

Reviews

***African Arabic: Approaches to Dialectology*, edited by Mena Lafkioui. Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter 2013, pp. viii + 302. ISBN 978-3-11-029232-9 / ISSN 1861-4302**

African Arabic, although imported, is the most wide-spread language of Africa today. It is used by *c.* 175 mill. inhabitants especially of Northern Africa, *i.e. c.* 17% of population of whole continent.

The collective monograph edited by Mena Lafkioui consists of her Introduction (pp. 1-12) and nine chapters, written by specialists in both Arabic dialectology and non-Arabic languages of Northern Africa. It is not surprising, but logical, that some authors are renowned in both, Arabic and non-Arabic dialectology of North Africa. In Chapter 1 called „Native and non-native varieties of Arabic in an emerging urban centre of western Sudan. Evidence from Kadugli“ (pp. 13-49) Stefano Manfredi studies Arabic varieties from Kadugli, the capital of the Southern Kordofanian state in western Sudan, leading to creation of a regional urban *koiné*. Chapter 2, written by Mena Lafkioui, is devoted to „Reinventing negation patterns in Moroccan Arabic“ (pp. 51-93). The author focuses on convergence in syntax of negation between Moroccan Arabic from the Oujda region of Northeast Morocco and the Tarifit dialect continuum from North Morocco, where the vector of adaptation is oriented from Berber to Arabic. In Chapter 3 „The prosody of Juba Arabic: split prosody, morphophonology and slang“ (pp. 95-120), Shuichiro Nakao differentiates pitch-accent-type words, usually of Arabic origin, and tone-type words, usually of Bari origin in Juba Arabic from Southern Sudan. In Chapter 4 Catherine Taine-Cheikh asks „Grammaticalized uses of the verb *ra(a)* in Arabic: a Maghrebian specificity?“ (pp. 121-159). She analyzes the grammaticalized continuants of the Arabic verb $\sqrt{r-ʔ-y}$ through the whole Arabic dialect continuum. In Chapter 5 Xavier Luffin brings „Some new information about Bongor Arabic“ (pp. 161-183), an Arabic pidgin / creole spoken in the city Bongor in Chad. Chapter 6 „Strata on loanwords from Arabic and other Semitic languages in Northern Somali“ (pp. 185-210) written by Giorgio Banti represents a fascinating introduction into linguistic

history of the Horn of Africa, monitoring the first references about harbours on the coast mediated by the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea from the first century CE, through pre-Islamic loans in Somali from languages of the Arabian peninsula to detailed discussion of Ethio-Semitic and Arabic borrowings. In Chapter 7 Lammen Souag studies „Sub-Saharan lexical influence in North African Arabic“ (pp. 211-236). He focuses on several semantic fields: plants & animals; material culture; ideophones; curses & insults; music, dance & healing. As main sources of the sub-Saharan borrowings in North Africa he determines Songhay, Hausa, and Kanuri. The agricultural and tanning terminology was brought thanks to slavery, material culture and exotic animals thanks to trade. Exotic animals are represented also by „monkey“ - the author seeks origin of Sokna Berber (Fezzan) *dāgəl* (Sarnelli 1924-25, 25) in Kanuri *dāgəl* id. (p. 217). But from the point of view of language geography there is more probable candidate as a donor-language in Tubu *dēgəl* „Affe“ (Lukas). On the other hand, the word is also wide-spread in South Berber (Tuareg) languages: Azger (= Ajjer) *adāgel* „Cercopithecus ruber“, Ahaggar *adaged*, pl. *idugad* „singe“ (R. Basset¹), Ghat *adadžel*, pl. *idudžal* id. (Nehilil), and further in Chadic: (Central) West Margi *dagil*, Chibak *dakil*; Kotoko: Buduma *dāgel* „monkey“) || (East) ?Birgit *zīgūli* id.; Ndam *gāgēm dēgré* id. (Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow 1994, 237). And the Saharan forms are also not isolated within Nilo-Saharan, cf. Nubian: Koldegi *tingel* „ape“, Gulfan, Kargo *tiŋgel*, Dair *tigil* „id., baboon“, Midob *tàni* „small monkey“. Bechhaus-Gerst (1984, 30) demonstrated that Midob & Hill Nubian *t*-correspond to both *d*- and *t*- in Nile Nubian, consequently reconstructing Proto-Nubian **d*- and **t*- respectively. It means, it is a cultural term whose spreading cannot be ascribed only to Kanuri. Details in Blažek 2000, 35. Studying „Lexical aspects of Maghrebi Arabic“ in Chapter 8 (pp. 237-269), Peter Behnstedt characterized the formation of the modern Arabic dialects as polygenesis: Western Arabic lexicon was more frequently enriched by Berber and Romance loans, while Eastern Arabic mainly borrowed from Greek, Aramaic, Persian or Turkish (p. 247). Interesting is a Yemenite component in Maghrebi Arabic. In Chapter 9 „Arab-Berber contacts in the Middle Ages and ancient Arabic dialects: new evidence from an old Ibādite religious text“ Vermondo Brugnatelli evaluates a medieval Berber commentary (dated to the 10-15th cent.) to the juridical text called *Mudawwana* from the point of view of mutual Berber-Arabic interference. He finds relatively numerous Arabic lexical borrowings here, but a weak Arabic influence in morphosyntax in comparison with contemporary varieties of Berber in North Africa.

Summing up, the present collective monograph demonstrates a potentiality of cooperation of specialists in various linguistic disciplines. Their analyses of

¹ R. Basset, Journal Asiatique ser. 8, T. X [1887], 461. See <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k93232q/f462.image>>

grammatical, syntactic and lexical interferences of Arabic and non-Arabic languages of Africa significantly shift limits of our knowledge in Arabic dialectology.

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Acknowledgment:

The present study was stimulated by the support of the Czech Science Foundation (GAČR), P406/12/0655 and of Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University in Brno.

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***Proceedings of the 5th International Conference on Cushitic and Omotic Languages (Paris, 16-18 April 2008)*, ed. by Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle & Martine Vanhove. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag 2013. pp. x + 230.**

The volume of the 5th International Conference on Cushitic and Omotic Languages, held in Paris on 16-18 April 2008, consists of 14 contributions, i.e. c. 35% of all contributions presented at the conference. The editors divided them in the following sections: I. Historical and comparative linguistics; II. Typology; III. Synchronic description of phonology, morphology and syntax. In the present review article the main attention will be devoted to comparative studies.

I.

Joachim Crass presented „Some remarks on the compound suffix conjugation in Highland East Cushitic languages“ (pp. 3-20). It is a useful analysis of the problem in perspective of the author's opinions confronted with ideas of Tosco and Sim. But it is pity that older studies of this conjugation by

Cerulli (1925), Cohen (1927), Moreno (1940), and Dolgopolsky (1972), are not discussed too.

In the article „Cushitic verb classes revisited“ (pp. 21-36) Gene Gragg confirms the ideas of Hans-Jürgen Sasse (1980) about introflexion of the East Cushitic verb and its correspondences in the Semitic verbal morphology and develops them also in other Cushitic branches. A little surprising is that the crucial article of Sasse is omitted in bibliography.

Rainer Voigt analyzes the Cushitic suffixal conjugation in the Oromo verb in the article „On Cushitic verbal innovation in Oromo“ (pp. 37-51).

