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**Arabic Linguistics
A Historiographic Overview**

Abstract

The study of Arabic language seems to have started under the driving need to establish a correct reading and interpretation of the Qur'ān. Notwithstanding the opinions of some writers about its origins one should stress that the script and spelling of the Holy Writ derives directly from the Nabataean cursive. Aramaic Nabataean script was used to write Old Arabian since the first century A.D., also at Taymā' and Madā'in Šaliḥ, in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Variant readings and divergent interpretations of Qur'ānic sentences, based on ancient Arabic dialects, are not expected to disturb the Arabic grammatical tradition, which was possibly influenced to some extent by Indian theories and Aristotelian concepts. It served as foundation to modern European studies and was then expanded to Middle Arabic, written mainly by Jews and Christians, and to the numerous modern dialects. From the mid-19th century onwards, attention was given also to pre-classical North-Arabian, attested by Šafaitic, Tamūdic, Liḥyanite, and Ḥasaeen inscriptions, without forgetting the North-Arabian background and the loanwords of Nabataean Aramaic, as well as the dialectal information from the 7th–8th centuries, preserved in Arabic sources.

Keywords: Arabic language, Linguistics, Grammar, Qur'ān, North-Arabian

The study of Semitic grammar, either Arabic, Syriac or Hebrew, started under the driving need to establish a correct reading and a proper interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, the Qur'ān and the Bible, both in their formal and semantic dimensions. In the first centuries of Islam, the lack of a vowel system and of diacritical signs distinguishing

some consonants, as well as the territorial expansion of the Arabs to countries with a population speaking other idioms, required a grammatical and semantic analysis of problematic passages in the Qur'ān and in the Ḥadīth¹. Besides, the Qur'ān was basically written in the Ḥiǧāzi idiom used in the Qurayš tribe for poetry and perhaps also for writing in general. Its language was regarded as close to a classical form of Arabic, the purity and clarity of which had to be preserved.

1. The Qur'ān and Classical Arabic

According to the Muslim tradition, Muḥammad did not collect himself the revelations of the Qur'ān, “recited” to him by Allāh or by his angel. This was done, after various attempts, about twenty years after the Prophet's death in 632 A.D. The first comprehensive written version is attributed by the tradition to Zayd Ibn Tābit, who has been Muḥammad's secretary. He was instructed in the reign of Abū Bakr (*ca.* 573–634 A.D.) to collect the scattered records in one volume. This manuscript passed to 'Umar (*ca.* 581–644 A.D.) and, at his death, to his daughter Ḥafṣa, one of Muḥammad's widows. When in the reign of 'Uṭmān (*ca.* 574–656 A.D.) quarrels arose as to the true form of the Qur'ān, Zayd was again appointed by the caliph, together with three members of the Qurayš tribe, to prepare an authoritative version, obviously based also on oral tradition. Copies of this were sent to the main cities of the empire, and all earlier written versions or transcripts, except the text of Ḥafṣa, were ordered to be burned. The recension of 'Uṭmān thus became the only standard text for the whole Muslim world up to the present day. Its absolute value was guaranteed by the *tadwīn*, a term used in the 10th-century *Rasā'il Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣāfa*² to describe the divinely inspired editing of the Qur'ān.

The final result of this tradition broadly corresponds to the opinion of Western scholars who generally accept Theodor Nöldeke's and Friedrich Schwally's conclusion that the written Qur'ān was not sent into general circulation among the Muslims until some time after the death of Muḥammad³. In the meantime, however, the political situation of the Arab world had so profoundly altered that Günther Lüling, a German Arabist, assumed that 'Uṭmān's recension amounted to nothing less than a reworking of the Qur'ān

¹ This other Islamic holy writ was at least partly put in writing in the 8th century, probably earlier. Cf. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* II, Halle 1890 (reprints, Hildesheim 1971, 2004), pp. 1–274.

² “Writings of the Pure Brethren” edited in four volumes in 1347 A.H.; cf. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., vol. I, Leiden 1943, pp. 236–237.

³ Th. Nöldeke's original *Geschichte des Qorāns* was published at Göttingen in 1860, but its second edition is generally used nowadays: Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns* I–III, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1909–1938 (6th reprint, Hildesheim 2008). Vol. I (1909), dealing with the origins of the Qur'ān, was revised by F. Schwally; vol. II (1919), concerning its compilation, was completely rewritten by F. Schwally; vol. III (1926), the history of the text, was reworked by G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl. The indices to the three volumes were prepared by A. Gottschalk-Baur and issued in 1938.

texts⁴. His thesis and the forwarded arguments are unconvincing, while the presence of such a precept as Sura XXIV, 2, contradicting the Islamic death penalty for adultery, shows that the preservation of the original contents was the main concern of the redactors, possibly of Zayd Ibn Ṭābit.

Lüling's ideas are paralleled to a certain extent by the views of John Wansbrough who dates the basic codification of the Qur'ān from the 9th century A.D.⁵ Few readers seem to have embraced this opinion. In fact, Chapter 101 of the *Dialectica*, written by St. John of Damascus (ca. 675–752) in the first half of the 8th century, refers to the Qur'ān, which no doubt constituted a well-known work at that time⁶. Its existence in the mid-8th century or at an earlier date is implied also by two Arabic papyri from Egypt, going probably back to the time of Theodore Abū Qurra (ca. 740–820)⁷, bishop of Harran, and paraphrasing some passages of the Qur'ān. Moreover, titles of Suras appear already in *Dialectica* 101 and in the papyri in question, indicating that the Qur'ān had a relatively firm shape at that time⁸. This does not mean of course that variants and free copies or paraphrases did not exist or have disappeared completely with the introduction of the standard version. The fragments of the so-far oldest Qur'ānic text, a palimpsest discovered at Ṣan'ā' (Yemen) in the 70's of the 20th century and probably dating from the first half of the 8th century A.D., show different sequences of Suras and verses, omissions and additions, as well as some different vowel letters⁹. Such fragments do certainly not imply that the edition of a standard version is a utopian idea. As for the Arabic script, its perfect development in the early 8th century is shown for instance by the inscription engraved on the capital from Al-Muwaqqar (Jordan), shown here below. Its date, 104 A.H., i.e. 723 A.D., is inscribed on the shaft of the column.

⁴ G. Lüling, *Über den Ur-Qur'ān*, Erlangen 1974; id., *Die Wiederentdeckung des Propheten Muhammad. Eine Kritik am "christlichen" Abendland*, Erlangen 1981.

⁵ J. Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies. Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, Oxford 1977; id., *The Sectarial Milieu, Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History*, Oxford 1978.

⁶ For the authenticity of this chapter, see A.-Th. Houry, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam. Textes et auteurs (VIII^e–XIII^e s.)*, Münster i. W. 1966, pp. 49–65; id., *Der theologische Streit der Byzantiner mit dem Islam*, Paderborn 1969, pp. 12–17; D.J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam: The "Heresy of the Ishmaelites"*, Leiden 1972, pp. 60 ff.

⁷ First published by G. Graf in F. Bilabel and A. Grohmann (eds.), *Griechische, Koptische und Arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit*, Heidelberg 1934, pp. 1–24 (No. 112) and pp. 24–31 (No. 113).

⁸ Cf. J. van Ess, rev. in "Bibliotheca Orientalis" 35 (1978), pp. 349–353, in particular pp. 352–353. There is a lack of concrete evidence in some discussions of Wansbrough's books, e.g. H. Berg (ed.), *Islamic Origins Reconsidered: John Wansbrough and the Study of Islam*, Berlin 1997; J.A. Majaddedi, *Taking Islam Seriously: The Legacy of John Wansbrough*, in: "Journal of Semitic Studies" 45 (2000), pp. 103–114.

⁹ E. Puin, *Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Ṣan'ā'*, in: M. Gross and K.-H. Ohlig (eds.), *Schlaglichter. Die beiden ersten islamitischen Jahrhunderte*, Hans Schiler, Berlin 2009, pp. 463–515; G.-R. Puin, *Die Utopie einer kritischen Koranediton. Ein Arbeitsbericht*, *ibid.*, pp. 516–571.



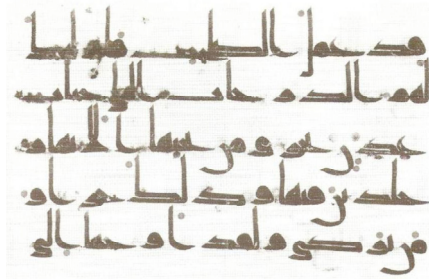
Capital from Al-Muwaqqar (Ammān, Archaeological Museum, J. 5058)

However, a serious question can be raised because of the lack of diacritics and vowel signs in the early manuscripts of the Qurʾān. The shape of one character has no less than five reading possibilities (*b*, *t*, *ṭ*, *n*, *y*), if the diacritical dots are missing, while other have three (*ḡ*, *ḥ*, *ḫ*) or two possibilities (*d* and *ḏ*, *r* and *z*, *s* and *š*, *ṣ* and *ḍ*, *t* and *ṭ*, ‘ and ḡ). This situation results from the use of the cursive post-Nabataean script¹⁰ to write the Qurʾān in the mid-7th century. This Aramaic script was not distinguishing a number of phonemes existing in spoken Arabic; besides, it was lacking diacritics and vowel signs. Both were progressively introduced, following the Syriac example¹¹. The earliest attestation of diacritics in Arabic is found in an inscription from 58 A.H. and their use was slowly generalized in the 8th and 9th centuries¹². In the early Islamic period, two types of Arabic writing existed, known as Kufic and cursive *nashī*. The former was discontinued except for formal purposes, where cursive writing could not be employed. The *nashī* is the parent of usual and modern Arabic writing.

¹⁰ Cf. E. Lipiński, *Émergence et diffusion des écritures alphabétiques*, “Rocznik Orientalistyczny” 63/2 (2010), pp. 71–126, in particular pp. 116–117 with earlier literature. All Arabic characters are similar to the cursive Nabataean ones, and ten are similar to Nabataean only, not to Syriac. The question can thus be regarded as finally resolved.

¹¹ W. Diem, *Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie I. Die Schreibung der Vokale*, “Orientalia” 48 (1979), pp. 207–257; *II. Die Schreibung der Konsonanten*, “Orientalia” 49 (1980), pp. 67–106; *III. Endungen und Endschreibungen*, “Orientalia” 50 (1981), pp. 332–383; *IV. Die Schreibung der zusammenhängenden Rede. Zusammenfassung*, “Orientalia” 52 (1983), pp. 357–404. Cf. S. Morag, *The Vocalization System of Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic. Their Phonetic and Phonemic Principles*, ’s Gravenhage 1962.

¹² A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie II*, Wien 1971, p. 41.



Vellum leaf of a Qur'an manuscript (8 x 13 cm.) from the 10th century A.D., probably from Kairouan, written in *Kufic* script with only a few diacritics marked in red

Considering the problematic or obscure Qur'anic passages one should accept the possibility of mistakenly added diacritics. For instance, St. John the Baptist is called *Yaḥyā* in the present punctuation of the Qur'an¹³, but the consonants also allow the reading *Yuḥannā*, which probably corresponds to an early pronunciation of the name. In fact, when the Mandaeans introduced John the Baptist in their literary tradition to show to the Muslims that they have a Prophet recognized in the Qur'an, they first called him *Yōḥannā*, as shown by his mentions in the *Ginza*, their earliest sacred book. Later, in the so-called *John-Book*, they mainly use the name *Yaḥyā*¹⁴. This punctuation was very likely chosen by Muslim scholars because *Yuḥannā* does not appear in Arabic onomastics, while *Yaḥyā* is a well attested name, occurring already in Šafaitic inscriptions¹⁵.

Some twelve years ago, Christoph Luxenberg (a pseudonym) suggested a number of repunctuations of Qur'anic words, referring sometimes to Aramaic or Syriac¹⁶. The most spectacular case is supposed to occur in Sura XLIV, 54 and LII, 20, where the happy afterlife of the pious dead is described also by the phrase: "We coupled them (*zawwağnāhum*) with nymphs (*ḥūrīyāt*)". Luxenberg proposes changing the diacritics in order to read *rawwaḥnāhum*, "we gave them rest", while the *ḥūrīyāt* become "white", in Aramaic *ḥiwwārāt*¹⁷. However, he hardly pays attention to the *y* of *ḥūrīyāt* and to the use of the variant *rayyaḥa* or of Stem IV *arāḥa* in the sense "to give rest", while *rawwaḥa* could rather mean "to revive the spirits". There are errors in Luxenberg's transcriptions of Syriac words, but it is pointless to discuss them because the basic idea of a Syriac

¹³ Sura III, 34/39; VI, 85; XIX, 7.

