'art de bien gouverner, dans l'épître des Iḫwān aṣ-Ṣafā' la parole des animaux s'oppose à celle des hommes[65]. Dans cette épître, on soutient la thèse que les êtres de la création divine sont tous liés réciproquement par des liens de continuité, mais la supériorité de l'homme, décrétée par Dieu, prend la forme d'une séparation et même d'une exclusion du reste du monde animal en ce que

[61] *Ḥayṯumā taǧid al-manṭiq taǧid ar-rūḥ wa-l-istiṭā^{c}*, *ibid*., 49.

[62] Pour un résumé de la position d'al-Ǧāḥiẓ à ce sujet, voir Lauzi 2012:52-54. Pour le lien entre *manṭiq* = langage, capacité d'articuler (aussi dans l'usage Coranique) et *manṭiq* = facultés intellectives/logique, (cmp. le grec *logos*, pour traduire lequel on avait choisi la racine NṬQ) voir Arnaldez 1991, surtout 427-428. Cette relation entre facultés intellectives et langage articulé était sans doute bien présente à l'esprit d'al-Ǧāḥiẓ.

[63] Trad. Goodman, *The Case of the Animals*.

[64] Cmp. Bosworth (1984:487-488) : « ...The idea of voicing criticism of revealed religion and of human society and morality through the mouths of animals was to be influential in later Islamic literary and philosophical tradition, seen clearly in the tenth century *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, … Naturally, this approach commended itself – as in the case of the Ikhwān al-ṣafā' – to those whose religious or philosophical orthodoxy were already dubious in the eyes of the official spokesmen for Islam (Ibn al-Muqaffa' himself was suspected of *zandaqah*) ».

[65] À ce propos voir Lauzi 2012:99-100.

l'homme est le seul à soumettre le reste des créatures à ses nécessités et à ses désirs. Si l'homme est supérieur aux animaux, il l'est parce qu'il possède des traits qui lui sont propres : l'éthique, la conscience et la faculté d'articuler la langue comme activité sociale (Iḫwān aṣ-Ṣafā', *Animals,* Introduction, 32). Le moment où l'homme semble se placer définitivement au-dessus du reste des animaux, est le moment où Dieu apprend à Adam les noms (une référence à Cor. 2:31 mentionné ci-dessus), et celui-ci commence à parler et en plus à parler d'une façon claire et châtiée qui lui donne un net avantage sur les animaux (*ibid*. 73, 76). Malgré le fait que végétaux, animaux, êtres humains et anges soient tous rangés sur une même ligne, sans ruptures apparentes, l'idée qu'il existe une nette séparation entre l'homme et les animaux, et que celle-ci est marquée par la faculté de parole, est donc bien présente[66].

Une réflexion bien charpentée sur la différence et les ressemblances entre l'homme et les animaux se trouve dans *al-Imtāᶜ wa-l-muʾānasa* d'at-Tawḥīdī, homme de lettres et philosophe (m. 414/1023). L'hypothèse, fortement imprégnée de philosophie et notamment de la théorie humorale, repose sur l'idée de la continuité entre l'homme et l'animal. L'affinité psychologique et comportementale entre hommes et animaux est discutée à plusieurs reprises (nuits 9ᵉ, 24ᵉ, 35ᵉ et passim), ainsi que les analogies de caractère qui y sont mises en exergue. Le texte d'at-Tawḥīdī reflète le souci de garder malgré tout une différence, en soulignant à chaque fois qu'il y a une différence de rang : dans la 9ᵉ nuit, il s'agit d'une supériorité générique : l'homme est la créature la meilleure de toute la création (« les caractères des nombreux animaux sont aussi communs à l'homme ; en effet, l'homme est la partie la meilleure et la plus pure du genre animal, et les animaux sont la lie de l'espèce »)[67]. Dans la 24ᵉ nuit, la question est plus articulée et une série de traits distinctifs est, bien qu'indirectement, proposée : il est question de savoir d'où les êtres vivants « qui ne sont pas l'être humain » (*al-ḥayawān ġayri l-insān*) tirent des qualités réputées typiquement humaines telles l'intelligence (*fiṭna*), la vertu (*faḍīla*), la bravoure (*ǧurʾa*) ou la capacité d'avoir recours aux stratagèmes (*ḥīla*). La réponse d'at-Tawḥīdī à la question posée par le vizir, selon l'enseignement de son maître as-Siǧistānī, repose sur l'existence d'une essence et d'une base[68] communes aux deux. Le tempérament, dans le sens physique, qui est partagé par l'animal et l'être humain rend possible la comparaison, comme c'est le

[66] Voir Lauzi 2012:99.

[67] at-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāᶜ* I, 143 « *aḫlāq aṣnāf al-ḥayawān al-kaṯīra muʾtalifa fī nawᶜ al-insān, wa-ḏālika anna al-insān ṣafw al-ǧins allaḏī huwa al-ḥayawān wa-l-ḥayawān kadar an-nawᶜ allaḏī huwa l-insān* » ; 158 « *al-insān ašraf al-ḥayawān [...] li-annahu ḥāza ǧamīᶜ quwā al-ḥayawān ṯumma zāda ᶜalayhi bi-mā laysa li-šayʾ minhu fa-ṣāra rabban lahu sāʾisan* ».

[68] *Al-aṣl wa-l-ǧawhar wa-s-sinḫ wa-l-ᶜunṣur* (at-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāᶜ* II, 107).

cas par exemple dans les proverbes qui créent un parallélisme entre les deux : « plus rusé qu'un renard » (*arwaġ min ṯaᶜlab*), plus injuste qu'un serpent (*aẓlam min ḥayya*) etc. (at-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāᶜ* II, 105-107). Si une base biologique commune est donnée comme acquise, la différence de rang est cependant toujours affirmée. Mais il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une question de rang, vu que les êtres humains possèdent aussi des traits propres, à l'exclusion des animaux. Si un trait typiquement humain peut être décelé dans le raisonnement d'*al-Imtāᶜ*, il semble pouvoir être identifié dans la faculté de parole. Dans la 17ᵉ nuit (au cours de laquelle les Iḫwān aṣ-Ṣafā' sont mentionnés à plusieurs reprises, ainsi qu'Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ), la question des affinités et des différences entre l'homme et les animaux réapparaît et il revient à Abū Sulaymān as-Siǧistānī de rappeler à ce propos l'opinion de « certains chercheurs (*baḥḥāṯīn)* » : l'homme réunit tous les traits qu'on trouve disséminés parmi les animaux, mais il a en plus trois propriétés distinctives, qui sont l'intellect et le discernement (*al-ᶜaql wa-n-naẓar fī l-umūr an-nāfiᶜa wa-ḍ-ḍārra*), la faculté de parole (*al-manṭiq*) et l'habileté de manipuler et construire (*al-aydī li-iqāmat aṣ-ṣināᶜāt*) (*ibid*., 43). Or, si dans les sources il est assez souvent question d'intellect attribué aux animaux, et si l'habileté manipulatrice est présente aussi chez certains animaux (les singes), l'accent mis sur la faculté de parole, un trait assez particulier de ce texte, semble faire pivoter la différence entre être humain et animal justement autour cette particularité. En d'autres termes, ou pourrait en inférer que « de la bête à la personne, la coupure est infime. Il ne manque à l'animal, en vérité, que la parole » ou, inversement, « l'homme est un animal qui parle » (Gusdorf 1953:2, 3).

Sans les traitements approfondis, riches en implications philosophiques, d'al-Ǧāḥiẓ, des Iḫwān aṣ-Ṣafā' ou d'at-Tawḥīdī, d'autres intellectuels et hommes de lettres se penchent sur la question et semblent identifier à la faculté de parole la frontière qui sépare les animaux de l'homme. Al-Babbaġā', poète et homme de lettres mort en 397/1007, dans un passage mentionné par l'égyptien Ǧamāl ad-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ (m. 718/1318) dans son anthologie *Ġurar al-ḫaṣā'iṣ al-wāḍiha wa-ᶜurar an-naqā'iḍ al-qābiḥa*, aurait écrit à ce sujet que les êtres vivants (*ḥayawān*) sont tous égaux pour ce qui est du mouvement et de la croissance, et il n'y a pas de différence entre l'homme et les animaux en cela ; la supériorité de l'être humain réside plutôt dans la faculté de parole qui est le moyen par le truchement duquel l'intellect s'exprime. C'est grâce au privilège de la parole donc que l'homme est la créature la plus noble[69]. Ailleurs dans le texte, le même point est repris par al-

[69] « *Qāla Abū l-Faraǧ al-Babbaġā' fī risāla lahu madaḥa fīhā al-kalām : al-ḥayawān kulluhu mutasāwin bi-naᶜt al-ḥaraka wa-n-numūw, fa-l-insān wa-l-bahīma bi-štimāl hāḏā l-waṣf ᶜalayhimā siyyān, wa-innamā faḍl al-ᶜālam al-insī bi-n-nuṭq al-mutarǧim ᶜan murād al-ᶜaql al-muẓhir li-l-ḥikma min al-qalb ilā l-ᶜaql, fa-iḏā ṣaḥḥat bi-hāḏihi l-qāᶜida anna l-*

Waṭwāṭ qui rapporte les propos de ses sources (qui restent anonymes) à ce sujet : la différence, voire la supériorité de l'homme sur les animaux, réside dans la faculté de parole ou même dans l'éloquence, c'est-à-dire l'usage d'une langue châtiée[70].

Il semble donc que la frontière entre l'homme et l'animal puisse être identifiée avec le langage articulé, peut-être même plus qu'avec l'intellect, si ce n'est plus, sans doute, avec toute autre évidence textuelle : « Il est certain que le langage articulé de l'homme le distingue de tous les autres animaux au niveau de la voix, comme la raison le distingue au niveau de l'âme » (Arnaldez 1991:427). Le langage donc est en effet un signe de l'intelligence, et nullement une fonction organique : « la fonction de parole, dans son essence, n'est pas une fonction organique, mais une fonction intellectuelle et spirituelle »[71]. Là où l'on quitte l'organique et on passe à l'immatériel, aucune confusion n'est plus possible : l'homme et les animaux n'ont plus rien en commun.

7. Les animaux qui parlent et, de surcroît, transmettent à travers leur parole la sagesse, sont donc dérangeants, perturbants, car ils brisent la distinction bien nette entre eux et l'homme. Comme le dit André Miquel, « aucune coupure absolue n'existe entre les divers règnes de ce monde, hormis celle que Dieu institua en faveur de l'homme : la césure de la raison et [je souligne] du langage, qui, étant d'un autre ordre, ne rompt pas pour autant la continuité du tissu biologique universel »[72]. Dans la fable où, par définition, la sagesse est énoncée *ᶜalā alsinat al-ḥayawān*, la césure entre les espèces animales et l'espèce humaine s'embrouille. C'est cette dangereuse confusion qui exige que la parole des animaux soit replacée dans le cadre du miracle divin pour pouvoir être justifié et accepté dans les livres :

---

insān bi-faḍīlat an-nuṭq ašrafu maṣnūᶜ wa-afḍal maṭbūᶜ fa-qad waǧaba an yakūna akmal hāḏā l-ǧins faḍlan » (al-Waṭwāṭ, *Ġurar* 184). Le passage rappelle certains propos de la 22e épître des Iḫwān aṣ-Ṣafā' et, notamment, la croissance et le mouvement comme éléments communs à l'homme et à l'animal, et la faculté de parole comme élément qui les distingue. Nous n'avons pas pu repérer dans d'autres sources les passages mentionnés par al-Waṭwāṭ. L'épître sur la louange de la parole à laquelle al-Waṭwāṭ fait référence ne figure pas non plus parmi les titres qui attribués à al-Babbaġā'.

[70] « *Qālū : al-lisān ǧawhar al-insān, wa-min ḫaṣā'iṣihi anna llāh rafaᶜa qadrahu ᶜalā sā'ir al-aᶜḍā' fa-nṭaqahu bi-tawḥīdihi* » (al-Waṭwāṭ, *Ġurar* 185) ; « *qālū : faḍl al-insān ᶜalā l-ḥayawān bi-l-bayān fa-iḏā naṭaqa wa-lam-yafṣah ᶜāda bahīm* » (*ibid*., 214).

[71] Gusdorf 1953:4 : « la parole apparaît comme une fonction sans organe propre et exclusif qui permettrait de la localiser ici ou là ».

[72] Miquel 1980: III, 348. Le cas le plus perturbant est celui du singe parce que si « l'éléphant… n'a pas eu accès à la parole, signe d'une raison pleine et entière, c'est que sa langue est fixée dans la mauvais sens… Rien de tel avec les singes ; le mystère, ici, demeure total. Face à eux, l'homme ne peut que constater sans la comprendre, l'absolue gratuité du statut qui lui a été concédé, en ce monde » (*ibid*., 350).

Ibn Ẓafar, à propos de la parabole de la fourmi et du moustique dans le Coran, souligne que l'intellect est un don de Dieu, différent de l'instinct animal, et que si les animaux peuvent être doués de sagesse et manifester cela à travers la parole, ce n'est que grâce à l'intervention de Dieu. Que les animaux parlent, en se rapprochant ainsi de l'homme, en dépassant la ligne de démarcation entre eux et l'être qui leur est supérieur, n'est pas impossible, mais cela seulement dans une logique qui relève du religieux. Il s'agit d'un miracle accordé par Dieu[73] et uniquement dans des cas particuliers, et c'est ce caractère extraordinaire qui rétablit l'ordre dans la création et préserve la supériorité de l'homme qui se manifeste à travers la faculté de parole. Il nous semble que les textes de la littérature arabe qui représentent la parole des animaux et que nous avons brièvement analysés, témoignent une tension, évidente et irrésolue, entre le charme exercé par ces narrations et leurs riches potentialités littéraires d'une part, et la nécessité pour les hommes de lettres de respecter l'orthodoxie d'autre part. Une tension qui, dans la dialectique entre création littéraire et acceptabilité idéologique, emmène les auteurs à chercher un difficile équilibre entre la puissance génératrice de la fiction et les contraintes de l'orthodoxie.

Bibliographie

A. Sources

Asad = al-Asad wa-l-ġawwāṣ, ḥikāya ramziyya ᶜarabiyya min al-qarn al-ḫāmis al-hiǧrī. Édité par R. as-Sayyid. Beyrouth : Dār aṭ-Ṭalīᶜa li-ṭ-Ṭibāᶜa wa-n-Našr, 1992.

ad-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt* = Kamāl ad-Dīn ad-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*. 2 vols. Miṣr : Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1398/1978.

al-Ǧāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* = Abū ᶜUṯmān ᶜAmr ibn Baḥr al-Ǧāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān.* Édité par ᶜAbd as-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. 7 vols., Miṣr : Maktabat Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1938-1945.

Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf* = Muṣṭafā b. ᶜAbdallāh Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf aẓ-ẓunūn ᶜan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn.* Édité par Muḥammad Šaraf ad-Dīn Yāltakāyā et Rifᶜat Bīlkah al-Kilīsī. 6. vols., [Istanbul : s.n.], 1941-1955

[73] Voir p. ex. *Sulwān*, Leyde or. 97, fol. 6b et 7a (*Conforti* 220, 221, 236) où Ibn Ẓafar affirme à plusieurs reprises que les dons de l'intellect et de la parole aux animaux n'est après tout nullement étonnant parmi les autres miracles divins.

Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, éd. ᶜAzzām = Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Avant propos de Aḥmad Ṭālib al-Ibrāhīmī ; préface de ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb ᶜAzzām, Beyrouth : Dār aš-Šurūq ; al-Ǧazā'ir : aš-Šarika al-Waṭaniyya, 1392 /1973.

Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, éd. Cheikho = Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, *La version arabe de Kalîla et Dimnah d'après le plus ancien Manuscrit arabe daté*. Publié par L. Cheikho, Beyrouth : Imprimérie Catholique, 1905.

Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* = Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*. Édité par Riḍā Tağaddud. [Teheran] : Maṭbaᶜa-yi Dānišgāhī, 1971.

Ibn ᶜArabšāh, *Fākiha* = Ibn ᶜArabšāh, *Fākihat al-ḫulafā'*. Édité par Georg Wilhelm Freytag. Bonnae : In Officina Baadeni, 1832.

Ibn Šaraf, *Aᶜlām* = ᶜAlī b. Da'ūd Ibn Šaraf al-Qayrawānī, *Aᶜlām al-kalām* (= *Rasā'il al-intiqād*). Édité par Muḥammad Kurd ᶜAlī, dans *Rasā'il al-bulaġā'*, 231-268. Miṣr : Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1913.

Ibn Šaraf, *Masā'il* = Ibn Šaraf al-Qayrawānī, *Questions de critique littéraire (Masā'il al-intiqād)*. Texte arabe [...] et trad. française avec une introduction et des notes par Charles Pellat. Algiers : Carbonel, 1953.

Ibn Ẓafar, *Sulwān* = Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh Ibn Ẓafar, *Sulwān al-muṭāᶜ fī ᶜudwān al-atbāᶜ*. Édité par Amīn ᶜAbd al-Ǧābir al-Buḥayrī. Le Caire : al-Āfāq al-ᶜArabiyya, 1419/1999.

Ibn Ẓafar, *Conforti* = Ibn Ẓafar, *Sulwān al-muṭāᶜ*. Trad. italienne Michele Amari, *I conforti politici*. Firenze : Felice Le Monnier, 1851.

Iḫwān aṣ-Ṣafā', *Animals* = Iḫwān aṣ-Ṣafā', *The Case of the Animals versus Man before the King of the Jinn. A Tenth-century Ecological Fable of the Pure Brethern of Basra* (= *Library of Classical Arabic Literature*, 3). Trad. anglaise Lenn Evan Goodman. Boston : Twayne, 1978.

al-Maᶜarrī, *Ṣāḥil* = Abū l-ᶜAlā' al-Maᶜarrī, *Risālat aṣ-ṣāḥil wa-ṣ-ṣāḥiǧ*. Édité par Bint aš-Šāṭi'. Miṣr : Dār al-Maᶜārif, 1975.

Ṣāᶜid, *Ṭabaqāt* = Ṣāᶜid ibn Aḥmad al-Andalusī. *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*. Édité par Ḥayāt al-ᶜĪd Bū ᶜAlwān. Beyrouth : Dār aṭ-Ṭalīᶜa, 1985.

at-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāᶜ* = Abū Hayyān at-Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtāᶜ wa-l-mu'ānasa*. Édité par Aḥmad Amīn et Aḥmad az-Zayyin. Réimpr. Beyrouth et Sidon : al-Maktaba al-ᶜAṣriyya, s.d.

al-Waṭwāṭ, *Ġurar* = Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā al-Waṭwāṭ, *Ġurar al-ḫaṣā'iṣ al-wāḍiḥa wa-ᶜurar an-naqā'iṣ al-fāḍiḥa*. Édité par Ibrāhīm Šams ad-Dīn. Beyrouth : Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 2008.

Yāqūt, *Muᶜğam* = Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muᶜğam al-udabā'*. Édité par Iḥsān ᶜAbbās, 7 vols. Beyrouth : Dār al-Ġarb al-Islāmī, 1993.

B. Études

Arnaldez, Roger. 1991. « Manṭiḳ ». *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* 6.427-438. Leiden : Brill et Paris : Maisonneuve.

Beeston, A. F. L. 1954. « The «ᶜAlī ibn Shāh » Preface to Kalīlah wa Dimnah ». *Oriens* 7.1.81-84.

Blachère**,** Régis. 1952-1966. *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XVe siècle de J.-C.*, 3 vols. Paris : Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient.

Bonebakker, Seeger A. 1992. *Nihil obstat in story telling?* [= *Mededelingen van de Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks*, 55 no. 8]. Amsterdam [etc.] : Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenshappen Noord-Hollandsche.

Borruso, Andrea. 2002. *Arabeschi. Saggi di letteratura araba*. Milano : Franco Angeli.

Bosworth, Clifford E. 1984. « The Persian Impact on Arabic Literature ». *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature.* Vol. 1: *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, éd. par A. F. L. Beeston *et al*., 483-496. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Breton, Philippe. 2007. *Éloge de la parole*. Paris : La Découverte, Poche.

Cassarino, Mirella. 2010. « Come rivolgersi all'autorità. I conforti politici di Ibn Ẓafar il Siciliano ». *Il potere della parola, la parola del potere tra Europa e Mondo arabo-musulmano tra medioevo e età moderna. Atti della giornata di studio Venezia 7 novembre 2008,* éd. par A. Ghersetti, 26-45. Venezia : Filippi.

Canova, Giovanni. 2009. « Il profeta Muḥammad e gli animali : la leggenda del cammello e della gazzella ». *Studies on Islamic Legends*, éd. par G. Canova, 257-275. *Oriente Moderno* n.s. 89, 2.

Chauvin, Victor Charles. 1892-1922. *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes : publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*. Liège : Imprimerie H. Vaillant-Carmanne.

Cheikh-Moussa, Abdallah. 1999. « Du discours autorisé ou comment s'adresser au tyran? ». *Arabica* 46.139-175.

Drory, Dina. 1994. « Three Attempts to Legitimize Fiction in Classical Arabic Literature ». *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 18.146-164.

____. 2000. *Models and contacts : Arabic literature and its impact on Medieval Jewish Culture*. Leiden : Brill.

Even-Zohar, Itamar. 1990. « The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem ». *Polysystem Studies [= Poetics Today 11:1]* 45-51.

Foucault, Michel. 2001. *L'herméneutique du sujet : cours au collège de France, 1981-1982*, établi par François Ewald, Alessandro Fontana et Frédéric Gros. Paris : Gallimard, Editions du Seuil.

Franssen, Elise. 2012. *Les manuscrits de la recension égyptienne des Mille et une*

Nuits. Étude codicologique avec édition critique, traduction et analyse linguistique et littéraire du conte de Jānšāh, Thèse de Doctorat. Liège : Université de Liège.

GAL = Brockelmann, Carl. 1898-1902. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur.* 1st ed. 2 vols., Weimar : Emil Felber ; 2nd ed. 2 vols., Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1943-49 ; *Supplementbände*, 3 vols. Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1937-42.

Ghersetti, Antonella. 2005. « Animali e intelligenza : il cane nella letteratura d'*adab* ». *Atti del congresso Animali tra zoologia, letteratura e mito nella cultura classica e orientale*, Venezia 22-23 maggio 2002, éd. par Ettore Cingano, Antonella Ghersetti et Lucio Milano, 329-342. Padova : S.A.R.G.O.N.

Gholam-Ali, Karimi. 1975. « Le conte animalier dans la littérature arabe avant le *Kalila wa Dimna* ». *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 28.51-56.

Gusdorf, George. 1953. *La Parole* (= *Initiation philosophique*, 3.). Paris : PUF.

Irwin, Robert. 1992. "The Arabic beast fable". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55.36-50.

Lauzi, Egle. 2012. *Il destino degli animali. Aspetti delle tradizioni culturali araba e occidentale nel Medio Evo*. Firenze : Sismel, edizioni del Galluzzo.

Lecomte, Gérard. 1975. « Ibn Ḳutayba ». *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* 3.868-871. Leiden : Brill et Paris : Maisonneuve.

____. 1965. *Ibn Qutayba : L'homme, son œuvre, ses idées*. Damas : Institut Français.

London, Jennifer. 2008. « How to do things with fables : Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ's frank speech in stories from Kalīla wa Dimna ». *History of Political Thought* 2.189-212.

Martinez-Gros, Gabriel. 1995. « Ṣāᶜid al-Andalusī ». *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* 8. 889. Leiden : Brill.

Marzolph, U. 1998. « Fables ». *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature* éd. par J.S. Meisami & P. Starkey, 1.214. London and New York : Routledge.

Miquel, André. 1980. *La Géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle. 3 : Le Milieu naturel*. Paris : Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes ; La Haye-New York : Mouton.

Rizzitano, Umberto. 1956. « Ibn Šaraf al-Qayrawānī (m. 460/1067) e la sua *Risālah al-intiqād* ». *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 31.51-72.

Smoor, Peter. 1981-82. « Enigmatic allusion and double meaning in al-Maᶜarrī's newly discovered Letter of a Horse and a Mule ». *Journal of Arabic Literature* 12.49-73 ; 13.23-52.

Wagner, Ewald. 1994. « Sprechende Tiere in der arabischen Prosa ». *Asiatische Studien* 18.937-957.

PREMODERN ETHNOGRAPHY
A CUSHITIC CUSTOM DESCRIBED AND EXPLAINED BY MEDIAEVAL ARAB OBSERVERS

Zoltán Szombathy

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

The attempt to comprehend a culture temporally and geographically distant from one's own is fraught with difficulties. One will often stand baffled before exotic customs whose purpose and function are seemingly incomprehensible and, as any anthropologist can tell, even a long fieldwork period may not always be sufficient to dissipate the sense of bafflement. It is justified to regard contemporary cultural anthropology as the most consistent and determined attempt so far to make sense of customs and social structures that initially appear to be beyond comprehension. However, attempts – perhaps less sustained and certainly less systematic attempts – were definitely made in premodern cultures as well when travellers, scholars or just ordinary men going abroad confronted a culture that was very dissimilar to their own. The frequently voiced generalisation that mediaeval Muslim intellectuals had little interest in the cultures of non-Muslim peoples, which they perceived as vastly inferior to their own, is definitely not true of quite a number of such authors. Perceive as inferior they certainly did these non-Islamic cultures, but that did not mean a lack of interest, and attempts at comprehending the cultural significance of many exotic customs and phenomena are all too conspicuous in many mediaeval Arabic sources.

Such attempts at comprehension or interpretation faced a number of inevitable difficulties. First, like modern anthropologists, mediaeval Muslim authors also had to cope with the potential inadequacy of the vocabulary of their own language and the cultural repertoire of their own society to describe the function and meaning of customs existing in a very different social context. Second, these premodern authors obviously did not have the benefit of a vast pool of comparative data similar to that collected later in the colonies of the main European powers. Third, they also lacked the methodological insights that anthropologists of the post-Malinowski era can now freely draw on – indeed, as will be argued below, many of them did not have (or seek) direct access to native informants. And finally, most of them did not speak the languages of the peoples that they described. In spite of all these significant shortcomings, they would often make honest – and, as we will observe, at times surprisingly successful – efforts to come to terms with utterly exotic customs and understand the social context of these.

THE ARABIST. BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 32 (2013)
https://doi.org/10.58513/ARABIST.2013.32.2

These premodern efforts to understand various aspects of exotic societies are worth studying for at least two reasons. On the one hand, they can add historical depth to customs that are well attested in the western ethnographic sources of more recent periods. On the other hand – and in my view more importantly – they can give us some insights into the attitudes and the ethnographic ideas of the mediaeval Muslim authors themselves who strove to interpret the variety of bewildering customs that they encountered among exotic peoples. As in modern western societies, mediaeval Muslim images of exotic people were far from being either purely factual or purely fictitious portrayals. They were a blend of three principal constituents: observed facts, imagination, and stereotyping, with all three elements obviously affecting one another in ever-changing combinations (al-ᶜAẓma 1991:33). The following pages offer a concrete case study of the interplay of such factors.

The objective of this essay is to show the ways in which a number of premodern Muslim authors tried to make sense of a perplexing and savage custom widespread among both non-Muslim and Muslim Cushitic peoples of the Horn of Africa, and to trace the subtle changes in their perception and interpretation of it as a result of the progress of Islamisation among these peoples. For while it is true that premodern Arabic sources tend to present ethnographic descriptions of exotic peoples in an ahistorical manner, often oblivious of the changes having taken place in those cultures[1], a comparison of the various sources reveals that those descriptions do evolve, if gradually and somewhat imperceptibly.

1. Some Mediaeval Arabic Accounts of a Cushitic Custom

1.1 Buzurg b. Šahriyār ar-Rāmhurmuzī

The following text is a passage from a book by Buzurg b. Šahriyār ar-Rāmhurmuzī (fl. mid-4th/10th c.) on the curiosities of the Indian Ocean and the lands surrounding it. The author was a captain (*nāḫuda*) of a seagoing vessel himself, although of course most of the information that he presents was narrated to him by various other Arab and Persian sailors and merchants he met in ports of the Persian Gulf or elsewhere. In addition to a multitude of outlandish customs observed among peoples inhabiting the shores of the Indian Ocean (and a good dose of travellers' tales mixed in), he presents the image of savage natives living in the Horn of Africa emasculating hapless outsiders falling into their hands. Here is the relevant passage:

[1] Cf. al-ᶜAẓma 1991:221.

Sailors are in agreement on the Sea of Berbera [...] being one of the most dangerous seas. The Bantu (*Zanǧ*) have many islands in one extremity of this sea. It is said that there are very strong currents of water there, and ships can traverse it in six or seven days. Now, if a ship [by bad luck] lands in [the coast of] Berbera, [the inhabitants] capture the ship's crew and emasculate them. However, if traders go to Berbera [on purpose], each one of them, in accordance with his position and wealth, has a whole group of [natives] with him to escort him, lest some of the local people should capture and castrate him. Everyone among them [i.e. the natives] collects the testicles of those whom he has emasculated and preserves them, and when they want to boast among themselves, they make a show of [the trophies] they possess so that others would envy them. That is because [the ultimate sign of] courage [in their eyes] is for a man of their people to emasculate a foreign/unrelated man (*ar-raǧul min al-ġurabā'*) (Buzurg, *ᶜAǧā'ib* 113-4).

The author of this work on the 'wonders of India' (more accurately, the lands surrounding the Indian Ocean), as befits a sailor, shows an all too obvious interest in the curious and exotic, including revolting and barbarous customs of savage peoples such as cannibalism, headhunting and, to be sure, emasculation. It would be all too easy to dismiss these stories as mere travellers' tales, but in fact many of the relevant passages offer ethnographic details and observations that correspond to known geographical and anthropological facts. For instance, his accounts of cannibalism among the Batak of Sumatra and headhunting in various parts of the Indonesian archipelago are corroborated by more recent western ethnographic sources, and – as will be shown shortly – so is the emasculation of enemies among some peoples of northeast Africa. This in itself makes these accounts deserve serious attention.

The editor of ar-Rāmhurmuzī's text, P. A. van der Lith, usually offers extremely helpful commentary and notes on the contents of this Arabic work, but here he seems to have seriously misidentified the context of the passage. According to him no other Arabic source mentions the custom[2], which, as we will presently show, is wide of the mark, as is van der Lith's suggestion that these Berbera are to be identified with some people in Mozambique. While he helpfully shows that the custom may well have had its parallels among some Bantu-speaking peoples of Mozambique, there is no need to search for it in so distant a land, it being amply attested in both mediaeval Arabic and more recent European sources as having existed among the Cushites of the Horn of Africa, in which the Berbera coast is located. Wherever they mention this custom, Arabic sources consistently place it in

[2] He characterises it as "une coutume [...] qu'on ne retrouve chez aucun auteur arabe", although he does cautiously add "du moins à ma connaisance". See his notes in Buzurg, *ᶜAǧā'ib* 210.

the region of the northern coast of present-day Somalia, Djibouti and the adjacent parts of Ethiopia and Eritrea. While at such an early date one cannot be altogether certain of the precise ethnic identity of the people described in the passage, it is beyond doubt that they were a Cushitic-speaking black African people (the standard meaning of the ethnic label Berbera or *Barbar* when used in reference to the Horn of Africa). Since there is considerable speculation as to the exact internal ramifications and relationships of the group of southern Cushitic speakers and the migrations of such peoples over the centuries, it is not possible to decide with certainty which ethnic group is meant in these descriptions. Moreover, even the ethnic appellations ᶜAfar, Danakil, Somali – not to speak of Oromo and Galla – are unknown in the written sources of this early period, and it is not clear if the absence of the terms in the sources reflects the absence on the ground of ethnic groups so named. To my knowledge, the first occurrence of the term Dankalī (the usual Arabic name for the ᶜAfar) in an Arabic text can be found in Ibn Saᶜīd al-Andalusī's work around the middle of the 7th/13th century[3]. However, it is safe to state that the texts describe what must have been an early Cushitic people related to the present-day ᶜAfar and/or northern Somali, and more distantly to the Oromo of southern Ethiopia. In more recent times, the custom is usually mentioned in reference to the ᶜAfar and the Oromo, but that is probably a reflection of the more profound degree of Islamisation of the Somali rather than a proof of the custom having always been absent from the culture of the proto-Somali[4].

[3] Citing Ibn Saᶜīd, Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) says: "As for [the lands lying] beyond [i.e. south of] Sawākin right down to the Bāb al-Mandab [Strait], it is populated by an ethnic group (*ǧins*) of blacks called Dankal". See Abū l-Fidā', *Taqwīm* 207. The Dankali were an ᶜAfar clan living on the Eritrean coast around Baylūl and on the Bori peninsula, who lent their name to a small local state (9th-11th/15th-17th c.). This name was then generalised in Arabic and applied in reference to all the ᶜAfar, who, according to Munzinger, are a conglomerate of diverse Cushitic-speaking groups united only by the adoption of a common tongue. The ᶜAfar are also known by other names like Adal (in Amhara and Oromo), Odᶜali (in Somali), Teltal (a pejorative Tigrinya term alluding to the uncovered upper bodies of ᶜAfar women). See Yasin 2008:41; Kamil 2004:15; Munzinger 1869:209.

[4] In view of the testimony of the mediaeval Arabic accounts discussed here, the absurdity of the claim that "it was they [viz. the Oromo] who introduced the horrible practice of mutilating the dead, and even the wounded and prisoners" (Rey 1924:86) is all too obvious. The Arabic sources cited here far antedate the Oromo invasion of south-central and southeastern Ethiopia. The practice, like many other cultural traits, is in all probability shared by these peoples because of their common origins and/or their later geographical proximity. The original homeland of Oromo, ᶜAfar and Somali alike has convincingly been located in southern Ethiopia by Herbert S. Lewis, although alternative theories also exist. On this issue, see Lewis 1966; Lewis 1955; Lewis 1960; Lewis 1999:21-25; Turton 1975: 519-521.

I do not wish to elaborate on the portrayal of this custom by ar-Rāmhurmuzī; let it suffice here to mention the most important specifications made by this author. According to him, the practice can be defined as the castration – the removal of the testicles rather than the whole of the genitalia – of the victims, who tend to be outsiders, such as visiting traders. Local men follow this hideous custom as a way to prove their own virility, and they compete in gathering as many of these unsavoury trophies as possible in order to outdo their rivals. As we will see, other Arabic sources corroborate the existence of the custom, even though they may also differ in significant details.