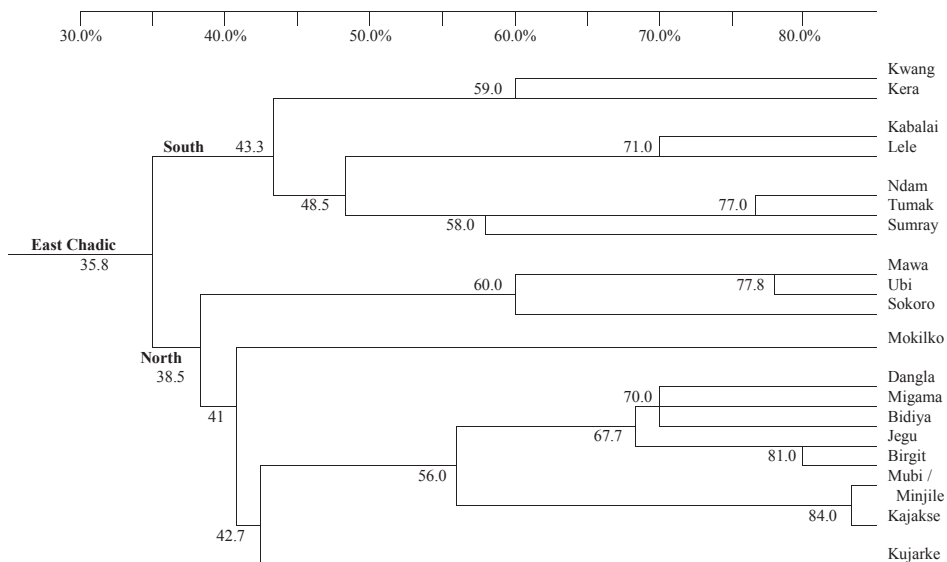
In his contribution „Reconstructing proto-consonant phonemes of Lowland East Cushitic languages“ (pp. 51-66) Tilahun Dawit tries to formulate the regular correspondences between consonants in Borana Oromo, Konso and Gawwada. With respect to this restriction the author includes some wrong comparisons, e.g. Gawwada *tahhan* „7“ (< Dullay **tam-han-*; see Blažek 1999, 46) is not compatible with Borana Oromo *torba* & Konso *tappa* „7“ (s. 56) < **tuzba* (Sasse 1976, 134, 139), or Konso *karaa* “inside” is derivable from *karitta* “belly” < Lowland East Cushitic **garʃ-* (cf. Oromo *gara*, Gato *kára*, Mashile, Bussa *karša*, D’irayta *kárd*, Dasanech *geere*, Arbore *garé*, Gawwada *karʃétto* „belly“ - see Black 1974, 207 and Tilahun himself on p. 64) and so cannot be connected with Borana *keessa* „in“ (p. 57). On the other hand, other regular cognates are not accepted, e.g. (p. 62) Gawwada *hiske* „star“ is separated from Konso *hikkitta* and Borana *urđii* id., although their relationship was already established by Black 1974, 151, 178, 194, 250 and Sasse 1976, 138 and 1979, 11, 35-37, 39, 57. In Oromo there are also records with the initial *h-*, e.g. *hurji* by Borelli (1995, 219; originally 1939) and *hurgi*, i.e. */hurži/* by da Thiene (1939, 207). Sasse (1976, 138) has demonstrated that the rhotacism in Oromo was quite regular. He reconstructed proto-East Cushitic **hizk-* / **huzk-* „star“ (Black 1974, 151, 178, 194, 250 still reconstructed Lowland East Cushitic **Hidk-/Hudk-*) > Saho *hútuk* (Welmers), Afar sgl. *hutukta*, pl. *hutuk* (Parker & Hayward); Som *hiddig*, Bay (dial. of Somali) *hinjin*, Jiddu *haddik* (Nuux & Ehret), Boni *hiddé* (Heine); Arbore coll. *húzzuk* (Hayward), Elmolo *húyu-te*, pl. *húyuk* (Heine), Dasanech *hizi-n-tti* (Sasse); Oromo (*h*)*urj-ii* (> Gedeo *urjee* - see G. Hudson), Konso *hikkitta* (Black 1974, 151, 178; cf. also Orkaydo 2013, 322), but *iskitta* (Black & Otto, *Konso Dictionary*, Ms. 1973, 48) = *iskiteta* (Sim), D’irayta *hiskaa* (Black), Mashile *íska* (Black), Bussa *hllsko* (Bender), Muusiye *isko* (SLLE); Dullay (all pl.): Harso-Dobase *hiske*, Gawwada-Gollango *hiske*, Tsamakko *hizge* (Hayward); Yaaku *hinso-ni*, pl. *hinso*’ (Heine). Outside East Cushitic there is a promising cognate in Beja *hayuuk* m., pl. *hayikw* „star“ (Roper). In the case of the etymon „swim“ (p. 56-57) based on comparison of Borana *daakuu*, Konso *taakija* and Gawwada *take*, the reconstruction of LEC **d-* is wrong; Arbore *zaw-*, Dasanech *zan-t-* and Elmolo *yow-* confirm proto-Lowland East Cushitic **z-* (Sasse 176, 140; Id. 1982, 52). Author interprets the comparisons of Borana *fago*

„far“ : Konso *sek-* id., Borana *ulfattaa* „heavy“ : Konso *uls-* id., and Borana *funaan* „nose“ : Konso *siinaa* id. as continuants of LEC **f* & **-f*, although in the preceding table 13 he demonstrates the regular correspondence of Borana *f* ~ Konso *f* ~ Gawwada *f*. Apparently he does not know anything about the regular correspondence of Oromo *f* ~ Konso *s* < (L)EC **s* formulated by Sasse (1975, 1976), where the preceding etymons are reconstructed as **seg-/*sog-*, **çils-/*çils-*, **sun-/*sin-* respectively (cf. Sasse 1979, 5, the source quoted in Tilahun’s references).

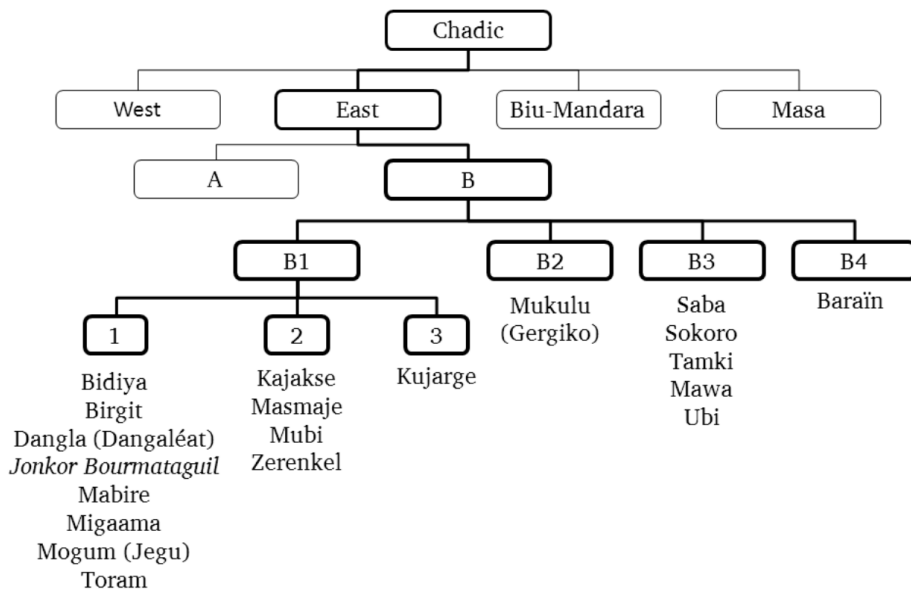
In his contribution „Links between Cushitic, Omotic, Chadic and the position of Kujarke“ (pp. 67-80) Roger Blench thinks about position of the Kujarke language, described by Doornbos in eastern Chad and also in several Sudanese villages along the lower Wadi Salih and Wadi Azum in 1981 (see Doornbos & Bender 1983, 59). Blench arguments against inclusion of Kujarke into Chadic with respect to low percentages of common cognates and mentions some interesting Kujarke-Agaw isoglosses. Taking in account the hard figures, the relation of Kujarke to other Chadic languages looks as more optimistic, cf. the comparison of 11 well-documented East Chadic with Kujarke on the basis of the standard 100-word-list:

	Lele	Sumray	Tumak	Sokoro	Dangla	Migama	Bidiya	Jegu	Mubi	Mokilko	Kujarke
Kera	47	42	41	37	39	32	31	34	32	34	26.4
Lele		52	45	42	44	42	41	41	45	39	36.0
Sumray			58	40	40	44	39	41	43	39	35.2
Tumak				40	42	35	35	41	38	36	30.2
Sokoro					48	41	42	49	44	39	29.4
Dangla						70	70	70	58	42	42.0
Migama							70	70	53	42	38.5
Bidiya								63	53	41	37.2
Jegu									60	40	44.5
Mubi										40	47.2
Mokilko											33.7

These figures can be transformed into the following tree-diagram:



Let us mention that very similar conclusions were formulated by Joseph Lovstrand 2012:



and by Paul Newman 2013:

East Chadic

1. Somrai group: Somrai/Sibine, Buso, Gadang, Miltu, Mire, Ndam, Sarwa, Tumak
 2. Lele group: Lele, Gabri, Kabalai, Kimre, Nancere, Tobanga
 3. Kera group: Kera, Kwang
- B
1. Dangla-Mubi group:
 - a. Dangla/Dangaléat, Bidiya, Birgit, Bourmataguil, Migama, Mogum, Toram
 - b. Mubi, Kajakse, Masmaje, Zirenkel
 - c. Kujarge
 2. Mukulu/Mokilko
 3. Sokoro group: Sokoro, Mawa, Saba, Tamki, Ubi
 4. Barain

Blench has collected 9 lexical comparisons between Kujarke and various Cushitic, Omotic and Chadic languages which should demonstrate the uncertain position of Kujarke. He does not formulate any regular sound correspondences. It is not apparent, if the words collected under one gloss should be related or not. E.g. he compares Kujarke *biità* „louse“ with Agaw **bətt-* „louse“ (Appleyard 2006, 95), Highland East Cushitic **ibibe* id. and West Rift (‘Iraqwoid’) **ʔitaa* „louse“ (p. 75). The Kujarke-Agaw comparison looks really as very promising. It is possible to add Beja *bʹuut* „wood-boring beetle“ (Roper). HEC **ibibe* „louse“ is compatible, if Agaw **bətt-* is derivable from **bəbt- vel sim*. On the other hand, West Rift **ʔitaa* „louse“ together with Asa *ʔita* and Dahalo (Tosco) *ʔitta* coll. „louse“ (see Ehret 1980, 290) belong to the following Cushitic cognates: (East) Arbore *ʔijdot* „larva“ (Hayward); Yaaku *intəni*, pl. *intəʹ* „caterpillar“ (Heine) || Agaw: Awngi *inti* (Beke) = *yinti* „louse“ (Hetzron), Kunfāl *yenti* id. (Cowley) || Beja *taat* f., pl. *tāt* „louse“ (Roper). Relatives can be found in Central Chadic: Uzam *atət*, Mada *ətət* „pou“ (Mouchet).

Kujarke *gùlá* „river“ is compared with ‘Chadic **guru* „pond, river“’, Zirenkel *gara* „rivière“; Gawwada *kolle* „river“, and Xamta *quorä* „acqua corrente“ (p. 75). These 5 forms probably represent 4 various etymons:

(i) Kujarke *gùlá* „river“ < Chadic **gul-* (West) Hausa *gulbi*, pl. *gulabe* „river, water reservoir“; ?Tangale *teŋgùl* „lake“ (the first component perhaps corresponds to Sura *tũu/dũu* „river“, Chip *dũukon* „lake“ : *kon* „river“) || (Central) Fali Jilbu *gèlì* „river“; Wadi *gōló* „river“; ?Dghwede *gulagwà* „river“; Mbara *gòlònyá* „lake“; Masa *gòlon* „mare résiduelle; rivière“; and Gawwada *kolle* „river“ < Dulay **gol(l)e* > Tsamay *gole* id. (Savà), Gollango *kólle* „river“ (AMS); cf. also Harso-Dobase *kollóto* „Quelle wasserführende in der Regenzeit“ (AMS), and Oromo of Wellega *galaana* „sea“ (Gragg).

(ii) Chadic **guru/*gura(w)* „pond, river“ (Stolbova 1996, 67) > (West) Kirfi *gùrùjó*, Gerumai *gùr-kù* „pond“; Seya *guruŋžaa* „lake“ : *žaa* „water“ || (Central) Lamang *ghoràvà* „lake“; Nzangi *gogirnya* „lake“, Fali Mucela *gùru*, Bachama *gùřêy* id., Mwulyen *gùró* „river“ || (East) Bedanga *gùrgu* „well“ (Barth) || Berber **ē-garīw*, pl. **ī-garīw-an* > (South) East Awlemmiden *agārew* & *agārāw*, Ahaggar *eğērew*, pl. *iğērewān* „lac, mer; fleuve très large; Niger“ (Prasse 1974, 143, 194; DRB 895); ?(West) Zenaga *tagre* „bassin“; Guanche *aguer(r)e* „laguna“ (Wölfel 1965, 593).

(iii) Zirenkel *gara* „rivièrè“ is derivable from Chadic **(n)ga/iray* „river“ (Stolbova 2005, 125, #455: *n(V)gVrV*): (Central) Tera *garà* „river“; Nzangi *ngìre* (Hoskinson) = *gεεε* (Mouchet) „river“, Gude *gàrà* „river, water hole“, Kobocho *gere*, *gaerē* „river“ || Berber: (South) Ahaggar *tēğert*, pl. *tēğrīn* „ruisseau“ (DRB 859; Prasse 1974, 247: **tīgHirt* < **t-Higir-t*; Prasse connected it with the verb *əğar* $\sqrt{g-H-r}$, but cf. Beja *hagir* „pool of water, shallow“ - see Blažek 2006, 393) || Semitic $\sqrt{g-r-y}$: Syriac *gārā* „couler“; Arabic *ğarā* „courir, couler, avoir lieu“, *ğary* „course rapide, courant“; Jibbali *egóri* „courir, couler“ (DRS 186) || Cushitic: (East) Boni *járè* „river“ (Heine); Oromo of Wellega *gararraa* „upstream“ (Gragg); Harso-Dobase *karakko*, pl. *karāane* „river“ (AMS).