¹⁴ Cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *La gnose mandéenne et la tradition évangélique* (suite), "Revue Biblique" 37 (1928), pp. 5–36 (see pp. 25–31).

¹⁵ G.L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Near and Middle East Series 8), Toronto 1971, p. 662: YḤYY.

¹⁶ Chr. Luxenberg, *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran. Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Koransprache*, Das Arabische Buch, Berlin 2000; 3rd ed., 2007. Cf. S. Hopkins, rev. in "Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam" 28 (2003), pp. 377–380; F. Corriente, *On a Proposal for a 'Syro-Aramaic' Reading of the Qur'an*, "Collectanea Christiana Orientalia" (Cordoba) 1 (2004), pp. 305–314; M. Grodzki, *Philological and Historical Contribution to an Unconventional Review of Early Islamic History*, "Rocznik Orientalistyczny" 63/2 (2010), pp. 23–38, referring also to later publications of Chr. Luxenberg and other authors.

¹⁷ Chr. Luxenberg, *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran* (n. 16), pp. 256–275.

background lacks any factual support. Besides, as a matter of principle, one should reckon with ancient Arabian dialects, as done by Chaim Rabin¹⁸, and with the North-Arabian inscriptions¹⁹ before using Aramaic, whose vocabulary influenced Arabic, as shown already in the 19th century by Sigmund Fraenkel (1855–1909)²⁰, but mainly at a somewhat later stage. This is a basic methodological question undermining Luxenberg’s approach. The language of the Qur’ān certainly exhibited differences from the spoken dialects, but it was also supposed to contain real or assumed dialectal words²¹. Moreover, one should not forget that Arabic script derives from Nabataean cursive, not from Syriac. Also the non-classical feminine ending *-a* is indicated by *-h* like in Nabataean, e.g. *nḥlh*, “estate”, ṣ’h, “hour”, contrary to Syriac, which always uses the *ālaf*.

One should still stress here that some statements of Luxenberg and of authors defending similar ideas are historically incorrect, for instance when stating that the personal name *Muḥammad* does not appear before year 67 A.H., i.e. towards the end of the 7th century A.D. In reality, this name is attested already hundreds of years earlier in Sabaic and in Ṣafaitic, which was a pre-Classical Arabic dialect²². Also the name ‘*Abd-Ilah*’ of Muḥammad’s father is well attested in Ṭamūdic, Ṣafaitic, and South-Arabian onomastics²³. Such examples can be multiplied.

Arab commentators of the Qur’ān knew its internal problems, and their early treatises demonstrate that ambiguous and variant readings did indeed occur across the whole range of lexical and morphosyntactic issues: from simple pronunciation variants through different case endings or verbal forms, synonyms or near synonyms, to interpretations of whole phrases. A state of the art is presented in the *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*²⁴, where one should consult not only the article on Qur’ānic readings²⁵, but also the contributions dealing with textual criticism²⁶, grammar²⁷, and exegesis²⁸.

¹⁸ C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian. A Study of the Dialects of the Western Highlands of Arabia in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.*, London 1951.

¹⁹ Cf. here below, pp. 37–47.

²⁰ S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1878 (reprint, Hildesheim 1982). Cf. also A. Mingana, *Syriac Influence on the Style of the Qur’ān*, “Bulletin of the John Rylands Library” 11 (1927), pp. 77–98. Since Mingana regards *’allāh*, *kāhin*, *nafs*, *qur’ān*, etc., as words derived from Syriac, one should approach his article with a critical mind. A plural like *sfrh*, “scribes”, in Sura LXXX, 15, goes certainly back to Aramaic, but it could be Syriac as well as Jewish Aramaic. In any case, one must remember that Nestorian missionaries have reached South Arabia in the 5th century A.D. at the latest.

²¹ Now, one must remember that it was often impossible for the Arabic script to express genuine dialect forms, just as it is inadequate today for writing the colloquial forms of speech.

²² G.L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance* (n. 15), p. 531.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 397, 400.

²⁴ J.D. McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān* I–VI, Leiden 2001–2006.

²⁵ F. Leemhuis, *Readings of the Qur’ān*, in J.D. McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān* IV, Leiden 2004, pp. 353–363.

²⁶ J.A. Bellamy, *Textual Criticism of the Qur’ān*, in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān* V, Leiden 2006, pp. 237–252.

²⁷ R. Talmon, *Grammar and the Qur’ān*, in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān* II, Leiden 2002, pp. 345–369.

²⁸ C. Gilliot, *Exegesis of the Qur’ān: Classical and Medieval*, in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān* II, Leiden 2002, pp. 99–124.

Among the problematic passages best known are “the seven variant readings” or *qirā’āt*, described by Abū Bakr Ibn Muğāhid (d. 935 A.D.)²⁹, but phonological, semantic, and grammatical analyses of problematic passages in the Qur’ān are more important than simple lists of variants to establish the “true” meaning of the text. Hence the endeavour of early Arab philologists to explain rare or difficult Qur’ānic words in works quoted later under the name *Kitāb al-luğāt*, “Book on the Dialects”, or the like. We possess one of these monographs, the *Risāla* (“Treatise”) ascribed to Abū ‘Ubayd Qāsim Ibn Sallām al-Harawī³⁰. The purpose of those lexicographers was somewhat similar to that of the oldest linguistic treatise preserved in India: the *Nirukta* (“Etymology”) of Yāska, a Sanskrit scholar of the 5th century B.C.³¹ He provides brief explanations of Rigvedic words which had become obscure. As a matter of fact, Abū ‘Ubayd’s *Risāla* was written when the study of Arabic grammar was already established as an independent discipline, traditionally represented by the Kufan and Basran schools³².

Farrā’ (d. 822 A.D.) from Kufa (12 km north-east of An-Nağaf, Iraq) analyzed problematic Qur’ānic passages from the phonetic, morphological, and contextual points of view in his “Meanings of the Qur’ān”³³. Without presenting a complete study of syntactic structures, he examined the sense of various words in larger components, sometimes above the level of the sentence. This approach records the Indian treatises following the *Mahābhāṣya* (“Great Commentary”) of Patañjali (ca. 150 B.C.). Farrā’ was extremely detailed as to questions of pronunciation and morphology, while scarcely touching syntax. Instead, a considerable attention was given to the syntax in the Basran school of Arabic grammar, whose main representative is Sībawayhi (d. 793 A.D.)³⁴, who studied at Basra under Al-Ḥalīl Ibn Aḥmad Ibn ‘Amr (710–786 A.D.)³⁵. Al-Ḥalīl was the leader of the Basran school and the compiler of the first Arabic dictionary, the *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*, “The

²⁹ Abū Bakr Ibn Muğāhid, *Kitāb as-sab’a fī al-qirā’āt*, ed. Šawqī al-Ḍayf, Cairo 1979.

³⁰ Abū ‘Ubayd Qāsim Ibn Sallām al-Harawī (d. 838 A.D.), *Risāla fī-mā warada fī al-Qur’āni al-Karīmi min luğāt al-qabā’ili*, Cairo 1310 A.H.

³¹ For a comparison of ancient Semitic and Sanskrit semantic speculations, see W. van Bekkum, J. Houben, I. Sluiter, and K. Versteegh, *The Emergence of Semantics in Four Linguistic Traditions: Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic*, Amsterdam 1997. The classical grammar of Panini was published and translated by O. Böthlingk, *Panini: Grammatik*, Leipzig 1887 (reprint, Hildesheim 1977).

³² For a survey of the Arabic grammatical literature, see F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums IX. Grammatik*, Leiden 1984. For the early period, see C.H.M. Versteegh, *Arabic Grammar and Qur’anic Exegesis in Early Islam*, Leiden 1993; R. Talmon, *Eighth-Century Iraqi Grammar: A Critical Exploration of Pre-Ḥalīlian Arabic Linguistics* (Harvard Semitic Studies 53), Winona Lake 2003; cf. K. Versteegh, rev. in: “Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam” 30 (2005), pp. 528–535. A bibliography concerning grammatical questions of classical and colloquial Arabic can be found in E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages. Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (OLA 80), Leuven 1997, pp. 610–617; 2nd ed., Leuven 2001, pp. 628–636.

³³ Abū Zakariyyā al-Farrā’, *Ma’anī al-Qur’ān*, ed. by M. ‘Alī an-Nağğār and A. Yūsuf Nağātī, Beirut 1983. Cf. N. Kinberg, *A Lexicon of al-Farrā’s Terminology in His Qur’ān Commentary*, Leiden 1995.

³⁴ Sībawayhi is the nickname of Abū Bišr ‘Amr Ibn ‘Uṭman Ibn Qanbar. He was a Persian client of an Arab tribe.

³⁵ W. Reuschel, *Al-Ḥalīl ibn Aḥmad, der Lehrer Sībawayhs, als Grammatiker*, Berlin 1959.

Book of the Eye”³⁶. The work was compiled with the help of Al-Layṭ Ibn al-Muẓaffar, a Khorasani. Al-Ḥalīl paid attention also to dialectal usages, listing roots separately in accordance with the number of letters they contained: two, three, four or five. He also invented a special alphabetic order based on phonetic principles, beginning with the gutturals and ending with the labials. This suggests Sanskrit grammatical influence³⁷, but no direct contacts are known. However, Basra was a harbour trading with India and its area was inhabited also by Mandaeans, among whom we find names such as *Hyndw* and *Hyndwyṭ*’, revealing relations with Northwestern India³⁸. Some knowledge of Sanskrit grammar could thus reach Al-Ḥalīl quite easily.

The same can be said about Sibawayhi’s *Kitāb*³⁹, the first known full-scale Arabic grammar, on which all subsequent Arabic grammars were based. Like Sanskrit, which makes a perfect distinction between nouns and verbs, the *Kitāb* distinguishes the categories of noun and verb, but adds a third part of the speech, viz. the particle, while Sanskrit includes the indeclinable words in the category of nouns. The *Kitāb* applies both to nouns and to verbs the notion of ‘*irāb*, literally “Arabization” in the sense of “accidence” or inflection of words. This appellation seems to be suggested by the Greek use of ἐλληνισμός to designate the correct Greek speech. Instead, Sanskrit grammarians termed inflection *vibhakti-*, “modification”, as being a change in the bare stem-form. Greek influence on Sibawayhi is appearing also in the use of some other grammatical terms and in the choice of particular words for the paradigms of the nouns. Such influence is likely to have been carried into Arabic by the early converts from the conquered territories, many of whom belonged to educated social classes. The parts of speech and their syntactic use are dealt with in the *Kitāb* in great detail, with supporting quotations from the Qur’ān and from Arabic poetry. Instead, Sibawayhi shows little interest in the dialects⁴⁰ and he mainly mentions such dialectal usages that were permissible in the *luḡā faṣṭḥā*, the “correct speech” as he conceived it.

Similarities in some terminology do not answer the question of the origins of the Arabic grammatical tradition⁴¹, which as early as ca. 800 A.D. had a depth and precision

³⁶ There are manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-‘Ayn* in Tübingen and Baghdad. Cf. S. Wild, *Das Kitāb al-‘Ain und die arabische Lexikographie*, Wiesbaden 1965. For a survey of Arabic lexicography, see F. Sezgin, *Geschichte der arabischen Schrifttums* VIII. *Lexikographie*, Leiden 1982.

³⁷ J. Danecki, *Indian Phonetical Theory and the Arab Grammarians*, “Rocznik Orientalistyczny” 44/1 (1985), pp. 127–134; V. Law, *Indian Influence on Early Arab Phonetics – or Coincidence?*, in: K. Versteegh and M.G. Carter (eds.), *Studies in the History of Arabic Grammar* II, Amsterdam 1990, pp. 215–227.