1.2 Ṭāhir al-Marwazī

Some of the Arabic geographical sources are silent on the practice of emasculating defeated enemies among the southern Cushites, but a number of later sources do describe it, in some instances in terms somewhat similar to those that we observe in ar-Rāmhurmuzī's account. Some of these ethnographical descriptions of the custom are remarkably detailed, replete with quasi-scientific interpretations of its social background and meaning that seem to depart considerably from the explanation offered in ar-Rāmhurmuzī's book. One such account of the emasculatory custom of the ᶜAfar (or some related Cushitic-speaking people) is in Ṭāhir al-Marwazī's (d. 514/1120) book, mentioning the Arabic ethnic name Berbera and locating these people near the coast of *Baḥr al-Ḥabaša*. Consider this brief interpretive passage by al-Marwazī:

> On the shores of the sea of al-Ḥabaša lives a group of southern Cushites (*firqa min al-barbar*) whom traders visit and with whom they do business from afar and under the surveillance of watchmen and [armed] guards, fearing them greatly. The reason is their custom of cutting off the genitalia (*an yaǧubbū*) of those strangers they manage to capture. They do to them nothing beside that. That done, they hang the penises along with the testicles on their huts in order to boast and vie among themselves as to the number of [such trophies]... (al-Marwazī, *Ṭabā'iᶜ* 206).

As is evident from as much as a quick glance, this explanation largely concurs with that of ar-Rāmhurmuzī but adds a number of important details. First, it confirms the sailor's observation that Muslim traders need armed escorts (and as ar-Rāmhurmuzī specifies, probably local partners and allies) to conduct their business so as to avoid the very real danger of emasculation among the Cushites. Second, it confirms that the typical victims of the bloody practice are visiting foreigners. Third, it confirms that the social purpose of the custom is to prove one's virility and prowess – that is to say, as a symbol of superiority in the arena of competition among males. A detail absent in ar-Rāmhurmuzī's account but clearly

defined here is the custom of sporting these revolting trophies on the perpetrators' huts for everyone to see.

1.3 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī

The geographical dictionary of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī mentions the custom of emasculation in two entries: first in the description of the land of Berbera, and second, in reference to the town of Zayla^{c}. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229) might have borrowed his information from an earlier authority instead of a direct eyewitness informant, but tracing the route of this information until it reached him is not the main concern of this essay.

In the entry on the town (or, as he more generally identifies it, region) of Berbera Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī says that the inhabitants of these lands – speakers of Cushitic languages who must have been the ancestors of the modern northern Somali and the ^{c}Afar – are people of extremely black complexion who speak languages that are unintelligible to all outsiders. According to him they are nomads who also hunt with the help of poisoned arrows (Yāqūt, *Mu^{c}ğam* I, 369-370). These observations are accurate but not directly relevant to our purpose. However, in his entry on the Somali (and ^{c}Afar) town of Zayla^{c} and its environs (today in the extreme northwest of Somalia, near its border with Djibouti) he writes at more length about these Cushitic ethnic groups of the Horn of Africa[5]. Here Yāqūt correctly characterises these Cushitic-speaking Africans as Muslims and describes in more detail the ^{c}Afar (and Somali) use of poisoned arrows in hunting various species of game, including huge and dangerous animals like elephants, rhinoceroses, giraffes and leopards. Moreover, it is here that he gives a very vivid description of the ^{c}Afar custom of emasculating enemies, providing the ethnographic background necessary for understanding the gory custom. Notably, he attributes the custom to a specific ^{c}Afar (or Somali) way of handling marriages between two people of unequal social standing. In his own words:

> I was told by the sheikh Walīd al-Baṣrī, who is one of those who have travelled widely over the countries, that the Barbar are an ethnic group (*ṭā'ifa*) of blacks [living] between the land of the Bantu (*az-Zanğ*) and the Ethiopians (*al-Ḥabaš*). They have a curious custom [...]. They are [scattered] groups living over the arid plains (*al-barriyya*) in huts they construct out of [dry] grass. Now, if one of them falls in love with a woman and wants to

[5] Yāqūt's dictionary entry talks of both Zayla^{c} town and the ethnic group inhabiting the wider region. The name Zayla^{c} simultaneously served as a geographical name and an ethnic appellation, a not uncommon usage in classical Arabic. al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) specifies that the toponym Zayla^{c}, virtually synonymous with Ğabart, is used in reference to a town on an island of the same name as well as to a vast region practically encompassing all the Muslim-dominated territories of the Horn of Africa. See al-Maqrīzī, *Ilmām* 82.

> marry her, but he is not equal to her in status (*wa-lam yakun kufu'an lahā*), he takes a cow from among the cattle of her father – one which must be a pregnant cow – and then he cuts off some of the hairs of its tail and lets it loose again to graze. That done, he flees in search of someone whose male organ he will cut off. Now, when the herdsman returns to the father of the girl or her [legal] guardian from among her kinsmen (*man yakūn waliyyan lahā min ahlihā*), they go out in search of him [viz. of the suitor]. If they can capture him, they will kill him and thus settle the affair. If they do not, he goes where he will, trying to find someone to cut the penis of and bring it to them [the woman's kin]. If the cow gives birth to its calves before he brings them a mutilated penis, his quest has been all in vain and he can never return to his kin again, leaving instead for some place where no-one knows anything about him, since should he return to them they will kill him. However, if he cut off the penis of a man and brings it to them [in time], the girl is his [to marry] and no-one will be able to deny her to him, regardless of who she is [viz. her family's status].
>
> [Walīd al-Baṣrī] also said: Most of those you see around who are from these lands, from among the ethnic group called the Blacks of Zayla^{c} (*aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-ma^{c}rūfa bi-z-Zayla^{c} al-sūdān*), are people who once tried to cut off a penis but failed. Then, when they reached the western lands [of the Arab world] they turned to the [study of the] Quran and asceticism, as you can observe (Yāqūt, *Mu^{c}ğam* III, 164).

This presentation of the custom of emasculating defeated enemies differs on a number of ethnologically significant points from the earlier account of Buzurg b. Šahriyār ar-Rāmhurmuzī. Notably, the context of the custom is quite different in his interpretation. As can be observed, he links the custom to marriage – to be more precise, marriage of a man of lower social standing to a higher-status woman – instead of to male competition and boasting duels. Another important novelty in this description is the acknowledgement of the conversion to Islam of these Cushitic people, at least on a superficial level, and the statement that some people from these lands now visit the Middle East and reside there, pursuing studies of the Islamic religion at institutions of higher learning. Indeed, the presence of students from the African coast around Zayla^{c} and Berbera in cities of the Arabic-speaking Middle East may hint at the reason of the seemingly more profound understanding of the social context of the barbarous custom in Yāqūt's version. While ar-Rāmhurmuzī must have relied on stories heard from visiting merchants and sailors with little if any understanding of local culture, part of the background details of

Yāqūt's version may well be based on information obtained from native informants living in Middle Eastern cities[6].

1.4 Abū l-Fidā'

The next source to discuss is a brief passage from the *Taqwīm al-buldān* of the Syrian prince Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/ 1331). To a large extent this author relies on information obtained from Ibn Saᶜīd al-Andalusī (d. 685/1266) as regards specific data relating to African societies. Here is the relevant passage:

> [...] the Ḫāsa [are] an abhorrent type of Abyssinians (*maḏmūmūn min aǧnās al-Ḥabaša*). They have become infamous for castrating whoever falls into their hands. They give away the penises of humans by way of dowry (*yadfaᶜūn ḏukūr al-ādamiyyīn fī ṣadaqātihim*), and they boast of such things among themselves. To the east of their land towards the sea is [the region of] Samhar (Abū l-Fidā', *Taqwīm* 279).

The ethnographic explanation of the Cushite custom of emasculation that we find in this text is curious and differs from both ar-Rāmhurmuzī's and al-Marwazī's accounts on important details. First, the ethnic appellation that it uses is a novel one. Since he specifies that the people he discusses live inland to the west of the Samhar region, which is well-known and situated around the Eritrean coastal town of Maṣṣawaᶜ, it is clear that his description is concerned with a Cushitic-speaking group of ᶜAfar or Sāho, the contemporary inhabitants of that region. The name *Ḫāsa* appears to confirm this; in my view it must be an Arabised form of the tribe-name Ḥaso, a group of ᶜAfar speakers living inland from Annesley Bay next to the Sāho people right up to the foothills of Agame province of highland Ethiopia. The common language notwithstanding, the Ḥaso are not regarded as allies by the rest of the northern ᶜAfar groups[7].

Abū l-Fidā' apparently interprets the collection of severed penises as a practice somehow associated with marriage. The text uses the Arabic term *ṣadaqa* (or *ṣaduqa*, *ṣuduqa*, *ṣudqa*), meaning 'dower' or 'dowry'. Any Islamic religious overtones of the concept of dowry can of course be dismissed here[8]. While the introduction of matrimony as the social context of the custom is a novelty vis-à-vis ar-Rāmhurmuzī's account, the mention of ostentatious display (as suggested by the notion of boasting) creates a link with the latter.

---

[6] On the appearance of natives of the Horn of Africa as active participants in the intellectual life of the Middle East (more or less in Yāqūt's time), see Wagner 2005.

[7] Munzinger 1869:211. Elsewhere (ibid. 222) Munzinger says explicitly that the Ḥaso are not ᶜAfar.

[8] The Arabic term *ṣadaqa* also means 'alms'. However, this term, evocative as it is of charitable giving, is out of the question in the above passage. In the present context, it would be all too obviously perverse to consider the possibility of such a connotation.

In many respects the description of Abū l-Fidā' can be seen as an intermediate version between ar-Rāmhurmuzī and the previous account, that of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī. In a chronological sense it is of course a later source than Yāqūt's, even if we keep in mind that, as noted above, it relies heavily on data borrowed from Ibn Saᶜīd al-Andalusī (d. 685/1266), an author about a generation younger than Yāqūt. However, much of the information in Yāqūt seems to be definitely more specific and detailed than in Abū l-Fidā'.

2. The Testimony of Western Sources

In fact, all of the Arab authors cited above had it right in a way or another. Connecting the custom to marriage and regarding it as a kind of boastful display of virility were both accurate and perceptive observations on their part. Indeed, independent sources confirm that the custom served the purpose of proving, in a striking if ruthless manner, one's virility and worth as a warrior and protector before one could marry. This theme even appears in the folklore of Cushitic-speaking peoples, as in an ᶜAfar poem praising the camel, which makes a chilling reference to "the naked blade dripping drops of blood"[9]. European travellers in later times, inasmuch as they went beyond a bare mention of the custom, also often explained it in the context of marriage and of proving one's superiority as a male. Here is Burton's presentation of the custom, which he attributes here to the Somali of the ᶜĪsa clan and the neighbouring north-eastern Oromo tribes. As can be observed in the excerpt, Burton agrees with his mediaeval forerunners – notably Yāqūt and Abū l-Fidā' – in linking this custom with the theme of marriage and virility:

> These tribes inherit from their ancestors the horrible practice of mutilation. They seek the honour of murder, to use their own phrase, "as though it were gain", [...] Then bearing with him his trophy, the hero returns home and places it before his wife, who stands at the entrance of her hut uttering shrill cries of joy and tauntingly vaunting the prowess of her man. The latter sticks in his tufty poll an ostrich feather, the medal of these regions, and is ever afterwards looked upon with admiration by his fellows (Burton 1855:139).

[9] Morin 1996:271-272, and 270 on the social context of the verse lines in question. On marriage amongst the ᶜAfar and the Somali in general, cf. Chedeville 1966:191-195; Munzinger 1867:218-219; Lewis 1999:137-141.

One of the most reliable descriptions of the custom is given by the Italian explorer L. M. Nesbitt[10], who was the first westerner to cross the whole ᶜAfar region (in a south to north direction). Like other outsiders he too has a tendency to dramatise the phenomenon, gory enough as it is to begin with, but he provides quite a number of useful details to help understand the social context of the tradition. Many of these details corroborate the mediaeval Muslim accounts to a remarkable degree. Thus Nesbitt claims – as did ar-Rāmhurmuzī and al-Marwazī – that the preferred victims of the practice are outsiders to ᶜAfar society, especially Amhara from the Ethiopian highlands and Oromo[11]. Again in concert with ar-Rāmhurmuzī and al-Marwazī, he also mentions that the ᶜAfar proudly collect and display the trophies severed from the bodies of their victims, but here he is more precise. While among the Arab authors cited above al-Marwazī is alone in mentioning the manner in which the killing is publicised – namely, by hanging the trophies on the killer's hut – Nesbitt provides other details. Thus he says that the trophies are either worn around the neck, necklace-like, or hung on the perpetrator's hut, and among members of the Madima clan (living around the middle ᶜAwaš river) the trophies may be hung around the neck of the killer's horse, if he has one – a rarity, since horses were an expensive prestige item in this region[12]. However, Nesbitt adds further data that are lacking in all the mediaeval Arabic accounts: the use of certain items of bodily adornment to symbolise past killings and the symbolic association of the custom of mutilation with funerals and graves. According to Nesbitt[13] the young warrior who kills his first victim is entitled to wearing a feather in his hair to ostentate his fighting prowess, and after a year has passed other forms of bodily adornment replace the feather: the piercing

[10] Nesbitt 1934. Being unable to access this important work in English (originally in Italian: *La Dancalia esplorata*, Florence, 1930), I have used its Hungarian translation (published as L. M. Nesbitt: *Az ismeretlen Abesszínia*, Translated by Gyula Halász. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Természettudományi Társulat, 1937; and henceforward referred to as Nesbitt 1937). To help locate my references to the work, I will specify the chapter in which the relevant data occur.

[11] Nesbitt 1937:50 [Ch. 5: Departure], 117-118 [Ch. 11: Towards Magu]. The testimony of Munzinger seems to confirm this. He states that "all strangers are natural enemies, so long as they ask not for protection" from an ᶜAfar group, which is probably an accurate observation, even though his claim that all ᶜAfar consider each other a friend appears to be a gross misrepresentation of facts. See Munzinger 1869:212; and cf. Thesiger 1935:15 for a case of ᶜAfar seeking out ᶜAfar victims to mutilate for trophies.

[12] Nesbitt 1937:92-93 [Ch. 9: Unte and Kortumi], 119 [Ch. 11: Towards Magu]. As regards the northern ᶜAfar, Munzinger says laconically that "[t]he Afars, like the Gallas [i.e. Oromo], mutilate those they kill, and wear the trophy". See Munzinger 1869:221.

[13] And, as we have seen in the previous excerpt, Burton corroborates it with regard to the ᶜĪsa clan of the Somali.

of both earlobes, and special bracelets worn on the upper arms[14]. Furthermore, the striking circular cairns (*waidella*) that the ᶜAfar erect in desolate places to mark the graves of great tribal heroes and particularly brave warriors are customarily adorned with a desiccated tree whose branches bear the shrivelled genitalia of the victims whom the deceased killed during his life. When these dreadful trophies are destroyed by time, pieces of leopard skin or flat stones (sometimes arranged in two parallel rows) replace them as menacing mementoes[15]. Any mention of these funerary aspects of the 'killer complex' in Cushite cultures is completely absent in the Arabic sources.

To my knowledge, the only western source to deny expressly that the custom of emasculation had anything to do with marriage is Wilfred Thesiger. He firmly and unequivocally places the custom in the context of warfare and male boasting only, and seems to argue – although he is not quite explicit on this – that the custom of patrilateral cross cousin marriage precludes the necessity of proving one's worth as a suitor. This, however, is not a logical necessity, especially in a polygamous society. Given the agreement of so many other sources on this point, it seems likely that Thesiger's reservations here are either relevant for certain subgroups of the ᶜAfar or else altogether wrong. Be that as it may, his description of the practice, which contradicts Nesbitt on some points and adds curious details unattested in other accounts, is worth quoting in full:

> The great ambition of every Dankali [i.e. ᶜAfar] is to collect more trophies than his neighbour, and they invariably castrate the dead and dying and most usually their prisoners. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance attached by them to this custom, and many raids are undertaken solely with the object of collecting trophies. For a man's standing in the tribe depends on the number of his trophies, and ten will give him the right to wear a coveted iron bracelet. An elaborate system of decorations displays his prowess to his contemporaries, and a line of stones upright before his memorial hands down his fame to posterity. The most general method of denoting kills is to attach a brass-bound leather thong to knife or rifle, one for each trophy taken. But no man may wear a coloured loin cloth, a comb or feather in his hair, nor decorate his knife with brass or silver until he has killed at least once, and two kills will entitle him to split his ears. I never saw them wearing the testicles of their victims round their necks, as Nesbitt states is their custom; they actually deny this, and I find it difficult to believe that their denial is based on feelings of delicacy [...]. I have however seen them wearing around

[14] Nesbitt 1937:49 [Ch. 5: Departure], 117-118 [Ch. 11: Towards Magu].

[15]. E.g. Nesbitt 1937:152 [Ch. 14: From Dadda to the Borkenna], 221-2 [Ch. 20: From Sekkadahara to Gaddaeita]. For more on ᶜAfar graves and the symbols of past killings attached to them, see Thesiger 1935:9-12.

> their wrists those of animals which they have killed, and they will mark themselves on the forehead with the blood of an animal, and probably do the same with human blood. On returning from a raid those warriors who have not yet killed must provide the animals for the feasting, and they are ragged unmercifully by their more successful companions, their clothes being soiled and cow dung rubbed in their hair. [...]
>
> There is a widespread but incorrect belief that a Dankali may not marry until he has killed, but no woman other than his wife would submit to his embraces. "You are a woman and I am a woman, so why do you come to me?" she is reputed to exclaim (Thesiger 1935:4-5).

3. The Impact of Islamic Conversion

We have seen that far from being content to parrot earlier authors' words, Arabic accounts of the Cushitic custom of emasculating enemies did evolve and offered ever new explanations of the exotic practice. One would expect the passage of time to result in ever more detailed accounts due to the sheer accumulation of data. Also, one would intuitively expect that the higher the number of Cushite converts to Islam, and therefore of potential native informants on the custom, the more precise the Arabic accounts and explanations. Although Yāqūt's text cited above would seem to give substance to this intuition, in fact quite the contrary tendency appears to characterise more recent Arabic sources.

The Cushitic peoples of the Horn of Africa began to convert to Islam in significant numbers around the 5th/11th century, a process that gained momentum in the subsequent centuries[16]. Parallel with this development, an instantly perceptible change occurred in the tone of Arabic accounts of the culture and society of the peoples of the region. The reason is as simple as the resulting changes are striking: with the conversion of many Cushite groups to Islam the more barbaric (to Muslim Arab eyes) aspects of their cultures began to be downplayed or altogether glossed over in the sources. Growing familiarity with the African coast of the Red Sea and growing awareness of the professed (if largely nominal) Islamic faith of the Cushitic inhabitants of that region led to less emphasis in Arabic sources on the savage customs of those people and more emphasis on their piety (at least the piety of some of them).

Yāqūt's text cited above juxtaposes information about the custom of mutilating enemies and the Islamic credentials of some of the Cushitic peoples, but this is somewhat exceptional. The general tendency among Arab authors is to highlight

[16] The coastal ᶜAfar of Eritrea began to convert in the 5th/11 c.; see Miran 2005:181.

either one or the other. Either the Cushites are heathen savages who mutilate their hapless adversaries, or else they are Muslims and then mention of their savage emasculatory custom has no place in the description of their society. As Aziz al-Azmeh observed, ethnographic descriptions in premodern Arabic texts tend to stress either the marks of civilisation or the marks of barbarousness to highlight either proximity to or distance from Arabo-Islamic culture respectively (al-ᶜAẓma 1991:223). If that general observation is true, as I believe it is, it is hardly surprising that the more Islamised the portrayal of an ethnic group, such as the ᶜAfar or the Somali, in Arabic writings the less emphasis on the custom of mutilation. The 'land of Berbera' gradually loses its status as a region of menacing black savages and is increasingly presented as a land of coreligionists, fellow human beings despite their strangeness and their ebony complexion. Such is the tenor of the accounts of, among others, Ibn Saᶜīd and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770/1368-9 or 779/1377) on Berbera and Zaylaᶜ respectively (Ibn Saᶜīd, *Ǧuġrāfiyā* 81, 99; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla* 147). The nomenclature of ethnicity also perceptibly changed. One encounters fewer instances of the use of the umbrella term *Barbar* in reference to these peoples, whereas more exact ethnic appellations such as *Ǧabart*, *Ṣūmāl* and *Dankal* (*Danākil*) appear[17].

The Egyptian Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ᶜUmarī (d. 749/1349) is one of those Muslim authors who relied on native informants for their data on the Cushitic peoples of the Horn of Africa. He mentions a certain "Sheikh ᶜAbdallāh al-Zaylaᶜī and a group of the jurisprudents of those lands (*ǧamāᶜa min fuqahā' hādhihi l-bilād*)" [i.e. southeast Ethiopia and northern Somalia] as the main source of his information[18]. As we will presently see, other persons with first-hand acquaintance of the Ethiopian lands were also among the informants of al-ᶜUmarī. Despite the remarkably good supply of data on this region that al-ᶜUmarī could draw on, he does not mention the infamous custom of emasculating enemies. His reticence

[17] Even sub-ethnic labels occasionally occur in Arabic geographical texts, such as the name of the Hawiye clan of central and southern Somalia. See for instance Ibn Saᶜīd, *Ǧuġrāfiyā* 82; al-Idrīsī, *Uns* 30. The ethnic name Somali first appears in the early 9th/15th century in songs celebrating the victory of the Ethiopian emperor Yesḥāq over his Muslim enemies; see Lewis 1960:222.

[18] Apparently ᶜAbdallāh al-Zaylaᶜī headed a delegation of jurisprudents from the small Muslim states of southeast Ethiopia visiting the Egyptian ruler's court when al-ᶜUmarī had the opportunity to meet and interview him. See al-ᶜUmarī, *Masālik* III(iv), 17. A century later on, al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) – or the immediate source of most of his data, Ibn Saᶜīd al-Andalusī (d. 685/1266) – identifies the globetrotter (*al-ǧawwāl fī l-arḍ*) and littérateur Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd al-Ḫāliq b. Muḥammad Ḫalaf al-Mağāṣī al-Maġribī and "some of those who have travelled in those lands [i.e. the Muslim parts of Abyssinia] (*baᶜḍ al-musāfirīn ilayhā*)" as sources of the information he cites: not native informants but Arab visitors to Ethiopia. See al-Maqrīzī, *Ilmām* 83, 105.

might appear curious, yet more curious still is the fact that this reticence seems to be deliberate. One must be led to this conclusion by observing that in a totally different social context he does mention the practice of castration and associates it firmly with the non-Muslim population. It is hardly conceivable that both al-ᶜUmarī and his native informants would fail to bring up the theme of the widespread and well-known Cushitic custom during their detailed conversations on the practice of emasculating slaves intended for service as eunuchs. Here is the passage discussing the latter topic:

> It is to the [capital] city [of the Muslim state of Hadiya[19]] that slaves (*al-ḫuddām*) are brought from the lands of the pagans. I have been informed by the trader al-Ḥāğğ Faraǧ al-Fawwī that the emperor of Amhara [i.e. the ruler of Christian Ethiopia to whom the small Muslim states paid tribute] prohibits the castration of slaves and objects to it very strongly. The slave-raiders (?)[20] go to a town called Wašalawā, whose inhabitants are savages (*hamaǧ*) without any religion, and it is there that the slaves are castrated. Other than them no-one in the whole land of the Abyssinians ever practices this. Likewise the traders: when they buy slaves they take them to Wašalawā with the intention of having them castrated, for this increases their price. Then all those who have been castrated are brought to the town of Hadiya, where the razor is operated on them a second time to open their urethra, because it tends to have been blocked by castration. That done, they are given medical treatment in Hadiya till they recover, since the people of Wašalawā have no knowledge of medical treatment. Now, I asked al-Fawwī of the reason why Hadiya, of all the similar [Muslim principalities of Ethiopia] specialises in this. He said that because it is nearer than any of the rest of [the Muslim] countries [of Ethiopia] to Wašalawā its inhabitants have acquired the skill to treat those [castrated slaves][21].

---

[19] Hadiya is a Cushitic-speaking ethnic group of southern Ethiopia (west of Lake Zway), many of them today heavily Islamised and mixed with the Oromo. Here the reference is to a small mediaeval Muslim state dominated by this ethnic group. On the history of this group and their mediaeval state, see Braukämper 1980.

[20] This translation is a mere guess that appears to be dictated by the context. The manuscript reads *as-surrāq*, in a clear and legible hand, which makes little evident sense unless ‘snatchers [of people]’ is meant – the way I translated it.

[21] al-ᶜUmarī, *Masālik* III(iv), 22-3. The informant goes on to add that the lives of the majority of the castrated slaves cannot be saved by the time they reach Hadiya because treatment is too late to arrive by that stage, a sickening indication of the horrors of the slave trade. For a slightly different and somewhat abridged version (obviously going back to the same source), see al-Maqrīzī, *Ilmām* 84.

Particularly noteworthy are the repeated and emphatic declarations regarding castration being a specialisation, indeed a monopoly, of *non-Muslim* Cushites of southern Ethiopia, living to the west of the Islamic state of Hadiya along the Great Rift Valley. It bears repeating that emasculation in fact continued to be practiced among the Islamised Cushites of this region – although in a social context very different from that of the slave trade – and therefore this statement seems to serve a deliberate ideological purpose[22].

The Egyptian author Taqī ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) shares a significant part of his data with al-ᶜUmarī, like the latter drawing heavily on information available in Ibn Saᶜīd al-Andalusī's works. al-Maqrīzī's treatise titled *al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-islām* discusses the Muslim rulers of the Horn of Africa, the population under their dominion and their struggles against Christian highland Ethiopia. Needless to say where al-Maqrīzī's sympathies lay; one is not surprised to find a sympathetic portrayal of the Muslim side in these protracted wars. However, even the briefish ethnographical and geographical passages on various Cushitic and other black African ethnicities omit any mention of the savage customs of Cushitic-speaking Muslims. As noted above, here too one encounters the same account as in al-ᶜUmarī on the non-Muslims castrating slaves to produce eunuchs and Muslims curing the wounds and scars resulting from the ruthless operation. And here too the subject of emasculating enemies being a custom rife among Muslims is not broached. On the other hand, the piety of the people of these lands is a recurrent theme in the treatise[23].

Indigenous (or quasi-indigenous) Muslim authors also tended to leave the savage aspects of Islamised Cushitic cultures discreetly unmentioned. An example is the chronicle of the wars of the Muslim state of Adal (in what is now east and southeast Ethiopia) against the Christian highlanders of Ethiopia. One would hardly expect a source intrinsically sympathetic to the Muslim side in these armed struggles to dwell at any length on the savage customs of the Islamised peoples, and indeed this work too is silent on this point[24]. The work is an especially useful

[22] Indeed castration of Ethiopian slaves with the aim of producing eunuchs for the Middle Eastern market also took place in Egypt itself as well, for instance in the village of Abū Tīg in Upper Egypt and in another village near Asyūṭ. See Toledano 1984:383. This does not mean, of course, that al-ᶜUmarī's account is invalid as far as the Muslim principalities of south Ethiopia are concerned.

[23] E.g. al-Maqrīzī, *Ilmām* 82; and see in particular the geographical passages on Berbera, Zaylaᶜ and other Ethiopian Muslim lands on pp. 102, 104-105.

[24] To be sure, its main concern is historical instead of ethnographic, yet the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (composed in the mid-10th/16th century) is not altogether devoid of ethnographic details when the occasion arises to mention them. For instance, in one passage it briefly describes the construction and use of the wooden rafts (*laḫā*) employed in crossing the ᶜAwaš river in ᶜAfar territory (and, incidentally, correctly identifies Lake Abḥe as the end

source on the various Somali clans, mentioning as it does quite a number of clan names that exist to this day, such as theMarrēḥān, Habar Magadle, Gerrī, Herti, Yibirī[25]. As befits participants of a jihad, the Somali are not portrayed here as savages, even though their formidable fighting prowess is occasionally hinted at. Indeed, while this is only a minor theme in the chonicle, the warlike and even perfidious nature of some of the (palpably unreliable) Somali allies of the Adal state is exposed in some passages, as when the Habar Magadle clan turned to banditry and refused to pay the *zakāt*, or when Ḥirābu, the chief of the Marrēḥān clan, killed a royal courtier and fled to the territory of the Hawiye clan[26]. However, on the custom of mutilating defeated enemies the chronicle has nothing to say, although there is no reason to suppose that the Cushitic (ᶜAfar, Somali and Sidāmo) participants of the jihad temporarily renounced their custom.

Another source that, while being quite preoccupied with the savageness of some of the Cushite inhabitants of the Horn of Africa, is silent on the custom of emasculation is the travel report of the Yemeni judge and statesman al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ṣalāḥ al-Yūsufī al-Ǧamālī al-Ḥaymī (d. 1070/1660). Sent in 1056/1646-7 as an envoy from the Yemeni imam to Fasiladas, the emperor of Christian Abyssinia (r. 1632-67), he crossed the Red Sea and landed at the port of Baylūl on the south Eritrean coast, whence he made his way to the Abyssinian capital Gondar through the heartland of the ᶜAfar region first and then through the lands of the formidable northern Oromo groups (Azebo, Wallo, Yağğu and Raya). Having returned from his mission in Abyssinia after several years' absence, he recorded his experiences in a work titled *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša*, in which he dwells repeatedly and at great length on his troubles *en route* and on the warlike nature of the natives, especially the ᶜAfar and the Oromo. As the Yemeni chronicle of Abū Ṭālib (d. after 1170/1756-7) puts it, al-Ḥaymī reached the Abyssinian court only "after he suffered great terrors and encountered perilous situations on account of the Galla [Oromo] and other peoples (*baᶜda an kābada ahwālan wa-laqiya šiddat aḥwāl min al-Qālla wa-ġayrihā*)" (Abū Ṭālib, *Tārīḫ* 13-14). Nowhere in his report do we find mention of the emasculation of slain enemies, but it does elaborate on the theme of

---

of this river before it disappears in the desert). See ᶜArab-faqīh, *Futūḥ* I, 24 (French tr. II, 53-54).

[25] E.g. ᶜArab-faqīh, *Futūḥ* I, 20-1, 30-3, 56-8 (French text II, 44-6, 67-73, 118-21). The chronicle makes no mention of the ᶜAfar, but according to Munzinger, "we cannot doubt that a large part of his army were Afars". See Munzinger 1869:214.

[26] In both cases punitive expeditions (or the threat thereof) had to be employed to force the obedience of the supposed Somali 'allies'. See ᶜArab-faqīh, *Futūḥ* I, 20-1, 80-1 (and French tr. II, 44-5, 151-2). Also cf. Lewis 1999:16-17. Later Arabic sources also occasionally picture the (Muslim) Somali as being formidable warriors (but not quite savages). See for instance Abū Ṭālib, *Tārīḫ*, 339-340, where the ethnic appellation Ṣūmal is used to describe the warlike inhabitants of the land of Adama near Zaylaᶜ.

the exceptional ferocity of these Cushitic-speaking ethnic groups. It is instructive to look at the passages dealing with the nominally Muslim ᶜAfar, one of the Cushitic peoples infamous for the custom of emasculation. That al-Ḥaymī was not impressed with the depth of the Islamisation of this people is an understatement; as will be obvious from the following passages, he viewed them as little more than savages only marginally improved by Islam:

> When we met the sultan Šaḥīm [b. Kāmil ad-Dankalī, the ᶜAfar chieftain of Baylūl], he arrived in the company of a numerous group of the Bedouin men [i.e. ᶜAfar tribesmen] inhabiting that region: of a repulsive appearance, they are devoid of any trace of compliance with the rules of the noble and pure divine law (*šarᶜ*). [I can state this] because of what I observed of their men and women freely socialising, all of them being naked, leaving their private parts uncovered (*lā yasturūna ᶜawrātihim*) and carrying on their reprehensible deeds openly, as though reprehensible deeds were praiseworthy in their eyes and bad innovations acceptable and usual (*ka-anna l-munkar ᶜindahum min al-maᶜrūf wa-l-bidaᶜ ladayhim min al-amr al-ma'nūs al-ma'lūf*). They do not speak Arabic, having a language of their own different from that of the Abyssinians, so that whenever we wished to talk to them we needed an interpreter. [...] Every one of these afore-mentioned Bedouins who came to us simply wanted to have a look and [get some] knowledge of these visiting Arabs [viz. our party]. When they arrived they would gaze at us from afar, all astonished by what they saw, but we were even more astonished by what we saw among them: "*Or deemest thou that most of them hear or understand? They are but as the cattle; nay, they are further astray from the way*"[27]. Someone who knows them well told me that their chief whose orders they follow is married to twelve women. Others do the same, as we could ascertain from stories we heard from those who know them well. Moreover, they [the ᶜAfar tribesmen] wanted to know our situation and spy on us [in order to know] whether it would be possible to ambush us on the route we follow and to take anything from our hands, or [to commit] any other corrupt act that robbers and Kurds and brigands tend to do[28].

The text certainly strikes the reader with its hostile tenor. The author shows little sympathy with the ᶜAfar, effectively regarding them as dangerous brigands and ignorant nominal Muslims, akin to the warlike Bedouin tribes and the Kurds of

[27] Quran 25:44. I followed Arberry's translation.

[28] al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra* 84-85. Indeed, on several occasions the Yemeni delegation got to the brink of armed violence against their own ᶜAfar escorts supposed to protect them against hostile ᶜAfar tribesmen; see *op. cit*. 93.

the Middle East. An implicit acknowledgement of the horror al-Ḥaymī and his delegation felt towards the ᶜAfar is that they would not risk returning by the same route to Baylūl, preferring the northern route to Turkish-held Maṣṣawaᶜ instead. Yet it is equally significant that, however grudgingly, al-Ḥaymī does recognise the warlike and treacherous ᶜAfar tribesmen as fellow-Muslims and reserves the greater part of his opprobrium to the (still mostly non-Muslim) Oromo. He repeatedly stresses that the dreadfulness of the ᶜAfar pales in comparison to the heathen Oromo. He speaks of being afraid of ᶜAfar raiders yet adds that fear of the Oromo tends to be even greater (*al-ḫawf al-aᶜẓam min al-Qālla*). A few passages later he specifies his claim at more length, speaking of the horrendous and warlike character and military might of the Oromo and the fear they strike in their neighbours, including the ᶜAfar of the Awsa state. Summing up his characterisation, he likens the Oromo to the mediaeval Mongol invaders of the Middle East[29]. Given the well-attested ferocity of the ᶜAfar and the more than justified dread of all outsiders to cross their lands, there is little reason to think that al-Ḥaymī's judgement of the Oromo being even more dangerous is based on factual details (indeed, the Yemeni delegation suffered more from the ᶜAfar than from the Oromo). His judgement must have rested at least partly on perceptions of cultural proximity and difference. Since the ᶜAfar were, as we have said, already Muslim (if only nominally) at this time, for a Muslim traveller like al-Ḥaymī the Oromo were far more suitable candidates for the role of the ultimate bogeyman. In that period, most of the Oromo still followed their aboriginal Cushitic religion, even though they would later convert in large numbers to Islam (and to some extent to Orthodox Christianity), hence they were considered as heinous heathens by both the Muslims and the Abyssinian Christians[30].