(iv) Xamta *quorā* „acqua corrente“ < Agaw **k̄ər-a* “river” (Appleyard 2006, 116) || East Cushitic: Oromo *kurre* “laghetto” (Borello); Hadiyya *kireeta* (Leslau) || Beja *koriay* “(small) basin” (Hudson) || North Omotic: Wolayta *kuriya* “lake” (Alemayehu) || Chadic **kur-/*k̄ur-(yam-ay?)*: (West) Hausa *Kwaara* „the river Niger“ : *kwari*, *-e* „valley, furrow“ or *korama* „river“ (< **kur-H/yama?*, cf. Angas *kuram* „lake“ vs. *kūr* „deep pool“ & *àm* „water“); Angas-Sura **kur* „lake, pool“; ?Kulere *haràm* „river“ || ?(Central) West Margi *kur-* in *kurtumbəl* „lake“, cf. Bidiya *tambəl* „étang“ || (East) **kur-yam-ay?*: Kabalai *kurājə*, Nancere *kurījə*, Lele *kúryé/kúryé* „river“, Chire *korai*, ?Gabri *cer* id.; Sumray *kuri/króoi* „river“, Sokoro *kóroo* „pond“, Dangla *kóriyò* „lake“, Bidiya *korya* „marigot“, Jegu *kuuráayə* „der See“ || ?Egyptian (Pyramid Texts) pl. *ṯ3.w*, in magical formulae parallel to *mw* “water” (Wb. V, 342; here added by Takács, *Discussions in Egyptology* 34, 1996, 117).

Further Blench compares Kujarke *bu* „rain“ with Bilin *bug* „water“ and Barain *bune* „rain“ (p. 75). In reality, Doornbos has recorded Kujarke (n.) *bu ~ bu* „rain“. ‘Bilin *bug* „water“ does not exist. It should probably be Bilin *boq, buq* „Tropfen irgend einer Flüssigkeit, Blut, Wasser, Milch“, related to the verb *boq y* „tropfen, tröpfeln“, Qwara *bəγʷənt* „fliessen“, Kemant *bäyʷt-* „to flow“ (Reinisch 1887, 76; Appleyard 2006, 69-70: **bəqʷ-/*bäqʷ-*). Further related could be Agaw **bəkʷ-an/-än-* “cloud” (Appleyard 2006, 46) || East Cushitic: Oromo of Wellega *bokkaa* “rain”, Somali of Hawiya *bokkod* id. || Beja (Seetzen) *bayúk* “snow” || North Omotic: Wolayta *bukk-*, Dawro *buk-*, Dache *bukk-*, Kachama *boq-*, Gamu *buqq-* „to rain“ (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 316) || East Chadic: Mubi *bok* „to rain“ || Berber: Shilha *abukku* “snow” and / or Snus *tbika & tbica*, Figi

tbica „rain“ (DRB I, 49, 10). On the other hand, Barain *bune* „rain“, together with Jegu *bón* „to rain“, Musgu *fan* „rain“, Higi *va*, Zaar *vwan*, Sura *fwan* id. < proto-Chadic **ban* (Newman 1977, 30, #101), represent alternative cognates of Kujarke *bu* ~ *bu* „rain“. In the case of Kujarke *apa* „mouth“ Blench quotes only (some) Cushitic (& Amharic) cognates and mentions: ‘No obvious Chadic cognates’. In reality, there are at least two Chadic candidates: West Chadic **ʔaap-* „to open (mouth)“ > Hausa *áfà* „to throw in mouth“; Chip, Montol *ʔεεp*, Ankwe *ep* „to open“, Sura *ap*, Angas *ep* „to yawn“; Karekare *ʔaf-*, Tangale *ʔap*, Pero *ápp* etc. (Stolbova 1987, 230), and proto-Angas **p^wa* (Stolbova 1987, 152) > Sura *pwòò*, Chip *pwɔ*, Angas *po*, Ankwe *pu* „mouth“, added by Rabin (1981, 27, #24). But there are more or less convincing cognates also in Semitic **p-* „mouth“ > Akkadian *pū*; Ugaritic *p*, Hebrew *pe*, constr. *pī*, Syrian *pummō*, Arabic *fam*, constr. *fū*, Epigraphic South Arabian *f* (Dolgopolsky 1983, 126) ||| Egyptian (Pyramid Texts) *wpy* / *ipy* „to open, separate“ (Wb. I, 298; Rössler 1983, 331) ||| South Omotic: Dime *ʔappo*, Banna *aapo*, Hamer *afo*, Ari *aaffa* (Bender), Galila-Ubamer *afa* (Fleming) „mouth“ ||| Dahalo *ʔáfo* id. (Tosco) ||| South Cushitic: besides West Rift also Asa *afok*; Qwadza *afuko* „mouth“ (Ehret 1980, 281). But Doornbos (p.c. 2013) admits that his 32 year-old record of the word „mouth“ could also be *aña*. In this case different comparanda should be taken in account: (Central Chadic) Margi *ñà* (but cf. West Chadic: Bade *mnya* id.); Sukur *ùṅù* id. (JI₂ 244-45). Studying in details the examples collected by Blench, his intuitive comparisons and conclusions based on them should be verified before any conclusions.

Gérard Philippon evaluates „Southern Cushitic loans in North-Eastern Bantu: a reconsideration of the evidence“ (pp. 81-94). His comments are judicious and respect a wider context of the Bantu dialectology. In this perspective it is rather surprising that he accepts the vector of borrowing from South Cushitic into Northeastern Bantu in the case of the numeral „7“ (pp. 85, 91), West Rift **faanq’u* (& K’wadza *tipafānku* „7“ by Claus) vs. Bantu (zones E, F, G) **-púṅgàté* or **-púṅgàtí* (Guthrie) after Ehret 1974, 78. In (South) Cushitic there is no satisfactory etymology, while in Bantu, abstracting from the attempt of Meinhof to derive the numeral from a seeming verb **funḡa* „to bind“, correctly **tunḡa* (cf. the critical comment of Hoffmann 1952-53, 71-72), there could be found a promising source in the Bantu verb **-púṅg-* „to blow“ (Guthrie) → „to swell“.

II.

Although the contribution of Maarten Mous, „Reduplication in Cushitic“ (pp. 95-134), is included into the typological section, it represents the first-class study in the field of comparative morphology of the Cushitic languages. E.g. the partial reduplication of the first syllable in the adjective plurals may be traced to a common heritage, cf. Beja pl. *wawin* : sg. *win* „big“ and Somali pl. *waaweyn* : sg. *wèyn* „big“ (p. 101).

Other contributions are more or less descriptive:

Bernhard Köhler „Interrogative zero-marking in some Ometo languages“ (pp. 135-157)

Kjell Magne Yri „A peculiarity of copula and case marking in Sidaamú *ʔafó*: Signalling modified/unmodified head“ (pp. 157-166)

III.