³⁸ J.A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, University of Pennsylvania. The Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section III, Philadelphia 1913, Nos. 40 and 38; E.M. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, New Haven 1967, Nos. 25, 16 (*Hyndw*); 23, 3.9.12.13.14 (*Hyndwyṭ* with variants).

³⁹ Sibawayhi, *Al-Kitāb fi’l an-nahw*, published by H. Derenbourg, *Le livre de Sibawayhi, traité de grammaire arabe*, Paris 1881–1889 (reprint, Hildesheim 1970), and translated into German by G. Jahn, *Sibawayhi’s Buch über die Grammatik, übersetzt und erläutert*, Berlin 1894–1900 (reprint, Hildesheim 1969).

⁴⁰ A. Levin, *Sibawayhi’s Attitude to the Spoken Language*, “Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam” 17 (1994), pp. 204–243.

⁴¹ The debate among Western scholars have been presented several times by J. Owens, *The Foundations of Grammar: An Introduction to Medieval Arabic Grammatical Theory*, Amsterdam 1988; id., *Early Arabic Grammatical*

unexplainable in terms of borrowing. Its earlier stage was scrutinized by Raphael Talmon on the basis of twenty-seven scattered texts⁴², but none stands as a work of pure grammar and one can hardly follow him in assuming the existence of a full-fledged “Old Iraqi School”, reformed by Al-Ḥalīl and Sībawayhi⁴³.

Arabic grammar and linguistics have generally been regarded by native scholars as a science elaborated by Arabs independently from a foreign model during the first centuries of the Islam. Modern scholarship has concurred with this view to a large extent and Henri Fleisch only admitted the influence exercised by a few concepts of Aristotelian logic⁴⁴. Against this view, C.H.M. Versteegh maintained that the Greek impact on the nascent Arabic grammar should not be traced to the Aristotelian logic, still unknown in the 8th century among Arab grammarians⁴⁵, but that “the real influence was exercised by Hellenistic education institutes with their long-standing tradition of grammar-teaching”⁴⁶. The sudden appearance of a complete grammatical system with Al-Ḥalīl and Sībawayhi at Basra should thus be explained by direct contacts with schools of Greek rhetoric and grammar. Instead, the influence of Aristotelian logic, presupposing the translation of Greek philosophical texts into Arabic, did not become apparent before the 10th century, when some grammarians of Arabic introduced Aristotelian notions, methods, and arguments in their writing. The basic system of Arabic grammar was then elaborated since two centuries.

Versteegh’s basic hypothesis of “growing acquaintance with Greek grammatical practice”⁴⁷ lacks any evidence and one cannot accept his sheer assumption that Arab grammarians failed to mention any Greek grammarians because of their hostility to foreign culture⁴⁸. Rather, the mode of transmission of Aristotelian concepts and of some Greek grammatical elements must have been similar to that of Christian influences on early Muslim law and theology, as exposed already by J. Schacht⁴⁹. Such influences were carried into Islam by converts from cities in conquered territories, many of whom belonged to the educated classes. One should refer here especially to Syriac-speaking

Theory: Heterogeneity and Standardization, Amsterdam 1990; id., *Models for the Interpretation of the Development of Medieval Arabic Grammatical Theory*, “Journal of the American Oriental Society” 111 (1991), pp. 225–238; id., *The Arabic Grammatical Tradition*, in: R. Hetzron (ed.), *The Semitic Languages*, London 1997, pp. 46–58.

⁴² R. Talmon, *Eighth-Century Iraqi Grammar* (n. 32).

⁴³ R. Baalbaki, rev. in: “Journal of Semitic Studies” 50 (2005), pp. 413–416.

⁴⁴ H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe* I, Beyrouth 1961, pp. 1–50, 470–500. The idea was first expressed by A. Merx, *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros*, Leipzig 1889 (reprint, Nendeln 1966), pp. 141–148.

⁴⁵ The hypothesis of early Arabic translations of Greek logical treatises lacks so far a solid basis. It was formulated both by F. Rundgren, *Über den griechischen Einfluss auf die arabische Nationalgrammatik*, “Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis”, n.s. 2 (1976), pp. 119–144, and by R. Talmon, *Eighth-Century Iraqi Grammar* (n. 32).

⁴⁶ C.H.M. Versteegh, *Greek Elements in Arabic Linguistic Thinking* (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 7), Leiden 1977, p. 13.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁴⁹ J. Schacht, *New Sources for the History of Muhammadan Theology*, “Studia Islamica” 1 (1953), pp. 23–42 (see pp. 26–27).

people, either having access to Syriac translations of Aristotelian philosophical writings, like that of the *Categories*, going back to the 6th century⁵⁰, or trying to prevent an inappropriate reading of the Holy Scripture by introducing the vocalic signs⁵¹. This system was in fact adopted by Arab scribes in the 8th century and further research should look for other elements of Syriac origin in early Arabic grammar without running off the rails like Luxenberg and company.

Arabic system of grammar as a whole, however, was developed without foreign influence. The latter is appearing in some lexicographic conceptions, in an apparently similar terminology, in reflexes of Aristotelian logic⁵², but basic grammatical notions seem to presuppose a native understanding of the spoken language. This is exemplified by the absence of an univocal concept of subject in mediaeval Arabic linguistic theory. This is no sign of its inferiority, as stated by Henri Fleisch, but the correct assessment of the different role of the subject in a verbal and in a nominal clause. The logical subject of the verbal clause, *al-fā'il*, “the acting one”, seems in fact to go back to the *casus agens* of an ergative grammatical system, while the subject of the nominal clause, *al-mubtada' bihi*, “the one with whom one begins”, goes apparently back to the *casus patiens*. These are remote traces of ergativity the characteristic feature of which is that the object of transitive verbs is the same case as the subject of intransitive verbs, whereas the subject of transitive verbs is in a particular case, the ergative. In Berber dialects, this difference appears also in stative and fientive sentences, e.g. *a-ğyul immut*, “the donkey is dead”, and *immut u-ğyul*, “the donkey died”.

The grammars of the post-Sibawayhi period were more transparent than the *Kitāb*. The centre of grammatical studies shifted in the mid-9th century to Baghdad, the seat of the caliphate, and some creative activity lasted there until the end of the 10th century, influenced undoubtedly by Aristotelian logical principles⁵³. With Abū 'Alī al-Qālī, still known as al-Bağdādī, the Arabic grammatical tradition migrated to Cordoba⁵⁴, in Spain, while various summaries of reference grammars were then written. Nevertheless, the Arabic grammatical tradition remained basically unchanged⁵⁵, and it served as foundation to the modern European grammars of Classical Arabic⁵⁶, the first one being Guillaume Postel's (1510–1581) *Grammatica Arabica*, issued in 1538. It was followed by the grammar of

⁵⁰ D. King, *The Earliest Syriac Translation of Aristotle's Categories: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus 21), Leiden 2010. In the same period, Τέχνη γραμματική of Dionysius Thrax was translated into Syriac by Joseph Hūzāyā.

⁵¹ See here above, pp. 24–25.

⁵² Cf. here above, p. 28.

⁵³ A. Elamrani-Jamal, *Logique aristotélicienne et grammaire arabe*, Paris 1983; Shukri ibn Abed, *Aristotelian Logic and the Arabic Language in Alfārābi*, New York 1991.

⁵⁴ J. Grand' Henry, *De Baghdad à Cordoue. Une migration de la tradition grammaticale arabe*, “Res Orientales” 7 (2010), pp. 119–128.

⁵⁵ For a concise presentation of its form, see J. Owens, *The Arabic Grammatical Tradition*, in: R. Hetzron (ed.), *Semitic Languages*, London 1997, pp. 46–58, with further bibliography.

⁵⁶ J. Füick, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1955. Cf. also I.J. Kratschkowski, *Die russische Arabistik. Umriss ihrer Entwicklung*, Leipzig 1957.

Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624)⁵⁷, reedited several times, among others by Jacob Gool in 1656.

The remarkable achievement of George Sale (ca. 1697–1736) should be mentioned here, although this was no linguistic publication. Sale was a lawyer, but his heart lay in oriental scholarship and he had a European reputation as an orientalist. Having studied Arabic for some time in England alongside Arab scholars who had come to London to assist in the Arabic version of the New Testament to be used by Syrian Christians, he became the chief corrector of this work, begun in 1720 by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. But Sale's main accomplishment was an admirable English translation of the Qur'ān, printed in 1734⁵⁸. It was the first English version based on the original Arabic text and it surpassed earlier works of the kind in the quality of translation. Sale's Qur'ān remained the best available English version of the Holy Writ until the end of the 19th century.

Erpenius' "immortal grammar" was followed by the works of Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838)⁵⁹, of Heinrich G.A. Ewald (1803–1875)⁶⁰, Carl Paul Caspari (1814–1892)⁶¹, Albert Socin (1844–1899)⁶², M.S. Howell⁶³, N.V. Yushmanov (1896–1946)⁶⁴, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes and R. Blachère (1900–1973)⁶⁵, C. Brockelmann (1868–1956)⁶⁶, B.M. Grande⁶⁷, W. Fischer⁶⁸, Janusz Danecki⁶⁹. The majority of European

⁵⁷ Th. Erpenius, *Grammatica Arabica*, Leiden 1613; new ed., Leiden 1748. He also published a grammar of the Hebrew language: Th. Erpenius, *Grammatica Ebraea generalis*, Leiden-Geneva 1621; 2nd ed., 1627.

⁵⁸ G. Sale, *The Koran, commonly called The Alcoran of Mohammed*, London 1734; 2nd ed., 1764.

⁵⁹ A.I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe I-II*, Paris 1810; 2nd ed., 1831; 3rd ed., 1904.

⁶⁰ H.G.A. Ewald, *Grammatica critica linguae Arabicae*, Leipzig 1831–33. For the role of H.G.A. Ewald in biblical studies and in comparative historical Semitics, see T.W. Davies, *Heinrich Ewald, Orientalist and Theologian*, London 1903; H.J. Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, Neukirchen 1956, pp. 182–190.

⁶¹ C.P. Caspari, *Grammatik der arabischen Sprache*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1859; 3rd ed., 1866; *Arabische Grammatik*, 5th ed. by A. Müller, Halle 1887, translated into English, revised, and published by W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge 1862; 3th ed. rev. by W.R. Smith and M.J. de Goeje, 1896–1898 (reprints, 1951, 1986). French edition: C.P. Caspari, *Grammaire arabe. Traduite de la 4^e éd. allemande et en partie remaniée par E. Uricoechea*, Paris 1881.

⁶² A. Socin, *Arabische Grammatik* (Porta Linguarum Orientalium 4), 4th ed., Berlin 1899; 6th ed., 1909; 9th ed. by C. Brockelmann, 1925.

⁶³ M.S. Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, Allahabad 1883–1911 (reprint 1986).

⁶⁴ H.B. Юшманов, *Грамматика литературного арабского языка*, Leningrad 1928.

⁶⁵ M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes and R. Blachère, *Grammaire de l'arabe classique*, Paris 1937; 3rd ed., 1952 (reprint, 1975).

⁶⁶ C. Brockelmann, *Arabische Grammatik*, 10th ed., Berlin 1929; 12th ed., Leipzig 1948; 21st ed., 1982 (reprint, 1992).

⁶⁷ Б.М. Гранде, *Грамматическое таблицы арабского литературного языка*, Moscow 1950; id., *Курс арабской грамматики в сравнительно-историческом освещении*, Moscow 1963.

⁶⁸ W. Fischer, *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*, Wiesbaden 1972; 3rd ed., 2002, with a rich bibliography. For a concise presentation by the same author, see W. Fischer, *Classical Arabic*, in: R. Hetzron (ed.), *The Semitic Languages*, London 1997, pp. 187–219. See also W. Fischer and H. Gätje (eds.), *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie I–III*, Wiesbaden 1982–1992.

⁶⁹ J. Danecki, *Gramatyka języka arabskiego*, Warszawa 1994; id., *Klasyczny język arabski*, Warszawa 1998.

grammars of Arabic are based on the old traditions of Arab grammarians. An exception is N.V. Yushmanov's grammar, as well as the syntax of modern Arabic prose by V. Cantarino⁷⁰.