---

[29] al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra* 86-87. Interestingly enough, the natives – the ᶜAfar, the Oromo as well as (probably) Christian Tigrinya speakers of the Eritrean highlands – in their turn apparently also came to regard the Yemenites as violent savages and even cannibals, mostly due to the Yemenites' use of firearms. See al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra*, *passim*; and aš-Šawkānī, *Badr* I, 132-133.

[30] Indeed a folk etymology sought to derive the name Galla (the older, pejorative term for the Oromo) from the Arabic phrase *qāl lā*, "he said no", supposedly as an answer to the call to convert to Islam at the time of the great 16th-century jihad against highland Ethiopia. See Rey 1924:88. A further coincidence strengthening this explanation is the similarity of the Somali terms for 'Oromo' (*Gālla*) and 'pagan' (*gāl*); see Lewis 1999:11. The Oromo were the last great Cushitic group to convert to Islam (and unlike the ᶜAfar and Somali, not all of them are Muslim today), but pockets of centuries-old Islamic communities do exist in their region, notably the famous pilgrimage site of Shaykh Ḥusayn in Bale province (southern Ethiopia). For a brief but informative eyewitness description of this shrine, see for instance Neumann 1902:376-378. On the conversion of the majority of the Oromo to Islam in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see for instance Gnamo 2002:106-111; Abbink 1998:115-116; Shack 1978:301, 303.

In a later Arabic source that also offers a description of the Muslim inhabitants of the Horn of Africa, the chronicle of the Egyptian historian ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ǧabartī (d. 1241/1825-6), one finds absolutely no mention of the barbaric aspects of Cushitic cultures. This is hardly surprising, considering the fact that al-Ǧabartī's own immediate forbears originated in that region and that the context in which he speaks of the Muslim Abyssinians is the memory of his father and his ancestors. This author dwells at great length on the piety of the Muslims of Ethiopia and their cultural links to Islam and Islamic history, especially with reference to those who come to the Middle East to study, a theme already introduced by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī:

> The country of Ǧabart is [the same as] the country of az-Zaylaᶜ within the lands of Abyssinia under the dominion of the *Ḥaṭī*, [which is the title of] the king of Abyssinia. There are quite a number of countries inhabited by this ethnic group (*ṭā'ifa*) which is composed of the Muslims [living] in that region (*iqlīm*). They follow the Ḥanafite and Šāfiᶜite legal schools and none of the other ones and trace their origin back to Aslam b. ᶜAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib. Their leader in the time of the Prophet was the famous Negus (*an-Naǧāšī*) who believed in him [i.e. in the Prophet] even though he never saw him and for whom [the Prophet] performed the special prayer for an absent person (*ṣalāt al-ġayba*), as it is well-known from the books of Hadith. A people characterised by austerity and righteousness (*yaġlubu ᶜalayhim al-taqaššuf wa-ṣ-ṣalāḥ*), they come from their country with the intention of the Meccan pilgrimage and to stay on for study (*wa-l-muǧāwara fī ṭalab al-ᶜilm*), walking all the way to Mecca. They have a college (*riwāq*) of their own in Medina as well as in Mecca and at the Azhar University in Cairo... (al-Ǧabartī, *ᶜAǧā'ib* I, 441).

Let it be understood that the ᶜAfar and other Islamised Cushites did not cease to practice the gory custom of emasculation and the display of severed male genitalia as war trophies. In fact, the custom is reported to have been alive quite into the twentieth century. Furthermore, despite a professed and often fervent allegiance to Islam, some of the Muslim Cushites could in fact be only very superficially touched by the requirements of their faith. One is reminded here of the remarks of al-Ḥaymī concerning the superficial adoption of Islam by the ᶜAfar in the eleventh/seventeenth century, and later western sources seem to confirm this judgement. For instance, the explorer W. Munzinger (who eventually lost his life in an ambush of ᶜAfar warriors) states that some of the northern ᶜAfar, Muslim though they consider themselves to be, never bother to pray, indeed they actively discourage their fellow tribesmen from doing so as they believe that praying impedes rainfall. Outside the coastal strip, the northern ᶜAfar did not fast and many

did not know as much as the name of the prophet Muḥammad[31]. However, in speaking of the Islamised Cushites of northeast Africa, some of whom came to be reputable colleagues of the Arab authors writing about them (authors in Arabic themselves like al-Ǧabartī), the negative image inevitably gave way to a stress on the pious aspects of their culture. Among these aspects the ancient roots of Islam in the Horn of Africa are regularly evoked, as they are in al-Ǧabartī's text cited above, so as to enhance the Islamic credentials of the Muslims of this region. The 'first emigration' (*al-hiǧra al-ūlā*) of certain companions and relatives of the Prophet to the Abyssinian kingdom and the settlement of Muslims there well before the beginning of the Islamic calendar remains a source of pride and identification of Muslims in the Horn of Africa to this day[32].

As a somewhat more benign, 'civilised' image was increasingly applied to the Muslim ᶜAfar and the Somali, the emphasis on the savage aspect of Cushitic cultures could be shifted to other related, yet at that time still predominantly non-Muslim, ethnic groups, especially the Oromo. As we saw in al-Ḥaymī's text, even in this period the theme of the ferocity of the Cushitic peoples might appear in Arabic sources, but attention shifts to the particular savagery of Cushites not yet Islamised.

A possible point of contention needs to be addressed here before rounding off the preceding argument. One would be perfectly justified to observe that the absence of any commentary on, indeed recognition of, the barbaric customs of Muslim Cushites in many late Arabic sources could more plausibly be interpreted as a function of literary genre instead of a reflection of religious developments on the ground. That is an accurate observation. Indeed it is in biographies (of a

[31] Munzinger 1869:211, 219; and also cf. Insoll 2003:75-76 for comparable assessments of ᶜAfar Islam from various sources. As for the southern ᶜAfar of the ᶜAwaš river valley, Thesiger observes that "Islam sits rather lightly upon them" and notes the revulsion of many Somali at the ᶜAfar custom of eating (ritually unclean) hippopotamus meat. See Thesiger 1935:2. It is worth noting that there seems to be a perceptible difference in profundity of Islamisation between the two great tribal blocs of the ᶜAfar, with the ᶜAsahyammara bloc of tribes being markedly more ferocious and preserving far more of their pre-Islamic culture than do the ᶜAdohyammara. See Chedeville 1966:178. In the Horn of Africa, the ᶜAfar were not the only case of a nominally Muslim people having beliefs and practices strikingly unorthodox in devout Muslim eyes; see for instance Braukämper 1992:199-201 on the Fandano cult of the south Ethiopian Hadiya people.

[32] See for instance Abbink 1998:111; Miran 2005:180; Insoll 2003:46-47. The Muslim Cushites themselves also cultivated traditions emphasising their links to Islam and the Middle East, mostly in the form of the fictitious genealogies connecting their clans to various Arabian immigrants. Such mythical Arab forefathers included Ḥaḍalmāḥis (also known as Gibdo) among the ᶜAfar and the sheikhs Dārōd and Isāq among the Somali. See for instance Chedeville 1966:178-179; Kamil 2004:184; Yasin 2008:41; Lewis 1960:219-220; Lewis 1999:11-12, 23-24.

sympathetic tone), chronicles and *manāqib* literature that one tends to find the positive (read pious) aspects of Cushitic societies emphasised, while the above examples of the negative portrayal of Cushites as savages come from traditional geographical literature. However, the very fact that the progressive conversion of Cushitic-speaking peoples went in tandem with an increase in the production of Arabic texts of the genres more amenable to a sympathetic portrayal of these black Africans seems to strengthen my basic argument. The conversion of these groups to Islam made it possible to treat them in the context of biographical, historiographical and hagiographical genres, and at the same time it made them less likely candidates for the role of exotic barbarians with savage folkways in the context of geographical literature. The changing perception of the objects of ethnographical curiosity affected the genres in which it was felt to be appropriate to discuss them.

4. Conclusions

Bloody and savage customs of exotic peoples have always fascinated observers, be they ethnographers, travellers or colonial administrators. This thrilling curiosity is amply demonstrated by the gallons of ink that have been shed on descriptions, explanations and condemnations of such horrific phenomena as cannibalism in the Pacific and elsewhere, headhunting in southeast Asia, and the gory religious ceremonies of the ancient Aztecs and Maya. An example of such a dramatically savage phenomenon, which obviously riveted the imagination of mediaeval Arab authors, is the custom of emasculating enemies among the Cushitic-speaking peoples of the Horn of Africa. The above overview of some Arabic sources describing this custom is evidence not only of a keen interest in the exotic and the savage but also of a serious attempt at understanding the social context that gave rise to such customs – of a sort of rudimentary ethnographic interest, despite the inescapable anachronism of using this modern term. Putting terminological questions aside, one can observe a number of interesting features in the sequence of Arabic ‘ethnographic’ accounts of the Cushitic custom. First and most importantly, they try to find the social function or meaning of the custom rather than simply attributing it to the inherent savagery of the natives. Secondly, they do not limit their efforts to accepting the earlier authors’ claims but offer their own independent interpretation (although this may be at least partly due to unfamiliarity with previous scholarship on the subject). Thirdly, the accounts rely on information obtained from eyewitness sources, typically traders having visited the Horn of Africa, and with the passage of time and the gradual Islamisation of the region one increasingly sees native informants cited as sources of data. One may well expect the growing numbers of Cushitic-speaking Muslim informants to result in increasingly detailed and accurate descriptions of the custom of emasculation (as

well as other aspects of Cushitic cultures), but perhaps surprisingly, this does not seem to have been the case. In a sense, one observes quite the contrary.

As more and more of the Cushitic peoples converted to Islam and thus rose from the status of heathens and savages to the dignity of fellow-Muslims in the eyes of Middle Eastern Arab authors, the savage and repulsive aspects of their indigenous cultures began to be downplayed in Arabic sources. While the emasculation of defeated enemies continued to be an important part of the culture of many Islamised Cushites, such as the ᶜAfar, many Somali (notably the ᶜĪsa clan of the Dir group of clans) and the Muslim Oromo, Arabic sources are perceptibly reticent about this phenomenon. Instead, they typically present the ancient cultural and historical links of the region and its Muslim peoples to Arabia and Islam (in the form of Arab genealogies, evocation of the 'first *hiğra*', etc.). When it comes to images of savagery, Arabic sources show a tendency to connect these with those Cushitic groups that remained non-Muslim, such as many Oromo groups. Thus al-ᶜUmarī mentions castration as practiced only by the non-Muslim western neighbours of the Islamic Hadiya state, although he relied on an informant who was surely aware of the emasculatory customs of the people around Zaylaᶜ town; and al-Ḥaymī focuses on the ferocity and barbarity of the non-Muslim Oromo, although he passed through the land of the Muslim yet dreaded and hostile ᶜAfar nomads, a people infamous for the custom of emasculation.

Here deeply rooted notions of civilisation versus savagery seem to have played a prominent role. For all the obvious ethnographic interest of Arab travellers and intellectuals, stereotypes ended up victorious over ethnographic observation. Savagery is the antithesis of Islam, *ergo* Muslims cannot be savages, no matter how superficial their adoption of Islam. Caught between their keen ethnographic curiosity and a deeply felt solidarity with fellow-Muslims, authors would choose to go and look for authentic savages further afield, beyond the ever-expanding borders of the Islamic world.

Comparison of the data in Arabic sources:

ar-Rāmhurmuzī (fl. mid-4th/10th c.)	**al-Marwazī (d. 514/1120)**	**Yāqūt (d. 626/1229)**	**Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331)**	
people of Berbera	*Barbar*	*Barbar*: people living around Zayla[c]	*Ḥāsa*: a type of Ḥabaša; behind the Eritrean coast	**ethnic group practising the custom**
strangers: foreign traders	strangers: foreign traders	whoever is captured	whoever is captured	**typical victims**
male boasting: sign of courage	male boasting	marriage: proof of worth as a suitor	marriage: "dowry", male boasting	**social function of custom**
yes	yes	–	–	**collection of 'trophies'**
yes	yes (on huts)	–	–	**display of 'trophies'**
–	–	yes	–	**mention of Muslims among the Cushites**

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

Abū l-Fidā', *Taqwīm* = ᶜImād ad-Dīn Abū l-Fidā' Ismāᶜīl b. al-Malik al-Afḍal Nūr ad-Dīn ᶜAlī b. Maḥmūd, *Taqwīm al-buldān*. Edited by Charles Schier. Dresden: Rau, 1846.

Abū Ṭālib, *Tārīḫ* = Abū Ṭālib Ḥusām ad-Dīn Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, *Tārīḫ al-Yaman [= Muḫtaṣar Ṭīb ahl al-kisā']*. Edited by ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḥabašī. Sanaa: Maṭābiᶜ al-Mufaḍḍal, 1411/1990.

ᶜArab-faqīh, *Futūḥ* = ᶜArab-faqīh Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd al-Qādir, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša [=Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie (XVIe siècle)]*. Edited by René Basset. 2 vols., Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897.

Buzurg, *ᶜAǧā'ib* = Buzurg b. Šahriyār ar-Rāmhurmuzī, *ᶜAǧā'ib al-Hind, barrihi wa-baḥrihi wa-ǧazā'irihi*. Edited by P. A. van der Lith. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1883-6.

al-Ǧabartī, *ᶜAǧā'ib* = ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Ǧabartī: *ᶜAǧā'ib al-āṯār fī t-tarāǧim wa-l-aḫbār*. 3 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Fāris, n. d.

al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra* = al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī, *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša*. Edited by Murād Kāmil. Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat Dār al-ᶜĀlam al-ᶜArabī, n. d. [1972] [2nd reviewed ed.].

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla = Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2001.

Ibn Saᶜīd, *Ǧuġrāfiyā* = Abū l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. Mūsā b. Saᶜīd al-Andalusī al-Maġribī, *Kitāb al-ǧuġrāfiyā*. Edited by Ismāᶜīl al-ᶜArabī. Beirut: al-Maktab at-Tiǧārī li-ṭ-Ṭibāᶜa wa-n-Našr wa-t-Tawzīᶜ, 1970.

al-Idrīsī, *Uns* = Abū ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, *Uns al-muhaǧ wa-rawḍ al-furaǧ*. Edited by Fuat Sezgin. Frankfurt: Goethe-Universität, 1984 [facsimile ed. of the İstanbul MS].

al-Maqrīzī, *Ilmām* = Taqī ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-islām*. Edited by ᶜAbd an-Naᶜīm Ḍayfī ᶜUṯmān ᶜAbd an-Naᶜīm. Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya li-t-Turāṯ, 2006.

al-Marwazī, *Ṭabā'iᶜ* = Šaraf az-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī, "Ṭabā'iᶜ al-ḥayawān". *Arabskie istočniki X-XII vekov po etnografii i istorii narodov Afriki yužnee Sahary* ed. by V. V. Matveev & L. E. Kubbel', 202-209. Moscow, Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Nauka, 1965.

aš-Šawkānī, *Badr* = Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī aš-Šawkānī, *al-Badr aṭ-ṭāliᶜ bi-maḥāsin man baᶜda l-qarn as-sābiᶜ*. Edited by Ḫalīl al-Manṣūr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyya, 1418/1998. 2 vols.

al-ᶜUmarī, *Masālik* = Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ᶜUmarī: *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*. Edited by Fuat Sezgin. 24 vols., 46 parts [facsimile ed.]. Frankfurt: Goethe-Universität, 1988-9.

Yāqūt, *Muᶜǧam* = Šihāb ad-Dīn Abū ᶜAbdallāh Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muᶜǧam al-buldān*. 7 vols., Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1957.

B. Secondary sources

Abbink, Jon. 1998. "An Historical-Anthropological Approach to Islam in Ethiopia: Issues of Identity and Politics". *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 11.2.109-124.

al-ᶜAẓma, ᶜAzīz. 1991. *al-ᶜArab wa-l-barābira: al-muslimūn wa-l-ḥaḍārāt al-uḫrā*. London and Cyprus: Riad El-Rayyes Books.

Braukämper, Ulrich. 1980. *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Braukämper, Ulrich. 1992. "Aspects of Religious Syncretism in Southern Ethiopia". *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22.3.194-207.

Burton, Richard F. 1855. "Narrative of a Trip to Harar". *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 25.136-50.

Chedeville, E. 1966. "Quelques faits de l'organisation sociale des ᶜAfar". *Africa* 36. 2.173-196.

Gnamo, Abbas Haji. 2002. "Islam, the Orthodox Church and Oromo Nationalism (Ethiopia)". *Cahiers d'Études africaines* 42.165.99-120.

Insoll, Timothy. 2003. *The Archaeology of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kamil, Mohamed Hassan. 2004. *Parlons afar. Langue et culture*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Lewis, Herbert S. 1966. "The Origins of the Galla and Somali". *Journal of African History* 7.27-46.

Lewis, I. M. 1955. *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho*. London: International African Institute.

Lewis, I. M. 1960. "The Somali Conquest of the Horn of Africa". *Journal of African History* 1.213-230.

Lewis, I. M. 1999. *A Pastoral Democracy. A Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa. (New introduction by Said Samatar)*. Hamburg and Oxford: LIT Verlag, James Currey.

Miran, Jonathan. 2005. "A Historical Overview of Islam in Eritrea". *Die Welt des Islams* 45 (N.S.), 2.177-215.

Morin, Didier. 1996. "Afar Praise Poetry: *Orowwaḥ*". *African Languages and Cultures. Supplement* 3.269-74.

Munzinger, W. 1869. “Narrative of a Journey Through the Afar Country”. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 39.188-232.

Nesbitt, L. M. 1934. *Desert and Forest: The Exploration of Abyssinian Danakil*. London: J. Cape.

Neumann, Oscar. 1902. “From the Somali Coast through Southern Ethiopia to the Sudan”. *The Geographical Journal* 20.4.373-98.

Rey, C. F. 1924. “The Arussi and Other Galla of Abyssinia”. *Journal of the Royal African Society* 23.85-95.

Shack, William A. 1978. “Oromo”. *Muslim Peoples. A World Ethnographic Survey* ed. by Richard V. Weekes, 301-304.Westport (CT), London: Greenwood Press.

Thesiger, Wilfred. 1935. “The Awash River and the Aussa Sultanate”. *The Geographical Journal* 85.1.1-19.

Toledano, Ehud R. 1984. “The Imperial Eunuchs of Istanbul: From Africa to the Heart of Islam”. *Middle Eastern Studies* 20.3.379-390.

Turton, E. R. 1975. “Bantu, Galla and Somali Migrations in the Horn of Africa: A Reassessment of the Juba/Tana Area”. *Journal of African History* 16.519-537.

Wagner, Ewald. 2005. “Das Auftreten der Zayāliᶜa im arabischen kulturellen Leben zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts”. *Studia Semitica et Hamitosemitica. Festschrift für Rainer Voigt anläßlich seines 60. Geburtstages am 17. Januar 2004* ed. by Bogdan Burtea et al. 433-450. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Yasin, Yasin Mohammed. 2008. “Political History of the Afar in Ethiopia and Eritrea”. *Africa Spectrum* 43.39-65.

THE COMPOSITE NATURE OF *llaḏī, ḥayṯu, man/mā-min* DISTRIBUTIONAL, TYPOLOGICAL AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF OLD ARABIC RELATIVE MARKERS

Francesco Grande

Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia

Abstract

This paper offers a distributional account of the morphology and semantics of the Old Arabic relativizers *llaḏī, ḥayṯu, man/mā-min*, showing that they constitute a multi-layered pattern of complementary distribution, based on the semantic opposition {-/+restrictive}, and on its audible counterpart. Far from being a suprasegmental opposition {+/-pause} (cp. English), the latter opposes *lla, ḥay* to *min*, which are analyzed accordingly as replacive morphemes of {+/-pause}. Such a replacive allomorphy is also given a pragmatic characterization, and explained as an adaptive behavior of Old Arabic, relative to its oral-poetic ecological conditions. Deviations from the aforesaid pattern are explained here by invoking typological factors such as heaviness and Jespersen cycle which, in turn, are triggered by an instance of phonological reduction described by Arab Grammarians, and targeting *min*. This phenomenon is arguably part and parcel of a more general shift from analytical to synthetical language, well-known to typologically-oriented studies on (Old) Arabic.

0. Introduction and aim

This paper is designed to contribute to a better understanding of the morphology and semantics of the Arabic relative markers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu*, and *man/mā*[1] (which in its purely relative function co-occurs with *min*)[2]. The paper takes as its starting point

[1] This paper is based on some materials presented at the 4th Congress of the Coordinamento dei Dottorati Italiani in Scienze Cognitive (Rome, June 7-9, 2010) and the 26th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants (Basel, September 12-16, 2012). It ideally complements the research on Old Arabic relative markers and clauses carried out in Grande (2013: Chs. 2, 3), but can be read independently of it. Abbreviations include the following: ADP = Adposition, C = consonant, F = feminine, N = Noun, NP = Noun Phrase, OA =Old Arabic, P = Preposition, PP = Prepositional Phrase, RC = Relative Clause, V = Vowel, # = word-boundary, – = morpheme-boundary.

[2] See end of Sect. 3 for details.

THE ARABIST. BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 32 (2013)

https://doi.org/10.58513/ARABIST.2013.32.3

the idea often found in the literature that *llaḏī* and *ḥayṯu* are complex linguistic entities in which a relative stem is expanded through addition of some morphemic material, and aims at presenting a critical discussion and improvement of it.

By way of illustration, Brockelmann (1910:123) claims that *llaḏī* can be divided into the smaller meaning units *l, la, ḏī* – an article, a reinforcer and a relative stem, respectively: "Dans toutes les langues sémitiques les relatifs provennient des démonstratifs. […] en arabe classique on se sert de la forme renforcée par la et l'article".

Nonetheless, even if one were to concede that the quite vague notion of 'reinforcement' appropriately describes the morpheme *la*, this still would not explain *why* the piece of information in question is associated with the relative stem *ḏī*, so further research is needed on this topic.

The discussion is organized as follows. Section 1 sets up the historical and geographical context of this study, whereas the data relevant to it are presented in Sections 2 and 3. Sections 4 and 5 introduce and develop a recent semantic analysis of the OA relative markers. Section 6 deals with some phonological and syntactic issues raised by such a semantic analysis, and provides a solution to them, which results, to a good extent, in a satisfactory multi-layered pattern of complementary distribution for the OA relativizers. Section 7 presents some observations concerning the morphology and pragmatics of the OA relativizers, in order to refine the pattern at issue. Finally, Section 8 further refines the latter, proposes a functional rationale for its emergence, and offers the main conclusions of this study.

1. Historical and geographical context

The investigation carried out here on the morphology and semantics of the Arabic relative markers focuses on pre-Classical Arabic or, according to a different terminology, Old Arabic. In the wake of Owens (2006:63-64, 88, 198-199) this is a stage of language documented from about 300 CE to 800 CE, and located in the Arabian Peninsula. Under this definition, the *terminus a quo* of Old Arabic is the so-called Nemara inscription (328 CE), its *terminus ad quem* is represented by the collection of forms, words, constructions and sentences/utterances reported in the written sources stretching as far as the IX century CE, among them:

- the Koran (*al-Qur'ān*) and especially its readings (*qirā'āt*) known in Islamic scholarly tradition as the 'ten readings' (i.e. non-aberrant);
- the grammatical treatise *Kitāb* by Sībawayhi (d. 177/793) and works dating back to the same period, as well as late grammatical treatises and dictionaries, which repeat and take extracts from Sībawayhi's work, etc.

From a qualitative viewpoint, these two groups of sources differ in a fundamental respect, namely as to the kind of philological evidence found in them, which can be either internal or external (Monroe 1972:6 *et passim*). The former group only consists of internal evidence – the Koran and its readings representing in themselves a corpus of Old Arabic data –, while the latter also includes external evidence: as well known, in addition to gathering *linguistic* data from Old Arabic, Sībawayhi's work *et similia* furnish these latter sources with a *metalinguistic* description.

This being said, creating a distinction between primary sources in terms of internal and external evidence raises the problem of the authenticity of the internal evidence presented by Sībawayhi etc., who often cite lines of pre-Islamic poetry to exemplify a given linguistic fact of Old Arabic. In this case, the *vexata quaestio* on the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry, however, has no bearing on the reliability of the Old Arabic data themselves because, as Rabin (1951:15) sharply points out: "The verses [...] used by the philologists themselves, are meant to serve as examples, not as evidence for the existence of the phenomenon they illustrate. For that reason in most cases it does not matter much whether they are genuine or not."

On the whole, the linguistic materials attested during this period qualify as an (idealized) uniform stage of language, since the lexicon and syntax used from the Nemara inscription onward do not differ noticeably from those used in the written sources of 750-800 CE. For instance, both share the demonstrative *tī* 'this.F', and the relative marker *ḏū*, while the same features are not found in Classical Arabic (Versteegh 1997:32). Hence, similar features define these linguistic materials as Old Arabic (OA henceforth) and set it apart from Classical Arabic.

2. The data: non-systemic relative markers

OA was fairly rich in relative markers, but as far as we can tell from the extant sources, they were used with different degrees of frequency by the speakers.

A group of relative markers (*ḏī, ḏū, llāy*, *llā'i*) is found, whose use appears to be confined to particular geographical or tribal areas, and only exceptionally do they enter the supra-dialectal language (*Kunstsprache*). This can be plausibly inferred from the external and internal evidence offered by the OA sources mentioned in the previous section. To begin with, Early Arab Grammarians (*apud* Rabin 1951:39, 205) classify the relativizers *ḏī, ḏū, llāy*, *llā'i* as diatopic variants of *llaḏī*, stating that *ḏī* was heard only in Yaman and Ḥiğāz, *ḏū* among the Ṭay' tribe, *llāy* among the Qurayš tribe[3]. This external evidence is confirmed by the internal evidence found in the Koran, which makes no or very low usage of such relative markers:

[3] See also fn. 8 below on *ḏī*.

according to *The Quranic Arabic Corpus*[4], the relativizers *ḏī, ḏū, llāy* never occur in it[5], whereas *llā'i* does four times only (*Koran* XXXIII, 4; LVIII, 2; LXV, 4)[6,7].

Moreover, if Pre-Islamic poetry may be credited as being reliable, it would confirm this linguistic scenario: according to Monroe (1972:9, 14), a dialect form exceptionally enters the OA (poetic) *Kunstsprache* for metrical reasons – if and only if it allows the formula it is part of to fit the meter. A telling example is the relative construction attested in a line of poetry cited in *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya* (III, 23), i.e. *l-mar'i ḏū ǧā'a sāᶜiyan* 'the man who came in a hurry', where the relative marker *ḏū*, otherwise infrequent in the *Kunstsprache*, is called for by the meter and cannot be metrically replaced by *llaḏī* or *man…min*.

In sum, the evidence found in primary sources arguably shows that the relativizers *ḏī, ḏū, llāy*, *llā'i* were not frequent in OA. In one sense, the lack of frequency of a given linguistic entity is testimony to its being an element not fully integrated within a linguistic system: if, in fact, it can be hardly denied that a linguistic system is a network of oppositions (cp. the Saussurean axiom of differentiality, as per Saussure 1916:163-165), it is also fairly uncontroversial that these oppositions, in order to be detectable, must occur *frequently* in the linguistic system they belong to, as argued by Saussure (1916:215): "Dans deux mots tels que *maison : ménage*, on est peu tenté de chercher ce qui fait la différence des termes, soit parce que les éléments différentiels (*-ezõ* et *-en-*) se prêtent mal à la comparaison, soit parce qu'aucun autre couple ne présente une opposition parallèle. Mais il arrive souvent que les deux termes voisins ne diffèrent que par un ou deux éléments faciles à dégager, et que cette même différence se répète régulièrement dans une série de couples parallèles".

That high frequency is a clue to systemicity of linguistic entities also emerges from some of Saussure's (1916:138, 155) formulations of his axiom of *langue*, whose constitutive elements are at once endowed with high frequency ("cette forme, souvent répétée, et acceptée par la communauté, est devenue un fait de langue") and systemicity ("la langue ne peut être qu'un système de valeurs pures").

---

[4] An online annotated linguistic resource developed by Kais Dukes, School of Computing, University of Leeds: http://corpus.quran.com/

[5] Whereas *ḏū* occurs as a possessive marker in the Koran: *ḏū l-faḍli* (e.g. *Koran* II, 105; III, 74; VIII, 29; LVII, 21) etc.

[6] http://corpus.quran.com/search.jsp?q=lem%3A%7Bl~a%60%5E_%23iY

[7] If one were to follow the accepted readings by Abū ᶜAmr ibn al-ᶜAlā' (d. 154/770) and Ibn Kaṯīr al-Makkī (d. 120/737, as transmitted by al-Bazzī, d. 250/864), who read *llāy* instead of *llā'i*, the situation would look slightly different: *ḏī, ḏū, llā'i* never occur in the Koran, whereas *llāy* does, four times. This does not affect the main point that these relative markers as a whole are rarely or not used at all in the Koran. See Rabin (1951:154) for details.

It seems therefore reasonable to state that the relativizers *ḏī, ḏū, llāy*, *llā'i* did not enter the system of OA relativizers due to their low frequency.

3. The data: systemic relative markers

In contrast to *ḏī, ḏū, llāy*, *llā'i*, the relative markers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu*, and *man/mā* appear to be quite frequent in the OA sources, as it will become clear throughout this section.

Addressing the grammatical sources first, this scenario can be proven on the basis of external evidence – notably, the description of the relative markers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu*, *man/mā* made by Early Arab Grammarians. Such a line of inquiry seems promising in view of the fact that, generally speaking, grammatical description by its very nature relies upon data taken from *langue* (Saussure 1916:13), whose defining characteristic is *frequent* usage, as discussed in Section 2.

It is interesting to note in this respect that a keyword search of the relative markers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu*, *man/mā, ḏī, ḏū, llāy, llā'i* in *Kitāb*[8] reveals that Sībawayhi's grammatical description of the OA relative clause mentions the relativizers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu*, *man/mā*, while no mention is made of the relativizers *ḏī, ḏū, llāy, llā'i*: from a Saussurean perspective, this points to the frequent nature of one group of relative markers, as opposed to the infrequent nature of the other.

In greater detail, Versteegh (1993:152) remarks that the technical definition of the OA relative clause (RC henceforth) found in *Kitāb* is composed of three conceptual elements: a syntactic criterion (i.e., an antecedent noun: *tamāmu l-ismi*), a semantic criterion (the ability to complement the meaning: *bi-hi yatimmu*), as well as a dedicated term denoting the OA RC as a whole (*ṣila*). For expository purposes, these concepts will be referred to here as 'antecedent requirement', 'complementation', and 'technical term' respectively. Versteegh cites in this connection *Kitāb* I, 87: "'the one I saw (was) so-and-so' ... *ra'aytu* 'I saw' is the *tamām* 'complement' of the name and by it *yatimmu* 'it [= the noun] is complete'.

[8] Conducted through a searchable version of *Kitāb*, based on Hārūn's edition and available at the following link: http://al-mostafa.info/data/arabic/depot/gap.php?file=0017 11-www.al-mostafa.com.pdf. The only instances of *ḏū* and *ḏī* found in this text denote possession (cp. fn. 5 above). A relative stem *ḏū* also occurs in the form *llaḏūna* (*Kitāb* III, 411), where, however, it is a syntactically conditioned allomorph of *llaḏī* (plural subjecthood).

It is neither a *ḫabar* 'predicate' nor a *ṣifa* '[…] adjective' " [9, 10], and: "in your complement to the noun, i.e., the relative clause" [11, 12].

Versteegh and Sara (cp. fn. 10, 12 above) interpret the term *ism* as 'antecedent noun' although its interpretation as 'relativizer' – i.e., as an expression elliptical for *al-ism al-mawṣūl* – cannot be ruled out in principle. The plausibility of Versteegh's and Sara's interpretation, however, lies in a distributional argument: Sībawayhi contrasts the construction *ism* + *tamām* with the constructions *ism* + *ḫabar* and *ism* + *ṣifa*, a contrastive paradigm that can be made sense of if, and only if, the linguistic entity to which the term *ism* refers is able to co-occur with all of the constituents *tamām*, *ḫabar*, *ṣifa* depending on the context. Plainly, while in Arabic grammar a relativizer is never described in this way, a noun is, which confirms Versteegh's and Sara's interpretation of *ism* as (antecedent) noun in the passage of *Kitāb* in question.

It is of particular relevance here that in this passage Sībawayhi exemplifies his definition of the OA RC by means of the construction *llaḏī ra'aytu fulānu*, for at least two reasons. In the first place, the OA RC that Sībawayhi concretely has in mind when defining a RC in *Kitāb* I, 87, is the one featuring the relative marker *llaḏī*. Secondly, implicit in the same example is the ability of an OA antecedent noun to have a covert realization (cp. Italian *chi*, *quanto* standing for *colui il quale*, *ciò che* respectively). Accordingly, Sībawayhi's technical definition of the OA RC encompasses not only the three conceptual elements mentioned by Versteegh, but also the syntactic property of 'covertness of antecedent'.

This fact is important because it allows to draw a comparison between the definition of OA RC discussed above and other definitions of it, as given elsewhere in *Kitāb*, where the antecedent noun is *explicitly* said to be covert. A case in point is *Kitāb* II, 105, which reads:

"This is the chapter about the [construction] in which a [covert] noun appears in the same syntactic position as the relative marker *llaḏī* that typically occurs in a definite context [and that in this case rather occurs in an indefinite context][13]. Under these circumstances and if the [covert] noun is a predicate, the noun in question is indefinite[14], standing for *raǧul* ['a man'], and [as such] requires a complement. For instance, you say:

---

[9] *llaḏī ra'aytu fulānu … ra'aytu tamāmu l-ismi bi-hi yatimmu wa-laysa bi-ḫabarin wa-lā ṣifa*

[10] Sara's (2006:44) translation, with transliteration adapted.

[11] *fī-mā atmamta bi-hi l-ismi ya^{c}nī ṣ-ṣila*

[12] Versteegh's (1993:152) translation.

[13] This addition is required by the following context. See also the footnote below.