Rolf Theil „Koorete Tonology“ (pp. 167-174)

Mohammed-Tahir Hamid Ahmed „Les articles définis en bedja, dialecte du Gash“ (pp. 175-180)

Loredana Cupi, Sara Petrollino, Graziano Savà & Mauro Tosco „Preliminary notes on the Hamer verb“ (pp. 181-196)

Oda Orkaydo Ongaye „Conditional Clauses in Konso“ (pp. 197-210)

Amha Azeb „Directives to humans and to domestic animals: the imperative and some interjections in Zergulla (pp. 211-22).

Summing up, the present volume offers the most interesting studies in the field of both comparative and descriptive morphology of Cushitic languages (Crass; Gragg; Voigt; Mous; Yri; Ahmed; Ongaye) and Omotic languages (Loredana Cupi, Sara Petrollino, Graziano Savà & Mauro Tosco; Köhler; Azeb). In the field of comparative lexicology the excellent contribution of Philippson was included. Full of stimulating, although not always proven, ideas is the article of R. Blench. In the field of comparative phonology & accentology the flawless descriptive article of Thiel appears beside the comparative study of the Lowland East Cushitic consonantism by Tilahun, ignoring the current progress in the last 40 years connected especially with the names of Paul Black, Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Bernd Heine and Dick Hayward.

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Acknowledgement:

The present study was prepared thanks to the grant of the The Czech Science Foundation (GAČR), P406/12/0655 and of Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University in Brno.

Václav Blažek

**Janet C.E. Watson. The Structure of Mehri Wiesbaden 2012.
Harrassowitz Verlag. XXVIII + 479 pp. ISBN 978-3-447-067-2.**

The authoress promotes her book as „the first study of the linguistic structure of Mehri based primarily on first-hand fieldwork data since the two grammatical studies by the Viennese Expedition in the early twentieth century (Jahn 1805; Bittner 1909-1914). This is also the first comparative description of two Mehri dialects, and the first grammatical description of the eastern Yemeni dialect of Mehri, Mahriyōt” (p.1). I do not want to underestimate her great achievement but I have to remind that although T.M. Johnstone has not left a monograph study of the grammar of Mehri, nevertheless his ‘Mehri Lexicon’ (1987, SOAS) is based on his first-hand field-work and it contains not only the biggest collection of lexical items (Watson’s book does not have a glossary!) and a sketch of grammar but also verbal paradigms which have not been superseded since unfortunately Watson does not give them! It is a pity that the grammar of Mehri prepared by the late A. Sima with whom Watson collaborated, could not be published. One general remark concerning Watson’s ‘Grammar’ – the examples are translated but at least occasional glossing would have been useful!

The grammar under review concentrates rather on syntax than on morphology and phonology but there are important original contributions also in these less extensively covered realms. For general Semitic linguistics it is extremely important that there is a further confirmation that the so-called ‘emphatic’ consonants are not always realized as ejectives so that in Mahriyōt “with the exception of the velar ejective /K/, the emphatics are pharyngealised with ejective realizations resulting solely from predictable pre-pausal glottalisation in utterance-final position” (p. 16). Even as far as /K/ is concerned, we read on p. 13 that its “unmarked realisation is ejective, IPA [k’]” but “In some environments, however, particularly intervocally, /K/ is realised as non-ejective and at least partially neutralises with /k/ or, more commonly, /g/”. All of this proves that ejective and pharyngealised realisations can coexist and it does not make much sense to reconstruct Proto-Semitic ‘emphatics’ as exclusively ejective. All Mehri emphatics “exhibit the backing characteristics of the emphatics of most dialects of Arabic” (p. 17) and in my opinion from a point of view of phonology/phonemics it does not matter at all whether this is due to contact with Arabic or not. The coexistence of non-distinctive features is rather banal.

On p. 19 and p. 84 we read that in Mahriyōt “the L-stem... characterised by a long vowel following the first root consonant and the basic quadrilateral verb are also marked by gemination of the initial root consonant where the consonant is an aspirate ...*affōkar* ‘to think’ *attōfaG* ‘to wash o’s face with water’, *axxanūT* ‘to take [s.th.] out’,...”. I think that such forms may be remnants of the **taqātala* class with t- assimilated to the initial aspirate (see p. 18). P. 50: The plural ‘*ayantan*

(sing. 'ayn) 'eye' (cf. Johnstone 1987: 38 'āyn : 'āyentān) may be considered as a trace of dual. In the discussion of the definite article (p.63-65) there should be a clear reference to pp. 19-22 where germination of the initial consonants is discussed. In independent pronouns the -k- of the first person (e.g. Akkadian *an-ā-k-u*) survives in the first person dual *kīh* (p. 66) but in dependent forms of personal pronouns it coincides with -k- of the second persons resulting in forms common for the 1st and the 2nd persons. P.86: 'subjunctive' and 'conditional' are not 'aspects'! The term 'Conditional' (p. 91-92) introduced by Johnstone is rather unfelicitous since this remnant of the (Proto-)Semitic Energetic (occurring optionally in conditional clauses in several Semitic languages!) is used also in optative phrases, e.g. *akīn-an* 'I wish' *afrīH-an bih* 'I would be glad of it' (p. 92) and it not always occurs in conditional clauses (p. 399) . I should call it just 'Energetic'. P. 92: there is passive Mehreyyet *ūtīG* 'he was killed' but Johnstone 1987 has *awtēG*. P. 110: there should be a mention of D. Testen's 'Moden South Arabian nine', BSOAS 61 (1998), 314-317 ; Johnstone 1987: 338 has *se* and *sāt*, for '7' p. 150 and 460 he has *hōba*, *yābayt* and there are variant forms also for other numerals. The ordinal numeral Mahriyōt *Hāwli/Hāwēl*, Mehreyyet *Hāwalāy* 'first' has the original definite article *Ha-*. P. 182-183: it is not clear at all what *Hnōf* is! P. 263: the use of subjunctive in greetings, thanks and congratulations should be mentioned already in the section on Subjunctive (pp. 89-91). P. 338, note 31: I do not think that the two functions of *ši*, i.e. absolute negation and 'predicand or predicate' should be separated.

There are also new texts in Mahriyōt (pp. 406-417), in Mehreyyet from mountain region around Dhofar (pp. 418-440) and from Šlaym (pp. 441-449).

This book is a very valuable contribution but still we need more data from native speakers and systematic presentation of facts, especially verbal paradigms as complete as possible not to mention data on the lexicon. This is also an important step forward towards a complete comparative grammar of the varieties of Mehri not to mention the whole MSSA group.

Andrzej Zaborski

Peter Stein, Lehrbuch der sabäischen Sprache. 1. Teil Grammatik, Wiesbaden 2013. Harrassowitz Verlag. 232 pp. ISBN 978-3-447-10026-7. 2. Teil: Chrestomathie. Wiesbaden 2012. Harrassowitz V. Verlag. 163 pp. ISBN 978-3-447-06768-3.