Arab scholars were active also in the field of lexicography. A particular problem is created there by the *addād*. A *ḍidd* is a word or a root with supposed two opposite meanings. An instructive analysis of *addād* has been provided by David Cohen⁷¹, who distinguishes "false *addād*" from real "antithetic meanings". The first group contains not only unnoticed textual errors and misspellings, but also apparently opposite meanings resulting from syntagms using different prepositions, like *raġiba fī*, "he turned to", and *raġiba 'an*, "he turned away from", providing seemingly contrary meanings: "to like" and "to dislike". Disregard of dialectal differences, popular idioms, technical or professional language, semantic development lead also to the creation of alleged *addād*. Instead, actually opposite meanings result from metaphors and euphemisms, like *baṣīr*, "seeing", to denote a blind man, from extrapolations, like in the case of *bay'a*, "commercial transaction", what can mean either "sale" or "purchase", and mainly from extra-linguistic factors, like traditional, dogmatic or theological interpretations of passages in the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth. Although these contrary meanings were interpretative in their origin ("this means that ..."), they were conceived by Arab lexicographers as *addād* and projected into the semantic sphere.

The fifteen volumes of Ibn Manẓūr's (1232–1311 A.D.) *Lisān al-'Arab* contain about 80,000 entries⁷², but the main organizing principles within the lemmas, representing a root, were semantic with little or no attention to the morphology. In Europe, one had to wait until the early 17th century to have a proper dictionary of the Arabic language. Pedro de Alcála's *Vocabulista* of 1505 was a Spanish-Arabic glossary in transcription only, and the Arabic lemmas of Valentin Schindler's (d. 1604) *Lexicon pentaglotton*, published in 1612, were printed in Hebrew characters. The first dictionary of the Arabic language in Arabic characters to be printed was the *Lexicon Arabicum* of Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–1597), the son-in-law of Plantin and collaborator of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. He became printer to Leiden University in 1586 and was appointed professor of Hebrew in 1587. His dictionary was published by his sons after his death, and was composed with the Arabic types specially cut for him in 1595 by Hondius. Thomas Erpenius added an important section of philological *Observationes in Lexicon Arabicum* (pp. I–LXVII)⁷³.

The Arabic lexicon of Jacobus Golius (Gool, 1625–1667)⁷⁴ dominated the field until Georg Wilhelm Freytag's dictionary appeared⁷⁵. The next large-scale modern Arabic

⁷⁰ V. Cantarino, *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose* I–III, Bloomington 1974–1975. See further: H. El-Ayoubi, W. Fischer, and M. Langer, *Syntax der arabischen Schriftsprache der Gegenwart* 1/1–2, Wiesbaden 2000–2003.

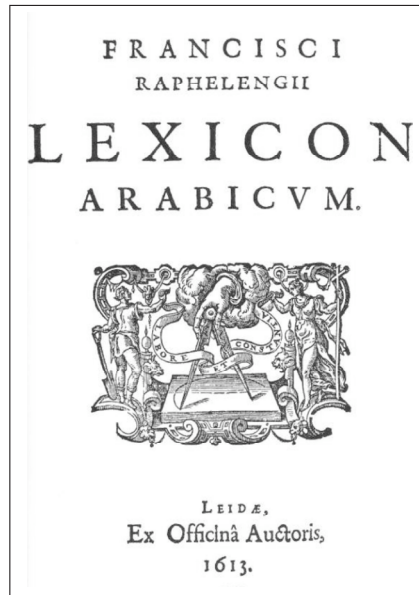
⁷¹ D. Cohen, *Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe*, The Hague 1970, pp. 79–104.

⁷² Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Beirut 1955–1956 (reprint, 1970).

⁷³ F. Raphelengius, *Lexicon Arabicum*, Leiden 1613.

⁷⁴ J. Golius, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, Leiden 1653.

⁷⁵ G.W. Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum, praesertim ex Djeuharii Firuzubadiique et aliorum libris confectum* I–IV, Halle 1830–1837 (reprint, 1975).



dictionary was the Arabic-English lexicon of Edward William Lane (1801–1876), which has hardly been superseded⁷⁶. However, the lexicon is incomplete and only sketches remain after the beginning of letter *kāf*. The International Congress of Orientalists adjudged the completion of the work as a matter of high priority, but only the letters *kāf* and *lām* have so far been published in order to fill the gaps in Lane's work⁷⁷. Among the major dictionaries of Classical Arabic used nowadays, one can mention the volumes prepared by R. Blachère, C. Pellat, M. Chouémi, and C. Denizeau⁷⁸, and the dictionaries of H. Wehr⁷⁹, Ch.K. Baranov⁸⁰, J. Kozłowska and J. Danecki⁸¹, Jerzy Łacina⁸². There are also specialized dictionaries, as the one concerning the Aristotelian terminology of Al-Fārābī (ca. 870–950)⁸³ or the Arabic translations of Galen's medical work *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, translated ca. 800 by Al-Biṭrīq and ca.

⁷⁶ E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols, London-Edinburgh 1863–1893 (reprints, 1955–1956, 1968). Parts 6–8 were edited by his nephew S. Lane-Poole.

⁷⁷ M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache* I, *kāf*, Wiesbaden 1970; II/1–4, *lām*, Wiesbaden 1984–2009. No further volumes are planned for the near future. The letters still missing are *mīm*, *nūn*, *hā'*, *wāw*, and *yā'*.

⁷⁸ R. Blachère, C. Pellat, M. Chouémi, and C. Denizeau, *Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais (langues classique et moderne)*, Paris 1963 ff. The modern language is, of course, the Standard Literary Arabic.

⁷⁹ H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart. Arabisch-Deutsch*, Wiesbaden 1952; 5th ed., 1985. English edition by J.M. Cowan: *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic. Arabic-English*, Wiesbaden 1971; 4th ed., 1979.

⁸⁰ X.K. Баранов, *Арабско-русский словарь*, Moscow 1957; 6th ed., 1985.

⁸¹ J. Kozłowska and J. Danecki, *Słownik arabsko-polski*, Warszawa 1996.

⁸² J. Łacina, *Słownik arabsko-polski*, Poznań 1997.

⁸³ I. Alon and S. Abed, *Al-Farabi's Philosophical Lexicon* I–II, Cambridge 2007.

870 by Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq⁸⁴. Comparison of these two versions, as well as of translations of other Gallen's works, of Hypocrates, Dioscurides Pedanius, Philomenus of Alexandria, Aristoteles, etc., enables M. Ullmann to follow the development of Arabic scientific terminology from its beginnings to its maturity. One should also mention the Greek and Arabic lexicon in progress⁸⁵.

2. Middle Arabic and Arabic Dialects

Grammatical study of Classical and Standard Literary Arabic represents only one aspect of Arabic linguistics as practiced on a scholarly level since the 20th century. Modern colloquial Arabic in its multiple forms, spoken from Central Asia (Uzbekistan)⁸⁶ and the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean, is an important field of linguistic research⁸⁷, promoted in the mid-20th century by J. Cantineau, Ph. Marçais, etc. The recent introduction to the geography of Arabic dialects can be helpful here⁸⁸, while studies of particular modern dialects are published, among others, in the series *Semitica Viva*⁸⁹. Useful information on the linguistic situation in the Maghrib is provided by Gilbert Grandguillaume⁹⁰.

Arabic-speaking societies are continuously confronted with problems arising from the so-called diglossia, i.e. the simultaneous existence of regional dialects of low social status and a rather different literary language of high prestige, the modern form of Classical Arabic: the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), symbol of the Arabic cultural heritage. The latter is mastered more or less perfectly after many years of studying, while the dialect, acquired by children as a first language, generally remains the language one thinks in.

⁸⁴ M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 2002; *Supplement I–II*, Wiesbaden 2006–2007.

⁸⁵ G. Endress (ed.), *A Greek and Arabic Lexicon*, Leiden 1992 ff.

⁸⁶ O. Jastrow, *Wie arabisch ist Uzbekistan-Arabisch?*, in: E. Wardini (ed.), *Built on Solid Rock. Studies in Honour of Prof. E.E. Knudsen*, Oslo 1997, pp. 141–153.

⁸⁷ The manual of W. Fischer and O. Jastrow, *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, Wiesbaden 1980, gives an idea of the extension of this field. See also J. Danecki, *Wstęp do dialektologii języka arabskiego*, Warszawa 1989; id., *Współczesny język arabski i jego dialekty*, Warszawa 2000; A.S. Kaye and J. Rosenhouse, *Arabic Dialects and Maltese*, in: R. Hetzron (ed.), *The Semitic Languages*, London 1997, pp. 263–311; O. Jastrow, *Arabic Dialectology. The State of Art*, in: Sh. Izre'el (ed.), *Semitic Linguistics: The State of the Art at the Turn of the 21st Century*, Winona Lake 2002, pp. 347–377. There is a dictionary of the dialects spoken in the main Levantine centres: A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire arabe-français. Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*, Paris 1935–1969, with Arabic words printed in the International Phonetic Alphabet. A supplement was published by C. Denizeau, *Dictionnaire des parlers arabes de Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, Paris 1960. For Yemen, there is the work of M. Piamenta, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*, Leiden 1990–1991. See further B. Podolsky, *A Selected List of Dictionaries of Semitic Languages*, in: Sh. Izre'el (ed.), *Semitic Linguistics: The State of the Art at the Turn of the 21st Century*, Winona Lake 2002, pp. 212–221, in particular pp. 214–216.

⁸⁸ P. Behnstedt and M. Woidich, *Arabische Dialektgeographie. Eine Einführung*, Leiden 2005; id., *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte I. Mensch, Natur, Fauna und Flora*, Leiden 2010.

⁸⁹ *Semitica Viva*, Wiesbaden 1987 ff.

⁹⁰ G. Grandguillaume, *Arabisation et politique linguistique au Maghreb*, Paris 1983.

The interferences are thus frequent and their importance depends mainly on social factors and situations. This Arabic bilingualism or diglossia has phonological, morphological, syntactical, and lexical aspects, as well as literary and cultural ones. The concrete problems differ from country to country. Arabic diglossia in Syria, Lebanon, and Cairo has been admirably studied and its complexity clearly presented by Werner Diem⁹¹ in the line of Uriel Weinreich's theoretical study of languages in contact⁹².

Some fifty years ago, C.A. Ferguson developed the theory that mediaeval and modern Arabic dialects have developed from a single *koiné* after the Islamic conquest⁹³. In the light of studies on Arab dialectology, this theory is simply unacceptable, as stressed already by Joshua Blau⁹⁴: "the picture would seem to be that of a great variety of Bedouin and Middle Arabic dialects existing from the very beginning of the conquests"⁹⁵. One can certainly go up to the Byzantine and Roman times, pointing at the varieties of Šafaitic and Tamūdic dialects. Also David Cohen's⁹⁶ hypothesis of modern dialects emerging from a number of *koinés* in different centres seems to be unacceptable. The dialects of the Bedouin and of the country people existed independently from the various urban vernaculars, and local *koinés* rather developed from regional dialects. Of course, innovations in modern Arabic dialects can result from external influences, especially in bilingual societies. This is certainly the case of the Cypriot Maronite Arabic, where the protracted linguistic influence of Greek is perceptible, especially in phonology and vocabulary⁹⁷. A similar situation occurs in Maltese Arabic⁹⁸.

The modern idioms can be morphologically quite different from the Classical language, even so the dialects spoken in the interior of the Arabian Peninsula, although they preserve some archaic features⁹⁹. Middle Arabic, known thanks to mediaeval sources, is closer to the colloquial forms of Arabic than is the idiom used in Muslim literature, which is a classical form. These sources are generally either Christian or Jewish. Christian Arabic texts comprise documents, translations from Greek, Syriac, etc., and original compositions like the theological treatises of Yaḥyā Ibn 'Adī (893–974), the language of which is almost classical¹⁰⁰. The reference grammar to Christian Arabic, published in 1965–1967

⁹¹ W. Diem, *Hochsprache und Dialekt im Arabischen. Untersuchungen zur heutigen Zweisprachigkeit*, Wiesbaden 1974; 2nd ed., 2006.

⁹² U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, New York 1953.

⁹³ C.A. Ferguson, *The Arabic Koiné*, "Language" 35 (1959), pp. 616–630.