[14] Remarkably, Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004:506) offer a similar description for the relativizer whose antecedent is covert in Modern Standard Arabic – the most recent incar-

I. *hāḏā man aᶜrifu munṭaliqan* [‘this is *A MAN* about whose departure I know’]

II. *hāḏā man lā aᶜrifu munṭaliqan* [‘this is *A MAN* about whose departure I do not know’], i.e.,

III. *hāḏā llaḏī ᶜalimtu annī lā aᶜrifu-hu munṭaliqan* [‘this is *A MAN* about whose departure I admit I do not know’],

IV. *hāḏā mā ᶜindī muhīnan* [‘this is *SOMETHING* I consider insulting’]

The sentences in (I, II, IV) are relative clauses introduced by either *man* or *mā*. Such relative clauses are complement to *man* and *mā*, which means that in (I, II, IV) these two relative markers also work as antecedent nouns. The sentence in (III) and *llaḏī* stand in the same relationship of complementation”[15, 16].

Two remarks can be made concerning this definition of OA RC. First, Sībawayhi exemplifies it using some constructions featuring *man/mā* (as well as *llaḏī*). Second, the definition of OA RC, as given in *Kitāb* II, 105 includes three out of the four conceptual elements found in the definition of *Kitāb* I, 87:

- a semantic criterion, i.e. complementation (cp. the expression *yatimmāni bi-hi*)
- a syntactic criterion, i.e. antecedent requirement (cp. the expression *bi-manzilati raǧul*)
- a syntactic criterion, i.e. covertness of antecedent (cp. the expression *fa-yaṣīrāni-sman*)

That said, the two definitions differ in the technical term employed by Sībawayhi for ‘relative clause’: the former has *ṣila*, the latter *ḥašw*.

Besides *Kitāb* II, 105, another definition of OA RC that shares with *Kitāb* I, 87 the description of a covert antecedent noun is *Kitāb* III, 56-59:

“This is the chapter on the conditional clause. […] Among the particles introducing the conditional clause is […] *ḥayṯumā* [‘wherever’]: the particles *ḥayṯu* and *iḏ* cannot introduce the conditional clause unless combined with the particle *mā*, in which case the resulting combination behaves as a single particle. […] What prevents *ḥayṯu* from introducing the conditional clause is that [the verb following it, e.g.] *takūnu* in the sentence *ḥayṯu takūnu akūnu* [‘where you are, I am’] is a relative clause, [not a protasis]. In fact, this [sentence] is semantically equivalent to

---

nation of Classical Arabic. They in fact define this kind of relativizer as “indefinite”, when it manifests itself as *man/mā*.

[15] *hāḏā bābu mā yakūnu l-ismu fī-hi bi-manzilati llaḏī fī l-maᶜrifa iḏā buniya ᶜalā mā qabla-hu wa-bi-manzilati-hi fī l-iḥtiyāǧi ilā l-ḥašwi wa-yakūnu nakiratan bi-manzilati raǧul wa-ḏālika qawlu-ka hāḏā man aᶜrifu munṭaliqan wa-hāḏā man lā aᶜrifu munṭaliqan ay hāḏā llaḏī ᶜalimtu annī lā aᶜrifu-hu munṭaliqan wa-hāḏā mā ᶜindī muhīnan wa-aᶜrifu wa-lā aᶜrifu wa-ᶜindī ḥašwun la-humā yatimmāni bi-hi fa-yaṣīrāni-sman kamā kāna llaḏī lā yatimmu illā bi-ḥašwi-h*

[16] Translation mine. Capital italics stand for a covert element in the Arabic data. On the phrasal verb *buniya ᶜalā* in the sense of ‘(to act as) a predicate’, see Levin (1985:333).

l-makānu llaḏī takūnu fī-hi akūnu ['I am in the (same) place you are']. […] By contrast, if you make an interrogative sentence, what follows the [interrogative particle] is not a relative clause. The point relevant [for the description of *ḥayṯu* and *ḥayṯu-mā*] in this regard is that *ḥayṯu-mā* behaves as an interrogative particle in that it is not followed by a relative clause. For instance, if you say *ḥayṯu-mā takun akun* ['wherever you are, I am'] the verb [*takun*] is not a relative clause dependent on what precedes it [=*ḥayṯu-mā*], as much as if you say *ayna takūnu* ['where are you?'], the verb [*takūnu*] is not a relative clause dependent on what precedes it [=*ayna*]" [17, 18].

In this passage, Sībawayhi provides a contrastive definition of OA RC, according to which this kind of dependency is obtained when a particle *ḥayṯu* is detectable, which does not occur in the syntactic context of a conditional clause – i.e., when *ḥayṯu* is not combined with *mā* (*ḥayṯu takūnu akūnu*). It is self-evident that in the definition at issue the OA RC is exemplified by *ḥayṯu* – although, for the sake of completeness, it should be also noted that in the same passage another example of OA RC is found, which features the relativizer *llaḏī* (*l-makānu llaḏī takūnu fī-hi akūnu*).

The contrastive definition under discussion also includes three out of the four conceptual elements found in the definition of OA RC given in *Kitāb* I, 87, namely:

- a semantic criterion, i.e. covertness of antecedent (cp. the gloss of *ḥayṯu* as *l-makānu llaḏī fī-hi*)
- a syntactic criterion, i.e. antecedent requirement (cp. the expression *ṣilatin li-mā qabla-hu*)
- a technical term, i.e. *ṣila*

The general picture that transpires from a survey of Sībawayhi's definitions of the OA RC is that they are all construed as a conceptual structure consisting of at

[17] *hāḏā bābu l-ǧazā'i ... wa-mā yuǧāzā bi-hi mina ẓ-ẓurūfi ... ḥayṯumā ... wa-lā yakūnu l-ǧazā'u fī ḥayṯu wa-lā fī iḏ ḥattā yaḍummu ilā kulli wāḥidin min-humā mā ... wa-lākinna kulla wāḥidin min-humā ma^{c}a mā bi-manzilati ḥarfin wāḥidin ... wa-innamā muni^{c}a ḥayṯu an yuǧāzā bi-hā anna-ka taqūlu ḥayṯu takūnu akūnu fa-takūnu waṣlun la-hā ka-anna-ka qulta l-makānu llaḏī takūnu fī-hi akūnu ... iḏā stafhamta lam taǧ^{c}al mā ba^{c}da-hu ṣila fa-l-waǧhu an taqūla l-fi^{c}lu laysa fī l-ǧazā'i bi-ṣilatin li-mā qabla-hu ka-mā anna-hu fī ḥurūfi l-istifhāmi laysa ṣilatan li-mā qabla-hu wa-iḏā qulta ḥayṯu-mā takun akun fa-laysa bi-ṣilatin li-mā qabla-hu ka-mā anna-ka iḏā qulta ayna takūnu wa-anta tastafhimu fa-laysa l-fi^{c}lu bi-ṣilatin li-mā qabla-hu*

[18] Translation mine. On the term *ǧazā'* in the sense of 'conditional clause' in Sībawayhi's technical prose, see Sadan (2012:310-311) and references therein. See also Dévényi (1988:14-17).

least three of the following ingredients: covertness of antecedent, antecedent requirement, complementation, technical term. This is illustrated in Table 1 below.

Table 1: The OA Relative Clause – Sībawayhi's Definitions

Passage	Relativizer		Conceptual elements			
Kitāb			Covertness of antecedent	Antecedent requirement	Complementation	Technical term *ṣila*
I, 87	*llaḏī*		YES	YES	YES	YES
II, 105	*man/mā*	*llaḏī*	YES	YES	YES	NO
III, 56-59	*ḥayṯu*	*llaḏī*	YES	YES	NO	YES

The quadripartite conceptual structure in question qualifies as a genuine grammatical description of the OA RC that in Saussurean terms is plausibly based on the observation of frequent data (see end of Sect. 2). It ensues that the descriptiton that Sībawayhi offers of the OA RC introduced by the relative markers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu*, *man/mā* is external evidence proving the high frequency of such relativizers in this diachronic stage of Arabic, as anticipated at the outset of this section.

The same impression of high frequency for the relative markers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu*, *man/mā* we gain from the Koran. As discussed in Sect. 1, this religious and literary document is important for the present study because, in addition to being a primary source of OA along with the work of Early Arab Grammarians, it also provides this language with the internal evidence not necessarily found in the old grammatical treatises. This consists of raw statistics of the Koranic occurrences of the relative markers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu*, *man/mā* developed through *The Quranic Arabic Corpus*[19], according to which *man/mā* occurs in the Koran 1866 times (602 and 1266 times, respectively)[20], *llaḏī* 1464 times[21], *ḥayṯu* 29 times[22], with the caveat that in all likelihood *ḥayṯu* has a lower frequency relative to *llaḏī* and *man/mā* since its locative meaning can be also realized by the complex *llaḏī* plus *fī-hi*, a point already made by Sībawayhi in his definition of the OA RC headed by *ḥayṯu* (cp. his gloss of *ḥayṯu takūnu akūnu* as *al-makānu llaḏī takūnu fī-hi akūnu* immediately above).

[19] See fn. 4 above.

[20] http://corpus.quran.com/search.jsp?q=pos%3AREL%20stem%3A%D9%85%D8%A7, http://corpus.quran.com/search.jsp?q=pos%3AREL%20stem%3A%D9%85%D9%8E%D9%86

[21] http://corpus.quran.com/qurandictionary.jsp?q=%7Bl~a*iY

[22] http://corpus.quran.com/qurandictionary.jsp?q=Hyv

Hence, as in the case of the infrequent occurrence of the relativizers *ḏī, ḏū, llāy, llā'i*, the frequent occurrence of the relativizers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu*, *man/mā* results from the convergence of both external and internal evidence from OA. Furthermore, as in the case of the infrequent occurrence of the relativizers *ḏī, ḏū, llāy, llā'i*, the frequent occurrence of the relativizers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu*, *man/mā* must have been – in Saussurean terms – directly proportional to their degree of systemicity in OA. To put it differently, the relativizers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu*, *man/mā* are very likely to have entered the system of OA relativizers because of their fairly high frequency.

Putting such markers in their syntactic context yields the representation of the system of OA relativizers depicted in Table 2 below.

Table 2: The System of OA Relativizers in Context

Type	Source	Structure	Example	Translation
(1)	*Koran* VII, 196	*Aḷḷāhu llaḏī nazzala l-kitāba*	N+*llaḏī*+RC	God, who sent down the Book[23]
(2a)	*Koran* XLII, 13	*min-a d-dīni mā waṣṣā bi-hi Nūḥan*	*mā* + RC ; *min* + N	religion that He charged Noah with
(2b)	*Koran* II, 174	*mā anzala-ḷḷāhu min-a l-kitābi*		
(3)	*Ṣaḥīḥ* II, 148	*bi-Ḫayfi Banī Kināna ḥayṯu taqāsamū ᶜalā l-kufri*	N+*ḥayṯu*+RC	at Ḫayf Banī Kināna, where they took an oath of Kufr[24]
Symbols				
+	followed by			
;	followed or preceded by (syntactically unordered)			

4. A recent semantic analysis of (some) Old Arabic relative markers

It would be tempting to claim that the system of OA relativizers *llaḏī*, *man/mā*, *ḥayṯu*, as resulting from the above discussion, is identical to that usually ascribed to Classical Arabic, and its most recent incarnation, Modern Standard Arabic, in view of the fact that Badawi, Carter and Gully (2004:490, 630) define the system of

[23] The English translation of the Koran used here is by Arberry, unless otherwise stated.
[24] Mohsin Khan's translation. See Sect. 5 for further details on this OA example.

relativizers found in the latter variety as consisting precisely of a set of relativizers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu*, *man/mā*.

While empirically grounded, this observation should not obscure the fact that the identity between the system of OA relativizers and its Classical/Modern Standard Arabic counterpart is observed on the sound-side, which does not necessarily imply that it holds for the meaning-side too. In this light, even though it is commonly agreed in the literature that Classical/Modern Standard Arabic lacks any semantic distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relativizers – and, more generally, between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses –, it cannot be taken for granted that the same situation be back-projected to OA as well. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that in a recent study Gensler (2004) argues that the distinction at issue did exist in OA, so that the relativizer *llaḏī* introduced a non-restrictive RC and the relativizer *man/mā* a restrictive one.

In order to appreciate this distinction, we must recall (see, among many others, Comrie 1981:138-139) that a non-restrictive RC is a modifier conveying new information and set off by a comma or intonational break from its antecedent, which consists of a noun conveying old information; whereas a restrictive RC is a modifier conveying old information and having as its antecedent a noun conveying new information, with no intervening comma or intonational break.

Gensler (2004) supports his non-restrictive analysis of *llaḏī* mainly with a statistical argument: on a total of 225 Koranic RCs having an overt antecedent and introduced by this relativizer (cp. (1) in Table 2 above), 140 occurrences are non-restrictive, 47 restrictive (38 occurrences providing no clear interpretive context).

Gensler also observes that one third of the non-restrictive occurrences of the relativizer *llaḏī* (48 times) is found in a syntactic context where the overt antecedent is the proper name *Aḷḷāh* or one of its epithets, which results in the structure: theophoric name $_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + *llaḏī*$_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$ illustrated in (1) above. In particular, an exact string search conducted through the *Tanzil* Koranic corpus[25] reveals that within this structure the proper name *Aḷḷāh* co-occurs with *llaḏī* with well more than chance frequency (32 times)[26], with the consequence that the

[25] An online annotated linguistic resource developed by Hamid Zarrabi-Zadeh, Department of Computer Engineering, Sharif University of Technology: http://tanzil.net/

[26] http://tanzil.net/#search/quran/"الله الذي", http://tanzil.net/#search/quran/"الذي الله"/p 2.

According to Diem (2007:85, 109) the proper name *Aḷḷāh* frequently occurs in combination with the relativizer *llaḏī* in the form of a formulaic structure *al-ḥamdu li-ḷḷāhi llaḏī* in Arabic documentary texts such as "*waqf* documents, appointments of high officials and marriage contracts between persons belonging to the upper class". Diem (2007: 67, 85) also highlights that these documents can be dated to the 9th century CE, and that "they are of so elaborated a style that they lack *any* deviation from the literary language" (italics in the original), which implies that they can be regarded as OA materials, in addition to the written sources mentioned at the end of Sect. 1. Two aspects of the expression *al-ḥamdu li-*

structure *Aḷḷāh*$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + *llaḏī*$_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$ can be plausibly regarded as a systemic *fait de langue* in Saussurean terms (cp. Section 2) – and as a 'collocation' in Hallidayan terms (see e.g. Halliday 2002:166 on frequency as a defining characteristic of collocation).

By contrast, according to the *Tanzil* Koranic corpus, the proper name *Aḷḷāh* never co-occurs with the relativizer *man* in the structure * *Aḷḷāh*$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + *man*$_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$: while the sequence *Aḷḷāh* + *man* occurs 14 times, it does *not* manifest an antecedent – relativizer relation[27] . Again, the ungrammaticality of this structure is expected from a collocational viewpoint, since according to Halliday (2002:160), the noun *tea* can co-occur with the adjective *strong*, as in *strong*$_{\text{ADJECTIVE}}$ + *tea*$_{\text{NOUN}}$ (cp. *Aḷḷāh*$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + *llaḏī*$_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$) but not with the adjective *powerful*: **powerful*$_{\text{ADJECTIVE}}$ + *tea*$_{\text{NOUN}}$ (cp. **Aḷḷāh*$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + *man*$_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$). It follows that the structure * *Aḷḷāh*$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + *man*$_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$ can be regarded as a systemic gap that enters, along with the structure *Aḷḷāh*$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + *llaḏī*$_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$, the morpho-syntactic opposition: proper name$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + *llaḏī*$_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$ vs. *proper name$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + *man*$_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$. What's more, the morpho-syntactic opposition in question is highly reminiscent of a semantico-syntactic opposition often noticed in literature, namely: proper name$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + non-restrictive relativizer vs. *proper name$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + restrictive relativizer (cp. English *John, which* vs. **John that*), as schematized in Table 3 below.

We would like to stress here that a parallelism of this kind between the morphological and semantic levels is too extended to be accidental. It is also worth pointing out that under the Saussurean axiom of the binary nature of linguistic sign, such a parallelism can be plausibly explained as the fact that the sound-strings *llaḏī, man/mā* are the audible counterparts of the sememes *NON-RESTRICTIVE RELATIVIZER, RESTRICTIVE RELATIVIZER*, respectively, and that vice versa, these sememes are the conceptual counterparts of the sound-strings *llaḏī, man/mā*.

ḷḷāhi llaḏī thus characterized are of particular relevance here. On the one hand, its formulaic character bears testimony to its systemicity (see Sect. 5 on the systemic status of formulae); on the other, Diem (2007:91) himself recognizes that "The relative clause of *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi llaḏī* is *non-restrictive*" (italics in the original) as a consequence of the co-occurrence of *llaḏī* with *Aḷḷāh*. In these respects, Werner's study strongly supports the hypothesis entertained here that the proper name *Aḷḷāh*$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ followed by the non-restrictive relativizer *llaḏī* was a systemic *fait de langue* in OA.

[27] http://tanzil.net/#search/quran/"من الله", http://tanzil.net/#search/quran/"من الله"/p2, http://tanzil.net/#search/quran/"من الله"/p3, http://tanzil.net/#search/quran/"من الله"/p4.

Table 3: Two Overlapping Distributional Patterns

GRAMMATICALITY	RC-HEAD	RELATIVIZER	EXAMPLE
OK	Proper name	*llaḏī*	*Aḷḷāh (u/a/i)*$_X$ *llaḏī*$_X$
	Proper name	NON-RESTRICTIVE	*John, which*
*	Proper name	**man/mā*	**Aḷḷāh (u/a/i)*$_X$ *man*$_X$
	Proper name	*RESTRICTIVE	**John that*

In other words, the co-occurrence restriction that affects the exact strings *Aḷḷāh*$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + *llaḏī*$_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$, **Aḷḷāh*$_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + *man*$_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$ in the Koran is adduced here as a distributional argument not only to corroborate Gensler's (2004) statistical argument concerning the non-restrictive meaning of *llaḏī*, but also to support another hypothesis by him, according to which *man/mā* is a restrictive relativizer.

This point is particularly compelling since the arguments made by Gensler in favor of the latter hypothesis seem quite weak. His claims is that *man/mā* has a restrictive meaning on the basis of 11 Koranic occurrences of RC introduced by this kind of relativizer and having as an overt antecedent the PP *min* + N, as exemplified in (2) above – yet, this number appears to be too low to be construed as a statistical argument proving any restrictive meaning of *man/mā*.

Indeed, Gensler maintains that in the eleven relative constructions examined by him the restrictive meaning of *man/mā* is a function of the P *min* that co-occurs with this relativizer and is also part and parcel of the antecedent *min* + N. In this view, the relative construction *min* + N ; *man/mā* + RC would be for all intents and purposes a partitive construction where the partitive P *min* would 'pick out' from a set denoted by the antecedent (e.g. *min-a l-kitābi* in (2b) above) the subset denoted by the RC featuring *man/mā* (e.g. *mā anzala-ḷḷāhu* in (2b) above), so that the antecedent would restrict the reference of its RC.

A semantic argument of this sort, however, is falsified by some examples given by Gensler himself in his investigation of the relative construction *min* + N; *man/mā* + RC, e.g. *min-a l-dīni mā waṣṣā bi-hi nūḥan* (cp. (2a) above) and *mā nansaḫu min āyatin* (*Koran* II, 106), where the context in which *min* occurs does not force its partitive reading. This is palpable in Arberry's translation, which avoids partitive renderings ('religion that He charged Noah with', 'whatever verse We abrogate' instead of 'portion of religion', 'whatever portion of verse' etc.) as well as in a grammatical observation that Ibn Hišām al-Anṣārī (d. 761/1360) in his work *Muġnī l-labīb* (I, 618) attributes to the medieval Muslim scholar Abū l-Baqā' al-

[c]Abkarī (d. 616/1219), according to which the P *min* is semantically unnecessary (*zā'ida*) in the relative construction *mā nansaḫu min āyatin*[28, 29].

On these grounds, the presence of the P *min* in the relative construction *min* + N; *man/mā* + RC is not guarantee of partitive/restrictive semantics and the most effective way to test Gensler's hypothesis that *man/mā* is a restrictive relativizer arguably is a distributional argument, based on the phenomenon of co-occurrence restriction, along the lines of above, rather than a statistical or semantic argument.

A further distributional argument that can be used to test this hypothesis relies upon a phenomenon of complementary distribution involving the word-order of relative constructions, as firstly observed by Lehmann (1984:271-278). After examining a world-wide sample of 80 languages, the German scholar draws the typological generalization that where languages have a choice between the post-nominal position of the RC (= N + RC) and pre-nominal one (RC + N), the post-nominal position will be primarily used for non-restrictive RCs, the pre-nominal position for restrictive RCs, provided that the presence of the sememe of restrictiveness in the pre-nominal RC correlates with the lack of the sememe of tense. In Lehmann's (1984:49, 52 ff.) own terminology, the pre-nominal RC must be a 'Relativpartizip', or, in more traditional terms, a reduced RC[30], as illustrated in Table 4 below.

[28] *qawlu Abī l-Baqā'i al-[c]Abkariyyi fī mā nansaḫu min āyatin inna-hu yağūzu kawnu āyatin ḥālan wa-min zā'idatan*

[29] On the term *zā'ida* in the sense of 'semantically unnecessary', see Versteegh (1993: 145-146), which dates its origin to the earlier period of Arabic grammar (750 CE). Versteegh also shows that at that time this term coexisted with the synonyms *ṣila, laġw*.

[30] In a more recent English formulation of the notion of 'Relativpartizip', Lehmann makes this point very clear: "Since embedded RCs function as adjectivals or nominals, they generally show restrictions on tense/aspect/mood, genitive case on the logical subject and, ultimately, non-finiteness of the verb (relative participle)" (http://www.christianlehmann.eu/ling/lg_system/grammar/nexion/rel_clause.html). It should be also noted that a well-studied subtype of RC endowed with a tenseless verb is the so-called 'reduced' RC, where the tenseless verb is a covert manifestation of *be*, e.g. *John's house in the wood*. Here, the RC-status of the modifier *in the woods* is evidenced by a substitution test: cp. a paraphrase such as *the house of John's which is in the woods* (Taylor 2000:110).

Table 4: Lehmann's Distributional Generalization on Relative Clauses

	Complementary Distribution	
RC	Type A	Type B
Syntax	Pre-nominal	Post-nominal
Semantics	Tenseless	Tensed
	Restrictive	Non-restrictive

Lehmann's generalization plausibly implies that if two given RC-types A and B manifest the two-fold opposition {pre-nominal, tenseless} vs. {post-nominal, tensed}, this is good typological/distributional evidence for positing also an opposition {restrictive} vs. {non-restrictive} between them.

Applying Lehmann's generalization to OA, then, the RC introduced by *man/mā* would be restrictive, if it proved to be at once tenseless and pre-nominal. Concerning the first property, it is the authoritative opinion of Arab Grammarians that in the Koranic passage *mā ṭāba min-a n-nisā'i* I (*Koran* IV, 3), the gnomic context forces an atemporal reading of the suffix-conjugation form *ṭāba* found in the RC introduced by *mā*: for instance, Ibn Yaᶜīš (d. 553/1158) glosses the occurrence of the verb *ṭāba* under scrutiny as *ṭ-ṭayyibu* 'the good' in *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* (II, 380)[31] (cp. also Arberry's translation 'such women as seem good to you'). As regards the second property, this is immediately apparent from the Koranic example (2b) above, showing that the RC introduced by *man/mā* can fulfill a pre-nominal position, in sharp contrast to the RC introduced by *llaḏī*, which cannot: *min* + N + *man/mā* + RC, *man/mā* + RC + *min* + N, vs. N + *llaḏī* + RC, **llaḏī* + RC + N. What follows from this fundamental asymmetry, illustrated in Table 5 below, is that a RC introduced by *man/mā* is restrictive owing to its ability to combine a tenseless meaning with a pre-nominal syntax (i.e., to precede the complex: *min* + N).

[31] *mā ṭāba min-a n-nisā'i bi-maᶜnā ṭ-ṭayyibu min-hunna*

Table 5: OA Relative Clause – A Word-Order Asymmetry

RELA-TIVIZER	RELATIVI-ZATION	GRAMMA-TICALITY	STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION					
man/mā	Pre-nominal	OK	*man/mā*	RC	*min*	N		
	Post-nominal	OK			*min*	N	*man/mā*	RC
llaḏī	Pre-nominal	*	*llaḏī*	RC		N		
	Post-nominal	OK				N	*llaḏī*	RC

To summarize the main results of this section, we have used a pattern of complementary distribution observed in the OA RC, and opposing the bundles of features {pre-nominal, tenseless} to the bundle of features {post-nominal, tensed}, as a distributional argument for characterizing the relativizer *man/mā* as originally restrictive. We have independently arrived at the same result by building another distributional argument, based on the phenomenon of co-occurrence restriction between restrictive relativizers and proper Ns, clearly exemplified by the opposition between the systemic gap * $Aḷḷāh_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + $man_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$ vs. the collocation $Aḷḷāh_{\text{ANTECEDENT}}$ + $llaḏī_{\text{RELATIVIZER}}$. Moreover, the distributional argument at issue also supports a non-restrictive interpretation of the relativizer *llaḏī*, along with a statistical argument developed by Gensler (2004). Generally speaking, the distributional line of reasoning adopted in this section captures Gensler's (2004) intuition that OA, unlike Classical Arabic, drew a distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relativizers when the OA relativizers are combined with an overt RC-head.

A distributional approach of this kind has the advantage of also including in the analysis the OA relativizers combined with a *covert* RC-head, which in *Kitāb* II, 105 is said to convey the meaning of an indefinite noun such as *rağul* 'a man'(see Sect. 3). If, in fact, we consider that the clausal context in which this type of RC-head occurs, namely *hāḏā man aᶜrifu munṭaliqan* 'this is *A MAN* about whose departure I know', etc., forces its specific reading[32], and that, in turn, the specific reading of an indefinite noun forces the restrictive reading of a relativizer (cp. the ungrammaticality of the non-restrictive relativizer *, who* when combined with the specific noun *a man* in **I met a man, who was going to St. Ives*, as per Loock 2010:16), it naturally follows from the examples of OA RCs mentioned in *Kitāb* II, 105 that the OA relativizers *llaḏī* and *man/mā* have restrictive semantics when co-occurring with a covert RC-head.

[32] I.e., the referent of *rağul* in this context cannot be identified independently of the embedding of the RC, unlike the generic noun *a house* in *he bought a house* (cp. Loock 2010: 16, 38).

Despite the advantage of a unified semantic analysis of the overt and covert phonological contexts in which *llaḏī* and *man/mā* occur, a distributional approach to the OA system of relativizers along the above lines faces a major limitation in describing *ḥayṯu*: while this relativizer has been shown in Section 3 to be as systemic as *llaḏī* and *man/mā*, the analysis carried out hitherto remains silent on its semantic behavior in terms of restrictiveness or non-restrictiveness vis-à-vis a covert or overt RC-head. This theoretical problem is dealt with in the next section.

5. Extending the proposal: the Old Arabic relative marker *ḥayṯu*

In order to shed light on the semantics of *ḥayṯu*, we should place this relative marker and the RC introduced by it in their appropriate distributional context, which from a phonological standpoint can be either an overt or covert RC-head.

Starting with the first type of context, we shall focus on *Ṣaḥīḥ*, rather than on the Koran, in view of the fact that the former source attests to a construction in which (a RC introduced by) *ḥayṯu* co-occurs with an overt RC-head, whereas the latter does not.

In effect, in reporting a religious schism that took place in a locality known as Ḫayf Banī Kināna or al-Muḥaṣṣab, and that gave rise, within Muḥammad's tribe, to a faction reluctant to accept Islamic revelation, al-Buḫārī (d. 256/870) reproduces a speech of Muḥammad's, which can be regarded as a genuine instance of OA datum due to its chronological location; moreover, it includes the aforementioned kind of relative construction.

Yet there is another reason for concentrating on *Ṣaḥīḥ*: in its authoritative edition by Muḥammad Zuhayr Ibn an-Nāṣir an-Nāṣir, the relative construction in question, in addition to exhibiting an overt RC-head in combination with the relativizer *ḥayṯu*, occurs 7 times with no or slight variation. More specifically, it manifests itself in the identical tokens *bi-Ḫayfi Banī Kināna ḥayṯu taqāsamū ᶜalā l-kufri* (*Ṣaḥīḥ* II, 148; V, 51, 148; cp. also (3) in Table 2 above) and the quasi-identical tokens *bi-Ḫayfi Banī Kināna ḥayṯu taqāsamū ᶜalā l-kufri yaᶜnī ḏālika l-muḥaṣṣaba* (*Ṣaḥīḥ* II, 148), *bi-Ḫayfi Banī Kināna l-muḥaṣṣabi ḥayṯu qāsamat Qurayšun ᶜalā l-kufri* (*Ṣaḥīḥ* IV, 71), *l-Ḫayfu ḥayṯu taqāsamū ᶜalā l-kufri* (*Ṣaḥīḥ* V, 148), *bi- Ḫayfi Banī Kināna ḥayṯu taqāsamū ᶜalā l-kufri yurīdu l-muḥaṣṣaba* (*Ṣaḥīḥ* IX, 140).

Technically speaking, the tokens of relative construction thus characterized qualify on the whole as a 'formula', in Monroe's (1972:15) sense, which defines it as a "verbatim, or nearly verbatim repetition" (with the caveat that the usage of this term here is merely descriptive and non-committal as to any particular formulaic

theory[33]). The relevance of the formulaic nature of this relative construction for our understanding of the phonological and semantic distribution of the relativizer *ḥayṯu* becomes apparent when we adopt a sociolinguistic perspective. According to Monroe (1972:8), among the social conditions that crucially contribute to the rise of a formula is its frequent usage by a given (literate) community, where "by a process of natural selection, a traditional stock of collectively known formulas is elaborated and adopted". Furthermore, Saussure highlighted that on a social level, the same frequent usage of a given expression which is quintessential to formularity correlates, on a linguistic level, with its systemicity, as discussed in Sect. 3.

A sociolinguistic scenario of this sort evidences that the aforesaid tokens, because of their formulaic nature, instantiate a frequent, and therefore systemic type, where the distributional context co-occurring with (the RC featuring) *ḥayṯu* is an overt RC-head that consists of a proper N of place.

We should recall at this point from Sect. 4 that a systemic combination – or, technically speaking, collocation – made up of a proper N and a relative marker points to the latter's non-restrictiveness in semantic terms, so that *Ṣaḥīḥ* bears the marks of a stage of OA where the relativizer *ḥayṯu* combined with an overt RC-head had a non-restrictive meaning.

With this in place, it is now possible to move on to the discussion of the second kind of distributional context in which *ḥayṯu* and related RC manifest themselves, notably a covert RC-head that denotes a place, as explicitly stated in *Kitāb* III, 56-59, where the relative construction *ḥayṯu takūnu akūnu* is glossed as *al-makānu llaḏī takūnu fī-hi akūnu* (cp. end of Sect. 3). In this respect, the description of the covert RC-head that co-occurs with *ḥayṯu*, as found in Arabic grammatical sources, lends independent confirmation to the above description of its *overt* counterpart, which is equally characterized as a noun of place, based on *Ṣaḥīḥ* (cp. the RC-head *Ḫayf Banī Kināna* or *al-Muḥaṣṣab* in (3) in Table 2 above). But this is not the whole of the matter: Arabic grammatical sources, among which is *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* (III, 114), also highlight that in this distributional context the relativizer *ḥayṯu* has the special syntactic property of governing the RC introduced by it, which behaves accordingly as a genitive complement[34].

It is worth noting at this point that Ouhalla (2000:234-235) interprets the Arabic genitive complement as semantically restrictive. In fact, Ouhalla observes that a restriction of co-occurrence between the definite article and genitive complement (e.g. *l-ahlu, ahlu-l-kitābi* vs. **l-ahlu-l-kitābi*) cuts across the Semitic languages (OA included), and that a restriction of this sort typically is semantically-

[33] See e.g. Ostle (1982) for some differences between Monroe's (1972) formulaic theory and Zwettler's (1978).

[34] *fa-ka-mā kānat iḏ muḍāfatan ilā ǧumlatin tūḍiḥu-hā ūḍiḥat ḥayṯu bi-l-ǧumlati llatī tūḍaḥu bi-hā iḏ*.

conditioned, in that two constituents conveying the same meaning cannot co-occur on the syntagmatic axis (cp. *dog-s, f-ee-t* vs. **f-ee-t-s*). According to Ouhalla, such a cross-linguistic pattern of restriction can be coupled with the standard interpretation of the definite article as restrictive, to derive the semantics of the Arabic genitive complement, the latter being incapable of co-occurring with the definite article because of sharing with it a restrictive meaning.

Thus, the ungrammatical type **l-ahlu-l-kitābi* provides distributional evidence for a restrictive analysis of the genitive complement introduced by the instance of *ḥayṯu* that co-occurs with a covert RC-head. This amounts to saying, from a compositional perspective, that this kind of *ḥayṯu* is the locus of restrictiveness in the distributional context under study or, in other words, that it is a restrictive relativizer, and that as such it is neatly opposed to its counterpart combined with an overt RC-head, which behaves as a non-restrictive relativizer instead, and is exemplified by the type (3) in Table 2 above[35].

In sum, the distributional approach to *ḥayṯu* pursued in this section has in essence relied upon a cross-linguistic and language-specific restriction of co-occurrence (**John that* and **l-ahlu-l-kitābi*, respectively) to provide a unified semantic analysis of the overt and covert phonological contexts in which this relative marker occurs, in terms of (non-)restrictiveness, and, in doing so, it has circumvented the interpretive problems related to *ḥayṯu* raised at end of the previous section. Interestingly, this result affords a description of the system of OA relativizers that is more exhaustive than Gensler's (2004), as illustrated in Table 6 below, which rewrites Tables 2 and 5 in a more abstract fashion, and encompasses the metalinguistic observations by Sībawayhi dealt with in Sect. 3.

[35] As a corollary, the genitive complement analysis that Arab Grammarians worked out for the type *ḥayṯu takūnu akūnu* can be regarded from an epistemological perspective as a way of expressing in syntactic terms the semantic property of restrictiveness.