Collections of texts in the languages belonging to the group which I propose to call Ancient Semitic of Southern Arabia (earlier known e.g. as ‘Epigraphic South Arabian’ and ‘Sayhadic’) existed already in the past but this is an innovating set combining a more or less pedagogic grammar and a chrestomathy. It concentrates on the best known language of the group, i.e. on Sabaic but there are also comments on other ASSA languages. The ‘Grammar’ divided into 14 ‘Lessons’ with exercises (with a concise ‘Key to exercises’), contains a systematic description of the language and there are also additional materials like paradigms and a comparative chronologically arranged table of both monumental and cursive or ‘minuscule’ script. It must be emphasized that the ‘Grammar’ is important not only for students as the best introduction to the language and representative kinds of texts but this is practically the best systematic description of Sabaic that is available for professional Semitists and for linguists in general, although the author still recommends his *Untersuchungen*... The Chrestomathy is also the best collection superseding... It not only provides specimens of different texts from different periods in facsimiles xx and transcription with good philological and historical comments but there is also a ‘Glossary’ (which does not contain all the words found in the ‘Grammatik’!) of common Sabaic words and a separate glossary of names. Both Glossaries are very useful since they contain a wealth of information, so that they supplement the few existing dictionaries and vocabularies.

I can add only a few remarks. P. 67: I think that in the examples quoted in 4.4.12.10 Perfect has a volitive function, i.e. only the translation ‘(Got) schütze mich/uns’ is correct and the second name should be translated as ‘möge (der Gott) mich/uns anblicken’. P. 69: I think that a coexistence of *'n* and *'nk* in Sabaic is possible and there is no need to suspect Minaic influence especially since there is *'hnk* in the latter. P. 79-80: there should be a clear statement that there could be Imperfect forms with long vowel after the second root consonant (*yVqātVl) like in the Modern Semitic of South Arabia. I agree with the author that the alleged non-existence of *yVqattVl Imperfect in all the ASSA languages has been definitely proven and the situation in Minaic and Hadramitic should be further investigated (p. 156). P. 86: the impossibility of ascribing clear distinct functions opposing *yqtl* and Energetic *yqtl-n* (also Imperative *qtl* and Energetic Imperative *qtl-n*, see p. 82 and 133); see also Energetic in wish and purpose clauses, p. 92 and 133 and in oath, p. 135) is a strong argument that they were just stylistic variants, the latter being used for different kinds of emphasis like

Energetics in other Semitic languages including not only Classical Arabic and Ugaritic but also Akkadian in which the alleged 'Ventive' was a myth invented by Landsberger. P. 81: *l-ykrb-n-k* 'may God bless you' is clear case of Energetic and I do not think that this is an examples of 'Nachzeitigkeit'. P. 145: the lack of mimation also in non-final position in poetic texts might be due to a kind of sandhi. P. 165 (note 1 to lesson 12) : I think that the existence of a Sabaic cognate of Arabic Preterite *yaqtul* and Akkadian *iprus* is possible not only because in Amiritic there is *lam yaqtul* (p. 144).

I should recommend a chapter on Sabaic and generally ASSA lexicon in order to introduce linguistically and historically important words which do not occur in the 'Glossary', e.g. *ngš* 'to gain control of town' which is etymologically connected with *ngšy-n* 'negus, king of Axum'm , *Tbb* 'to teach, proclaim, judge' cognate to Ge'ez *Tabba* 'to be wise, to be sage, learned', *Tabib* 'wise man, skilled clever; magician', Arabic *Tabba* 'to be intelligent, to treat medically', *Tabīb* 'doctor, physician'; *HSn* 'to take under protection': Arabic *HiSn* 'fortress, castle' etc.

Conclusion: this is an excellent tool for both students and grown-up scholars.

Andrzej Zaborski

Maarten Kossmann. A Grammatical Sketch of Ghadames Berber (Libya). Köln 2013. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. XI + 200 pp. Berber Studies Vol. 40. ISBN 978-3-89645-940-4.

The Berber dialect (actually there were at least two if not three dialects!) of Ghadames is one of the most interesting varieties of the Berber language but it still remains underinvestigated. Although the oasis situated at the place where Algerian, Tunisian and Libyan frontiers meet was not quite isolated from the external world for decades, nevertheless apart from the pioneer study by Motylinski (1904) we have only the work by the White Father Jacques Lanfry who spent almost two years in the oasis, i.e. 1944-1945. He managed to publish the results of his extensive field work much later, i.e. in 1968 and not without problems since later he had to publish a small volume of additions and corrections, mainly misprints (1971) and an article (1971-1972) . Kossmann says that Lanfry's work is 'of the highest standards' but nevertheless he has decided to publish this grammatical sketch based entirely on Lanfry's rare publications in order not only to make the Ghadames dialect more accessible to scholars but also to reinterpret and to enlarge the grammatical analyses. One of the important

features is that the illustrative sentences are always well glossed. What we have is a very clear and systematic grammar which will be always very useful although sometimes it may be necessary to go back to Lanfry's original publications, first of all his texts and the dictionary.

P. 75: I should highlight the fact that in the Perfective some stative verbs (p. 75-76) geminate the second root consonant, e.g. *māqqor* 'to be big', in case of roots with the same second and third consonant this consonant is geminated, e.g. *mālləl* 'to be white'; gemination only in the Perfective occurs also in the 'irregular' *əlla* 'to be' and *ənna* 'to say' (p. 77). For the comparative grammar of the Afroasiatic languages it is very important that vocalic endings have been preserved in some categories of the prefix conjugations, i.e. *-a* in the Perfective, e.g. *i-bd-a* 'he started' or *-o*, e.g. *i-ls-o* 'he wore' and *-u* in the Aorist, i.e. *i-bd-u* 'he starts' (p. 84 and 85). Dual forms in verbs have been preserved, e.g. *n-ākf* 'you and I give' etc., but Kossmann does not indicate them as such in the paradigms. It is important that the 'participles' (subject-relative forms) of dynamic verbs have prefixes (*y/i-* masc. and *t-* fem.) and suffixed *-ān* (there is also *-n* allomorph after stem final vowel, see the first and the last exemplary sentence!) but the stative verbs have only suffixes (p. 95) in sing. and in plur. (p. 95). P. 103: in the first exemplary sentence the use of 'his' is correct in the English translation but the possessive pronoun does not occur in the original. P. 111: I do not see a reason for separating preposition *i* 'towards, to' and the locative clitic *-i* (p. 103-104). The use of both possessive suffix and the *nota genetivi (n)* with kinship terms, e.g. '*ammi-s n tawažette* 'uncle-her of the girl' (p. 125) is typologically identical with on variety of genitive constructions in Syriac. P. 149-150: the copular particle *ənte(-ni)* must be etymologically connected with the 3rd person of independent pronouns, e.g. 3rd pl. masc. *ənt-ən-én*, 3rd pl. fem. *ənt-na-t-én* (p. 45), Tuareg *ənta* 'he/she/it'. I wonder whether the suffixed *-ən* added to the main verb, in the example 'they saw a blind woman grinding' (p. 164) actually has the alleged 'itive' ('thither') function. As far as the use of the Imperfective with a future meaning (and not *d* + Future) is concerned, the first example (p. 165) is just a banal case of presentive function extended into future and the second example is most probably connected with the use of the imperfective in the Apodosis of the conditional clause and not with the distributive adverbial 'one by one'. I do not find Imperfective in the example translated as 'the man who is going to harvest our garden has not yet arrived' (p. 165) – there is a participle *i-māžžar-ān!* The function of the Imperfective in the sentences translated as 'when he arrived there, he started to water the sheep' (p. 166) would be rather inchoative than durative (the same the sentences on p. 168), durative being rather a lexical feature of 'to water'. Inchoative and not durative is the function of *əqqim* 'to sit, to stay' and of *ākkər* 'to stand up, to rise' as auxiliaries, p. 175-176. Something is lacking ('henna' ?) in the last exemplary sentence on p. 166. As far as future is concerned, the sentence 'today I will go to Tunen and I will sell some of this