⁹⁴ J. Blau, *The Importance of Middle Arabic Dialects for the History of Arabic*, in: *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization*, Jerusalem 1961, pp. 206–228.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁹⁶ D. Cohen, *Études de linguistique* (n. 71), pp. 105–125.

⁹⁷ M. Tsiapera, *A Descriptive Analysis of Cypriot Maronite Arabic*, The Hague 1969; A. Borg, *Cypriot Arabic*, Stuttgart 1985.

⁹⁸ D. Cohen, *Le système phonologique du maltais, aspects synchroniques et diachroniques*, in: *Études de linguistique* (n. 71), pp. 126–149.

⁹⁹ H. Palva, *Linguistic Observations of the Explorers of Arabia in the 19th century*, in: E. Wardini (ed.), *Built on Solid Rock. Studies in Honour of Prof. E.E. Knudsen*, Oslo 1997, pp. 226–239.

¹⁰⁰ G. Endress, *The Works of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī*, Wiesbaden 1997.

by Joshua Blau¹⁰¹, could of course not take recently discovered texts into account, like the 155 Christian Arabic manuscripts found in 1975 in St. Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, some of which date from the 9th century¹⁰².

Judaeo-Arabic texts, either Rabbanite or Karaite, have the peculiarity of being written in Hebrew characters. A large number of such Karaite manuscripts from both Firkovitch collections are in St. Petersburg and many fragments of the kind have been found in the Cairo Genizah. The Judaeo-Arabic language has been studied by J. Blau¹⁰³. A further linguistic study, characterized by a diachronic approach and based on mediaeval and post-mediaeval letters from the Cairo Genizah, is provided by Esther-Myriam Wagner¹⁰⁴. It mainly aims at describing the features of epistolary Arabic from different periods, as distinguished from both the vernacular and literary languages. Beside Judaeo-Arabic, there is a lexicon of Andalusian Arabic, composed by Pedro de Alcalá and analyzed by F. Corriente¹⁰⁵, who also studied the grammar of some Andalusian Arabic compositions¹⁰⁶ and provided a dictionary¹⁰⁷.

One should record here the existence of *garshuni* texts, written in Arabic but in Syriac script. It was used by Christians, just as Jews were writing Arabic in Hebrew script, and by no means indicates that Arabic writing system was not yet fully developed. Its beginning can be dated to the 9th century A.D., when Arabic has become the dominant language in northern Mesopotamia. Its earliest known example seems to be provided by a *garshuni* receipt, written exceptionally in *estrangela* script, in the manuscript Add. 14644 of the British Library¹⁰⁸. This *garshuni* text is undoubtedly a transcription of an original *nashī* text, written without diacritics, as shown by some erroneous readings. The earliest

¹⁰¹ J. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic based mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium* (CSCO 267, 276, 279), Louvain 1965–1967.

¹⁰² Their catalogue was published by I.E. Meimáris, *Katálogoz tōn néon árabiakōn xerogoráfon tēs 'Ierōās monēs 'Agiás Aikatevónēs toū 'Orouz Simā*, Athens 1985. See also B. Isaksson, *The Monastery of St. Catherine and the New Find*, in: E. Wardini (ed.), *Built on Solid Rock. Studies in Honour of Prof. E.E. Knudsen*, Oslo 1997, pp. 128–140, in particular pp. 136–137.

¹⁰³ J. Blau, *A Grammar of Medieval Judaeo-Arabic*, Jerusalem 1961; 2nd ed., 1980 (reprint, 1995) (in Hebrew); id., *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic. A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*, London 1965; 2nd ed., Jerusalem 1981; 3rd ed., 1999; id., *Studies in Middle Arabic and Its Judaeo-Arabic Variety*, Jerusalem 1988; id., *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic*, Jerusalem 2002; id., *A Dictionary of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic Texts*, Jerusalem 2006.

¹⁰⁴ E.M. Wagner, *Linguistic Variety of Judaeo-Arabic in Letters from the Cairo Genizah*, Leiden 2010.

¹⁰⁵ P. de Alcalá, *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arávigna*, Granada 1505, reedited by F. Corriente, *El lexico árabe andalusi según P. de Alcalá*, Madrid 1988. See also A. Lonnet, *Les textes de Pedro de Alcalá. Édition critique*, Louvain-Paris 2002.

¹⁰⁶ F. Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle*, Madrid 1977; id., *Gramática, métrica y texto del cancionero hispanoárabe de Aban Quzmán*, Madrid 1980. See also L.P. Harvey, *The Arab Dialect of Valencia in 1595*, "Al-Andalus" 36 (1971), pp. 81–115.

¹⁰⁷ F. Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusī Arabic*, Leiden 1997, with the critical review of J.D. Latham, "Journal of Semitic Studies" 45 (2000), pp. 200–209.

¹⁰⁸ F. Briquel Chatonnet, A. Desreumaux, and A. Binggeli, *Un cas très ancien de garshuni? Quelques réflexions sur le manuscrit BL Add. 14644*, in: P.G. Borbone, A. Mengozzi, and M. Tosco (eds.), *Loquentes linguis. Studi linguistici e orientali in onore di Fabrizio A. Pennacchiotti*, Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 141–147.

dated *garshuni* text would instead date from 1402¹⁰⁹. It is only towards the end of the 19th century that attention was attracted by B. Carra de Vaux to these linguistically and thematically interesting Arabo-Christian texts. Orthography, vocabulary, and syntax are in general conform to Classical Arabic, but vowels can be added, revealing the actual pronunciation. There are, for instance, funerary inscriptions, various manuscripts¹¹⁰, as well as fragments of a Christian commentary to the Qurʾān¹¹¹. The latter's original goes probably back to the 9th century.

3. Pre-Classical North-Arabian

Pre-Islamic North-Arabian dialects are known thanks to the early Arab philologists, who have preserved some dialectal information from the 7th–8th centuries A.D. As far as recorded in ancient Arabic sources, they have been examined by C. Rabin and F. Corriente¹¹². Thousands of Ṣafaitic graffiti from southern Syria, Jordan, and northern Saudi Arabia, in part still unpublished, provide an older source for the Old Arabian dialects. Written in a variant of the South-Arabian alphabet, they date from the 1st century B.C. through the 4th century A.D. They are called Ṣafaitic because they belong to a type of inscriptions first discovered and copied in 1857 by Cyril C. Graham in the basaltic desert of Ṣafāʾ, southeast of Damascus¹¹³. The following year, in 1858, J.G. Wetzstein, the Prussian consul in Damascus, copied 379 texts in the Ḥarra region, ten of which he published in his report¹¹⁴. On his travels in Syria, Melchior de Vogüé (1829–1916) copied 402 inscriptions, which he published in 1869–1877¹¹⁵. Attempts to decipher them were then made by O. Blau and D.H. Müller, but it is Joseph Halévy (1827–1917) who managed in

¹⁰⁹ F. Briquel Chatonnet, *De l'intérêt de l'étude du garshoumi et des manuscrits écrits selon ce système*, in: G. Gobillot and M.-T. Urvoy (eds.), *L'Orient chrétien dans l'empire musulman. Hommage au Prof. Gérard Troupeau*, Paris 2005, pp. 463–475.

¹¹⁰ A. Harrak, *Syriac and Garshuni Inscriptions of Iraq*, Paris 2010; id., *Catalogue of Syriac and Garshuni Manuscripts. Manuscripts owned by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage (CSCO 639)*, Leuven 2011.

¹¹¹ J.C.J. Sanders, *Commentaire coranique d'un chrétien. Quelques pages presque perdues*, in: C. Laga, J.A. Munitz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History offered to Prof. Albert Van Roey*, Leuven 1985, pp. 297–307.

¹¹² C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian* (n. 18); F. Corriente, *From Old Arabic to Classical Arabic through Pre-Islamic Koine: Some Notes on the Native Grammarians' Sources, Attitudes, and Goals*, "Journal of Semitic Studies" 21 (1976), pp. 62–96.

¹¹³ *Notiz des Herrn Cyril C. Graham zu den von ihm copirten Inschriften*, "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft" 12 (1858), pp. 713–714; Cyril C. Graham, *On the Inscriptions Found in the Region of the el-Ḥarra in the Great Desert South-East and East of the Ḥaurān*, "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" 17 (1860), pp. 280–297.

¹¹⁴ J.G. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen nebst einem Anhang über die Sabäischen Denkmäler in Ostsyrien*, Berlin 1860. Further inscriptions were published by D.H. Müller in 1876 and by H. Grimme.

¹¹⁵ Ch.E.M. de Vogüé, *La Syrie centrale: Inscriptions sémitiques*, Paris 1869–1877.

1882 to identify sixteen letters correctly¹¹⁶. The remaining seven letters were identified in 1901 by Enno Littmann¹¹⁷, and almost 1,500 new inscriptions were published in 1901–1904 by R. Dussaud, F. Macler¹¹⁸, and E. Littmann himself¹¹⁹. They are all included in the largest corpus of Šafaitic graffiti, published in 1950 by Gonzague Ryckmans (1887–1969) as *Pars quinta* of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, containing 5,380 inscriptions in its first instalment, the only one published so far¹²⁰. Further inscriptions were edited by E. Littmann¹²¹, G.L. Harding¹²², F.V. Winnett¹²³, A. Jamme¹²⁴, W.G. Oxtoby¹²⁵, and M.C.A. Macdonald¹²⁶. About 1,500 inscriptions are included in the Ph.D. dissertation of V. Clark¹²⁷, 304 in Mahmoud M. Rousan's¹²⁸, more than 1,000 in the publication of Mohammad I. Ababneh¹²⁹. Further graffiti from Wadi Salma were edited by S. Abbadi¹³⁰,

¹¹⁶ J. Halévy, *Essai sur les inscriptions de Šafa*, reprint from “Journal Asiatique”, 7th ser., 10, 17, 19 (1877–1882), Paris 1882.

¹¹⁷ E. Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung der Šafā-Inschriften*, Leipzig 1901. This was immediately accepted by J. Halévy, *La fixation définitive de l'alphabet šafaitique*, “Revue Sémitique” 9 (1901), pp. 128–145, 220–233; id., *Nouvel essai sur les inscriptions proto-arabes*, “Revue Sémitique” 9 (1901), pp. 316–355; 10 (1902), pp. 61–76, 172–173, 269–274; 11 (1903), pp. 63–69, 259–262; id., *Remarques complémentaires sur les inscriptions du Šafa*, “Revue Sémitique” 12 (1904), pp. 37–54; id., *Nouvelles remarques sur les inscriptions proto-arabes*, “Revue Sémitique” 12 (1904), pp. 349–370.

¹¹⁸ R. Dussaud and F. Macler, *Voyage archéologique au Šafa et dans le Djebel ed-Drūz*, Paris 1901; id., *Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne*, “Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques” 10 (1903), pp. 411–744, together about 1,316 graffiti.

¹¹⁹ E. Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions* (The Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900. Part IV), New York 1904.

¹²⁰ *CIS. Pars V Inscriptiones Saracenicis continens I/1 and Tabulae 1*, Paris 1950–1951.

¹²¹ E. Littmann, *Šafaitic Inscriptions* (Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–1905 and 1909. Division IV, Section C), Leiden 1943, with 1,302 graffiti.

¹²² G.L. Harding, *The Cairn of Hani*, “Annual of the Department of the Antiquities of Jordan” 2 (1953), pp. 1–56; F.V. Winnett and G.L. Harding, *Inscriptions from Fifty Šafaitic Cairns*, Toronto 1978, with 4,000 graffiti. Cf. A. Jamme, rev. in: “Orientalia” 48 (1979), pp. 478–528.

¹²³ F.V. Winnett, *Šafaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*, Toronto 1957, with 1,009 new texts.

¹²⁴ A. Jamme, *Šafaitic Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia*, “Oriens Antiquus” 6 (1967), pp. 189–213; cf. also id., *Šafaitic Notes*, Washington 1970.

¹²⁵ W.G. Oxtoby, *Some Inscriptions of the Šafaitic Bedouin*, New Haven 1968, with 480 texts.