Table 6: OA Relative Markers – Distribution (First Approximation)

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">RC-head</td><td colspan="6">Phonology</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Overt</td><td colspan="3">Covert</td></tr>
<tr><td>Relativizer</td><td>Semantics</td><td colspan="2">Syntax</td><td>Semantics</td><td colspan="2">Syntax</td></tr>
<tr><td>llaḏī</td><td>non-restrictive</td><td></td><td>post-nominal</td><td>restrictive</td><td></td><td>post-nominal</td></tr>
<tr><td>man/mā</td><td>restrictive</td><td>pre-nominal</td><td>post-nominal</td><td>restrictive</td><td></td><td>post-nominal</td></tr>
<tr><td>ḥayṯu</td><td>non-restrictive</td><td></td><td>post-nominal</td><td>restrictive</td><td></td><td>post-nominal</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Examples</td><td colspan="3">(1) Aḷḷāhu llaḏī nazzala l-kitāba</td><td colspan="3">(4) hāḏā (RAĞULUN) llaḏī ᶜalimtu annī lā aᶜrifu-hu munṭaliqan</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">(2a) min-a d-dīni mā waṣṣā bi-hi Nūḥan /
(2b) mā anzala-ḷḷāhu min-a l-kitābi</td><td colspan="3">(5) hāḏā (RAĞULUN) man aᶜrifu munṭaliqan</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">(3) bi-Ḫayfi Banī Kinanāta ḥayṯu taqāsamū ᶜalā l-kufri</td><td colspan="3">(6) ḥayṯu takūnu akūnu (= al-makānu llaḏī takūnu fī-hi akūnu)</td></tr>
</table>

A study of the distribution of *ḥayṯu* along these lines, though, solves one problem, but creates another: the attentive reader will have noticed that the (non-) restrictiveness-based distinction that governs the system of OA relativizers *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu* as a whole enters a pattern of complementary distribution with respect to a *phonological* context consisting of a covert or overt RC-head, in the case of *llaḏī* and *ḥayṯu*, but not of *man/mā* (cp. the dark grey cells in Table 6), since the latter exhibits a restrictive meaning irrespective of the overt or covert nature of the RC-head it co-occurs with.

Matters are further complicated when we adopt a broader perspective, which considers the aforesaid (non-)restrictiveness-based distinction relative to a *syntactic* context of distribution. If, in fact, we recall from Table 4 that tenseless, restrictive RCs and their tensed, non-restrictive counterparts enter a cross-linguistic pattern of complementary distribution, which is sensitive to their pre-nominal or post-nominal position, respectively, the actual distribution of the OA relativizers and related RCs looks typologically odd, in view of the fact that in this language a tenseless, restrictive RC and, more generally, a restrictive RC *tout court*, indeed occurs in a post-nominal position. Such an anomalous behavior, which was labeled

as a 'word-order asymmetry' in Sect. 4 and depicted in Table 5 there, allows for the complementary distribution of the features {pre-nominal, tenseless, restrictive} vs. {post-nominal, tensed, non-restrictive} only insofar as the non-restrictive and post-nominal relativizers *llaḏī, ḥayṯu* and the restrictive and pre-nominal relativizer *man/mā* with an overt RC-head are concerned (cp. Table 6, first column, and the light grey cells in its second column).

Therefore, the research carried out thus far establishes that the restrictive/non-restrictive semantics of the system of OA relativizers *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu*:

(α) is phonologically context-sensitive, except for the *restrictive man/mā*, able to co-occur with *both* an overt and -unexpectedly- a covert RC-head;

(β) is syntactically context-sensitive, only insofar as the non-restrictive and post-nominal *llaḏī, ḥayṯu* and the restrictive and pre-nominal *man/mā* with an overt RC-head are concerned, the remaining relativizers, all of them *restrictive*, being able to occur in an unexpected post-nominal position;

Briefly put, the system of OA relativizers is rather nebulous especially in *its restrictive manifestations*. The next section offers a solution for this puzzling distributional behavior, which seriously threatens the viability of a semantic analysis of the system of OA relativizers, as developed until now.

6. Potential phonological and syntactic counterexamples to a semantic analysis of the Old Arabic relative markers

The unexpected distribution of the OA restrictive relativizers within the phonological and syntactic contexts in (α, β), i.e. the relativizers tabulated under (2a, 4, 5, 6) in Table 6, calls for a more in-depth examination of their phonology and syntax. For convenience's sake, the relative markers in question will be referred to henceforth as overtly headed *man/mā* (2a), and covertly headed *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu* (4, 5, 6) respectively – with their restrictive semantics implied in this terminology, unless otherwise stated.

Let's begin our inquiry with the covertly headed relativizers that, according to Sībawayhi, cumulate the functions of a N and a relativizer proper (cp. his metalinguistic glosses *al-ismu fī-hi bi-manzilati llaḏī* and *al-makānu llaḏī takūnu fī-hi* presented in Sect. 3). Such a description can be reformulated, in modern terms, by saying that a word such as *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu* contains both a zero-morpheme standing for a N which acts as a RC-head, and (a) phonologically-realized morpheme(s) indicating the relativizer, so that the word at issue displays the ratio of two or more morphemes per word. Sībawayhi's description is confirmed in particular by the fact that the covertly headed *llaḏī* has an exceptional indefinite reading (cp. Sect. 3), which can be only the result of an indefinite

antecedent N 'parasitic' onto it. Putting this observation into a typological perspective, the ratio morpheme/word observed in the OA word-like structure: $Ø_N$ + *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu* or, more formally, #N-grammatical morpheme(s)# can be considered as high with respect to another salient OA structure of the same kind, namely the structure: N + case-ending, which can be exemplified through the Koranic nominal (*l-*)*fulk-i*. Here, in fact, the lack of *sandhi*-internal phenomena between the N and case-ending (e.g. no palatalization between a N-final velar and the oblique case *i*: *fulki* vs. **fulci)* evidences a word-boundary (*fulk#i#*, cp. Corriente 1971a:47), whence a ratio of one morpheme per word, i.e. #N#grammatical morpheme(s)#.

Moreover, two different trends in Semitic historical linguistics, such as the diffusionist and genetic models (see Moscati *et al.* 1964:112-113 and Garbini & Durand 1994: 98-99, 136-137, respectively) dovetail in that the two above structures have a different origin: the structure N + case-ending is a pre-Semitic archaism, whereas its counterpart N + relativizer is a North-West Semitic innovation, at least as far as the relativizer *llaḏī,* is concerned. It therefore stands to reason that OA underwent an incipient drift from analytical (cp. pre-Semitic N + case-ending) to synthetical type (cp. North-West Semitic N + *llaḏī*), in concordance with Corriente (1971a:48-50), and that, specifically for the covertly headed relativizers $Ø_N$ + *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu*, they underwent a process of synthesization, by means of which the analytical N working as a RC-head became more synthetical via phonological deletion and affixation to the relativizer *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu*[36]. It ensues that each of the covertly headed relativizers found in the types (4, 5, 6) is better seen as a synthetical N that develops out of a RC-head plus a grammatical marker, namely a restrictive relativizer, as a result of a process of synthesization. This is schematized in Table 7 below.

[36] A well-established trend in Arabic and Semitic linguistics assumes the opposite drift (synthetical-to-analytical) to be at work in the diachronic evolution of Arabic, but typological arguments falsify this interpretive paradigm (see Owens 2006 for details and discussion). Similarly, Petrácek (1981:172) draws from his study of the OA/Classical Arabic verbal system the conclusion that: "La structure de l'arabe apparaît maintenant comme agglutinative plus qu'auparavant".

Table 7: Covertly Headed *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu* – Process of Synthesization

Index of Synthesis	Analytical Basic Form	Process	Synthetical Derived Form
	#N#grammatical marker(s)#	Synthesization	#N-grammatical marker(s)#
	[*fulk#i*$_X$]	# ⇒ -	[$\emptyset_{\text{INDEFINITE}}$-*llaḏī*$_X$]
Ratio morpheme/word	= 1		≥ 2

Moving from the restrictive relativizer that is covertly headed to its overtly headed counterpart, the same analysis arguably applies. This argument is built as follows:

Firstly, the overt N that heads this kind of restrictive relativizer (phonologically realized as *man/mā*, cp. (2a) above), has a particular phonological behavior in OA, in that not only is it combined with the particle *min* to yield the structure: *min* + N, but also tends to trigger phonological reduction on the particle in question, which accordingly becomes *mi*, and yields a structure: *mi* + N. The relevant *loci probantes* are some lines of pre-Islamic poetry recorded in *Lisān* VI, 4282, which attest to expressions such as *mi-l-kaḏibi* for *min-a l-kaḏibi* (cp. also Esseesy 2010:219)[37].

In second place, such a phonological behavior constitutes appreciative evidence that the particle *mi* was a prefix forming a single word with the N following it, given that phonological reduction is a suprasegmental phenomenon which cross-linguistically diagnoses a word-like unit, and OA is no exception to this general trend; in effect, knowing that an OA construct state such as *ṯalāṯatu darāhima* (cp. *Kitāb* IV, 464) blocks adjective-insertion just as words do ('uninterruptability': cp. *three dogs* vs. **dog-three-s*), we can establish in this way that it is a word-like unit, so that, in the wake of Fleisch (1959) and Benmamoun (2005), we can ascribe precisely to such a word-like status the phonological reduction that affects the construct state *ṯalāṯatu darāhima* in 'contracted' forms such as *ṯalāttu darāhima*, where the vowel *a* preceding the bound *t* is dropped, as reported by Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* IV, 464)[38].

On these grounds, a sharp contrast arises between the structure *min* + N, where the ratio morpheme/word is 1 (analytical #*min*#N#), and *mi* + N, where the ratio

[37] *wa-yaǧūzu ḥaḏfu n-nūni min min wa-ᶜan ᶜinda l-alifi wa-l-lāmi li-ltiqā'i s-sākinayni wa-ḥaḏfu-hā min min akṯaru min ḥaḏfi-hā min ᶜan li-anna duḫūla min fī l-kalāmi akṯaru min duḫūli ᶜan wa-anšada … mi-l-kaḏibi*

[38] *wa-ḥuǧǧatu-hu qawlu-hum ṯalāttu darāhima tuddaġamu ṯ-ṯa'u min ṯalāṯati fī l-hā'i iḏā ṣārat tā'an*

morpheme/word is at least 2 (synthetical #*mi*-N#), a diachronic alternation proving that the overtly headed *man/mā* (2a) underwent a process of synthesization, by means of which the analytical N working as a RC-head became more synthetical, via phonological reduction and affixation to *mi(n)*[39].

The overall scenario borne out from these typological observations in the OA restrictive relativizers *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu* (2a, 4, 5, 6) is that they occur in a phonological context of distribution far more uniform than previously thought, since the RC-heads with which they co-occur, albeit different on a segmental level (overt particle *mi(n)* + N vs. covert N), share a common property on a suprasegmental level. Such RC-heads are *both* 'synthetical' Ns, i.e. Ns occupying the same high position along the so-called 'index of synthesis', which refers to how many morphemes can occur per word in a given language (Comrie 1981:46-51). This property is regarded here as suprasegmental, in the sense that the high index of synthesis or, practically speaking, the word-like status observed in the overt complex *mi(n)* + N and in the covert N acting as RC-heads is the result of a process of phonological reduction, which is partial in the case of the overt complex *mi(n)* + N (final consonant-dropping, targeting the particle: *min* > *mi*), and total in the case of the covert N (deletion of an entire constituent, affecting N: *rağul* > $ø_{\text{RAĞUL}}$) .

With the overtly and covertly headed *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu* subsumed under the common category of relativizers headed by a synthetical N, actually the phonological(-segmental) opposition itself between overtly vs. covertly headed relative markers makes no longer sense, and a new phonological(-suprasegmental) opposition arises instead. On the one hand, in the aforesaid types (2a, 4, 5, 6) and, in addition, (2b), the restrictive and post-nominal relativizers *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu*, as well as the restrictive and pre-nominal relativizer *man/mā*, are headed by a synthetical N, which can be partially or totally reduced (*mi(n)* + N or $ø_{\text{N}}$). On the other hand, in the remaining types (1, 3) the non-restrictive and post-nominal relativizers *llaḏī, ḥayṯu* are headed by an analytical N, whose analytical character is apparent from the lack in it of either *min* > *mi* reduction or N-deletion.

As emerges above, the system of OA relativizers *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu* is context-sensitive to a suprasegmental-phonological level of linguistic representation, which obeys a pattern of complementary distribution: abstracting away from syntactic factors, to which we shall return shortly, the restrictive relative markers *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu* co-occur with a synthetical RC-head, whereas their non-restrictive counterparts *llaḏī, ḥayṯu* co-occur with an analytical RC-head.

A more rigorous formulation of the above statement would be that *all* such restrictive relativizers co-occur with *both* the kinds of synthetical RC-head attested

[39] That a CV-sequence in OA is not an independent word, and rather an affix belonging to a larger word, is also shown by graphical words such as <*lizaydin*>, <*bizaydin*>, where the phonological shape taken by the *bona fide* prefixes *li, bi* is precisely a CV-sequence.

in OA, defined above as a partially or totally reduced N (*mi(n)* +N or $ø_N$). While this distributional pattern has been already highlighted with regard to *man/mā* (cp. (2), (5) above), it still requires clarification in the case of *llaḏī, ḥayṯu*, which the discussion thus far has shown to co-occur with a totally reduced RC-head (cp. (4), (6) above), but not with its partially reduced counterpart.

That the restrictive relative marker *llaḏī* can co-occur with a partially reduced RC-head (i.e. with *mi(n)* +N) is proven by its ability to replace the *restrictive* relative marker *man/mā* that co-occurs with a RC-head of this sort (substitution test): by way of illustration, in the Koran a context of post-nominal RC is found, notably ___ *ǧā'a-ka min-a l-ᶜilmi*, which admits both the relativizers *mā* and *llaḏī* (cp. *llaḏī ǧā'a-ka min-a l-ᶜilmi* in *Koran* II, 120, and *mā ǧā'a-ka min-a l-ᶜilmi* in *Koran* II, 145, III, 61, XIII, 37). Furthermore, in *Koran* XLII, 13 we find an instance of pre-nominal RC with a partially reduced head, where the *restrictive* relativizer *mā* is conjoined to the relativizer *llaḏī*, which points to the latter's restrictive meaning in this context (law of coordination of likes): *min-a d-dīni mā waṣṣā bi-hi Nūḥan wa-llaḏī awḥaynā ilay-ka wa-mā waṣṣaynā bi-hi Ibrāhīma*.

Regarding the restrictive relativizer *ḥayṯu*, two significant clues of its ability to co-occur with a partially reduced RC-head comes from OA relative constructions such as *irᶜaw min arḍi-nā ḥayṯu ši'tum* and *yuṣarrifūna ḥayṯu šā'ū min arḍi-him* documented, respectively, in pre-Islamic poetry and Ibn Iṣḥāq's (d. 151/761) materials, as transmitted in the *Sīra* by Ibn Hišām (d. 218/833) (*apud* Reckendorf 1895: 635). In effect, besides the relative marker *ḥayṯu* and the partially reduced RC-head, these constructions display two interesting structural properties: (i) the RC-head contains a possessor-denoting genitive (cp. *nā, him* in *min arḍi-nā, min arḍi-him*) and, (ii) the RC, which is pre-nominal in *irᶜaw min arḍi-nā ḥayṯu ši'tum*, and post-nominal in *yuṣarrifūna ḥayṯu šā'ū min arḍi-him*, contains a gnomic – and therefore tenseless – instance of suffix-conjugation, so that it qualifies as a tenseless RC (cp. end of Sect. 4). It should be observed at this point that English provides useful parallels to the phenomena which we find in OA: relying upon previous work by Chomsky and C. Lyons, Taylor (2000:110) points out that in English a RC-head that contains a possessor-denoting genitive (e.g. *John's*) cannot be generally combined with a restrictive RC (cp. **John's book that you borrowed*), except when the RC in question is reduced (cp. *John's house in the woods/the house of John's which is in the woods* and fn. 30 above).

If we recall from the end of Sect. 4 that a reduced RC is no more than a subtype of tenseless RC, a striking similarity emerges between the English relative construction *John's house in the woods* and the OA relative constructions where the relativizer *ḥayṯu* co-occurs with a partially reduced RC-head, with respect to the co-occurrence of the two structural properties indicated as (i) and (ii) immediately above. What is even more remarkable is that such properties in English are associated with the restrictive semantics of the RC, which lends

support, by extension, to the hypothesis that the same holds for OA. In this interpretive scenario, since the relativizer *ḥayṯu* that co-occurs with a partially reduced RC-head introduces a restrictive tenseless RC such as *min arḍi-nā ḥayṯu ši'tum*, and *ḥayṯu šā'ū min arḍi-him*, we are justified in interpreting it as a restrictive relativizer.

Taken as a whole, this semantic survey of the relative markers *llaḏī* and *ḥayṯu* that co-occur with a partially reduced RC-head reveals that, as anticipated above, the relativizers *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu* not only are all restrictive but also co-occur with a synthetical RC-head that can be *both* partially and totally reduced, whereas their non-restrictive counterparts *llaḏī, ḥayṯu* co-occur with an analytical RC-head.

The important corollary of this achievement is that we are now a in position to solve the problem of the anomalous phonological distribution of the restrictive relative marker *man/mā* (cp. (α) above), by simply re-conceptualizing in suprasegmental terms the phonological context in which the *whole* system of OA relativizers manifests itself. In fact, as can be gleaned from a glance at the dark grey cells of Table 8 below, this distributional anomaly disappears as soon as we shift to a suprasegmental level of analysis, which reduces it to an element of the phonological pattern of complementary distribution alluded to above (i.e. non-restrictive relativizer : analytical RC-head = restrictive relativizer : synthetical RC-head).

Table 8: OA Relative Markers – Distribution (Refined Version)

RC-head	Phonology							
	Analytical		Synthetical					
			Partial Reduction				Total Reduction	
Relativizer	Sem.	Syntax	Sem.	Syntax	Sem.	Syntax	Sem.	Syntax
llaḏī	non-restr.	post-nom.	restr.	pre-nom.	restr.	post-nom.	restr.	post-nom.
man/mā			restr.	pre-nom.	restr.	post-nom.	restr.	post-nom.
ḥayṯu	non-restr.	post-nom.	restr.	pre-nom.	restr.	post-nom.	restr.	post-nom.
Examples	(1) *Aḷḷāhu llaḏī nazzala l-kitāba*		(7a) *min-a d-dīni … llaḏī awḥaynā ilay-ka /* (7b) *llaḏī ǧā'a-ka min-a l-ᶜilmi*				(4) *hāḏā (RAĞULUN) man aᶜrifu munṭaliqan*	
			(2a) *min-a d-dīni mā waṣṣā bi-hi Nūḥan /* (2b) *mā anzala-ḷḷāhu min-a l-kitābi*				(5) *hāḏā (RAĞULUN) llaḏīᶜalimtu annī lā aᶜrifu-hu munṭaliqan*	
	(3) *bi-Ḫayfi Banī kināna ḥayṯu taqāsamū ᶜalā l-kufri*		(8a) *min arḍi-nā ḥayṯu ši'tum /* (8b) *ḥayṯu šā'ū min arḍi-him*				(6) *ḥayṯu takūnu akūnu (= al-makānu llaḏī takūnu fī-hi akūnu)*	

It would be also convenient if a suprasegmental re-conceptualization of the system of OA relativizers along the above lines were to shed some light on the anomalous *syntactic* distribution of the restrictive relativizers *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu*, in short, their post-nominal syntax, as summed up in (β) above. Upon initial inspection, it might seem as if such a line of inquiry could not give satisfactory results, since reconceptualizing the OA relativizers according to an opposition analytical vs. synthetical RC-head, instead of covert vs. overt RC-head, does not necessarily imply a reconceptualization of the problematic post-nominal syntax of the RCs introduced by them, as illustrated in the light grey cells of Table 8 above.

However, once we examine more closely the system of OA relativizers *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu*, the matter is far less simplistic than may appear at first glance. We gather from an attentive perusal of Table 8 that the RC introduced by a restrictive relativizer increasingly deviates from the cross-linguistic tendency of having a pre-

nominal syntax as the degree of phonological reduction of the synthetical RC-head increases: on the one hand, a *partially* reduced RC-head can co-occur with *both* a typologically expected pre-nominal RC introduced by the restrictive relativizers *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu*, and with its deviant post-nominal counterpart; on the other, a *totally* reduced RC-head occurs *only* with a deviant post-nominal RC introduced by the relative markers in question.

On these grounds, it seems sensible to hypothesize that a correlation exists between the suprasegmental phenomenon of phonological reduction undergone by a RC-head, and the deviant post-nominal syntax of a RC introduced by a restrictive relativizer – a sort of direct proportion. It also seems that this correlation, because of its salience within the system of OA relativizers, is too significant to be dismissed so easily, and can be accordingly taken into consideration in order to understand the anomalous properties of the system at issue, such as (β); thus, contrary to what naïve impression suggests, the suprasegmental phenomenon of phonological reduction undergone by a RC-head *can* serve as an interpretive key to understand the deviant post-nominal syntax of the restrictive relativizers *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu*.

To this end, we can conveniently begin by discussing the directionality of the correlation under scrutiny, which in principle can be either from suprasegmental phonology to syntax – i.e. the *min* > *mi* or N > $ø_N$ change somehow triggers the RC + N > N + RC word-order shift – or the other way around. However, cross-linguistic evidence rules out the latter hypothesis in favor of the former: according to Pullum and Zwicky (1988:274-275, 278), syntax has no influence on phonology, whereas phonology can influence syntax under certain conditions, among which is "a preference for some form of expression over another". For instance, some English speakers prefer the binary syntactic structure: particle + nominal, e.g. (*the shock touched) off the explosion* over the binary syntactic structure: nominal + particle, e.g. *(the shock touched) the explosion off* when the binary *syntactic* structure: particle + nominal features a noun *phonologically* 'heavier' (= longer) than the particle (Pullum and Zwicky 1988:274, Ross 1967:48). There are four aspects to this kind of phonological influence over syntax:

Firstly, its ultimate cause is 'heaviness', a phonological constraint that in many respects overlaps with word-length and, as such, is a suprasegmental phenomenon, word-length being a multifactorial entity that involves syllable-structure etc. (cp. also Hawkins 1983: 90). In this light, binary syntactic structures such as (*the shock touched) off the explosion* arise since they obey a suprasegmental pattern of increasing word-length/heaviness – as opposed to syntactic structures such as (*the shock touched) the explosion off*, which do not.

In second place, the way syntax complies with the aforesaid phonological constraint is in essence a change in word-order, by virtue of which a phonologically-*un*conditioned syntactic structure, e.g. (*the shock touched) the explosion off*,

with decreasing word-length, is scrambled into a phonologically conditioned syntactic structure, e.g. (*the shock touched) off the explosion*, with increasing word-length(cp. also Hawkins 1983:90).

Thirdly, the phonologically-conditioned syntactic structure is a tendency, not a norm, so that its phonologically-*un*conditioned counterpart may well coexist alongside it.

Last but not least, the coexistence of two binary syntactic structures fails to come about, and just one of them occurs instead, when the nominal combined with the particle is a pronoun, since the structure: pronoun + particle is grammatical, as in *(I called) him up*, while the structure: particle + pronoun is not, as in **(I called) up him* – this is precisely as argued by (Ross 1967:48), but not cited by Pullum and Zwicky (1988) in this respect. Although Ross does not clarify the rationale behind this phenomenon, in all likelihood this has intuitively to do with the ability of the grammatical binary structure: pronoun + particle to assign the pronoun a covert realization, as opposed to the inability of its ungrammatical counterpart to do so: this is shown by syntactic paradigms such as *(I want) $Ø_{me}$/you/him to (…)* etc., where the expression *$Ø_{me}$ to* actually is a structure: pronoun + particle (cp. *(I called) him up*) with a covert pronoun *$Ø_{me}$*. The linguistic reality of the structure: pronoun + particle with a covert pronoun is diagnosed, insofar as the covert pronoun is concerned, by the presence, in the paradigm at issue, of the overt object pronouns *you/him* etc. and, concerning the particle, by the clear non-prepositional semantics of the infinitive *to* that follows the (c)overt pronouns, which qualifies it precisely as a particle[40].

Consequently, the property under scrutiny can be reformulated in a more general manner by stating that the coexistence of two binary syntactic structures exceptionally fails to take place, when either of its two constituents has a covert realization, in which case only the binary structure displaying the covert constituent occurs. This happens probably because a structure of this sort, in manifesting just *one overt* word, straightforwardly solves the problem of a possible decreasing word-length in a very economical fashion, by eliminating the factor responsible for it, namely a sequence of *two overt* words.

Based on these four properties, the construction: particle + nominal, e.g. (*the shock touched) off the explosion* can be regarded as a syntactically basic structure – its basicness being diagnosed by the transitive construction VO -, and the construction: noun + particle as a structure derived from it via scrambling (‘how’),

[40] In the generative literature, the covert nature of this constituent is generally accounted for in terms of a sort of economy principle, the so-called ‘deletion under identity’: since in a hypothetical construction such as **I want me to …* the former personal pronoun is identical in content with the latter, it is felt as superfluous and can be deleted (see e.g. Ross 1967:434-435)

due to a phonological – more accurately, suprasegmental – constraint ('why'), with the caveat that the presence of a covert constituent within either of these two constructions blocks the manifestation of the other.

Having established that cross-linguistically the correlation between phonology and syntax manifests itself in terms of one's influence over the other, the hypothesis can be entertained that the correlation observed in OA relativization between these two linguistic components can be accounted for in the same manner – i.e., that the phonological reduction undergone by the OA RC-head is the factor responsible for the post-nominal syntax of its restrictive RC – if and only if the four structural properties found in the cross-linguistic manifestation of this kind of correlation are also found in its OA counterpart.

That the correlation between phonology and syntax observed in OA relativization is possessed of the first property (heaviness) is shown by the presence in this language of one morphological type and two syntactic types, which follow the Head + Dependent pattern[41]. They are, respectively, the prefix + stem type instantiated by the synthetical RC-head (#*mi(n)*-N#), the N + RC type that includes a post-nominal restrictive RC and, *outside* relativization, the ADP(osition) + N type, traditionally referred to as a P + N construction. In particular, the ADP+N type is defined here as *not* manifesting itself in OA relativization since an approach of this sort would entail that the analytical RC-head #*min*#N# out of which the prefix + stem type *#mi(n)*-N# arises is an ADP + N type, which is actually not the case, if we recall from the end of Sect. 4 that the P-analysis (or, typologically speaking: ADP-analysis) of *min* is untenable for semantic reasons (inability to receive a partitive reading). In passing, this is also indirect evidence – by means of an argument by exclusion – that the analytical RC-head #*min*#N# is rather an instance of Dependent + Head pattern, whatever the precise nature of its syntactic structure (to which we'll return in the next section).

The bearing that these three types have upon the property of heaviness is that, according to Hawkins (1983:21-22, 95-96, and cp. also Table 9 below, under II), they are defining characters of the so-called prepositional languages, which "are placing 'lighter' constituents to the left of the head, and 'heavier' ones to the right", so that OA relativization displays an increasing word-length both in the word-order N + RC, whose RC can be restrictive, and in the prefix + stem type to which its synthetical RC-head belongs, in compliance with the heaviness constraint discussed in connection with the English data.

[41] The assignment of Head and Dependent status is justified by a substitution test: a complex constituent (e.g. *poor John*) can be substituted by a Head (*John*), but not by a Dependent (**poor*). The PP complies with this generalization, considering that in languages such as English the PP *in the house* can be substituted by *in* but not by *the house* (cp. *John is in the house, John is in, *John is the house*). See Comrie (1989:94ff.) for details.

Table 9: Nominal Domain – Two Word-Order Universals

Syntax			Morphology	Implicational Universal
Types		Generalization	Type	
N + Postposition	RC + N	Dependent + Head	Stem + Suffix	I
Preposition + N	N+ RC	Head + Dependent	Prefix + Stem	II

Concerning the second and third property (shift from a phonologically-unconditioned to a phonologically-conditioned word-order, and coexistence between them), they are easily observed in the portion of syntactic paradigm that correlates with the *partial* phonological reduction of the RC-head, where the change in word-order is self-evident in the alternation between the pre-nominal and post-nominal syntax of the restrictive RC (cp. Table 8, columns 4-8). Furthermore, we know from the discussion of this instance of post-nominal and restrictive RC (N + RC) that its constituents are informed by a suprasegmental pattern of heaviness, which allows us to interpret it as a phonologically-conditioned structure, whereas its pre-nominal and restrictive counterpart (RC + N) represents a phonologically *un*conditioned structure, for the reason that it does not obey the pattern in question, as can be quickly inferred from the decreasing word-length of its constituents.

In keeping with a typological approach, we can refine this statement in two steps. The first is insisting on the fact that, within OA relativization, the RC + N type – whose RC is *only* restrictive – follows a Dependent + Head pattern just as – *prior* to phonological reduction (cp. immediately above) – its analytical RC-head does. The second step is that, outside relativization, OA bears the marks of a postpositional construction, i.e. an N + ADP type, a phenomenon that has gone largely unnoticed in the literature. In a line of poetry quoted by Hišām al-Anṣārī, in fact, the expression *ᶜalā ᶜan* occurs, whose constituents are analyzed in the Arab linguistic tradition either as ADPs or Ns, depending on their distribution: in greater detail, Arab Grammarians interpret *ᶜalā* and *ᶜan* as ADPs if they are the first member of a PP, the second being a *bona fide* N, such as a declensed N; and as Ns, if they are the second member of a PP, the first being the *bona fide* P *min* – whose purely adpositional nature is diagnosed by its inability to occur itself as the second member of a PP. The pertinent descriptions and examples of this positional test are

found in *Lisān* VI, 4281[42] and *Muġnī* I, 290[43]. The latter source also makes it possible to disclose a distributional asymmetry between *ᶜalā* and *ᶜan*: the description of such bicategorial words that Ibn Hišām al-Anṣārī makes under the lemmata *ᶜalā*, *ᶜan*, *min* (*Muġnī* I, 286, 297-300, 613-614) states that both of them are semantically synonymous to *min* in certain contexts, but among the examples he mentions to elucidate this point, those concerning the synonymity between *min* and *ᶜan* include cases in which *ᶜan* can replace *min* on a syntactic level (e.g. when *bayni* is the second member of a PP), whereas those concerning the synonymity between *min* and *ᶜalā* do not[44].

A substitution test emerges from these data, which can be of great help when the positional test of Arab Grammarians is not applicable to particular instances of *ᶜalā* and *ᶜan*. In effect, in expressions found in pre-Islamic poetry such as *ᶜalā ᶜan* (cp. *Muġnī* I, 300, and especially the passage *wa-l-ṯānī an yudḥala ᶜalay-hā [=ᶜan] ᶜalā* etc. reproduced in fn. 44 above) the position of *ᶜalā* relative to its syntactic context, to wit *ᶜan*, is not useful to determine the syntactic category *ᶜalā* belongs to, given that such a context consists itself of a word as bicategorial as the word it is meant to disambiguate, and the same carries over to *ᶜan* relative to its syntactic context, notably *ᶜalā*. The only alternative left is applying the above 'asymmetric' substitution test, by virtue of which the instances of *ᶜalā* and *ᶜan* found in the OA expression *ᶜalā ᶜan* are, respectively, a N and an ADP, so that, from a typological perspective, such an expression manifests a postpositional construction (N + ADP), which follows a Dependent + Head pattern, not unlike the pre-nominal RC and the analytical RC-head observed in OA relativization. This is illustrated in Table 9, under I.

A further similarity among these three syntactic types concerns their diachrony: the hypothesis that the analytical RC-head (stem + suffix type) is older than its

---

[42] *wa-tudḥilu min ᶜalā ᶜan wa-lā tudḥilu ᶜan ᶜalay-hā li-anna ᶜan-i smun wa-min min-a l-ḥurūf*

[43] *wa-ṯ-ṯānī min waǧhay ᶜalā an takūna-sman bi-maᶜnā fawqa wa-ḏālika iḏā daḫalta ᶜalay-hā min*

[44] *wa-la-hā [=ᶜalā] tisᶜatu maᶜānin … as-sādisu muwāfiqatu min naḥwa iḏā-ktālū ᶜalā n-nāsi yastawfūna … ᶜan ᶜalā ṯalāṯati awǧuhin aḥadu-hā an takūna ḥarfa ǧarrin wa-ǧamīᶜu mā ḏukira la-hā ᶜašratu maᶜānin … as-sābiᶜu murādifatun min naḥwa wa-huwa llaḏī yaqbalu t-tawbata ᶜan ᶜibādi-hi wa-yaᶜfū ᶜan-i s-sayyi'āti … al-ᶜāširu an takūna zā'idatan li-t-taᶜwīḍi min uḫrā maḥḏūfatun ka-qawli-hi … fa-hallā llatī ᶜan bayni ǧanbay-ka tadfaᶜu … aṯ-ṯāliṯu an takūna-sman bi-maᶜnā ǧānibin wa-ḏālika yataᶜayyanu fī ṯalāṯati mawāḍiᶜa aḥadu-hā an yudḫala ᶜalay-hā min … wa-yaḥtamilu-hu ᶜindī ṯumma la-ātiyanna-hum min bayni aydī-him … wa-ṯ-ṯānī an yudḫala ᶜalay-hā ᶜalā wa-ḏālika nādirun wa-l-maḫfūẓu min-hu baytun wāḥidun wa-huwa qawlu-hu ᶜalā ᶜan yamīni marrati ṭ-ṭayru sunnaḥan … min ta'tī ᶜalā ḫamsati ᶜašara wağhan … as-sādisu murādifatu ᶜan naḥwa fa-waylun li-l-qāsiyati qulūbu-hum min ḏikri llāhi … al-ḥādī ᶜašara murādifatun ᶜalā naḥwa naṣarnā-hu min-a l-qawmi*

synthetical counterpart (prefix + stem type) can be arguably extended to the pre-nominal RC (RC + N), with respect to its post-nominal counterpart (N + RC), as well as to the postpositional construction (N + ADP), with respect to its prepositional counterpart (ADP + N), on the grounds of productivity. More accurately, in OA the pre-nominal RC is less productive than its post-nominal counterpart, since one is exclusively restrictive in meaning, the other is also non-restrictive (cp. Table 8 above), whereas the well-known productivity of the prepositional construction in OA sharply contrasts with the unproductive nature of its postpositional counterpart, explicitly stated by Ibn Hišām (*wa-ḏālika nādir*, cp. fn. 43 above).

Remarkably, a structural and diachronic cohesion of this sort (i.e., Dependent + Head pattern and productivity) between the syntactic types found in OA relativization (i.e., analytical RC-head #*min*#N#, and RC + N) and its postpositional type (i.e., *ᶜalā ᶜan*) clearly point, in Hawkins' typological terms, to an early stage of OA which was shaped by all of these types in the form of a postpositional language, which Hawkins (1983:96) also defines as more free than a prepositional language relative to the suprasegmental pattern of heaviness: "postpositional languages have some heavier constituents to the right [of the head] with lighter ones to the left, and conversely some lighter constituents to the right with heavier ones to the left".