oil...’ refers not to an event but it conveys a wish, a plan like the two preceding sentences! The last two examples on p. 171 show that *d*+Future is used also in dependent clauses (like a ‘Subjunctive’) with ‘to want’ and ‘to can’ in the main clauses, see also the last sentence on p. 178, the first and the third sentence on p. 179, the first sentence on p. 181. It does not make sense to translate *ǧəd* as ‘with, when’ in complement clauses where it means just ‘that’ (p. 189) and it should not be separated from its use in temporal clauses (p. 193-194)! In the gloss to the third sentence on p. 196 *əmmək* should be translated as ‘when’ or ‘after’ and not as ‘like’, and in the next two sentences the meaning as it is in the translation, i.e. ‘so that’ and ‘in order’.

These minor remarks and reservations do not question the general validity of the book. This is a very useful grammar and we may only hope that in these very turbulent times speakers of the Berber varieties of Ghadames will be found (like speakers of the Awjila dialect have been rediscovered!) and a linguist will be able to provide us with new data.

Andrzej Zaborski

Religious Conflicts, Cultural Eclecticism and Parthian Art: Edessa in the Early Byzantine and Early Islamic Period.²

I have in my hands an impressive monographic collection of papers on the archaeology, history, theology and literature of ancient Pagan, Christian and early Islamic Urfa in German, English and French. For a reviewer it has been a pleasure once again to visit Urfa, the Pearl of the Orient, one of the most charming cities of the Levant, this time in my imagination with a group of highly expert guides.

Let me begin with the set of papers the authors of which are occupied mainly with theological and philosophical problems. In her sophisticated paper *Die nachephesinische Christologie der edessenischen Theodorianer* Luise Abramowski, one of the authors of the indispensable *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, focuses on the post-Ephesian Christology in the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia’s followers (pp.1-9). She convincingly argues that Narsai’s early Edessan sermons do not yet show any influence of Nestorius’ writings, which is

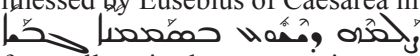
² This is a review article of *Edessa in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Religion, Kultur und Politik zwischen Ost und West*. Beiträge des internationalen Edessa-Symposiums in Halle an der Saale, 14.-17. Juli 2005, eds. L. Greisiger, C. Rammelt, J. Tubach and D. Hass, *Beiruter Texte und Studien*, Band 116, Ergon Verlag, Würzburg and Beirut 2009. Book review by Tomasz Polański.

actually a striking conclusion. In her view Narsai did not see those writings until after 457 in Nisibis. Abramowski manages to carry out an exact reconstruction of Narsai's idiosyncratic Christology of an Antiochan inspiration in which, however, the *prosopon* (πρόσωπον)/ *parṣupo* (ܦܪܫܘܦܘ) concept was not so prominent as in Antioch, in the Persian School and in the Persian Church. She also successfully identifies important differences between Theodore's learning and the learning of his followers in Urfa and Nisibis. Abramowski focuses mainly on Narsai's sermons, however, she also enriches her argument with Jacob of Serug's writings and extant passages by Habib. Her paper is an ambitious effort to recover something of the early Theodorian and Nestorian writings, about which we still know very little. Abramowski has successfully changed our perspective on the early Edessan Christology which was overshadowed by the Monophysite teaching in the later development of the Edessan theological tradition. No-one knows if Theodore's *Incarnation* will again emerge from oblivion, as it once did for a short time in 1905, and we will eventually be able to verify some of the illuminating interpretations presented by Abramowicz.

Ute Possekkel is also occupied mainly with theological problems, in her paper *Die Schöpfungstheologie des Bardaisan von Edessa* on the creation of the world in Bardaisan's philosophy (pp. 219-229). It is interesting to observe that in her analyses of Bardaisan's ideas of Divine Creation, Elements of the Universe, and God's Will, Possekkel shifts the centre of gravity from *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*, which was once discussed in a captivating monograph by H. Drijvers, to later Syriac writers like Ephraim the Syrian, Theodor bar Koni, and Barhadbešabba of Bet Arboyye and to Bardaisan's contemporary Greek writers (Justinus, Theophilus of Antioch, Athenagoras, Hermogenes). She argues that Bardaisan's concept of the preexistence of primaeva matter can be implied from their writings.

Martin Tamcke's ethical and philosophical reflections make his paper *Was die Dürre lehren kann* a valuable philosophical and epistemological essay (pp. 267-277). As a student in Andrzej Zaborski's class I had the privilege to translate a couple of Syrian hymns by Ephraim and I learnt that Ephraim's verse structure, his phraseology and poetics is so rich in vocabulary, forms and figures that it can be only labelled perfect. Tamcke shows me Ephraim as a great moralist poet, a poet and philosopher, a poet and theologian. The discussion between two great German Orientalists, Carl Brockelmann and Paul Krüger, on the interpretation of Ephraim's *Hymnic Prayers for Rainfall*, Brockelmann's Pagan interpretation on the one hand, and Krüger's Syriac liturgical and theological interpretation on the other hand, makes up a captivating part of the paper. I would like to cite a line or two from Tamcke's conclusion (p. 277): 'Der eine brachte seinen ganzen Fleiß ein, zu sammeln, was er zu den zur Diskussion stehenden Texten an Überlieferung ausmachen konnte. Der andere wagte einen kühnen Sprung, um aus dem Altbewährten zu neuen Ufern zu gelangen... Beide Forscher meinten

Ephraem näher zu kommen, aber sie fanden größtenteils nur sich selbst. Längst wissen wir heute, dass es mehr als fraglich ist, ob diese Hymnen überhaupt Ephraem zugeschrieben werden können.' Tamcke's paper reminds me of two texts which reflect the impact of different modern ideologies on ancient studies: W. Visser's chapter on the interpretation of archaeological materials which refer to the portrait of Christ in the ancient art (*Die Entwicklung des Christusbildes*, 1934), and a conference paper by Wojciech Blajer, professor of the Bronze Age archaeology at the Jagiellonian University of Kraków, on the interpretation of archaeological data in the light of modern sociological and historical clichés, which are in all likelihood in many instances completely wrong (Between Egalitarianism and Hierarchism. Material and Ritual Aspects of Grave Equipment in Central Europe of the Bronze and Early Iron Age, Kielce 2013). Tamcke is right, we need auto-reflection in the modern humanities and in the sciences as well.