¹²⁶ M.C.A. Macdonald and G.L. Harding, *More Šafaitic Texts from Jordan*, “Annual of the Department of the Antiquities of Jordan” 21 (1976), pp. 119–133; M.C.A. Macdonald, *Cursive Šafaitic Inscriptions? A Preliminary Investigation*, in M.M. Ibrahim (ed.), *Arabian Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Ghul*, Wiesbaden 1989, pp. 62–81.

¹²⁷ V.A. Clark, *A Study of New Šafaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*, Ph.D. University of Melbourne 1979, published by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor 1997. Cf. The extensive report by A. Jamme, *Miscellaneés d'ancien arabe XIII*, Washington 1983, pp. 2–116.

¹²⁸ M.M. Rousan, *New Epigraphical and Archaeological Materials from Wadi Salma (Northern Jordan)*, Ph.D. King Saud University, ar-Riyadh 2002, with 304 new inscriptions.

¹²⁹ M.I. Ababneh, *Neue šafaitische Inschriften und deren bildliche Darstellungen* (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 6), Aachen 2005 [2006]. Cf. M.J. Roche, *Deux corpus d'inscriptions šafaitiques de Jordanie par M. Ababneh et A.Y.K. Al-Manaser*, “Orientalia” 80 (2011), pp. 105–116 (see pp. 105–109 and 113–116).

¹³⁰ S. Abbadi, *Nuqūš šafāwiyya ġadīda min Wādī Salmā (al-Bādiya al-'Urduuniyya)*, ‘Ammān 2006.

and 425 inscriptions from Al-Fahda and Wādī al-Aḥīmr have been published by Ali Yunes Khalid al-Manaser¹³¹, while Ṣafaitic graffiti from the Hauran were issued by H. Zeinadden¹³². Other publications of Ṣafaitic inscriptions are listed in M. Rousan's dissertation¹³³.

About 20,000 Ṣafaitic inscriptions are known at present, but hundreds of them are not yet published, although most have been copied. Their decipherment by E. Littmann was followed by a grammatical study joined to his publication of other Ṣafaitic inscriptions¹³⁴. Regarding the syntax, one should notice the regular use of formal syndetic parataxis instead of subordinate relative clauses, e.g. *l-ḥd bn nṣr bn grm'l bn kn w-wgm 'l 'mh*¹³⁵, "By¹³⁶ Ḥadda, son of Naṣr, son of Ġaram'il, son of Kanna, who is grieving over¹³⁷ his mother"; *l-kddh bn s²mrt w-t'r*¹³⁸, "By Kudāda, son of Shamrit, who is keeping watch". This construction is a particular case of the widespread use of parataxis to express logical hypotaxis¹³⁹. Ṣafaitic has been compared to Classical Arabic by W.W. Müller¹⁴⁰ and situated by M.C.A. Macdonald in the general frame of ancient North-Arabian¹⁴¹.

To a large extent, Ṣafaitic graffiti are memorial inscriptions that mention the name of the person involved and of his ancestors, often indicate his job or the circumstances of his passage at the site, and call on a deity to protect the inscription and ensure peace to him. Since the Ṣafaitic graffiti have been found on the Nabataean territory and are contemporaneous with Nabataean Aramaic inscriptions, some of them are likely to be written in Nabataean Arabic. In any case, the Nabataeans are mentioned in Ṣafaitic inscriptions, but are often regarded as enemies¹⁴². This notwithstanding, Ṣafaitic texts do not belong to a single dialect, as shown e.g. by the use of two different articles, namely *h-*, which is very common in Ṣafaitic inscriptions, and *al*, which is widely used

¹³¹ A.Y.Kh. al-Manaser, *Ein Korpus neuer safaitischer Inschriften*, Aachen 2008. Cf. M.J. Roche, *Deux corpus* (n. 129), pp. 110–116.

¹³² H. Zeinadden, *Safaitische Inschriften aus dem Ġabal al-'Arab*, "Damaszener Mitteilungen" 12 (2000), pp. 265–289.

¹³³ For instance, A. Jamme, *Safaitic Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia*, "Oriens Antiquus" 6 (1967), pp. 189–213.

¹³⁴ E. Littmann, *Safaitic Inscriptions* (n. 121), pp. XII–XXIV: "The Language".

¹³⁵ M.M. Rousan, *New Epigraphical and Archaeological Materials* (n. 128), No. 11.

¹³⁶ The translation of the preposition *l* by English "by" corresponds to our conception of a text written by somebody. Instead, the preposition *l* basically expresses a relation of dependence and signifies here that the writer is the "owner" of his inscription, which should not be "stolen" by defacing or changing it.

¹³⁷ For *wgm 'l*, see A. Jamme, *The Ṣafaitic Verb wgm*, "Orientalia" 36 (1967), pp. 159–172.

¹³⁸ M.M. Rousan, *New Epigraphical and Archaeological Materials* (n. 128), No. 55. Cf. other examples in E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages* (n. 32), § 55.8.

¹³⁹ E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages* (n. 32), § 55.5-7.

¹⁴⁰ W.W. Müller, *Das Frühnordarabische*, in: W. Fischer, *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie I*, Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 22–25.

¹⁴¹ M.C.A. Macdonald, *Ancient North Arabian*, in: R.D. Woodard (ed.), *The Ancient Languages of Syria, Palestine and Arabia*, Cambridge, 2008, pp. 488–533.

¹⁴² F.V. Winnett and G.L. Harding, *Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns* (n. 122), pp. 7–8, 68, 71, 325, 406, 514, 515, 538; V.A. Clark, *A Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions* (n. 127), pp. 85–96.

in Nabataean proper names but appears exceptionally in names attested by the Šafaitic graffiti.

In spite of their Arab origin, the Nabataeans used an Aramaic literary dialect as their written language, but their colloquial language was Arabic, what is reflected to some extent by their proper names¹⁴³, by Arabic loanwords¹⁴⁴, and by four inscriptions in Aramaic Nabataean script¹⁴⁵. The bilingual inscription, found in 1979 at Oboda (‘En ‘Avdat, Israel), should probably be dated between A.D. 88/9 and 125/6. Its lines 1-3 and 5 are written in Aramaic, while lines 4-5 are obviously North-Arabian¹⁴⁶. The first sentence, read by the writer *fa-yaf‘al lā fidā’ wa-lā atara*¹⁴⁷, is important from the linguistic point of view because the old preterite, corresponding to Akkadian *iprus*, seems to be used there after the conjunction *fa-* as a narrative past tense¹⁴⁸, like *wa-yqtl* in Hebrew, Moabite, Phoenician, Old Aramaic, South-Arabian, and even Arabic.

These inscriptions testify to the evolution of the Arabic language. While the case endings of the nouns are still used correctly in the bilingual from Oboda, dated *ca.* 100 A.D., there was no longer a fully functioning case system in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. This appears from an inscription of Ḥegrā’ (Madā’in Šāliḥ, Saudi Arabia), dated in A.D. 267/8¹⁴⁹, and from the epitaph of “Mar’ al-Qays Ibn ‘Amr, King of all the Arabs”, found at An-Namāra (Syria) and bearing a date corresponding to A.D. 328. The inscription was discovered in 1901 by René Dussaud and deciphered by Charles Clermont-Ganneau,

¹⁴³ F. al-Khaysheh, *Die Personennamen in den nabatäischen Inschriften des Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Marburg 1986; A. Negev, *Personal Names in the Nabatean Realm*, Jerusalem 1991.

¹⁴⁴ M. O’Connor, *The Arabic Loanwords in Nabatean Aramaic*, “Journal of Near Eastern Studies” 45 (1986), pp. 213–229; J.C. Greenfield, *Some Arabic Loanwords in the Aramaic and Nabatean Texts from Naḥal Hever*, “Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam” 15 (1992), pp. 10–21. Cf. Y. Yadin, J.C. Greenfield, A. Yardeni, and B.A. Levine, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri*, Jerusalem 2002, pp. 27–33, 169–276, 405–410.

¹⁴⁵ W. Diem, *Die nabatäischen Inschriften und die Frage der Kasusflexion in Altarabischen*, “Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft” 123 (1973), pp. 227–237; id., *Untersuchungen* (n. 11), § 140–142; W.W. Müller, *Das Frühnordarabische* (n. 140), pp. 30–31; M. Morgenstern, *The History of the Aramaic Dialects in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert: The Case of Nabataean*, in: *F.M. Cross Volume* (Eretz-Israel 26), Jerusalem 1999, pp. 134*–142*.

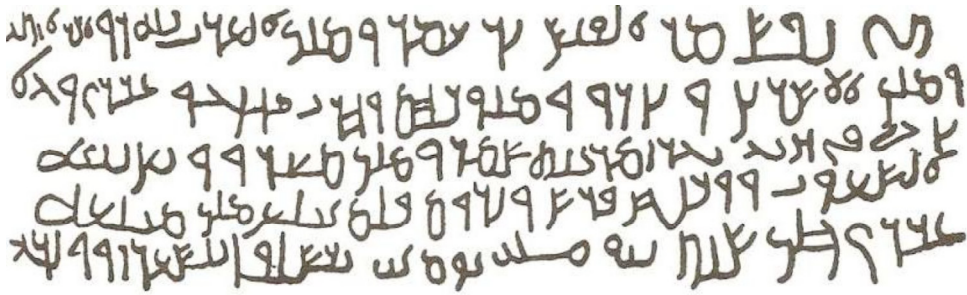
¹⁴⁶ A. Negev, *Obodas the God*, “Israel Exploration Journal” 36 (1986), pp. 56–60. Beside the reading of J. Naveh and S. Shaked in A. Negev’s article (p. 58), one can refer to J.A. Bellamy, *Arabic Verses from the First/Second Century: The Inscription of ‘En ‘Abdat*, “Journal of Semitic Studies” 35 (1990), pp. 73–79; R. Snir, *The Inscription of ‘En ‘Abdat: an Early Evolutionary Stage of Ancient Arabic Poetry*, “Abr-Nahrain” 31 (1993), pp. 110–125; S. Noja Nosedá, *Über die älteste arabische Inschrift, die vor kurzem entdeckt wurde*, in: M. Macuch, C. Müller-Kessler, and B.G. Fragner (eds.), *Studia Semitica necnon Iranica R. Macuch ... dedicata*, Berlin 1989, pp. 187–194; id., *A Further Discussion of the Arabic Sentence of the 1st Century A.D. and Its Poetical Form*, in *Semitica. Serta Philologica Constantino Tsereteli dicata*, Torino 1993, pp. 183–188; G. Laceranza, *Appunti sull’iscrizione nabateo-araba di ‘Ayn ‘Avdat*, “Studi epigrafici e linguistici” 17 (2000), pp. 105–114.

¹⁴⁷ Line 4: *p-yp‘l l’ pd’ w-l’ ‘tr*, “And he acted neither for reward nor by self-interest”.

¹⁴⁸ E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages* (n. 32), § 38.11.

¹⁴⁹ J.F. Healey and G.R. Smith, *Jaussen-Savignac 17 – The Earliest Dated Arabic Document*, “Atlāl” 12 (1989), pp. 77–84, pl. 46, and Arabic, pp. 101–110.

who recognized that it was written in Arabic. The inscription was published by R. Dussaud in 1902¹⁵⁰, and Felix Peiser immediately noticed that Mar' al-Qays Ibn 'Amr was the Lahmid king of Al-Hīra, known from Arab tradition¹⁵¹.



The An-Namāra inscription after R. Dussaud

There is a fourth inscription, found in 1884 by Charles Huber and Julius Euting in the oasis of Taymā' (Saudi Arabia) and housed at present in the Louvre museum¹⁵². It is written in a particular and irregular Nabataean script variety and it is engraved with embossed letters like the Taymā' stele of the 5th century B.C. (*CIS* II, 113). Its various decipherments are not convincing, even impossible, especially the readings of the first word, *qsr'*, *'mr'* or *hgr'*, and of the beginning of line 3, read either *ltr/dh* or *lmnwh*, although it obviously does not begin with *l*. The X-shape of the final *aleph* in line 4, misread in previous decipherments, suggests dating the inscription from the first century B.C. or A.D., while its vocabulary indicates that it is written in an Old Arabian dialect, except for the ligature *br* in line 2 and the stereotyped formula '*l hy*' in line 4.