Hawkins' generalization unproblematically applies to the early stage of OA under discussion, where the analytical RC-head #*min*#N# obeys the suprasegmental pattern of heaviness (monosyllabic *min* vs. trisyllabic N), whereas the RC + N type and N + ADP type – as exemplified by the expression *ᶜalā ᶜan* – clearly do not, so that the above statement that the RC + N type is a phonologically *un*conditioned structure is empirically grounded in a robust cross-linguistic tendency of the word-order universal labeled as I in Table 9 above.

Lastly, the fourth property (presence of a covert constituent in one word-order, blocking the manifestation of the other) can be detected directly in the portion of syntactic paradigm that correlates with the *total* phonological reduction of the RC-head (Table 8, columns 9-10): here, in fact, the RC-head coming out of the process in question, in addition to being covert, is able to be combined with a RC that follows it, but not with one that precedes it –in sharp contrast to its partially reduced counterpart[45].

The foregoing is the typological basis for the hypothesis that the direct proportion linking, in OA, the phonological reduction undergone by a RC-head and the

[45] Therefore, the process that converts an OA RC-head into a covert constituent (phonological reduction) is different from that yielding its English counterpart, e.g. *(I want) Ø$_{me}$ to (…)* (deletion under identity, cp. fn. 40 above). However, in another instance of OA RC-head, namely the N of time, a covert constituent may arise subsequent to the application of deletion under identity: cp. Bravmann (1961:391).

post-nominal position of its restrictive RC is the result of the former's influence over the latter: the restrictive RC occupying a pre-nominal position is a basic structure, which the suprasegmental phenomenon of phonological reduction undergone by the RC-head converts into a restrictive RC occupying a post-nominal position, and this by influencing syntax, and inducing scrambling accordingly.

The details of this proposal can be expounded as follows: prior to the application of phonological reduction, an analytical RC-head #*min*#N# occurs, which is structurally harmonic with the RC + N type, both of these word-orders following the Dependent + Head pattern implied by a postpositional language. After that phonological reduction takes place, the analytical RC-head #*min*#N# becomes a synthetical RC-head #*mi(n)*-N#, i.e. a prefix + stem type, which is *not* structurally harmonic with the RC + N structure, one word-order being implied by a prepositional language, the other by a postpositional language (cp. Table 9). To make things worse, the new word-order pattern is more constrained by heaviness than the previous one, so that the disharmonicity of the RC + N type with respect to the prefix + stem type also holds on a suprasegmental level. In the wake of Hawkins (1983:182) a principle of structural analogy intervenes at this point, in order to harmonize the RC + N type to the prefix + stem, and the change in word-order applies, which results in the N + RC type, or, less formally, in a restrictive RC occupying a post-nominal position[46].

Shortly put, in OA a principle of structural analogy is the 'missing link' between the phonological reduction undergone by the RC-head, and the post-nominal syntax of its restrictive RC, with the word-order universal labeled as II in Table 9, serving as an analogical pivot, because of its including the structural description of both of them, in the form of a prefix + stem type (RC-head) and N +RC type (restrictive RC).

We can draw from this typological study of the correlation between phonology and syntax, as observed in OA relativization, three important distributional generalizations, each of which corresponds to a process and related output to which such a correlation is input:

Process and Related Output#1: A suprasegmental pattern of heaviness occurs (e.g. English type N + RC; OA *partially* reduced RC-head #*min*-N#), which does

[46] Arguably, the same structural analogy operates in English, and facilitates a heaviness-driven word-order change such as *(the shock touched) the explosion off → (the shock touched) off the explosion.* This happens probably because such a principle assimilates the particle *off* to a P via their shared phonological shape (cp. *off balance*), whence the re-analysis of the structure *off the explosion* as a P + N type. In doing so, analogy makes expressions such as *off the explosion* harmonic with the N + RC type (both of them belonging to the Head + Dependent pattern), and therefore preferable to a disharmonic structure such as *the explosion off.*

not trigger syntactic scrambling (e.g. English *(the shock touched) the explosion off*; OA restrictive and pre-nominal RC).

Generalization#1: when no influence of heaviness-driven phonological reduction over syntax takes place, the *restrictive* relativizers *llaḏī*, *man/mā*, *ḥayṯu* only occur in a pre-nominal position, in complementary distribution with their non-restrictive counterparts, which only occur in a post-nominal position.

Process and Related Output#2: A suprasegmental pattern of heaviness occurs (see immediately above), which triggers syntactic scrambling (e.g. English *(the shock touched) off the explosion*; OA restrictive and post-nominal RC), through the mediation of a structural analogy concerning word-order (see fn. 46 above for English, and, in OA, the typological harmonicity between the suprasegmentally appropriate N + RC type and the prefix + stem type instantiated by a partially reduced RC-head)

Generalization#2: when heaviness-driven phonological reduction influences syntax, the *restrictive* relativizers *llaḏī*, *man/mā*, *ḥayṯu* can occur in a post-nominal position, just as their non-restrictive counterparts do, which disrupts the pattern of complementary distribution.

Process and Related Output#3: A suprasegmental pattern of heaviness occurs (e.g. English type N + RC; OA *totally* reduced RC-head), which triggers syntactic scrambling, but the latter is in turn successful only in part, since it instantiates only the binary structure that includes a covert constituent for reasons of economy (e.g. English *(I) want* $Ø_{me}$ *to (…)*; OA restrictive and *exclusively* post-nominal RC headed by a covert N)

Generalization#3: see *Generalization#2*.

These generalizations show that the anomalous *syntactic* distribution of the restrictive relativizers *llaḏī*, *man/mā*, *ḥayṯu*, which basically boils down to their post-nominal syntax (cp. (β) at end of Sect. 5), can be explained, as anticipated above, by simply invoking the same suprasegmental reconceptualization of the system of OA relativizers that explains the anomalous *semantic* distribution of the restrictive relativizer *man/mā*, and revolves around an opposition between an analytical and a synthetical RC-head, in terms of lack vs. presence of the ability to undergo phonological reduction.

It is precisely the presence of the suprasegmental feature of phonological reduction, as encoded in the synthetical RC-head, in fact, that causes such an anomalous post-nominal distribution of its restrictive RC. As a corollary, prior to the feature of phonological reduction encoded in the synthetical RC-head influencing the original pre-nominal syntax of its restrictive RC, a clear semantic and syntactic pattern of complementary distribution exists in the system of OA relativizers, as illustrated in the light grey cells of Table 10 below, which abstracts

away from this kind of influence by marking the semantic and syntactic structures involved in it in strikethrough[47].

Table 10: OA Relative Markers – Distribution (Refined Version)

RC-head	Phonology							
	Analytical		Synthetical					
			Partial Reduction				Total Reduction	
Relativizer	Sem.	Synt.	Sem.	Syntax	Sem.	Syntax	Sem.	Syntax
llaḏī	non-restr.	post-nom.	restr.	pre-nom.	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~
man/mā			restr.	pre-nom.	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~
ḥayṯu	non-restr.	post-nom.	restr.	pre-nom.	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~
Symbols	X =Complementary distribution				~~X~~ =heaviness and analogy ('harmonicity')			
Examples	(1) *Aḷḷāhu llaḏī nazzala l-kitāba*				(7a) *min-a d-dīni … llaḏī awḥaynā ilay-ka /* (7b) *llaḏī ǧā'a-ka min-a l-ᶜilmi*		(4) *hāḏā (RAĞULUN) man aᶜrifu munṭaliqan*	
					(2a) *min-a d-dīni mā waṣṣā bi-hi Nūḥan /* (2b) *mā anzala-ḷḷāhu min-a l-kitābi*		(5) *hāḏā (RAĞULUN) llaḏī ᶜalimtu annī lā aᶜrifu-hu munṭaliqan*	
	(3) *bi-Ḫayfi Banī Kināna ḥayṯu taqāsamū ᶜalā l-kufri*				(8a) *min arḍi-nā ḥayṯu šiʾtum /* (8b) *ḥayṯu šāʾū min arḍi-him*		(6) *ḥayṯu takūnu akūnu (= l-makānu llaḏī takūnu fī-hi akūnu)*	

In conclusion to this section, an in-depth, typological investigation of the counterexamples that militate against a semantic analysis of the system of OA relativizers *llaḏī*, *man/mā*, *ḥayṯu* in terms of complementary distribution reveals that such counterexamples disappear if we add to the picture phonological and syntactic levels of analysis (phonological reduction, heaviness, scrambling, analogy/harmonicity etc.). What's more, this investigation also reveals that the phonological and syntactic data explored by it can be felicitously integrated with the semantic ones into a pattern of complementary distribution.

[47] This table rewrites Table 8.

From a broader linguistic perspective, however, these results are flawed in two major respects, since, while describing the phonology, syntax and semantics of the system of OA relativizers, they say nothing about the latter's morphology and pragmatics.

The issue is even more prominent, if we consider that it is precisely these two level of linguistic description that have traditionally attracted the attention of Western Arabists and Semitists, albeit to a different extent (cp. Sect. 0, and especially the discussion there about the quite incomplete pragmatic definition of *la* as a 'reinforcer'): accordingly, one may wonder whether and to what extent the analysis of the OA relativizers, as developed thus far, can be reconciled with more familiar analyses of them, à la Barth, Brockelmann, Reckendorf etc.

One example that well illustrates this point is the contrast between the relative constructions **llaḏī* + RC + N (cp. Table 5) and *llaḏī* + RC + *min* + N (cp. (7b) in Table 10). While the current analysis would emphasize that the syntax of the structure **llaḏī* + RC + N significantly improves after *min*-insertion, a morphological and pragmatic analysis would rather point out that the (bound/free) morpheme *min* is able to co-occur not only with the relative markers *man/mā, ḏī*, but also with the reinforcer *la*, so that the question arises of whether these analyses are mutually exclusive or not. The next section means to bridge such an interpretive gap between the current and more traditional approaches, by focusing on the morphological and pragmatic dimensions of the relative markers *llaḏī, man/mā, ḥayṯu*.

7. Morphological and pragmatic implications of a semantic analysis of Old Arabic relative markers

Despite their dealing with the OA relative markers under the heading of morphology, traditional reference works such as Brockelmann's (1910), Barth's (1913), and Fleisch's (1961) actually tend to incorporate in their description some pragmatic considerations, at least in embryonic form.

A case in point is *llaḏī*, which Barth (1913:79, 156-157), decomposes into the smaller morphemes *l, la, ḏī*, relying upon distributional criteria such as the occurrence of these strings within other words. In particular, Barth's interpretation of *la* in terms of reinforcement, in line with Brockelmann (1910, cp. also Sect. 0) is inferred from the distributional context that the German scholar mentions in connection with this particle, in order to exemplify its occurrence outside the relativizer *llaḏī*. In fact, after characterizing such a context as the predicate of a nominal sentence introduced by *inna* (e.g. *inna rabba-ka la-yaḥkumu bayna-kum* 'Surely thy Lord will decide between them', *Koran* XVI, 124), Barth assigns to the instance of *la* found in it a reinforcer status in his German translation, where the

construction *inna* + Subject + *la* + Predicate is rendered as *siehe* + Subject +*da* + Predicate.

Pursuing a pragmatic line of reasoning, it is precisely the combination of *la* with a predicate that shows, according to Testen (1998:72–73) that this instance of *la* "was a marker of 'assertion'", based on cross-linguistic evidence: in English, for instance, the assertive marker *do* (e.g. *it does snow in May*) equally combines with a predicate. Therefore, Testen's observation refines the pragmatic approach to *la* in the manner of Barth etc. by describing it as a marker of assertion, where the latter term is practically synonymous with 'new information', as highlighted by Lambrecht (1994:52, emphasis in original): "let us refer to the 'new information' expressed or conveyed by the sentence as the PRAGMATIC ASSERTION (or simply the ASSERTION)."

Lambrecht's definition of assertion finds its *raison d'être* in the fact that the predicate to which the English *do* – and, by extension OA *la* – combine typically denotes new information, and entails that what Testen labels as a 'marker of assertion' actually is a new information marker or focus-marker. Furthermore, Arab Grammarians label the *la* combined with a predicate as *lām at-tawkīd/ta'kīd*, and accordingly their notion of *tawkīd/ta'kīd* corresponds to a good extent to the Western notion of assertion (Testen 1998:72), so that Lambrecht's definition of assertion in terms of new information allows us to define *tawkīd/ta'kīd*, by transitive property, as the expression of new information.

In this regard, the instance of *la* that does not co-occur with *inna* and combines instead with a subject, thus signaling old – rather than new – information (e.g. *la-yūsufu wa-aḫū-hu aḥabbu ilā abī-nā min-nā* 'Surely Joseph and his brother are dearer to our father than we', *Koran* XII, 8) is not a serious counterexample to the focus-marker analysis advocated here, given that the combination of this kind of *inna*-less *la* with a subject in OA is far less rigid than it happens in Classical Arabic. This is shown by lines of pre-Islamic poetry such as *ummu l-ḥulaysi la-ᶜağūzun šahraba* 'U. Ḥ is an old woman, a *šahraba*' (*apud* Testen 1998:11ff), where interestingly the *inna*-less *la* combines with a predicate, as totally expected under a focus-marker analysis.

Having discussed the pragmatics of *llaḏī*, we can now turn our attention to its morphology, whose traditional analysis appears to be acceptable only in part. True, Barth's etc. analysis of *ḏī* as a relative marker is confirmed by a substitution test reported, curiously enough, by the historian Bahā' ad-Dīn al-Ğanādī (d. 732/1332), where *ḏī* replaces *llaḏī* in the context *lā budda min __ḥakama l-amīr* (*apud* Kay 1892:147)[48,49].

[48] *fa-qālat dū budda min ḏī ḥakama l-amīr wa-dū bi-d-dāli l-muhmalati fī luġati baᶜḍi l-yamāniyyīna bi-maᶜnā lā fa-ka-anna-hā qālat lā budda min ḏī ḥakama l-amīr wa-ḏī bi-ḏ-*

By contrast, once we take into due consideration the above analysis of *la* as a focus-marker, we can hardly subscribe to Barth's etc. bimorphemic analysis of the string *lla*, according to which a definite article *l* is cumulated with the particle *la*: one, in fact, by definition encodes old information, and as such clearly conflicts in pragmatics terms with the other, conveying new information instead. To this, we can add that such pragmatic considerations converge with a distributional argument found in primary sources, which rule out the possibility that the segment *l* observed at the left edge of *llaḏī* is a definite article in view of the fact that the latter in OA is generally in complementary distribution with a *tanwīn*, whereas the initial *l* in *llaḏī* is not, the pair *r-raǧulu/raǧulun* being not paralleled by the pair *llaḏī/laḏin* (see e.g. *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* II, 372-374)[50].

On these grounds, the string *lla* of *llaḏī* is better understood as a syntactically-conditioned allomorph of the focus marker *la*, notably as an instance of *la* that has undergone gemination due to its clause-initial position, considering that grammatical markers such as *anna, inna* that introduce an (object) clause are geminated in OA, and that the string *lla*, itself introduces a (relative) clause – unlike its allomorph *la*[51].

In sum, a critical review of the traditional approach to the morphology and pragmatics of *llaḏī* proves that it is made up of a relative stem *ḏī* and a geminated allomorph of the new information (= focus) marker *la*, a finding that can be easily reconciled with the analysis of *llaḏī* as a non-restrictive relativizer worked out in the previous sections, if we recall from Comrie (1989:138-139) that a non-restrictive RC conveys precisely new information. Shortly put, the focus-marker *lla* in *llaḏī* signals the presence of a post-nominal and non-restrictive RC – pending further discussion on why it also unexpectedly introduces a restrictive RC (cp. (7) in Table 10 above).

ḏāli l-muᶜǧamati bi-maᶜnā llaḏī ka-anna-hā qālat lā budda min-a llaḏī ḥakama l-amīr yaᶜnī bnu faḍl

[49] As Rabin (1951:39) remarks, the mention of the governor Ibn Faḍl relates the constructions *lā budda min ḏī ḥakama l-amīr* etc. to events of the 9th century CE, which ensures that these data belong to OA.

[50] *wa-aṣlu llaḏī laḏin ka-ᶜamin šaǧin fa-l-lāmu fā'u l-kalimati wa-ḏ-ḏālu ᶜaynu-hā wa-l-yā'u lāmu-hā hāḏā maḏhabu l-baṣriyyīna wa-qāla l-kūfiyyūna l-aṣlu fī-llaḏī ḏ-ḏālu waḥda-hā wa-mā ᶜadā-hā zā'idun fa-aṣlu llaḏī ka-aṣli hāḏā […] anna l-alifa wa-l-lāma fī l-mawṣūlāti ziyādatun lāzimatun wa-lāmu t-taᶜrīfi lā naᶜrifu-hā ǧā'at lāzimatan bal yaǧūzu isqāṭu-hā naḥwa r-raǧulu wa-l-ġulāmu wa-raǧulun wa-ġulāmun wa-lam naǧid-hum qālū laḏin ka-mā qālū ġulāmun fa-lammā ḥalafat mā ᶜalay-hi naẓā'iru-hā dalla ᶜalā anna-hā zā'idatun li-ġayri maᶜnā t-taᶜrīf*

[51] Cp. also Rabin (1951:155) for comparative arguments in favour of interpreting *lla* as a geminated allomorph of *la*.

Turning to *ḥayṯu*, the most exhaustive morphological treatment of this relativizer is to be found in Fleisch (1961:II, 61-63), who decomposes it into the smaller meaning units *ḥay, ṯ, u*, which he identifies with the demonstrative stems *ḥay, ṯ*, and the locative stem *u* on the basis of the same distributional criteria illustrated in connection with Barth. As in the case of *llaḏī*, primary sources lend further support to the Western traditional analysis of *ḥayṯu* by means of a substitution test reported in *Kitāb* IV, 233, which sets up a one-to-one correspondence between *ḥay* and *lla*; *ḏī* and *ṯ*; *u* and *fī-hi*[52]. The test at issue also allows for a more accurate characterization of *ḥay* and *ṯ* on a pragmatic, and more generally semantic level, by assigning them the same content as the morphemes they replace, with the consequence that they qualify, respectively, as a focus-marker and a relative marker.

Concentrating on the pragmatic dimension of *ḥay*, it is also captured in its essence in the morphological treatment that Fleisch (1961: II, 68-69) offers of the so-called 'formes à diphtongue', which all follow the pattern *Cay*, and include the particle in question. After observing that these morphemes (*ay-, kay-, hay-, nay-, ḥay-, ḏay-*) tend to be subject to iteration (e.g. *ḏay-ta wa-ḏay-ta* 'so', *kay-ta, wa-kay-ta* 'id.'), the French scholar states: "les formes à diphtongue s'expliquent suffisamment par la progression phonétique, d'origine affective, pour la recherche de l'expressivité".

In all likelihood, Fleisch's observations heavily draw on primary sources, where iteration is said to be a strategy to express *tawkīd/ta'kīd* (see e.g. *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* II, 219–220)[53]. The point we would like to stress here is that the ability of a given OA morpheme to undergo iteration diagnoses its conveyance of new information, given the above result that a fairly reasonable correspondence exists between *tawkīd/ta'kīd* and new information – rather than between *tawkīd/ta'kīd* and a quite vague notion of 'expressivité'. In consequence of this, *ḥay* turns out to be a focus-marker since it successfully replaces *(l)la*, and belongs to a class of forms able to undergo iteration, a morphological reflex of new information.

To summarize, as it were, this critical review of the traditional approach to the morphology and pragmatics of *ḥayṯu*, primary sources improve it by substantiating the hypothesis that *ḥay* is a new information (= focus) marker, and *ṯ* a relative stem. As in the case of *llaḏī*, such a finding can be reconciled with the analysis of *ḥayṯ(u)* as a non-restrictive relativizer presented in the previous sections, by simply recalling from Comrie (1989:138-139) that a non-restrictive RC precisely conveys new information. Briefly, the focus-marker *ḥay* in *ḥayṯ(u)* signals the presence of a post-nominal and non-restrictive RC, with the proviso that its ability to signal a restrictive RC (cp. (8) in Table 10 above) still calls for an explanation.

---

[52] *wa-ammā ḥayṯu fa-makānun bi-manzilati qawli-ka huwa fī l-makāni llaḏī fī-hi Zayd*

[53] *wa-t-ta'kīdu ᶜalā ḍarbayni lafẓiyyun wa-maᶜnawiyyun wa-l-lafẓiyyu yakūnu bi-takrīri l-lafẓi wa-ḏālika naḥwa qawli-ka ḍarabtu Zaydan Zaydan*

We are thus left with the morphology and pragmatics of the relativizer *man/mā*, and of the particle *min* found in OA relativization. Starting from morphological considerations, *man/mā* has been extensively dealt with in traditional reference works, which assign it a bimorphemic status (*ma-n*, *ma-:*) by means of the same distributional criteria used for *llaḏī* and *ḥayṯ(u)* (cp. the interrogative *man/mā*), and nothing new can be added here. By contrast, the traditional analysis of the particle *min* found in OA relativization, as carried out in such works, invites further discussion, since it awkardly identifies the particle in question with the P *min*, on the basis of the wrong assumption – not corroborated by textual evidence – that the former instance of *min* shares with the latter a partitive meaning (see e.g. Reckendorf 1895: 622-623). As already pointed out at end of Sect. 4, in fact, OA relative constructions such as e.g. *min-a d-dīni mā waṣṣā bi-hi Nūḥan* (*Koran* XLII, 13) and *mā nansaḫu min āyatin* (*Koran* II, 106), which will be referred to henceforth as *mā-min* relative constructions, are, according to Arab Grammarians, *loci probantes* for interpreting instead the particle *min* occurring in OA relativization as a *zā'ida/ṣila/laġw*, i.e. a semantically unnecessary constituent (see fn. 29 above on this terminological equivalence).

Far from confining such an interpretation to the *min* found in the OA relative construction, Arab Grammarians, and especially the OA native speakers among them, assigned the morphemic status of semantically unnecessary constituent also to the *min* found in a particular kind of OA negative construction, generally defined in the literature as formally identical to the *mā-min* relative construction, in that the negation *mā* co-occurs with a negated NP combined precisely with *min* (*mā-min* negative construction henceforth).

Thus, in his metalinguistic description of *min*, al-Farrā' (d. 207/822) recognizes that it can denote departure from a place, a partitive expression, or a semantically unnecessary constituent (*ṣila*), and exemplifies the latter meaning through the OA *mā-min* negative construction *mā yuᶜzabu ᶜan rabbi-ka min miṯqāli ḏarratin* 'not so much as the weight of an ant […] escapes from thy Lord' (*Koran* X, 61), which he glosses as *mā yuᶜzabu ᶜan ᶜilmi-hi waznu ḏarratin*, dropping the particle *min* altogether (*Lisān* VI, 4281)[54].

A digression is in order here. If we concur with al-Farrā' that the *min* found in the OA *mā-min* negative construction is not a partitive *min*, we can reassess the traditional observation that this construction is formally identical to the *mā-min* relative construction by stating that it consists of a NP – instead of a PP – and a clause introduced by a grammatical marker *mā* that can receive – besides a negative marker interpretation – a relative marker interpretation. Note-worthily,

[54] *takūnu min ibtidā'a ġāyatin wa-takūnu baᶜḍan wa-takūnu ṣilatan qāla llāh ᶜazza wa-ǧalla mā yuᶜzabu ᶜan rabbi-ka min miṯqāli ḏarratin ay mā yuᶜzabu ᶜan ᶜilmi-hi waznu ḏarratin*

these are exactly the two syntactic properties that, according to Ouhalla (1999:342-343) diagnose the real core of a cleft-construction, as shown by the fact that two genetically unrelated languages such as English and Moroccan Arabic indeed share a NP and a relativizer in their cleft-constructions (cp. *it was the children that Nadia sent*, and *l-wlad elli huma sarrdat Nadia*, respectively), while no phonological counterpart of the Moroccan Arabic *ḍamīr al-faṣl huma* is needed in English, nor do we find in Moroccan Arabic any phonological equivalent of the English expletive-*be* complex *it is* (the lack of which Ouhalla labels as 'pruning').

With this in place, the OA *mā-min* negative construction bears the mark of a negative cleft- construction that, like its Moroccan Arabic counterpart, combines a cleft NP with the subordinate clause in the form of a relative construction, actually identical to the *mā-min* relative construction, and, still in line with Moroccan Arabic, does not realize on a *phonological* level the sememes that form the expletive-*be* complex; but, unlike its Moroccan Arabic counterpart, the OA negative cleft-construction also lacks a *ḍamīr al-faṣl* intervening between the cleft NP and the subordinate clause, as wholly expected for this variety of Arabic, where the *ḍamīr al-faṣl* cannot co-occur with an expletive-*be* complex found on a semantic level, as shown by contrasts reported by Bloch (1991:57), such as *hāḏā r-rağulu/hāḏā huwa r-rağulu* 'this is the man' vs. *hāḏā r-rağulu/*hāḏā huwa r-rağulu* 'there is the man', where the latter expression exhibits, on a *phonological* level, a deictic (*hāḏā*) that receives an expletive-*be* reading on a *semantic* level.

Concretely, it is as if the English negative construction *we're not looking for Joey* had developed out of a negative cleft-construction such as *it's not Joey we're looking for*, where *Joey we're looking for* is a relative construction (cp. *the guy we're looking for*), with the caveat that, on a phonological level, the OA negative cleft-construction 'prunes' the expletive-*be* complex and the *ḍamīr al-faṣl* found, respectively, in English and Moroccan Arabic, so that it is phonologically realized only insofar as its *mā-min* relative construction is concerned. It is exactly the covert realization of such constituents that yields the well-known overlap, on the sound-side, between the *mā-min* relative construction and its negative/cleft counterpart, which contains itself a relative construction: the corresponding syntactic structures *min* + NP $mā_{\text{RELATIVE MARKER}}$ + VP and $Ø_{\text{it is}}$ + *min* + NP + $Ø_{\text{huwa}}$ + $mā_{\text{RELATIVE/NEGATIVE MARKER}}$ + VP are effectively identical on the sound-side, where the covert constituents $Ø_{\text{it is}}$ and $Ø_{\text{huwa}}$ are not detectable.

The importance of this digression to our understanding of the *mā-min* relative construction is that typologists have long noticed a grammaticalization pattern that involves precisely the two syntactic types phonologically realized in OA through the structure: *min* + NP + *mā* + VP – namely, a negative cleft-construction that contains a relative construction, and a negative construction. According to Heine & Reh (1984:185-186) Teso, a Nilo-Saharan language, attests to the grammaticalization pattern in question, which starts with a negative cleft-construction that con-

tains a relative construction (**e-mam petero e-koto ekiŋok*, lit. 's-not Peter s-want dog', i.e. 'it is not Peter who wants a dog'), and ends up with a negative construction (*mam petero e-koto ekiŋok*, lit. 'not Peter s-want dog', i.e. 'Peter does not want a dog') through reanalysis.

This is typological evidence that in OA the *mā-min* negative construction is syntactically derived from a *mā-min* relative construction[55] contained within a negative cleft-construction, via a process of reanalysis whose details cannot be investigated here, but that affects in all likelihood an overt relativizer *man/mā* originally found in an assertive cleft-construction (cp. *it's money that I love*), by replacing it with a covert relativizer (cp. *it's Joey we're looking for*), so that *man/mā* is reanalyzed as a negative marker (cp. *it's not Joey we're looking for*), which yields a negative cleft-construction and, later, a negative construction.

Returning to primary sources and to the way they interpret the *min* that occurs in the *mā-min* negative construction; a view akin to al-Farrā'*'*s is expressed by the early grammarian al-Aḫfaš (d. 177/793), who, however, also takes a step forward. According to *Lisān* (VI, 4281) al-Aḫfaš holds that in the *mā-min* negative construction *mā ǧa^{c}ala ḷḷāhu li-raǧulin min qalbayni fī ǧawfi-hi* 'God has not assigned to any man two hearts within his breast' (*Koran* XXXIII, 4) the *min* that denotes a semantically unnecessary constituent (*laġw*) also denotes *tawkīd*[56] or, in modern terms, new information (cp. the pragmatic evidence culled from the discussion of *llaḏī*).

Therefore, the aforesaid negative construction evidences the hypothesis that the instance of *min* occurring in such a distributional context, i.e. the *min* combined with the negated NP and contained within a cleft-construction, is a focus-marker. Further proof to this effect can be brought from linguistic typology: indeed, a negated NP (e.g. *amat'ed-ile* "good reindeer") combined with a focus-marker (*-k*) has been reported for Yukagir, a Uralo-Siberian language, provided that it occurs within a negative cleft-construction, in a striking parallel to OA, e.g. *met amat'ed-ile-k el'-bun'-meng* 'it wasn't a good reindeer that I killed' (Fortescue 1996:34).

A far-reaching corollary of identifying the *min* that occurs in the OA *mā-min* negative construction with a focus-marker is that the same analysis carries over to the OA *mā-min* relative construction, given that the former is syntactically derived from the latter. A word of caution is needed here: at the present research stage, such a remark can only apply to the particle *min* that *follows* the relative stem *man*/

[55] Esseesy (2010:212-213) posits an inverse process of grammaticalization, but he admits that he has "not encountered a single study documenting a grammaticalization process" of this sort.

[56] *qāla l-Ǧawhariyyu wa-qad tadḫulu min tawkīdan laġwan […] qāla l-Aḫfašu […] mā ǧa^{c}ala ḷḷāhu li-raǧulin min qalbayni fī ǧawfi-hi innamā udḫila min tawkīdan kamā taqūlu ra'aytu Zaydan nafsa-hu*

mā in the linear order, i.e. *man*/*mā…min* (structure-final *min* henceforth), or, to put it differently, to the *min* that occurs within a RC-head combined with a pre-nominal RC introduced by *man*/*mā*, since the OA *mā-min* negative construction that arises out of the OA *mā-min* relative construction exhibits precisely such an ordering of the constituents *man/mā* and *min* (cp. the above Koranic examples cited by al-Farrā' and al-Aḫfaš, and Wright 1896:II, 135).

To recap, a new approach to the morphology and pragmatics of the markers *man/mā*, *min* mainly focuses on their ability to occur alongside each other both in a relative and negative construction, with the linear order *man/mā…min*, and brings textual and typological evidence that the structure-final *min* is a new-information (=focus) marker in these two distributional contexts. Such an achievement can be easily reconciled with the analysis of the synthetical RC-head #*mi(n)*-N# worked out in Sect. 6 for two reasons. Firstly, in OA this kind of RC-head precisely conveys new information, since it is combined with a restrictive, and therefore old-information RC, as pointed out by Comrie (1989:138-139). Secondly, it originally *follows* the restrictive RC in question, which implies for the constituents *man/mā*, *min* found in this instance of OA relativization precisely the linear order *man/mā…min*.

In brief, the focus-marker *min* that occurs in the structure-final RC-head #*mi(n)*-N# signals the presence of a pre-nominal and restrictive RC.

This analysis has the advantage of converging with the indirect evidence presented in Sect. 6 to substantiate the hypothesis that the synthetical RC-head #*mi(n)*-N# follows a pattern Dependent + Head, on the grounds that *min* falls under the category of focus-marker, which is indeed a dependent in OA, as shown by the substitution test *ḏī/llaḏī* discussed at the outset of this section, where the complex relativizer *llaḏī* can be substituted by the relative stem *ḏī*, but not by the focus-marker *lla* (cp. fn. 41 above).

Another advantage of an analysis of the markers *man/mā* and *min* of this sort lies in an economical and unified representation of the system of OA relativizers on a morphological and pragmatic level, which the traditional approach fails to capture. Despite their discontinuous realization, the particle *min* and the relativizer *man/mā*, in fact, parallel the composite relativizers *llaḏī* and *ḥayṯu*, in that all of them have an *isomorphic* structure that combines a focus-marker with a relative marker.

This being said, the question still remains of whether such morphological and pragmatic properties of the system of OA relativizers enter the general pattern of complementary distribution that has been shown in the previous sections to govern their phonological, syntactic and semantic properties, as summarized in the dark grey cells of Table 10 above. The answer is only partially in the affirmative: on the one side, the relativizers investigated in this section, namely the non-restrictive *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu* (cp. (1, 3) in Table 10), and the restrictive (and discontinuous) *man/mā*

…*min* (cp. (2b) in Table 10), are clearly in complementary distribution on a morphological and pragmatic level, the word-order of the focus-marker and the relative stem in *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu* being the opposite of their word-order in *man/mā … min*; on the other, nothing certain can be stated with regard to the pre-nominal and restrictive relative markers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu* (cp. (7b, 8b) in Table 10), in view of their somewhat nebulous properties on a pragmatic level. The critical review of the morphology and pragmatics of *llaḏī* and *ḥayṯu* made in this section, in fact, has highlighted that such relativizers behave in a rather contradictory manner when introducing a restrictive RC, since their focus (=*new*-information) markers *lla*, *ḥay* signal a kind of RC conveying *old* information instead. Moreover, as has already been alluded to at end of Sect. 6, in the same anomalous pragmatic context the focus-markers *lla* and *ḥay* may puzzlingly co-occur with another focus-marker – *min*.

The next section addresses these and other related problems concerning the overall distributional architecture that underpins the system of OA relativizers.

8. From structural description to functional explanation

A solution to the anomalous pragmatic behavior of the focus markers *lla* and *ḥay* occurring in the pre-nominal and restrictive relativizers *llaḏī*, *ḥayṯu* (cp. (7b, 8b) in Table 10) can be devised by looking at these focus-markers through the interpretive lens of primary sources, according to which the constituents *lla* and *ḥay* thus characterized, despite their sharing with the structure-final *min* the common status of focus-marker (*tawkīd/ta'kīd*), are opposed to it in terms of lack vs. presence, respectively, of the so-called property of *zā'ida/ṣila/laġw*, as discussed at length in the previous section.

Taking such a semantic property as a departure point for our inquiry, we observe that its presence in the structure-final focus-marker *min* systematically correlates with a phonological property of this kind of morpheme, notably phonological reduction, for the reason that both the *zā'ida/ṣila/laġw* and phonological reduction manifest themselves into one and the same domain – the synthetical RC-head #*mi(n)*-N#. We could also add that the focus-marker analysis naturally extends from the structure-final *min* to the structure-initial *min*, given that the structure-initial *min* is part and parcel of a relative construction derived via scrambling from the relative construction that features the structure-final *min* (cp. Sect. 6). Practically speaking, the structure-initial *min* occurs within a RC-head combined with a post-nominal RC introduced by *man/mā*, as exemplified by (7a, 8a) in Table 10.