¹⁵⁰ R. Dussaud, *Inscription nabatéo-arabe d'en Nemāra*, "Revue Archéologique" 1902-II, pp. 409–421. Cf. M. Hartmann, *Zur Inschrift von Namāra*, "Orientalistische Literaturzeitung" 9 (1906), col. 574–584; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* II, Giessen 1908, pp. 34–37; Th. Nöldeke, *Der Araberkönig von Nemāra*, in: *Florilegium M. de Vogüé*, Paris 1909, pp. 463–466; *RÉS* 483; etc. A bibliography can be found in: B. Gruendler, *The Development of the Arabic Scripts*, Cambridge Mass. 1993, p. 12.

¹⁵¹ F.E. Peiser, *Die arabische Inschrift von En-Nemāra*, "Orientalistische Literaturzeitung" 6 (1903), col. 277–281. Cf. R. Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, Paris 1955, pp. 63–65.

¹⁵² AO 26599, published in *CIS* II, 336, with a facsimile.



Taymā' inscription (Louvre, AO 26599)

1) <i>mbr' z qrb</i>	This building (was) offered (by)
2) <i>Mzmw br Rgz̄m</i>	<i>Mzmw</i> , son of <i>Rgz̄m</i> ,
3) <i>ml l-'lm Lht z</i>	(in) full title for feasting this Goddess,
4) <i>'l hy'</i>	for the life of
5) [...]	[...]

The noun *mbr'*, “building” (line 1), and the syntagm *'lm lht*, “to hold banquet for Lāhat” (line 3), with the divine name in the accusative, are well attested in South-Arabian¹⁵³. Besides, the patronymic *Rgz̄m* (line 2) occurs in Sabaic as a tribal name *Rgz̄*¹⁵⁴, while the proper name *Mzmw* of the dedicator is attested in Šafaitic¹⁵⁵. The demonstrative adjectives *dā* (line 1) and *dī* (line 3) are simply written *z*, although Arabian *d* was usually indicated in Aramaic script by *d*, already in an inscription from Eliachin (Israel), going back to the 5th century B.C.¹⁵⁶ The verb *qrb* (line 1) is obviously used here in the fa“ala form; it is a characteristic Arabian term signifying that one presents something to God as offering¹⁵⁷. The noun *māl*, “property” (line 3), is the second object of the verb *qrb* and must here mean “in full title”, as the result of the “offering”. The syntagm *'l hy'* (line 4) corresponds to Nabataean Aramaic *'l hyy*, but we find the spelling with final *aleph* here, like in the construct state of many Palmyrene and Hatraean inscriptions¹⁵⁸. If this is a construct state also at Taymā', as one can assume, a further written line is

¹⁵³ A.F.L. Beeston, M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller, and J. Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary / Dictionnaire sabéen*, Louvain-la-Neuve–Beyrouth 1982, pp. 5 and 30.

¹⁵⁴ G.L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance* (n. 15), p. 271.

¹⁵⁵ G.L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance* (n. 15), p. 543: *MZM*.

¹⁵⁶ The inscription was published by R. Deutsch and M. Heltzer, *Forty New Ancient West Semitic Inscriptions*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa 1994, pp. 80–83, No. 39 (7). A corrected decipherment and interpretation are given by E. Lipiński, rev. in: “Orientalia Lovaniensia. Periodica” 26 (1995), p. 26, and id., *The Cult of 'Ashtarum in Achaemenian Palestine*, in: L. Cagni (ed.), *Biblica et Semitica. Studi in memoria di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999, pp. 315–323.

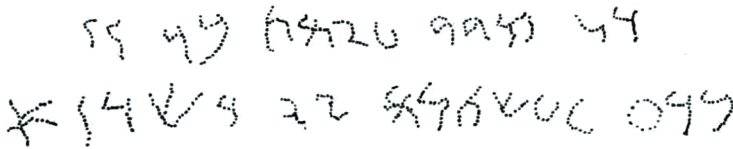
¹⁵⁷ Cf. E. Lipiński, *The Cult of Ashtarum* (n. 156), p. 317, with further references.

¹⁵⁸ This formula was studied by K. Dijkstra, *Life and Loyalty*, Leiden 1995.

broken off at the bottom of the inscription. The structure of the verbal clause in lines 1-2 is typically Arabic: the direct object (*mbr'z*) precedes the verb (*qrb*), which is followed by the subject (*Mzmmw*). The vocabulary of the inscription apparently witnesses a dialect with North- and South-Arabian lexemes, but a larger North-Arabian corpus with a richer lexicon would be needed to formulate a judgement. The theonym *Lht* is still spelled in such a way in Liḥyanite¹⁵⁹.

The building dedicated by *Mzmmw* was a dining room or *triclinium* with two or three couches which must have served to celebrate ritual banquets in honour of the goddess Lāhat. It was very likely built in the precinct of her sanctuary at Taymā'.

One could still refer here to the inscription from Eliachin, mentioned above¹⁶⁰, since it is written in Old Arabian, except *br* and the final *zy b-šrn'*. The second object of the verb *qrb* is *br'*, obviously corresponding to Sabaic *brq*, a kind of offer. Instead of assuming that the spelling *br'* implies an Aramaic intermediary¹⁶¹, one could simply point at the pharyngealized character of the emphatics, which led to the notation of *dād* by 'ayin because of the lack of an appropriate character. As noticed already by Ph. Marçais, the articulation of 'ayn concerns "la même région arrière de la langue que la construction d'emphase"¹⁶².



dw qrb 'zmt br nn
br' l'šrm zy bšrn'

“What 'Azmāt, son of Nūn,
brought as offering for 'Ashtarum who is in the Sharon (plain)”.

The so-called Tamūdic graffiti form another group of North-Arabian inscriptions, deciphered by Enno Littmann¹⁶³. They are named after Tamūd, one of several Arabian tribes mentioned in Assyrian annals (*Tamudi*) and Neo-Babylonian letters¹⁶⁴. A mention of Tamūd occurs later in a bilingual Graeco-Nabataean temple foundation text, dating

¹⁵⁹ W. Caskel, *Liḥyan und Liḥyanisch*, Köln-Opladen 1954, p. 46; M. Höfner, *Die Stammesgruppen Nord- und Zentralarabiens in vorislamitischer Zeit*, in: H.W. Haussig (ed.), *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, Stuttgart 1965, pp. 407–481 (see p. 423). For the divine name, see also: S. Krone, *Die altarabische Gottheit al-Lāt*, Bern 1991.

¹⁶⁰ See n. 156.

¹⁶¹ This was assumed by the writer: E. Lipiński, *The Cult of 'Ashtarum* (n. 156), p. 318.

¹⁶² Ph. Marçais, *L'articulation de l'emphase dans un parler arabe maghrébin*, “Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales” (Alger) 7 (1948), pp. 5–28 (see p. 20).

¹⁶³ E. Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung der thamudenischen Inschriften* (MVÄG IX/1), Berlin 1904; cf. id., *Thamud und Safa*, Leipzig 1940 (reprint, 1966); W.W. Müller, *Das Frühnordarabische* (n. 140), pp. 18–20.

¹⁶⁴ I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs*, Jerusalem 1982, pp. 7, 36, 39, 87, 89, 105, 189, 230.

from 166/169 A.D. and found at Rawwafah, in northern Al-Ḥiğāz¹⁶⁵, then in a 5th-century Byzantine source referring to a cameleer corps on the north-eastern frontier of Egypt, also in North-Arabian graffiti from the Taymā' region, in many passages of the Qur'an, and in writings of Arab geographers¹⁶⁶.

Tamūdic epigraphy is greatly indebted to travellers of the 19th century who have collected hundreds of inscriptions. Charles Montagu Doughty (1843–1926) spent two years in Arabia (1876–1878)¹⁶⁷, marching with the Mecca pilgrims in the *ḥağğ* caravan as far as Madā'in Šālīḥ, where he studied the Nabataean monuments and inscriptions, which he later published¹⁶⁸. Then he wandered all over the Nağd-Ḥiğāz borderland, visiting Taymā', where he discovered the famous stele afterward acquired by C. Huber for the Louvre. The following year he travelled to Ḥāyil and, after many perils and arduous journeys, managed to visit Ṭā'if and finally reached the coast at Jedda.

Charles Huber travelled through Arabia in 1878–1882¹⁶⁹, and in 1883–1884 he set off again with Julius Euting (1839–1913) on an expedition to Central Arabia aiming at seeking out traces of pre-Islamic history, such as inscriptions and monuments¹⁷⁰. From these travels Huber brought hundreds of copies of Tamūdic inscriptions. The three expeditions of J.A. Jaussen O.P. and R. Savignac O.P. to Madā'in Šālīḥ, Al-'Ulā, Taymā', and Al-Ḥiğr in 1907, 1909, and 1910 yielded 761 Tamūdic graffiti beside the hundreds of Minaic, Nabataean, and Liḥyanite inscriptions¹⁷¹.

These sources indicate that the Tamūdaeans were living between Mecca and Taymā'. However, the word *t-m-d* occurring in graffiti from this area and interpreted as "Tamūd" rather means "pool" or "puddle", and occasionally can be a "broken plural" *ṭimād*. The word is etymologically related to Mishnaic Hebrew *tmd*, "sour liquid". It is already attested at Qumran in 3Q15, col. IX, 14-15, mentioning a *byt tmd*, "a receptacle of sour water", and in the Mishnah¹⁷². Besides, one cannot identify the supposed Tamūdaeans of North

¹⁶⁵ The Greek text, mentioning a *Thamoudenon ethnos*, was published by H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes*, "Syria" 34 (1957), pp. 249–261 (see pp. 259–261), while the fragmentary Nabataean text, referring to *šrkt tmwdw*, was deciphered by J.T. Milik, *Inscriptions grecques et nabatéennes de Rawwafah*, "Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology" (University of London) 10 (1971), pp. 54–58 and pls. (see pp. 54–57). No convincing new data emerge from DNWSI, p. 1193, but see also K. Dijkstra, *Life and Loyalty* (n. 158), pp. 77–80.

¹⁶⁶ For details of these sources, see A. Van den Branden, *Histoire de Thamoud* (Publications de l'Université Libanaise. Section des études historiques 6), Beyrouth 1960; 2nd ed., 1966, pp. 1–20, to be used with caution.

¹⁶⁷ Ch.M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* I–II, Cambridge 1888. Edition abridged by Edward Garnett: Ch.M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, New York 1931; reprint, Garden City N.Y. 1955. German translation: Ch.M. Doughty, *Die Offenbarung Arabiens (Arabia Deserta)*, Leipzig 1937.

¹⁶⁸ Ch.M. Doughty, *Documents épigraphiques recueillis dans le nord de l'Arabie*, Paris 1884, edited by E. Renan.

¹⁶⁹ C. Huber, *Inscriptions recueillies dans l'Arabie Centrale*, "Bulletin de la Societé de Géographie", 7th ser., 5 (1884), pp. 289–303; id., *Voyage dans l'Arabie Centrale: Hamād, Šammar, Qaçîm, Hedjâz, 1878–1882*, "Bulletin de la Societé de Géographie", 7th ser., 5 (1884), pp. 304–363, 468–530; 6 (1885), pp. 92–148 = offprint, Paris 1885.

¹⁷⁰ C. Huber, *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie (1883–1884)*, Paris 1891; J. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, Leiden 1896–1914 (reprint, Hildesheim 2004); the second part of the diary was published posthumously by Enno Littmann.

¹⁷¹ A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* I–II, Paris 1909–1914.

¹⁷² Maaseroth V, 6; Maaser Shenî I, 3; Hullin I, 7.

Arabia with the Banū Tamād of Saba, mentioned by Al-Hamdānī¹⁷³. In other words, the name Tamūdic was incorrectly applied to various types of graffiti found throughout Arabia, dating from the 6th century B.C. to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. and belonging to different dialects¹⁷⁴. Some inscriptions found in the Negeb and in the surrounding areas are described as “Tamūdic” as well¹⁷⁵. Their script shows differences, revealing diverse scribal traditions and various periods. According to Winnett’s first classification one should distinguish Tamūdic A-B-C-D-E¹⁷⁶, but he later reduced this fivefold grouping to three categories¹⁷⁷.