Bearing this in mind, we can make sense of such a correlation by resorting to Jespersen cycle, whose presence in Arabic has been extensively reported for the

verbal system (Lucas 2007). In this interpretive scenario, when phonological reduction affects the analytical RC-head #*min*#N#, thus converting it into the synthetical RC-head #*mi(n)*-N#, it triggers the post-nominal position of its RC, as discussed in Sect. 6, and – the point made here – the semantic weakening of the focus-marker *min*, whose fusion with the N that follows it into a partially reduced RC-head #*mi(n)*-N# blocks its isolability, and therefore its semantic recognizeability. This is the first stage of Jespersen cycle, which can be also exemplified by Old French *jeo ne dis*, lit. 'I not say', i.e. 'I do not say', and especially by its phonologically reduced negation *ne* (Lucas 2007:402). In the next stage, the semantic weakening undergone by the RC-head, in turn, triggers the insertion of a new constituent, which takes over it in its function as a focus-marker. As customary for Jespersen cycle, such a replacement cannot take place in the original site of the weakened focus-marker, i.e. left-adjacent to N, since this would undesirably result in a further weakening of the new focus-marker, which accordingly is required to occupy a position right-adjacent to N. The best candidates to this role are the particles *lla(ḏī)* and *ḥay(ṯu)* that typically introduce a post-nominal RC (cp. (7a, 7b) in Table 10 above), in view of the fact that, in addition to being focus-markers, they are also right-adjacent to N. It ensues that in the restrictive and post-nominal relativizers *lla(ḏī)* and *ḥay(ṯu)* that co-occur with a partially reduced RC-head #*mi(n)*-N#, the focus-markers *lla*, *ḥay* are dependent of the RC-head in question, which *precedes* them, rather than of the relative stems *ḏī*, *ṯ* that *follow* them and, in doing so, they double the weakened focus-marker *min*, in order to strengthen it, as entirely foreseeable under an analysis in terms of Jespersen cycle (cp. the co-occurrence between *ne* and *pas* in Modern Standard French *je ne dis pas*, as per Lucas 2007:402). In the next and final stage of this process, phonological reduction is fully achieved, all the other things being equal, which entails that the focus markers *lla*, *ḥay* are still dependent of the (covert) N of a totally reduced RC-head $Ø_{\#mi(n)\text{-N}\#}$ that precedes them, but they no longer double the focus-marker *min*, which has been totally reduced, i.e. deleted, along with N (cp. (4,6) in Table 10 above), and then completely superseded precisely by *lla*, *ḥay*. This behavior is in line with Jespersen cycle, since in Modern Colloquial French the negative construction *je dis pas* is found, where *pas* no longer co-occurs with *ne* (Lucas 2007:402).

The main lesson learnt from the principled application of Jespersen cycle to the OA focus-markers *lla*, *ḥay* and *min* is that *lla* and *ḥay* are partial or total replacive morphemes of *min* when they *follow* a RC-head #*mi(n)*-N#/ $Ø_{\#mi(n)\text{-N}\#}$ that has undergone partial or total phonological reduction, i.e. when they introduce a post-nominal and restrictive RC, as in (7a, 8a) (*min*/$Ø_{min}$-…*llaḏī)*, *min*/$Ø_{min}$…*ḥayṯu*). In consequence of this, the relative stems *ḏī* and *ṯ* combined with the *replacive* focus markers *lla* and *ḥay* occur in the same distributional context as the relative stem *man/mā*, which means, technically speaking, that such relative stems are

semantically conditioned allomorphs of *man/mā*, if we consider that *man/mā* takes the form *ḏī, ṯ* when semantic weakening induces its focus-marker *min*, originally left-adjacent to the RC-head, to take the form *lla, ḥay*, right-adjacent to the RC-head. In fewer words, the post-nominal and restrictive relativizers *llaḏī* and *ḥayṯ(u)* are allomorphs to the discontinuous restrictive relativizer *min…man/mā*, because of the Jespersen cycle.

It seems also safe to adopt the same analysis for the morphemes *lla, ḥay* that *precede* a RC-head #*mi(n)*-N# having undergone phonological reduction (*llaḏī… min, ḥayṯu…min*), i.e. the morphemes *lla, ḥay* introducing a pre-nominal and restrictive RC, as in (7b, 8b). This situation arises as a RC-head of this sort serves as an analogical pivot for transferring the allomorphic nature of *lla, ḥay*, and *ḏī, ṯ* from the *post-nominal* and restrictive relativizers *llaḏī* and *ḥayṯ(u)* to their *pre-nominal* and restrictive counterparts. In other words, the pre-nominal and restrictive relativizers *llaḏī, ḥayṯ(u)* are allomorphs to the discontinuous restrictive relativizer *man/mā…min*, via Jespersen cycle and analogical extension.

In this light, the problem of the anomalous pragmatic behavior of the pre-nominal and restrictive relativizers *llaḏī, ḥayṯ(u)* raised at the end of the previous section evaporates as soon as we interpret them in a principled way (Jespersen cycle plus analogy) as allomorphic to the discontinuous restrictive relativizer *man/mā*, since the *new*-information (=focus) markers *lla, ḥay* in this framework signal the *new*-information N acting as a head of a restrictive RC, as much as *min* does in the same context. Similarly, the related problem of the puzzling co-occurrence of *min* with *lla, ḥay* is straightforwardly resolved by simply taking into consideration Jespersen cycle. Furthermore, as anticipated at end of Sect. 6, the same phenomenon can be reconciled with the syntactic observation that a contrast exists between the relative constructions **llaḏī/ḥayṯu*+ RC + N (cp. Table 5) and *llaḏī/ ḥayṯu* + RC + *min* + N (cp. (7a,7b) above) with no additional theoretical machinery. It will suffice to say that the post-nominal relativizers *llaḏī/ḥayṯu* do not tolerate a pre-nominal counterpart, as totally expected under an account of them in terms of complementary distribution (cp. Table 10), and that the pre-nominal relativizers that co-occurs with *min* do not make exception to this statement, since actually they are not proper relativizers *llaḏī/ḥayṯu*, but 'disguised' instances of the relativizer *man/mā*, such an allomorphy resulting from Jespersen cycle.

Finally, an interesting diachronic implication of an allomorphic analysis of the pre-nominal and restrictive relativizers *llaḏī/ḥayṯu* along these lines is a corroboration of the hypothesis, put forward at the end of the previous section, that a pattern of complementary distribution governs the morphological-pragmatic level of the system of OA relativizers, just as it does for the latter's phonological, syntactic, and semantic levels. According to this hypothesis, the post-nominal and non-restrictive *llaḏī/ḥayṯu*, and the restrictive and discontinuous *man/mā…min*, are in complementary distribution, the word-order of the focus-marker and the relative

stem in *llaḏī/ḥayṯu* being the opposite of their word-order in *man/mā…min*. This distributional scenario gains plausibility from Jespersen cycle: prior to its application and analogical extension, in fact, there occurred in the system of OA relativizers no pre-nominal and restrictive relativizers *llaḏī/ḥayṯu* allomorphic to the restrictive and discontinuous *man/mā…min*, and only was the latter's word-order, therefore, opposed to the opposite word-order of the post-nominal and non-restrictive *llaḏī/ḥayṯu*, in complementary distribution.

However, this is not the whole of the matter, since upon closer scrutiny, it appears that such a morphological-pragmatic pattern of complementary distribution in turn encompasses a subpattern of the same sort, which involves the post-nominal and non-restrictive relativizers *llaḏī/ḥayṯu*. More accurately, this is the loose pattern of complementary distribution, traditionally known as Kuryłowicz's (1973: 79) fourth law of analogy, where the relevant distinctive feature is to a good extent a diachronic opposition between an innovative and archaic form. Somewhat simplifying, this law states that a new form supersedes an older form in its primary (e.g. unmarked, frequent) functions, whereas the older form retains its secondary (e.g. marked, infrequent) functions as much as possible, in spite of the pressure of a new form to supersede it. For instance, the English bimorphemic word *brother-s* functions as a regular plural, while its *isomorphic* ancestor *bhrethr-en* is confined to a specialized plural, denoting members of a religious order – although *brother-s* is also possible in this sense.

Likewise, the OA bimorphemic relativizer *llaḏī* appears to be a more recent word than its isomorphic counterpart *ḥayṯ(u)*, so that *ḥayṯ(u)* can solely perform the secondary function of a non-argument, i.e. 'where' (cp. the obligatory locative morpheme *u* cumulated with it), whereas *llaḏī* performs the primary function of an argument, i.e. 'who(m)' etc. – although it can also work as a non-argument (cp. *llaḏī…fī-hi*). In particular, the relativizer *llaḏī* is regarded as more recent than *ḥayṯ(u)* in both the genetic and diffusionist models.

The genetic model, in fact, would consider as diachronically relevant the different morphological shape of the focus-markers *lla* and *ḥay* that occur in a *nominal* domain such as the relativizers *llaḏī* and *ḥayṯ(u)*, and would account for them in terms of a suprasegmental allomorphy that opposes gemination to diphthongation, based on similar cases from the Hebrew nominal domain, where geminated collectives such as *pequdda(h*) 'group of attendants' coexist with diphtonged collectives such as *gōḇay* 'swarm of locusts' (Corriente 1971b:21-23). The same model would also relate such an opposition to two different linguistic strata, nominal gemination going back to North-West Semitic, nominal diphtongation even back, to Early Semitic (1971b:60). On these grounds, the geminated *llaḏī* would be more recent than the diphtonged *ḥayṯ(u)*, not unlike the geminated *pequdda(h)* would be more recent than the diphtonged *gōḇay*.

The diffusionist model, meanwhile, would rather focus on the (pro)*nominal* allomorphy between *ḏī* and *ṯ*, which opposes a vowelled to a vowelless C, and also occurs in another instance of *nominal* morphology, the Arabic biradical nouns. Here, in fact, a vowelled stem such as *bin* 'son' coexists with a vowelless stem such as *bn*. To Garbini and Durand (1994:87-90, 115) as well as Testen (1998:208-209), in this kind of allomorphy the vowelled form goes back to North-West Semitic, the vowelless one to Early Semitic, so that, in this view, the vowelled *ḏī* would be more recent than the vowelless *ṯ*, as much as the vowelled *bin* 'son' would be more recent than the vowelless *bn*.

Interpreting the coexistence between *llaḏī* and *ḥayṯ(u)* in terms of such a diachronic opposition is a result particularly welcome here, for the reason that it enhances the symmetrical architecture of the multi-layered pattern of complementary distribution that this paper has plausibly identified as underlying the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic dimensions of the OA relative markers *llaḏī, ḥayṯ(u)* and *man/mā…min.* This is illustrated in Table 11 below, which rewrites Table 10.

Table 11: OA Relative Markers – Distribution (Final Version)

RC-head / Relativizer		Phonology							
		Analytical		Synthetical					
				Partial Reduction				Total Reduction	
Morph.-Prag.		Sem.	Syntax	Sem.	Syntax	Sem.	Syntax	Sem.	Syntax
lla	*ḏī*	non-restr.	post-nom.	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~
man/mā	*min*			restr.	pre-nom.	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~
ḥay	*ṯ(u)*	non-restr.	post-nom.	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~	~~restr.~~	~~post-nom.~~
Symbols		X=complem. distribution, cp. Table 11bis for details		X=complementary distribution		~~X~~ =Jespersen cycle and analogy		~~X~~ =heaviness and analogy (‘harmonicity’)	
Examples		(1) *Aḷḷāhu llaḏī nazzala l-kitāba*		(7a) *min-a l-dīni … llaḏī awḥaynā ilay-ka /* (7b) *llaḏī ǧā’a-ka min-a l-ᶜilmi*				(4) *hāḏā (RAǦULUN) man aᶜrifu munṭaliqan*	
				(2a) *min-a l-dīni mā waṣṣā bi-hi Nūḥan /* (2b) *mā anzala-ḷḷāhu min-a l-kitābi*				(5) *hāḏā (RAǦULUN) llaḏī ᶜalimtu annī lā aᶜrifu-hu munṭaliqan*	
		(3) *bi-Ḫayfi Banī Kināna ḥayṯu taqāsamū ᶜalā l-kufri*		(8a) *min arḍi-nā ḥayṯu ši’tum /* (8b) *ḥayṯu šā’ū min arḍi-him*				(6) *ḥayṯu takūnu akūnu (= l-makānu llaḏī takūnu fī-hi akūnu)*	

Morphology-Pragmatics (Table11bis)		focus-m.	rel. stem	focus-m.	rel. stem	sem. role
man/mā	*min*	final	initial			
lla	*ḏī*			initial	final	argument
ḥay	*ṯ(u)*			initial	final	non-argument

Having clarified throughout this paper how such a generalized pattern of complementary distribution arises out of several patterns of complementary

distribution that manifest themselves in the system of OA relativizers, we may still wonder *why* such patterns manifest themselves in the latter. While we can invoke structural factors of analogy (cp. the general drift from analytical to synthetical language) to account for the phonological pattern of complementary distribution (analytical vs. synthetical RC-head), in the case of the syntactic and semantic patterns of complementary distribution, cross-linguistic evidence rather points to a functional explanation, as already discussed at end of Sect. 4. In this framework, a linguistic opposition that one way or the other comes through on the sound-side, such as the different syntactic position that pre-nominal and post-nominal RCs occupy in the linear order, is the audible manifestation of a semantic opposition, such as the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive RCs, which would be otherwise more difficult to retrieve for the speakers. The lack of such a syntactic pattern of complementary distribution, in fact, would force the speakers to infer the related semantic pattern of complementary distribution from an empirical domain more complex than a relative construction alone, such as contextual or extra-linguistic information.

A functional explanation of this sort, however, has traditionally faced OA and, more generally, Arabic with two interpretive problems. On the one hand, the world's languages frequently signal the aforesaid semantic pattern of complementary distribution by means of a strategy alternative to the syntactic pattern of complementary distribution, namely a suprasegmental pattern of complementary distribution, which associates the presence of a pause or – in graphemic rendering – a comma to a non-restrictive relativizer, and its lack to a restrictive relativizer (cp. English (,)*which*), but OA lacks it, and the ultimate reason of this behavior remains obscure. On the other hand, as far as is known, the morphological-pragmatic pattern of complementary distribution typical of OA, i.e. *llaḏī, ḥayṯ(u)* vs. *man/mā…min* finds no room in the functional explanations of Arabic relativization – for instance, Gensler (2004) countenances a semantic pattern of complementary distribution for the system of OA relativizers, and yet such an analysis does not expound *why* an OA relativizer such as *llaḏī* is morphologically more complex than its English counterpart ,*which*, due to its incorporating the 'reinforcer' *la*.

A plausible solution to both problems lies in the oral-poetic nature of OA, as highlighted in Monroe's (1972) and Zwettler's (1978) work. The argument is built as follows.

Firstly, the presence of the focus-markers *lla, ḥay, min* in the system of OA relativizers systemically correlates with the lack, in the same system, of an opposition between them in terms of presence or absence of the suprasegmental device of pause – as is inferred from the fact that no contrast between the presence or absence of comma is found in the writing of such relativizers.

In second place, we can take such a correlation to be too pervasive to be accidental, and can interpret accordingly the focus-markers *lla* and *ḥay*, which actually signal a *non*-restrictive RC (see Sect. 7), to be the functional equivalents of the presence of pause/comma in languages such as English, Italian etc., and the focus-marker *min*, which (indirectly) signals a restrictive RC (via its RC-head: cp. Sect. 7), to be the functional equivalent of the absence of pause/comma in these languages.

Last but not least, such an inability of OA to avail itself of pause in its relativization, and the related usage of the focus-markers *lla, ḥay, min* instead, is deeply rooted in the oral-poetic nature of this language, which was in origin a *Kunstsprache* that privileged poetic contents, and expressed them in oral form, as attested by the formulaic nature of pre-Islamic poetry (Monroe 1972, Zwettler 1978) and, to a lesser extent of the Koranic *sağ^{c}* prose (Rippin 2005:121, and cp. also the formulaic expression *bi-Ḫayfi Banī Kināna ḥayṯu taqāsamū ^{c}alā l-kufri* studied at beginning of Sect. 5). Remarkably, such a diachronic and sociolinguistic scenario entails for the suprasegmental dimension of OA that pause was unavailable as a device to distinguishing a non-restrictive relativizer from its restrictive counterpart, since it was already used to signal a different kind of information, notably a rhythmic unit, as shown by the widespread usage of pausal forms in pre-Islamic poetry, the Koran, and so on. Accordingly, the focus-markers *lla, ḥay, min* were deployed instead of the pause, as a repair-strategy.

One key-point stands out from these remarks on the suprasegmental dimension of an oral-poetic language such as OA: the rationale behind this situation is essentially functional, and amounts to a sort of adaptive mechanism, which converts the suprasegmental opposition between presence or absence of pause into a morphological-pragmatic opposition between the focus-marker *lla, ḥay* and *min*, in order to adapt the suprasegmental opposition in question to the metrical conditions that the oral-poetic nature of OA imposes onto its relativization.

To conclude, a multi-layered pattern of complementary distribution governs the system of OA relativizers, which has at its core a restrictiveness-based opposition, with a morphological-pragmatic distinction as its audible counterpart. From a cross-linguistic perspective, the latter opposes the focus-markers *lla, ḥay* to the focus-marker *min*, which are very likely to be metrically-conditioned replacive morphemes, respectively, of the presence or absence of pause/comma, a suprasegmental device deployed for marking the restrictiveness-based opposition, familiar from English, Italian etc. relativization.

Such a multi-layered pattern of complementary distribution is obscured, in diachrony, by syntactic and morphological factors, which consist, respectively, of a word-order change affecting a Dependent RC with respect to a Head *min*-N ('heaviness'), and in the rise of an allomorphy concerning the relativizer *man/mā; min* ('Jespersen cycle'). Both these phenomena, in turn, are triggered by a

phonological factor that can be identified with a phonological reduction of the particle *min* reported by primary sources, and that, from a modern typological perspective, is part and parcel of a more general shift from analytical to synthetical language which scholars such as Petrácek and Owens have found out to be at work in (Old) Arabic (cp. fn. 36 above).

Analyzing along these lines the apparent deviations from the multi-layered pattern of complementary distribution that informs the system of OA relativizers *llaḏī/ḥayṯu*, *man/mā…min* has two important typological implications. Firstly, the study of such anomalies gathers direct evidence in favor of the existence of a post-positional construction in early stages of OA (cp. the relic form *ᶜalā ᶜan* in Sect. 6), thus lending empirical credence to the hypothesis entertained in the literature that Arabic, and more generally Semitic, was originally a postpositional language. Secondly, a study of this kind brings to light the 'missing link' between the formally identical *mā-min* relative and negative constructions, in the form of a negative cleft-construction, a result that receives indirect confirmation from Teso, the Nilo-Saharan language where a similar grammaticalization pattern occurs (cp. Sect. 7).

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* = Abū ᶜAbd Aḷḷāh Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl al-Buḫārī, *al-Ǧāmiᶜ aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Edited by Muḥammad Zuhayr Ibn al-Nāṣir an-Nāṣir, 9. vols., Beirut: Dār Ṭūq an-Naǧāt, 2001.

Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* = Abū Bišr ᶜAmr b. ᶜUṯmān b. Qanbar Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*. Edited by ᶜAbd as-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 5 vols., Cairo: Maktabat al-Ḫānǧī, 1982.

Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* = Muḥammad b. Mukarram b. ᶜAlī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Manẓūr. *Lisān al-ᶜarab*. Edited by ᶜAbd Aḷḷāh ᶜAlī l-Kabīr & Muḥammad Aḥmad Ḥasab Aḷḷāh Hāšim al-Šāḏilī, 6 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Maᶜārif, 1981.

Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* = Ibn Hišām al-Anṣārī. *Muġnī labīb ᶜan kutub al-aᶜārīb*. Edited by Ḥasan Ḥamad, 3 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyya, 2005.

al-Astarābāḏī, *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya* = Raḍī d-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābāḏī, *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya*. Edited by Yūsuf Ḥasan ᶜUmar, 5 vols., Benghazi: Manšūrāt Ǧāmiᶜat Qāryūnis, 1996.

Ibn Yaᶜīš, *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* = Muwaffaq ad-Dīn Abī l-Baqā' Yaᶜīš b. ᶜAlī Ibn Yaᶜīš, *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*. Edited by Imīl Badīᶜ Yaᶜqūb, 6 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyya, 2001.

B. Secondary sources

Badawi, E., Carter, M. & A. Gully. 2004. *Modern Written Arabic: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London & New York: Routledge.

Barth, J. 1913. *Die Pronominalbildung in den Semitischen Sprachen*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Benmamoun, E. 2005. "Construct State." in: *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics, Volume I*, ed. by K. Versteegh, M. Eid, A. Elgibali, M. Woidich & A. Zaborski, 477-482. Leiden: Brill.

Bloch, A. 1991. *Studies in Arabic Syntax and Semantics*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Bravmann, M. 1961. "Genetic Aspects of the Genitive in the Semitic Languages". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 81.386-394.

Brockelmann, C. 1910. *Précis de linguistique sémitique*. Paris: Geuthner.

Comrie, B. 1981. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Corriente, F. C. 1971a. "On the Functional Yield of Some Synthetic Devices in Arabic and Semitic Morphology". *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 62.20-50.

____.1971b. *Problematica de la pluralidad en semitico. El plural fracto*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas.

Dévényi, K. 1988. "The Treatment of Conditional Sentences by the Mediaeval Arabic Grammarians". *The Arabist* 1.11-42.

Diem, W. 2007. "Arabic *allaḏī* as a Conjunction: An Old Problem and A New Approach". *Approaches to Arabic Linguistics*, ed. by E. Ditters & H. Motzki, 67–112. Leiden: Brill.

Esseesy, M. 2010. *Grammaticalization of Arabic Prepositions and Subordinators: A Corpus-Based Study*. Leiden: Brill.

Fleisch, H. 1959. "L'aspect lexical de la phrase arabe classique". *Studia Biblica et Orientalia* 12.78-94

____.1961. *Traité de philologie arabe*. Beyrouth: Imprimerie catholique.

Fortescue, M. 1996. "Grammaticalized Focus in Yukagir: Is It really grammaticalized and is it really Focus?". in: *Content, Expression and Structure: Studies in Danish Functional Grammar*, ed. by E. Engberg-Pedersen, M. Fortescue, P. Harder, L. Heltoft, L. Falster Jakobseng, 17-38. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Garbini G. & O. Durand. 1994. *Introduzione alle lingue semitiche*. Brescia: Paideia.

Gensler, O. 2004. "The Arabic *mā – min* Construction: Rethinking the Priority of Restricted Relatives". Paper presented at *Syntax of the World's Languages* (SWL 1), Leipzig, August 5-8.

Grande, F. 2013. *Copulae in the Arabic Noun Phrase. A Unified Analysis of Arabic Adnominal Markers*. Leiden: Brill.

Halliday, M. K. 2002. *On Grammar*. New York: Continuum

Hawkins, J. A. 1983. *Word Order Universals*. New York & London: Academic Press.
Heine, B. & M. Reh. 1984. *Grammaticalization and Reanalysis in African Languages*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
Kay, H. C. trl. 1892. *Yaman. Its Early Mediaeval History by Najm ad-Din ᶜOmārah al-Ḥakam. Also The Abridged History of Its Dinasties by Ibn Khaldūn, and An Account of The Karmathians of Yaman by Abu Abd Allah Baha ad-Din al-Janadi*. London: Edward Arnold.
Kuryłowicz, J. 1973. *Esquisses linguistiques*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
Lambrecht, K. 1994. *Information Structure and Sentence Form*. Cambridge: CUP.
Lehmann, Ch. 1984. *Der Relativsatz: Typologie seiner Strukturen; Theorie seiner Funktionen; Kompendium seiner Grammatik*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag
Levin, A. 1985. "The Distinction between Nominal and Verbal Sentences according to the Arab Grammarians". *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 15.118-127.
Loock, R. 2010. *Appositive Relative Clauses in English. Discourse Functions and Competing Structures*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
Lucas, Ch. 2007. "Jespersen cycle in Arabic and Berber". *Transactions of the Philological Society* 105.398-431.
Monroe, J. T. 1972. "Oral Composition in Pre-Islamic Poetry". *Journal of Arabic Literature* 3.1-53
Moscati, S., Spitaler, A., Ullendorf, E. & W. von Soden. 1964. *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Ostle, R. C. 1982. "Review of *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry: Its Character and Implications* by M. Zwettler". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 45.159-161.
Ouhalla, J. 1999. "Focus and Arabic Clefts". in: *The Grammar of Focus*, ed. by G. Rebuschi & L. Tuller, 335-359. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
____. 2000. "Possession in Sentences and Noun Phrases". in: *Research in Afroasiatic Grammar*, ed. by J. Lecarme, J. Lowenstamm & U. Shlonsky, 221-242. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
Owens, J. 2006. *A Linguistic History of Arabic*. Oxford: OUP.
Petrácek, K. 1981. "Le système de l'arabe dans une perspective diachronique". *Arabica* 28. 162-177.
Pullum, G. K. & A. M. Zwicky. 1988. "The Syntax-Phonology Interface". in: *Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey; Volume I, Linguistic Theory: Foundations*, ed. Frederick J. Newmeyer, 255-80. Cambridge: CUP
Rabin, Ch. 1951. *Ancient West-Arabian*. London: Taylor's Foreign Press.
Reckendorf, H. 1895. *Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*. Leiden: Brill.
Rippin, A. 2005. "Review of *Fables of the Ancients? Folklore in the Qur'ān* by A. Dundes". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68.120-122.

Ross, J. 1967. "Constraints on Variables in Syntax." PhD diss., MIT.
Sadan, A. 2012. *The Subjunctive Mood in Arabic Grammatical Thought*. Leiden: Brill.
Sara, S. 2006. "Sībawayhi's Kitāb Chapters 21-25: Translation and Notes". *Journal of Arabic Linguistic Tradition* 4.30-45.
Saussure, F. 1916. *Cours de linguistique générale*. Paris: Payot.
Taylor, J. R. 2000. *Possessives in English: An Exploration in Cognitive Grammar*. Oxford: OUP.
Testen, D. 1998. *Parallels in Semitic linguistics: The Development of Arabic la- and Related Semitic Particles*. Leiden: Brill.
Versteegh, K. 1993. *Arabic Grammar and Qur'ānic Exegesis in Early Islam*. Leiden: Brill.
____. 1997. *The Arabic Language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Zwettler, M. 1978. *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry: Its Character and Implications*. Columbia: Ohio State University Press.
Wright, W. 1896. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LES DOCUMENTS DENISE REMONDON CONSERVES AU LOUVRE IDENTIFICATION ET INVENTAIRE D'UNE COLLECTION

Anne Regourd

CNRS, UMR 7192, Paris

Le Département des arts de l'Islam, au musée du Louvre, possède dans son fonds de papyrus une collection de documents référenciée sous le nom de « Edmondon », que l'on nommera désormais « collection Rémondon ». Au nombre de 34 et rangés sous 20 numéros, ils ont été réunis par Denise Gerst, qui épousa, au début des années 50, Roger Rémondon, un spécialiste bien connu de papyrologie grecque[1].

1. Biographie et bibliographie de Denise Gerst/Rémondon

Née à Paris en 1916, Denise Gerst était arabisante et philologue : diplômée de l'Institut national des Langues orientales (INALCO), elle figure sur les listes de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, section des sciences historiques et philologiques, en 1943-1944, comme élève de Jean Sauvaget et de Roger Blachère, puis sur celles de l'année universitaire 1944-1945, comme élève de Sauvaget. Son nom y apparaît en petites capitales, ce qui signifie qu'elle fait partie des élèves titulaires, nommés par le Ministre de l'Education nationale sur présentation du Conseil de la Section. Ne sont mentionnés dans cette liste que les élèves et auditeurs assidus[2].

Elle est nommée pensionnaire à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO), au Caire, en 1949, la même année que Roger Rémondon[3]. Sous l'impul-

[1] L'enquête sur l'historique et l'identification de la collection Rémondon a été menée en 2009, alors que j'étais responsable scientifique de la collection de papyrus du Département des Arts de l'Islam du musée du Louvre. Les quinze documents regroupés sous le n° 6 de la collection, ainsi que son inventaire, ont été présentés au colloque de l'International Society for Arabic Papyrology à Vienne, en 2009. Janine Sourdel-Thomine et Dominique Sourdel m'ont fourni des données biographiques sur D. Rémondon. Elles sont d'autant plus précieuses que les rangs de cette génération se sont considérablement clairsemés.

Parmi les ouvrages les plus fameux de Roger Rémondon, figurent : *Papyrus grecs d'Apollonos Ano*, Le Caire, 1953 ; *La Crise de l'empire romain*, Paris, 1964, et le vol. 2, consacré à l'édition de graffitis, inscriptions et ostraca, de Ch. Bachatly (dir.), *Le monastère de Phoebammon dans la Thébaïde*, Le Caire, Société d'archéologie copte, 1965.

[2] Voir la « Liste des élèves .... 1943-1944, 1944-1945 et 1945-1946 ».

[3] Cf. IFAO, « Directeurs et membres scientifiques ».

THE ARABIST. BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 32 (2013)

https://doi.org/10.58513/ARABIST.2013.32.4

sion de celui qui devint son mari, elle se met à la papyrologie arabe. Témoignent de ce cursus aussi bien la publication, en 1954, pour les *Mélanges islamologiques* de l'IFAO, des « Cinq documents arabes d'Edfou », 103-112, réunissant deux papyrus et trois ostraca, que la constitution de la collection personnelle de documents qui nous occupe ici. Denise Rémondon était héritière d'une fortune familiale qui lui permit ces acquisitions. Claude Cahen l'incite ensuite à travailler sur le fonds de papyrus arabes du Louvre, mais, à notre connaissance, elle n'en a rien publié.

Sa bibliographie est de toute manière courte. En dehors de l'article pour les *Mélanges islamologique*s, on ne lui connaît qu'une contribution à des *Miscellanea* dédiés à Avicenne, aux côtés de Louis Massignon et de Georges Vajda, toujours pour l'IFAO, en 1954[4]. Cela fait ainsi des années IFAO, sa grande période de publication. L'édition du document Rémondon 2 dans *Arabica*, en 1978, est posthume, le travail ayant été achevé, après sa disparition, sous l'égide de Claude Cahen, « en séminaire avec quelques étudiants avancés, surtout Alain Girod et Yusef Ragheb » (†Rémondon, Cahen, *et al.*, 1978 : 198). On en conclut que Denise Rémondon est décédée dans les années 70, probablement dans la deuxième moitié de la décennie[5]. Roger Rémondon disparaît quant à lui le 10 octobre 1971[6].

2. Historique et identification de la collection

À ce jour, l'historique de la collection Rémondon n'avait jamais été fait. Il s'agit d'abord d'une collection privée. La biographie de Denise Rémondon incite à penser qu'elle a dû être constituée durant son séjour en Égypte, auprès d'antiquaires. En effet, si un certain nombre de documents ont du papier comme support (11 numéros), 8 d'entre eux ont bien été écrits sur papyrus[7]. Parmi les documents sur papier, figurent, sur deux bifeuillets, deux chapitres de l'ouvrage de l'un des plus grands canonistes coptes du Bas Moyen Âge, aṣ-Ṣafī Ibn al-ᶜAssāl (XIII^{e} s.), intitulé *al-Maǧmūᶜ aṣ-ṣafawī* et généralement connu sous le nom de *Nomocanon copte* d'Ibn al-ᶜAssāl (Rémondon 11)[8]. Le document Rémondon 2 rapporte un

[4] Massignon, Rémondon, Vajda, 1954, un volume composé des contributions de : Louis Massigon, « La philosophie orientale d'Ibn Sīnā et son alphabet philosophique », 1-18 ; Denise Rémondon, « *Al-aḫlāq wa-l-infiᶜālāt an-nafsāniyya* », 19-29 ; Georges Vajda, « Deux manuscrits des Muḥakamāt de Quṭb ad-Dīn at-Taḥtānī », 31-32.

[5] Je n'ai malheureusement pas pu trouver d'avis de décès ou d'obituaire de Denise Gerst/Rémondon. En outre, mes recherches pour retrouver trace de la famille Gerst n'ont pas abouti. Peut-être cet article le permettra-t-il.

[6] Voir Wipszycka 1974.

[7] Le vingtième numéro de la collection Rémondon est un *ṭirāz*.

[8] Ce texte (Ibn al-ᶜAssāl, *Maǧmūᶜ*) a fait l'objet d'une édition par F. Awad. On lui connaît une traduction anglaise, réalisée sur l'édition de 1886 (Hanna, 1996), le chapitre con-

incident survenu en Égypte mamelouke, dans des couches modestes de la population. L'un des 15 bons de transport du début de la période ottomane abrités par le n° 6 de la collection, mentionne la ville d'al-Ašmunayn. Les auteurs de la lettre Rémondon 8 sont deux beys (*atābak* ?). Enfin, il y a une lettre destinée à Šağar ad-Durr (r. 648/1250) et adressée à Sayf ad-Dīn Quṭuz (r. 657-658/1259-1260) (Rémondon 19). Cependant, le document mentionnant Damas et deux de ses portes (Rémondon 5), ainsi que le *ṭirāz* (Rémondon 20), ont peut-être été acquis en Syrie, pays que D. Rémondon a effectivement visité.

Cette collection a été acquise par le musée du Louvre, pour la somme de 5 000 francs, en 1980, après visa de Marthe Bernus-Taylor, conservateur et alors responsable des Arts de l'Islam au musée du Louvre[9]. On peut raisonnablement poser l'hypothèse que la vente au Louvre, effectuée on le voit à titre posthume, a été faite conformément à la volonté de Denise Rémondon, qui avait vraisemblablement côtoyé le fonds de papyrus du Louvre par l'entremise de Claude Cahen. Divorcée d'avec Roger Rémondon, elle n'a pas laissé d'héritier.

L'acquisition des documents par le musée du Louvre en a rendu l'accès définitivement possible. Cependant, l'identification de la collection était jusques là demeurée brouillée, en amont, parce que le document d'achat avait été rédigé sous le nom du vendeur, Gerst – non Rémondon –, et, en aval, par une coquille, doublée d'une incohérence : la collection apparaissait en effet dans différents registres et fiches sous l'appellation d' « Edmondon », tandis que les objets avaient été, eux, dûment étiquetés « Rémondon », suivant les documents d'acquisition de la collection[10].

---

cerné se trouve sous le n° 44, p. 168 à 171. Pour plus de détail sur le contenu du *Nomocanon copte*, voir l'article de Marc Aoun (2009), en particulier la note 2 qui signale l'existence d'autres manuscrits, conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de France. René-Georges Coquin (1991) mentionne une autre édition du texte, réalisée par Mikha'il Girgis, et évoque l'itinéraire éthiopien de cette oeuvre, traduite en Ge'ez.