The Tamūdic graffiti often contain only proper names and patronymics. The names or, at least, their elements are known from the pre-Islamic Arabian onomasticon. Considering such a small basis, the grammatical study of the inscriptions cannot lead easily to firm results. One should notice that even phonology presents difficult problems. The phonetic interpretation of some signs is controversial, as in the case of {d}, {g}, and {t} in the majority of “Tamūdic” E or Tabuki inscriptions. Geraldine King rightly reached the conclusion that {d} represents the etymological /t/ in these graffiti¹⁷⁸. However, where writing is not based on a solid scribal tradition, the signs represent articulated words and names, not etymological forms. One should thus admit a shift in the articulation of /t/, as stated by E. Lipiński¹⁷⁹, and assume that {d} stands possibly for a pharyngealized palato-alveolar [ʃ], considering the original value /s/ of {d} and the well-known change *t* > *š*. As for {g} and {t}, E.A. Knauf’s opinion is perhaps correct. He argued in several articles¹⁸⁰ that the grapheme {t} represents etymological /g/ with a pronunciation [ǧ],

¹⁷³ L. Forrer, *Südarabien nach al-Hamdānī’s “Beschreibung der arabischen Halbinsel”*, Leipzig 1942, p. 147, n. 7.

¹⁷⁴ Major publications and studies of the so-called “Tamūdic” inscriptions, found throughout Arabia, but also in the Negeb, include: A. Van den Branden, *Les inscriptions thamoudéennes*, Louvain 1950, collects all previously published graffiti, except four, as it seems; cf. E. Littmann, rev. in “Bibliotheca Orientalis” 9 (1952), pp. 216–220, and M. Höfner, rev. in: “Orientalia” 23 (1954), pp. 309–318. Further: G.L. Harding and E. Littmann, *Some Thamudic Inscriptions from the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan*, Leiden 1952; A. Van den Branden, *Les textes thamoudéens de Philby I–II* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 39 & 41), Louvain 1956, with about 2,000 graffiti; cf. J. Ryckmans, rev. in: “Bibliotheca Orientalis” 17 (1960), pp. 199–204. Further: A. Van den Branden, *Les textes thamoudéens de Huber et d’Euting*, “Le Muséon” 69 (1956), pp. 109–137; J. Ryckmans, *Graffites “thamoudéens” du Yémen septentrional*, “Le Muséon” 72 (1959), pp. 177–189; A. Jamme, *Thamudic Studies*, Washington 1967; F.V. Winnett and W.L. Reed, *Ancient Records from North Arabia*, Toronto 1970, pp. 67–138.

¹⁷⁵ J. Naveh and E. Stern, *A Stone Vessel with a Thamudic Inscription*, “Israel Exploration Journal” 24 (1974), pp. 79–83, pls. 12–13; J. Naveh, *Thamudic Inscriptions from the Negev*, in: *Nelson Glueck Memorial Volume* (Eretz-Israel 12), Jerusalem 1975, pp. 129–131, pl. 27 (in Hebrew); id., *Ancient North-Arabian Inscriptions on Three Stone Bowls*, in: *H.L. Ginsberg Volume* (Eretz-Israel 14), Jerusalem 1978, pp. 178–182, pls. 4–6 (in Hebrew). One can also mention A. Jamme, *A Safaitic Inscription from the Negeb*, in: “Atiqot. English Series” 2 (1950), pp. 150–151.

¹⁷⁶ F.V. Winnett, *A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions*, Toronto 1937.

¹⁷⁷ F.V. Winnett and W.L. Reed, *Ancient Records* (n. 160), pp. 69–70.

¹⁷⁸ G. King, *Some Inscriptions from Wadi Malakh*, in: M.M. Ibrahim (ed.), *Arabian Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Ghul*, Wiesbaden 1989, pp. 37–55.

¹⁷⁹ E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages* (n. 32), § 13.9.

¹⁸⁰ E.A. Knauf, *Eine Gruppe safaitischer Inschriften aus Hesmä*, “Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins” 96 (1980), pp. 169–173; id., *Südsafaitisch*, “Annual of the Department of the Antiquities of Jordan” 27 (1983),

while the grapheme {g} represents etymological /g/ with a pronunciation foreign to the dialects in question and only occurring in loanwords and loan names. In “Tamūdic” D, some graffiti begin with the demonstrative zn, “this”, but *d* occurs in proper names of the same inscriptions, e.g. *dmrstr*. The problem *d:d:z* is not yet solved in a satisfactory way.

An older stage of North-Arabian is represented by the Liḥyanite inscriptions from the 6th–4th centuries B.C., engraved in a variety of the South-Arabian script¹⁸¹. Liḥyanite is the local dialect of the oasis of Al-‘Ulā, ancient Dedān, that had its own king in the 6th/5th century B.C. Nabonidus defeated a king of Dedān (*šarru šá Da-da-nu*)¹⁸² and a Liḥyanite epitaph mentions “Kabar’il, son of Mati’il, king of Dedān”¹⁸³. The Liḥyanite inscriptions were dated by W. Caskel about 300 years later than is commonly accepted¹⁸⁴, while evidence of Babylonian rule is provided by the date-formula of Jaussen-Savignac 349 lih: “At the time of Geshem, son of Šahr, and of ‘Abd, governor of Dedān” (*b’ym Gšm bn Šhr w-‘bd fht Ddn*). *Šhr* is a royal name, since it appears as *Šhrw* on a coin from Samaria, probably indicating a Liḥyanite king or king-governor of the 4th century B.C.¹⁸⁵ At least seven kings of Liḥyan in the 4th–early 2nd centuries B.C. are identified by Saba Farès-Drappeau¹⁸⁶.

Liḥyanite should not be distinguished from the idiom of the so-called “Dedānite” inscriptions, which are somewhat older¹⁸⁷. The language is represented by a series of graffiti¹⁸⁸ and of mainly monumental inscriptions engraved in a variety of the South-Arabian script¹⁸⁹, in an alphabet counting 28 letters. The available epigraphic material was increased twelve years ago by the excellent publication of 189 new inscriptions by Alexander Sima¹⁹⁰. This work is an important tool for the study of North-Arabian in the 5th–2th centuries B.C.

pp. 587–596; id., *Altnordarabischer Register*, “Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins” 100 (1984), pp. 153–154; id., *A South Safaitic Alphabet from Khirbet es-Samrā’*, “Levant” 17 (1985), pp. 204–206.

¹⁸¹ W. Caskel, *Liḥyan und Liḥyanisch* (n. 159); cf. W.W. Müller, *Das Frühnordarabische* (n. 140), pp. 20–22.

¹⁸² I. Eph’al, *The Ancient Arabs* (n. 150), p. 181.

¹⁸³ A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* (n. 157), No. 138 lih.

¹⁸⁴ W. Caskel, *Liḥyan und Liḥyanisch* (n. 159), pp. 33–37; id., *Die alten semitischen Gottheiten in Arabien*, in: S. Moscati (ed.), *Le antiche divinità semitiche*, Roma 1958, pp. 95–117 (see pp. 95–100).

¹⁸⁵ M.A. Rizack, *A Coin with the Aramaic Legend ŠHRW, a King-Governor of Liḥyān*, “American Numismatic Society Museum Notes” 29 (1984), pp. 25–28; F.M. Cross, *A New Aramaic Stele from Taymā’*, “The Catholic Biblical Quarterly” 48 (1986), pp. 387–394 (see pp. 391).

¹⁸⁶ S. Farès-Drappeau, *Dédan et Liḥyān. Histoire des Arabes aux confins des pouvoirs perse et hellénistique (IV^e–II^e s. av. l’ère chrétienne)*, Lyon-Paris 2005.

¹⁸⁷ M.C.A. Macdonald, *Reflections on the Linguistic Map of Pre-Islamic Arabia*, “Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy” 11 (2000), pp. 28–79 (see p. 33). However, we prefer keeping the appellation “Liḥyanite” rather than using “Dadanitic”, as suggested by the author.

¹⁸⁸ A. Van den Branden, *Nouveaux textes liḥyanites de Philby-Bogue*, “Al-Machriq” 1960, pp. 92–104; id., *Les inscriptions dedanites*, Beyrouth 1962.

¹⁸⁹ A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* (n. 157), have collected 379 Liḥyanite inscriptions. They have been recently analyzed by S. Farès-Drappeau, *Dédan et Liḥyān* (n. 186).

¹⁹⁰ A. Sima, *Die liḥyanischen Inschriften von al-‘Ubayd (Saudi-Arabien)*, Rahden/Westf. 1999. Most of them seem to have a ritual character: C.J. Robin, rev. in: “Bibliotheca Orientalis” 60 (2003), col. 773–778.

Finally, Ḥasaeen is the name given to the language of the inscriptions written in a variety of the South-Arabian script and found mainly in the great oasis of Al-Ḥasā', in the east of Saudi Arabia. Ḥasaeen inscriptions were first published by A. Jamme¹⁹¹. A new edition was provided by A. Sima¹⁹². As a matter of fact, North-Arabian words occur also in other texts written in South-Arabian script¹⁹³.

4. Bibliographic researches

Bibliographic research, required by a more detailed historical survey of Arabic linguistics, was greatly enhanced by the work of J.H. Hospers¹⁹⁴, the two bibliographies of Mohammed Hasan Bakalla¹⁹⁵, and by the specialized bibliography of Werner Diem¹⁹⁶, who quotes Persian titles and M.A. theses from Cairene universities. One could add the sociolinguistic bibliography compiled by Richard W. Schmidt¹⁹⁷ and, of course, the *Index Islamicus*¹⁹⁸, the usefulness of which is increased by the *Bio-bibliographical Supplement*¹⁹⁹ and by the *Concise Biographical Companion*²⁰⁰. One should further record the *Abstracta Islamica*²⁰¹, as well as the *Journal of Arabic Linguistics*, edited from 1978 onwards by Hartmut Bobzin and Otto Jastrow²⁰². It deals with all the historical stages of the language, as well as with the regional and social variants of Arabic up to Modern Standard Arabic. A rich bibliography is offered by Wolfdietrich Fischer in his grammar of Classical Arabic and in the most important synthesis on Arabic philology that has appeared in the late 20th century thanks to him and to H. Gätje²⁰³.

¹⁹¹ A. Jamme, *Sabaeen and Hasaeen Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia*, Roma 1966. Cf. J. Ryckmans, rev. in: "Bibliotheca Orientalis" 26 (1969), pp. 246–249; W.W. Müller, *Das Frühnordarabische* (n. 140), pp. 25–26.

¹⁹² A. Sima, *Die hasaitischen Inschriften*, in: N. Nebes (ed.), *Neue Beiträge zur Semitistik*, Wiesbaden 2002, pp. 167–200.

¹⁹³ W.W. Müller, *Das Frühnordarabische* (n. 140), pp. 26–28.

¹⁹⁴ J.H. Hospers, *A Basic Bibliography of the Semitic Languages II*, Leiden 1974, pp. 1–87.

¹⁹⁵ M.H. Bakalla, *Bibliography of Arabic Linguistics*, München 1976; id., *Arabic Linguistics: An Introduction and Bibliography*, London 1983. One should be aware of printing mistakes in the titles and incorrect transcriptions.

¹⁹⁶ W. Diem, *Sekundärliteratur zur einheimischen arabischen Grammatikschreibung*, "Historiographia Linguistica" 8 (1981), pp. 431–486.

¹⁹⁷ R.W. Schmidt, *Arabic Sociolinguistics: A Selected Bibliography*, "Sociolinguistics. Newsletter" 8 (1977), pp. 10–17.

¹⁹⁸ *Index Islamicus 1906–1955*, compiled by J.D. Pearson, Cambridge 1958, and continued from 1962 onwards.

¹⁹⁹ *Bio-bibliographical Supplement to Index Islamicus, 1665–1980*, I–III, Leiden 2004–2006.

²⁰⁰ W. Behn, *Concise Biographical Companion to Index Islamicus I–III*, Leiden 2004 ff.

²⁰¹ *Abstracta Islamica*, "Revue des Études Islamiques" 1 (1927) ff., published apart from 19 (1965).

²⁰² "Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik / Journal of Arabic Linguistics / Journal de linguistique arabe", Wiesbaden 1978 ff.

²⁰³ See here above, n. 68.