[9] À cette époque, les Arts de l'Islam n'étaient pas un Département, mais une section des Antiquités orientales. Les documents des Archives des musées nationaux, sous la cote 2CC 39 (1980), A.O. 1, comportent : une proposition d'acquisition en date du 3 décembre 1980, pour la séance du Comité consultatif du 11 décembre 1980, d'une part, et, d'autre part, un mémoire des fournitures et transports faits, Réunion des musées nationaux, signé par le vendeur à la date du 24 décembre 1980, indiquant le montant de l'achat à imputer sur le budget 1980, et le chapitre du budget, puis paraphé par Mme Bernus-Taylor, certifiant l'entrée dans les collections et l'inscription sous les numéros d'inventaire Rémondon 1 à 20, le 12 janvier 1981.

[10] Voir la note précédente. À propos des questions d'accès aux collections privées et, singulièrement à la collection Rémondon, voir Bauden (2005), surtout p. 34-35.

3. Intérêt de la collection

La collection Denise Rémondon fait partie des collections privées de savants, abritées par le Département des Arts de l'Islam, à l'égal de celle de Jean David-Weill[11].

Fruit de la sélection d'une papyrologue, elle a été constituée avec soin. Les pièces sont remarquables par leur état de conservation, les textes des deux tiers d'entre elles sont complets et trois autres le sont quasiment. Deux d'entre eux portent une date (Rémondon 5 et 16/2), deux autres ont été écrits pour des personnages identifiables, évoqués précédemment (Rémondon 1 et 19) ; le n° 18 remonte au II^{e}/VIII^{e} s. D'un point de vue typologique, les textes sont variés (lettres, dont requêtes ou *petitions*, actes de type *iqrār*, comptes et textes littéraires). Les n° 11 et 14 – peut-être le n° 13 ? – sont des feuillets de codex, dont l'un est en papyrus. Certains documents représentent un apport à notre connaissance de l'histoire, d'autres à la science papyrologique.

Il était donc temps qu'hommage soit rendu à cette collection et à son initiatrice.

4. Premier inventaire de la collection

20 numéros de collection, 34 objets, 8 sur papyrus, 25 sur papier et 1 sur textile. Les dimensions sont données en cm, hauteur maximale par largeur maximale. La lettre *r* est pour « recto » et la lettre *v* pour « verso ». Les indications bibliographiques en petits caractères se limitent *stricto sensu* à la publication et aux citations des pièces de la collection.

Rémondon 1

Papier, Égypte, fin IV^{e}-début V^{e}/X^{e}-XI^{e} s.
13 x 22,2 cm
Texte incomplet, r 3 l. + destinataire et expéditeur en haut à gauche ; v vierge

Requête (*petition*) adressée au calife al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh (r. 386-411/996-1020).

Citée dans :

Geoffrey Khan, « The Historical development of the structure of Medieval Arabic Petitions », *BSOAS* LIII, part 1, 1990, 8-30, p. 25.

[11] La collection Jean David.Weill comprend 109 numéros.

Rémondon 2

Papier, Égypte, mamlouk
29,9 x 15,5 cm, constitué de deux morceaux raboutés
Texte complet, r 22 l. ; v vierge

Lettre de protestation de Munǧib Sayf, s'exprimant aussi au nom de l'émir Fulūn, à l'égard de la solution suggérée par le Sultan et le *maqarr* al-Ašraf as-Sayfī Ǧānī, Dawādār, afin de sortir d'un conflit sanglant mettant aux prises des gens d'al-ᶜAslūǧī et d'al-Ġār et des gens de Kafr Danūhiyā, dans la Šarqiyya. L'affaire a fait l'objet de plusieurs lettres.

Publiée dans :
Denise Rémondon (posthume), Claude Cahen *et alii*, « Un fait divers au temps des Mamluks », *Arabica* 25, fasc. 2, 1978, 198-202.

Citée dans :
Bauden 2005 : 34-35, « Private Collections ».

Rémondon 3

Papier, Égypte, ayyubide ou mamlouk
25,8 x 13,8 cm
Texte presque complet, r 18 l. ; marge à droite 13 l. ; v vierge

Requête (*petition*) adressée par une femme, Fāṭima [bint] al-ḥāǧǧ ᶜAlī b. al-Haǧǧān.

Rémondon 4

Papier, Égypte, IV^{e}-V^{e}/X^{e}-XI^{e} s.
25,9 x 12,9 cm
Texte complet, r 21 l. ; v 17 l.

Lettre, où il est question de cultiver un champ et de planter du blé sur une portion exprimée en *feddān*s.

Rémondon 5

Papyrus, Égypte, IV^{e}/X^{e} s., rabīᶜ awwal
14 x 31,9 cm
Texte complet, r 8 l. ; v 3 l. + adresse

Lettre d'un marchand, au IV^{e}/X^{e} s., au mois de rabī ᶜ awwal, décrivant une attaque de Damas par les Qarmates. Deux des portes de la ville, Bāb Ǧābiya et Bāb Šarqī, sont mentionnées.

Publié dans :

Dominique Sourdel, Janine Sourdel-Thomine, Jean-Michel Mouton, « Une attaque de Damas par les Qarmates au X^e^ siècle d'après la lettre d'un marchand », *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, Vol. 56, Issue 1, 2010, p. 64–76.

Rémondon 6

Papier, Égypte, début de la période ottomane
Hauteur maximale et minimale 3,8–5,5 x largeur maximale et minimale 3,2–4,2 cm
Textes complets, r de 6 à 8 l. ; v seulement 4 documents ont un texte au verso, de 1 à 3 l.

15 bons de transport.

Publié dans :

Anne Regourd, « Un nouveau formulaire de bon de transport : 15 documents de la collection Rémondon (musée du Louvre, Dépt des Arts de l'Islam) », dans : A. Kaplony (ed.), *From Nubia to Syria : Documents from the Medieval Muslim World. Proceedings of the 4th Conference of the International Society for Arabic Papyrology (ISAP), Vienna, 2009*. Leyde : E. J. Brill, à paraître.

Rémondon 7

Papier, Égypte, ayyoubide ou mamlouk
25 x 17 cm
Texte complet, r 14 l. ; v vierge

Lettre à un personnage de haut rang.

Rémondon 8

Papier, Égypte, mamlouk
28,5 x 15,1 cm, obtenu par raboutage de deux morceaux de papier
Texte complet, r 15 l ; v vierge

Lettre de deux émirs à un personnage de haut rang à propos de voleurs qui se sont introduits dans une boutique.

Rémondon 9

Papyrus, Égypte, datation à étudier
10,9 x 37,6 cm
Texte incomplet, sur une face 2 l. en écriture de grande taille et 5 l. placées dans les interstices, écrites après que le papyrus a été tourné de bas en haut ; sur l'autre face 6 l.

Le papyrus a été réutilisé. Le texte en écriture de grande taille est extrêmement fragmentaire. Peut-être s'agit-il d'un protocole.

Rémondon 10

Papyrus, Égypte, écriture IV^{e}/X^{e} s.
27,5 x 20 cm
Semble complet sur une face, 10 « entrées » ; l'autre face est incomplète, 11 « entrées ».

Comptes.

Rémondon 11

Papier, Égypte, XI^{e}-XII^{e}/XVII^{e}-XVIII^{e} s. ?
25,5 x 34,5 cm
Un trou, placé au centre de la surface écrite, a affecté tout le cahier, 18 l. / page, encre noire et rouge

2 bifeuillets de codex. Le texte a pu être identifié : il s'agit des chap. (*faṣl*) 3 à 6 du Livre (*bāb*) 21 d'aṣ-Ṣafī Ibn al-^{c}Assāl (XIII^{e} s.), *al-Maǧmūʿ aṣ-ṣafawī*, généralement connu sous le nom de *Nomocanon copte* d'Ibn al-^{c}Assāl. L'on note des inscriptions dans la marge, qui ne sont ni en arabe, ni en syriaque.

Rémondon 12

Papier, Égypte, mamlouk ?
Feuille 1 : 16 x 12 cm – Feuille 2 : 13,1 x 11,1 cm
Textes complets, deux feuilles séparées. Feuille 1 : 9 l. + signatures des témoins + 2 l. sur le bord supérieur gauche ; feuille 2 : 9 l.

Feuille 1 : acte de type *iqrār*, avec les signatures des témoins. Feuille 2 : acte séparé, signé pour certification (*taṯbīt*).

Rémondon 13

Papier, Égypte ?, datation à étudier
15,2 x 18,7 cm
Texte incomplet, amputé de sa partie supérieure, sur une face : 11 l. ; sur l'autre face : 13 l. et une l. dans la marge

Peut-être s'agit-il d'un feuillet isolé de codex ou bien d'une feuille isolée. Poème, dont l'hémistiche et la fin sont marqués par de petits cercles.

Rémondon 14

Papyrus, Égypte, IV^{e}/X^{e} s.
25 x 21,1 cm
Texte incomplet à droite et à gauche, 18 l./page

1 feuillet de codex, sermon (?), citations des sourates *an-Naḥl*, Coran 16, v. 84, et *Hūd, an-Nisā', an-Nūr*, respectivement Coran 11, 4, 24. Présence de petits cercles avec un point au centre pour marquer les paragraphes.

Rémondon 15

Papyrus, Égypte, IV^{e}/X^{e} s.
26 x 16 cm
Textes presque complets, amputés sur les bords latéraux, 13 l. et 6 l.

Deux lettres, qui ne sont pas de la même main, une sur chaque face du papyrus.

Rémondon 16

Papyrus, Égypte, III^{e}/IX^{e} et ṣafar 269/août-septembre 882 ?
32 x 22,5 cm
Textes 13 l. et 2 l. écrites dans l'autre sens ; 14 l.

Lettre presque complète dans laquelle l'expéditeur explique son retard, indique qu'il a envoyé un courrier au sujet d'effets et de tissus (?) et qu'il a engagé une somme sur un grand bateau qui vogue dans sa direction. Les 2 l. écrites dans l'autre sens, dont le texte a quasiment disparu, ne semblent pas être l'adresse.

Sur l'autre face, un acte de type *iqrār* avec les signatures des témoins, amputé de son début. La date de ṣafar 269 H (?) apparaît en l. 5, le papyrus est endommagé à cet endroit.

Rémondon 17

Papyrus, Égypte, III^{e}/IX^{e} s.
20,9 x 18,8 cm
Texte complet à plus de ses 2/3, 9 l.

Lettre. Le papyrus est endommagé dans sa partie supérieure gauche, ce qui a affecté les 3 premières lignes du texte. Il est question de quantités exprimées en *raṭl* et de quelqu'un qui en prend le prix.

Rémondon 18

Papyrus, Égypte, II^e^/VIII^e^ s.
17,9 x 27,1 cm
Texte complet, 6 l.

Lettre.

Rémondon 19

Papier, Égypte, milieu du VII^e^/XIII^e^ s.
29,9 x 11,6 cm
Texte complet, r 20 l. et 1 l. dans la marge ; v 16 l., adresse, écrite dans l'autre sens.

Lettre à Šağar ad-Durr (r. 648/1250). Plusieurs sujets sont abordés, notamment des légumes, céréales et volailles emportés par les auteurs de la lettre (*fūl*, *šaᶜīr*, *wazz*), d'autres laissés (*qamḥ*), ainsi que le convoiement d'une somme en dirham pour le paiement de *sirwāl*s (écrit : *ṣarāwīl* avec un *ṣād*). L'adresse indique qu'il faut la porter à Sayf ad-Dīn Quṭuz (r. 657-658/1259-1260).

Rémondon 20

Toile à inscription de *ṭirāz*, Iraq, Bagdad ?, X^e^-XI^e^ s.
19,9 x 15,6 cm
1 l. incomplète

REFERENCES[12]

Aoun, Marc. 2009. « Délits et peines dans le *Nomocanon copte* d'Ibn al-Assāl (13e siècle). Aspects du droit pénal canonique dans l'Orient chrétien médiéval ». *Revue de droit canonique* 56/1-2.63-78.

Bauden, Frédéric. 2005. « Mamluk Era Documentary Studies: The State of the Art ». *Mamlūk Studies Review* IX/1.15-60, « Private Collections», 34-35. http://www.ilmproject.net/sites/default/files/pdf/Bauden%20Mamluk%20era%20documentary_0.pdf.

Coquin, René-Georges. 1991. « Canon Law ». *The Claremont Coptic Encyclopaedia*, II, 449b-451b. http://ccdl.libraries. claremont.edu/cdm/ref/collection/cce/id/415.

Hanna, William A. 1996. « Al Magmou Al-Safawy : Le Ibn Al-Assal » *The Collection of Safey Ibn Al-Assal (Safey The Son Of The Honey Meaker). A*

[12] Les références électroniques ont été consultées en août 2013.

Collection Of Church And Civil Laws Based on the Norms and Traditions of the Coptic Orthodox Church From 13th Century A.D. (Preliminary Translation). http://www.zeitun-eg.org/ASSAL_AL.pdf.

Ibn al-ᶜAssāl, *Maǧmūᶜ* = al-Muʾtaman Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-ᶜAssāl, *al-Maǧmūᶜ aṣ-ṣafawī*. Edited by Hegomen Philothaos Awad. 2 vols., Le Caire, 1886. Réimp. par G. F. Awad, Le Caire, Imprimerie at-Tawfīq, 1908 ; réimpr. Le Caire : Mina, 1991.

IFAO, « Directeurs et membres scientifiques ». Le Caire : Institut français d'archéologie orientale. http://www.ifao.egnet.net/ifao/anciens/.

« Liste des élèves et des auditeurs réguliers pendant les années scolaires 1943-1944, 1944-1945 et 1945-1946 », 149-186. *Annuaire 1943-1944*, 154 ; *Annuaire 1944-1945*, 166. Paris : École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences historiques et philologiques. http://www.persee.fr/web/ouvrages/home/prescript/fond/ephe (pdfs)

Massignon, Louis, Denise Rémondon, Georges Vajda. 1954. *Miscellanea Avicenne*. Le Caire : Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

†Rémondon, Denise, Claude Cahen, *et alii*. 1978. « Un fait divers au temps des Mamluks ». *Arabica* 25/2.198-202.

Wipszycka, Ewa. 1974. « Obituary – In memoriam Roger Rémondon ». *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 18.9-14.

REVIEWS

Im Dialog bleiben. Sprache und Denken in den Kulturen des Vorderen Orients. Festschrift für Raif Georges Khoury. Ed. by FREDEREK MUSALL and ABDULBARY AL-MUDARRIS. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011. 433 p. ISBN 978 3 447 06491 0.

This *Festschrift* had originally been intended to commemorate the 65th birthday of the outstanding German scholar and teacher of Lebanese Christian origin, Raif Georges Khoury, but because of various editorial problems it appeared quite late. The volume contains 42 papers in four different European languages (German, French, English, and Italian) and in Arabic. The 35 papers which belong to the first group are divided into four main sections, while the seven papers in Arabic are put together at the end of the book.

The six papers of the first section deal with the pre-Islamic and early Islamic ages. Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti (Torino) speaks about the Arab traditions concerning Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, who is exclusively known in Arabic as az-Zabbā'. Hermann Harauer (Vienna) deals with the Arab inhabitants of Egypt before the Arab conquest. Making use of the Wiener Papyrussammlung, the author lists many occurrences in them of the presence of the Arabs in the land of Egypt before 641. Nimetullah Akin (Çanakkale) writes about the Jewish converts of Islam who reported stories about the Prophet Muḥammad in the early period of Islam and thus they contributed largely to the spread of the so-called *isrā'īliyyāt* in the Islamic tradition. Ali Bouamama (Strasbourg) summarizes the so-called *fawātiḥ al-Qur'ān*, the independent or disjointed letters at the head of 29 chapters of the *Qur'ān*. He reaches the conclusion that they had been written in a code system which became impossible to decode and remained an enigma. Abdulbary Al-Mudarris (Heidelberg), one of the editors of the volume, published an article on the role of women in the first Islamic centuries on the basis of papyrological research. He examines 21 papyri in five topics – law and administration, possession, trade, friendship and family – plus a papyrus of miscellaneous contents. Hüseyin Ilker Çinar (Mannheim) investigates the development of the concept of *fiqh* from the beginning to our age. He starts listing the meanings of the word in the Ǧāhiliyya, the *Qur'ān* and the *ḥadīth* literature, stressing the point that *fiqh* in the technical sense did not mean "law" in the first century of Islam. At the end, he quotes a modern historian of Islamic law, al-Firfūr, who summarized the different fields of *fiqh* under six special headings. The paper, in spite of its brevity, gives an excellent account of this important term of Islam. An interesting result of his research is that the *farā'iḍ*, i.e. the law of inheritance, had never been part of *fiqh*, i.e. Islamic law

in the classical age, but it developed as an independent science and has become part of *fiqh* only recently.

The second section of the *Festschrift* deals with the cultural history of the Islamic Middle Ages. Nizar Gara (Heidelberg) writes about Avicenna's method of studying the soul (*nafs*). The first part of the article concentrates on the two levels of Avicenna's handling of the soul – on a general and a specific level. He points out that Avicenna treats the soul among the natural sciences. In the second part, Gara deals with the evidences Avicenna put forward for the existence of the soul which support the dualism of the independent existence of body and soul. The third part explains Avicenna's so-called gradation method. The main question for Avicenna is whether the forms have the same reality or grade of existence as the material things. Gara concludes his paper with making the remark that Avicenna's gradation method encompasses all capacities of the soul together with its functions. The cycle of poems called Fawz by al-ᶜAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf forms the theme of the following article written by Albert Arazi (Jerusalem), especially his realism, lyricism, and feminism. First the author analyses the role of women in the poetry of al-Ǧāhiliyya and the Classical Islamic period in general. Then he turns to al-ᶜAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf and the theme of the wrong done by love. At al-ᶜAbbās the word *fatā* (man) appears only with respect to the amoral vicissitudes and the poet considers himself such a *fatā*. Arazi cites many details from al-ᶜAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf's poetry in support of his characterisation of the poet as an unfortunate man stricken by love. In the third part of his article he analyses the symptoms of this love which is partly realistic and partly lyric. In the end Arazi shows the relation of the hero of this cycle of poems, Fawz, to the feminine world and concludes that al-ᶜAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf proposes for us an intermediate, well-balanced conception of love evading both, on the one side, the reduction of the tender feelings to a simple physical union and on the other side the *uḏrite* approach which makes the woman an abstract entity, not having any psychological reality. Aleya Khattab (Cairo) writes about the famous Andalusian poet, Ibn Zaydūn (1003-1071) and his poems of love and nature. Khattab gives an overall picture of the poet in a paper which is not only the longest but perhaps the most exhaustive and thoroughly elaborated one in this volume. After briefly summing up the cultural background of the turbulent century, the author writes about Ibn Zaydūn's life spent between love and politics, and his poetry and prose, also giving long German translations of his poems. Georg Bossong (Zürich) shows us two Andalusian poets in exile, al-Muᶜtaḍid, the ex-king of Sevilla and Ibn Ezra of Granada. Frederek Musall (Heidelberg) analyses in his article Moses Maimonides's views on political authority and his differentiating between *muwaḥḥid* and *mutawaḥḥid*, while David J. Wasserstein (Nashville, TN)

concludes the second section about an Almoravid coin of 1115 reconsidering the question of its authenticity.

The third section of the book deals with the culture in the age of transition from tradition to modernity. Edgar Weber (Toulouse) in his short communication looks into the question why Shahrazad took upon herself the task of delivering the women of her land from certain death – was it perversion or sacrifice? André Miquel (Paris) also deals with the *Arabian Nights* in his brief notice: the case of the caliphs, the real Hārūn ar-Rašīd and the false one. In his interesting and one of the most elaborated articles of the volume, Nasir Basal (Tel Aviv) examines a 17th century Hebrew translation of the *Qur'ān* and its Arabic sources. This topic leads us to the next paper in which Joseph Abou Nohra (Jouniah) writes about the first Arabic printing house in Lebanon installed in 1733 and its cultural radiation in the 18th century. It is followed by a short but interesting communication by Gérard Troupeau (Paris) about the role of Arab Christians in the development of French Orientalism between the 17th and 19th centuries. The next article which could have been put together with those dealing with the *Arabian Nights* was probably placed here because its author, Yosef Sadan (Tel Aviv), examines an influence. This time it is the influence of Jewish materials in the *Arabian Nights*. This leads us to a study by Mohamed-Azzedine Tazi (Paris) who investigates how the image of Moroccans is reflected in the writings of German travellers. Georges Nassib Khair-allah's (Strasbourg) paper is devoted to Mi̲hā'īl Nu^{c}ayma's novel *Liqā'* and the poetic evocation of the "valley of virgins" in it, while Sarjoun Karam (Bonn) writes about the role the Oriental Christians played in the Arab cultural and literary renaissance in the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century. Here again, the placement of this article makes one wonder whether it would not have been more fortunate to form a group of papers dealing with the influence of Christian Arabs. The title of Barbara Michalak-Pikulska's (Kraków) paper is "The beginnings of Modern prose writings in Oman". She has intimate knowledge of the modern literature of the region, and this article is part of a series she devoted to this topic. Various issues of translations link together the following three articles. Moustafa Maher (Cairo) sheds light on some of the problems translators of modern Arabic literature face by sharing with the reader his experience in translating Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *al-Ayyām*. The next paper brings the reader into the realm of philosophy, since Mouchir Basile Aouns (Kaslik) investigates the problems of the Arab reception of the philosophical writings of Heidegger, whereas Ilhan Slim-Hoteit (Beirut) treats questions concerning translation and intercultural communication. Islam and politics stand in the focus of the following group of articles. Julia Emig (Wiesbaden) writes about the League of Arab Nations and its place in the Arab cultural development. Manfred Kropp (Mainz) speaks about the controversial

treatise on Islam written by ᶜAlī ᶜAbd ar-Rāziq in 1925. Adel Theodor Khoury (Harissa) concentrates in his article on Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī's thoughts on Islamic political order, while Nassif Nassar (Beirut) writes about political Islam in general enumerating those points which can serve as a basis for its criticism.

Section four bears the title 'Semitic Studies and Comparative Linguistics'. Hartmut Bobzin (Erlangen) in his detailed and valuable contribution points out the role played by Ernest Renan in the field of comparative Semitic studies. Ulrich Seeger (Karlsruhe) turns our attention to Leonhard Bauer (1865-1964), a pioneer of Arabic dialectology. Naoum Abi-Rached (Strasbourg) deals with the Lebanese popular *zağal* poetry. Shabo Talay (Erlangen) surveys the linguistic situation prevailing among the Eastern Christians. Werner Arnold and Alexander Sima (Heidelberg) edit and translate a text in the Ḥawf dialect of the Mehri language. Otto Jastrow (Tallin) edits and translates an Arabic text in the dialect of Qarṭmīn of Anatolia.

The final part of the volume under review is dedicated to articles written in Arabic. The volume also opens as an Arabic book and has additional title page in Arabic (*al-Baqā' fī l-ḥiwār: al-luġa wa-l-fikr fī l-ḥaḍārāt aš-šarq al-adnā*). In the first paper of this section ᶜUmar Miqdād al-Ǧamanī compares Rifāᶜa at-Tahtāwī and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. Ṣalāḥ Ḥusayn al-ᶜUbaydī analyzes the artistic features of literary manuscripts in during the ᶜAbbāsids. Fāliḥ Ḥusayn's paper makes mention of the special burdens put on the population of the occupied lands during the first conquests of Islam.

Ǧūrǧ Qanāziᶜ's paper deals with the role played by Andalusia in modern Arabic prose and poetry, especially in the oeuvres of Ǧirǧī Zaydān, Aḥmad Šawqī, Nizār Qabbānī, ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī, and Palestine literature in general. Yūsuf Fawzī writes apropos a Baghdadi manuscript entitled "*Ta'rīḫ al-ᶜarab al-qadīm*" on the Nabateans and their relationship to the Arabs and other peoples. The next paper is Muḥammad Ayt al-Furān's treatise on modern German literary criticism, especially the Marcel Reich-Ranicki phenomenon, while the last two pages of the Arabic section are a tribute to Raif Georges Khoury by Ǧīrār Ǧihāmī.

All in all, this volume is a fitting homage the accomplishments of this excellent scholar and influential teacher. One misses, however, the unified editorial approach the lack of which resulted in the unexpectedly uneven character of the volume. Another "must do" would have been a detailed bibliography of R. G. Khoury, but even without that one enjoys the vast diversity of topics.

Kinga Dévényi

*Negev Arabic. Dialectal, Sociolinguistic, and Stylistic Variation.*By RONI HENKIN. (*Semitica Viva*, ed. by Otto Jastrow, 48.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010., xvii + 406 p. ISSN 0931-2811, ISBN 978-3-447-06170-4

This book can be considered more than just another contribution to our knowledge of the Bedouin Arabic dialects of Israel since it tries to give a full scale description of almost everything connected with language use. The author seems to fulfill what promised in the Introduction and we receive most precious information about the Bedouin of the Negev desert, their historical background, origin, social composition and their connection with the tribes of the Hijaz.

The 'Zero' Chapter, under the title "Methodological issues" gives a short account of the sound system of the chosen Negev dialect. This part of the book contains, however, some rather disputable statements, to choose only one, on the appropriateness of the so called etymological notation of the words in the dialect. The source would be the Old Arabic which, interestingly enough, is quite similar to the Classical Arabic. But the idea of the derivation of the dialects from the Classical Arabic forms part of an outdated theory of Arabic. Instead one would be interested in the actual pronounciation of the words and sentences of a dialect not references to imagined etymons. This rather sketchy chapter, however, is not a really essential part of the book. This is the case with Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4 as well, which are all only preparatory parts to the really important chapters and do not belong to the core of the book, giving only an outline of their relevant topics. The above mentioned chapters deal with the Bedouin, the Arabic dialects and the Negev Arabic, and finally the regional and social variations in Negev Arabic.

The really interesting part of Henkin's book begins with Chapter 5 of Part I, which speaks about the characteristics of the oral poetry of the Bedouin of Negev: men's odes and women's elegies, pointing out their differences in language, prosody and themes. One of the most interesting conclusions of the author is that the language of traditional Bedouin poetry is a special idiom, differing from the Negev Arabic vernacular idiom in many points pertaining to lexicon, prosody and grammar.

Chapter 6 contains a detailed study of the oral narrative register and the correspondance of literary genre and gender – men's legends and women's folktales –, social and cultural functions, and the narrative structure. Chapter 7 deals with the peculiarities of the narrative language. Its sub-themes are, among others, opening and closing style, narrative tenses, narrative peaks and motion verb compounds. Chapter 9 briefly touches on the linguistic characterization of the foreigners and outsiders, while Chapter 10 sums up the various kinship terms.

Part II contains the narrative texts publishing separately men's and women's stories in the Arabic dialect, transcriptions and translations. Undoubtedly these tales form the most valuable part of the book because they can be analyzed by the

reader individually and compared to his or her findings with other similar texts of Bedouin dialects. At the same time these data are invaluable because of the probable extinsion of the Bedouin way of life in the near future, with the moving of the Bedouin into cities and remote villages.

Kinga Dévényi

Northeast African Semitic: Lexical Comparisions and Analysis. By GROVER HUDSON. (*Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, Neue Serie 26.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013, viii + 323 p. ISSN 0554-7342, ISBN 978-3-447-06983-0

The present volume under review attempts to give an overall picture of the ESe (Ethiopian and Eritrean Semitic) languages on the basis of their lexical comparisons. The first chapter bears the title 'Backgrounds'. Here the author tries to convince us of the necessity of inventing a new and unutterable name for this group of Eastern or Northeast African Semitic languages because of the separation of Eritrea from Ethiopia – but to no avail. We cannot rewrite scholarly books on the basis of changes in the political map of countries. Instead, one feels the need to find some politically neutral name which then can be kept even if new countries would be created or old ones cease to exist. We are also confronted in this chapter with the strange deformation of the notion of the so called 'Proto-Arabic' so common in the last decades. Since research into a supposed Proto-Arabic is very difficult or almost impossible, some specialists of the Arabic dialects invented a Proto-Arabic which is 'more or less Classical Arabic' (p. 4). This means a return to the 19th century concept of Classical Arabic and modern dialects according to which the latter ones have been derived from Classical Arabic. This view is refutable not only on the basis of our knowledge of the modern dialects but even more on the basis of fragments of the Pre-Classical dialects recorded by Arab philologians in the Middle Ages. The author presents in this chapter the 30 varieties of NE African Semitic languages which he intends to compare, naming the 15 languages which can be defined as not being mutually intelligible. Then he turns his attention to the so called Gurage problem with a detailed historical analysis of the different views concerning the existence or non-existence of such a group of languages South of Addis Abeba.

Chapter 2 contains the comparisons of 250 chosen English lexical items and their correspondences in 15 languages: Tigre, Dahalik, Tigrinya, Ge'ez, Gafat, Soddo, Mesqan, Muher, Chaha, Inor, Silt'e, Zay, Harari, Argobba and Amharic. This may be a very important contribution to future comparative studies of this language group because of the relatively big size of the sample and the trustworthiness of its data. Chapter 3 contains a dictionary of the 3,301different

ESe words of the Tables of Comparison the entries of which provide additional ESe and other-language comparisons, proto-language sognates, and etymological notes. This chapter fills the largest part of the volume, pp.105-277. Chapter 4 serves as a kind of conclusion to the whole book summing up the findings and analyzing the results of the research work done by the author. The book will stand as a milestone in the field of Northeast African Semitic comparative studies by its objectivity, the size of data piled up in it and the treatment of the NEAS (or ESe) languages in their entirety.

Kinga Dévényi

Semitic and Afroasiatic: Challenges and Opportunities. Edited by LUTZ EDZARD. (*Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, Neue Serie 24.). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012. 414 p. ISSN 0554-7342, ISBN 978-3-447-06695-2.

The idea for this volume, as the editor states in his Preface, was inspired by the *Introduction to the Semitic Languages*, written by Gotthelf Bergsträsser, which was characterized by giving text specimens and grammatical sketches as well for each Semitic language. This kind of comprehensive book had not existed for the so called Afroasiatic or – using the older term – Hamitic languages up to the publication of the present volume and this alone would be enough to show its significance. This book, however, is more than a simple first introduction of its kind, since almost all of its chapters contain excellent presentations of the chosen languages and it can be considered from now on as a basic reader for all who seek knowledge of the languages of this loosely connected language group. The editor, Lutz Edzard (Oslo) aims to give an overall picture of the Semitic-Afroasiatic linguistic correspondances. He only touches on some phonological questions and mainly concentrates on the comparison of morphological regularities. Even if this summary contains some really important and new points it is too short to be relied on in grouping and sub-grouping of the languages of this family – if it may be called one family at all. The following four chapters are about the same size taking 60-70 pages and containing well balanced general remarks and many useful details as well. Ruth Kramer (Washington) prepared the chapter on Egyptian, David Appleyard (London), together with Kjell Magne Yri, wrote about Cushitic and Herrmann Jungraithmayr (Frankfurt) on Chadic. The last named has written the most detailed study though on the same number of pages. The Omotic languages, by Rolf Theil (Oslo) and one special Omotic language, the Koorete (by Binyam Sisay Mendisu from Addis Ababa), were given less space than the above mentioned. Last but not least I would like to single out the third chapter by Mohamed Elmedlaoui (Rabat) describing the Berber languages in general and the,

Tashlhiyt in more details. This is perhaps the best part of this volume. The overview of the Berber languages succeeds in clearing some really obscure issues, such as the relationship of the different Berber languages and dialects. The outline of the Tashlhiyt language contains a good description of the phonology and a remarkably clear presentation of the morphological system, the syntax and the lexicon, however, are not treated according to their importance. All in all this book will serve as a good starting point of further research as well as university teaching.

Kinga Dévényi

VOLUMES OF *THE ARABIST* PUBLISHED SO FAR

1 (1988) [Selected articles by Hungarian scholars on the occasion of the 14th Congress of the UEAI held in Budapest]

2 (1990) *Amulets from the Islamic world: Catalogue of the exhibition held in Budapest, in 1988,* by A. Fodor

3-4 (1991) *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Grammar, Budapest, 1-7 September 1991*, ed. by Kinga Dévényi and Tamás Iványi

5 (1992) *al-Farrā''s Macānī l-Qur'ān: Index of Qur'ānic references*, by Kinga Dévényi

6-7 (1993) *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Lexicology and Lexicography (CALL): Budapest, 1-7 September 1993*, Part I, ed. by K. Dévényi, T. Iványi, A. Shivtiel

8 (1994) *Studies in Honour of Károly Czeglédy on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday,* ed. by Alexander Fodor *et al.*

9-10 (1994) *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Popular Customs and the Monotheistic Religions in the Middle East and North Africa, Budapest, 19-25th September 1993*. Part I, ed. by A. Fodor, A. Shivtiel

11-12 (1994) *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Lexicology and Lexicography (CALL), Budapest, 1-7 September 1993.* Part II, ed. by K. Dévényi, T. Iványi, A. Shivtiel

13-16 (1995) *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Budapest, 29th August - 3rd September 1988.* Part I, Part II, ed. by A. Fodor, assoc. ed. Kinga Dévényi, Tamás Iványi

17-18 (1996) *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Logos, Ethos, Mythos in the Middle East and North Africa (L E M): Budapest, 18-22 September 1995*
Part I, *Linguistics and literature,* ed. by K. Dévényi, T. Iványi
Part II, *Popular religion, popular culture and history,* ed. by A. Fodor, A. Shivtiel

19-20 (1998) *Proceedings of the Arabic and Islamic sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS): Budapest, 1-7 July 1997.* Part I, *Linguistics, Literature, History,* ed. by K. Dévényi, T. Iványi, 1998

21-22 (1999) *Proceedings of the Arabic and Islamic sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS): Budapest, 1-7 July 1997.* Part II, *Islam, Popular Religion and Culture, Islamic Law, History of Arabic Studies, History of Islamic Art,* ed. by A. Fodor

23 (2001) *Essays in honour of Alexander Fodor on his sixtieth birthday*, ed. by K. Dévényi, T. Iványi

24-25 (2002) *Proceedings of the 20th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants: Budapest, 10-17 September 2000.* Part I. *Linguistics, literature, history*, ed. by K. Dévényi

26-27 (2003) *Proceedings of the 20th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants: Budapest, 10-17 September 2000.* Part II, *Islam, Popular Culture in Islam, Islamic Art and Architecture,* ed. by A. Fodor

28-29 (2008) *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Paradise and Hell in Islam: Keszthely, 7-14 July 2002*. Part I. Ed. by K. Dévényi, A. Fodor

30 (2012) *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Paradise and Hell in Islam: Keszthely,7-14 July 2002*. Part II, ed. by K. Dévényi, A. Fodor

31 (2012) *Papers Presented to Alexander Fodor on His Seventieth Birthday*, by his disciples, ed. by K. Dévényi