Wilhelm Baum, whose paper *Edessa in der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Byzanz und der syrischen Kirche (6.-12. Jahrhundert)* opens the historical collection in the volume, offers a basic set of factography within the framework of an exact chronology (pp.11-30). Baum's paper with its up-to-date chronology can be helpful to readers of Duval's old and still good *Histoire d'Édesse*. However, I think that this chronology is not as well established in a number of points as the author suggests. I do not think that *The Doctrina Addaei* was composed only as late as the Rabbula period (411-435). I am inclined to believe that Anna Pigulevska (*Kultura syryjska we wczesnym sredniowieczu*, 1989) was right when she argued that the origin of the text can be traced back to the mid 3rd century. The image of Christ the Herbalist witnessed by Eusebius of Caesarea in Panyas (*HE* 7,19) and a possible reading of  as 'likeness of Jesus picking herbs,' even if actually mistaken, can point to a very early date (cf. T. Polański, *Christian Art in Oriental Literatures*, pp.139ff.). Neither can we say that the construction of the Hagia Sophia Church in Urfa can be dated to 553. It must have started after 544 and lasted for a longer period of time. I found a number of important even if minor details in Baum's paper of great interest to me, e.g. of the iconodules who escaped from the Greek Empire to the asylum of Edessa during the persecution of 717-813, and an interesting historiosophical motif drawn from John of Mardin who wondered in the wake of the disastrous invasions of 1144 and 1146 whether God actually intervenes in the history of mankind (p.27).

In another historical paper in the collection, *Topoi in der Schilderung nomadischen Lebens in der syrischen Literatur*, Ute Pietruschka focuses on standard views, and ethnic and social clichés of the nomadic peoples, most of all the nomadic Arab tribes, in the Eastern Syriac literature in the critical period for Eastern Christianity, the epoch of the Arab invasions in the 6th-7th century (pp. 209-217). Her paper has an interesting introduction appended in which she

discusses the modern *topos* theories (E. Curtius, L. Bornscheuer). It was a joy for me to discover that the young generation of scholars find inspiration in the writings of C.G. Jung. Jung's model of historical development and his historiosophical interpretation of the ancient history of mankind sounded so refreshing in the totalitarian world of Eastern Europe constricted by the ideological straitjacket of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of iron laws in historical studies. Her reflection on 'Erinnerungskultur' and 'kulturelle Identität' in their relation to the *topoi* (commonplaces, standard views) sounds refreshing and modern. To describe the *topos* of barbarian nomads Pietruschka draws on different textual materials such as the works of chroniclers and historians (Joshua the Stylite, Ahudemme, Jacob of Edessa), apocalyptic writings (Johannan bar Penkoye), Arabic inscriptions from Hatra, and poetic lore (Afwah al-Awdi). I found her short commentary on the Syriac apocalyptic writings very interesting (p.216f.). Johannan bar Penkoye, Ps.-Methodius and Ps. Athanasius expected the imminent end of the world in the period of the Arab invasions. Their writings offer an illustration for a parallel rise of the *acheiropoiatoi* images in the Christian Orient, which were widely believed to predict the immediate Second Coming of Christ. The subject of standard views of foreigners has its own library of books and papers in ancient studies (cf. W. Speyer, *Eos* 77, 1989; A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*; H. Bacon, *Barbarians*; E. Said, *Orientalism*; F. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*; T. Polański, *PKFK PAU* 25, 1997 (Eng.); id. *SAAC* 8, 1997 (Eng.); id. *Ancient Greek Orientalist Painters*). Pietruschka emphasises that 'das Griechische ist für die syrische Literatur von besonderer Bedeutung. Die syrische Literatur ist ... durch Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen geprägt' (p. 212). This statement should not be overestimated. My research on the art description in the Syriac literature showed that the Greek rhetorical ephrasis and the Syriac art description went different ways. The Syriac description is strikingly independent. The borrowings from Greek were rare. The Syriac vocabulary is strikingly rich and original.

Claudia Rammelt makes a significant contribution to the historical content of the volume with her paper *Die Vorgänge in Edessa im April des Jahres 449 nach den syrischen Konzilsakten des sogenannten Latrociniums* (pp. 231-254). She undertakes an ambitious effort to reconstruct the course of events during several dramatic days in Urfa after the news from Ephesus in April 449, where a group of anti-Nestorian clerics and theologians had staged a synod dubbed the Latrocinium Synod by the Great Church (pp. 231-254). Rammelt manages to identify a sequence of events and presents us with history in the making, namely a strong anti-Nestorian and anti-Antiochan reaction in Upper Mesopotamia which consolidated the Monophysite movement so much, that it eventually broke away from the Great Church, just only two years later. Rammelt successfully shows ineffective efforts undertaken by some state functionaries who did their best to avoid a growing conflict, and the resulting divisions between the local Christian communities. We know their attempt ended in failure. The compositional

convention of the paper, like a live report from the scene, Urfa, makes reading it an intellectual adventure. Rammelt gives an account of the public prosecution of numerous priests, students of theological schools, and lay Christians, who were banished, deprived of their livelihoods and property, and abused by a manipulated mob. This happened as a result of some doctrinal formulae, which were coined at a sitting of a group of clerics in distant Ephesus. The judicial proceedings were collective and brought unavoidably dire consequences for the victims. There was no way to defend oneself. Although Bishop Ibas appealed to a clerical court in Antioch, and was subsequently cleared of all the charges, it did not help him in his native Edessa. It is interesting to follow how the authority of the late Bishop Rabbula was employed to weaken the Antiochan party, and how in Urfa the pendulum swung even further in the direction of the Alexandrian Monophysite party, although Rabbula himself had at first supported the Theodorian theologians, and later became an adherent of Kyrillos of Alexandria, who took a theological stance which placed him between two contending factions of the Theodorians (Nestorians) and a rising, radical Monophysite faction. Rammelt successfully grasps the mechanisms of the crucial conflict which was to divide Eastern Christianity for the next centuries. An academic from Eastern Europe who grew in the darkness of the totalitarian night, read Rammelt's paper with a lump in his throat.

It was a great pleasure for an enthusiast of E. Will's *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* to follow a captivating, vividly written paper by Jürgen Tubach on the earliest history of the kingdom of Osrohene, *Die Anfänge des Königreichs von Edessa. Vom Zelt zum Palastbewohner* (pp. 279-311). In an extensive introduction Tubach delineates a historical panorama of the crucial years 163-129 BC which brought the rise of the Arsacid kingdom in Iran and the decline of the Seleucid Empire. Tubach's narrative is well worth reading. He makes good use of many modern studies side by side with old and still good classics like N. Debevoise's *Political History of Parthia*. The picture is still causing confusion. The course of events of Antioch Sidetes' *anabasis*, as well as Mithridates' rise to power in Iran and his subsequent struggle with Central Asian nomadic tribes, which eventually led him to disaster, is not altogether clear. Tubach does his best to make the crucial events of the epoch as clear as possible. Out of that vast panorama of the Greek, Aramaic and Iranian Orient Tubach gradually extracts the rising local Arab kingdom of Orhai/Edessa and is right to conclude, that 'Da der Herrschaftsbeginn des ersten edessenischen Dynasten auf das Jahr 132 v. Chr. datiert wird, also ein Jahr vor dem Feldzug von Antiochos stattfand, kann man annehmen, dass das Datum nicht zufälliger Natur gewesen ist, sondern dass ein wichtiges Ereignis vorgegangen ist' (p.303). Tubach's analyses of the Aramaic, Arabic, Syriac, Akkadian and Greek linguistic materials enhance the reader's confidence. He may be right in his central thesis, that the dynasty of Osrohene might have originated from a local aristocracy of

Arabian descent. In the concluding part of his paper Tubach points to the Iranian cultural influence at the court of Edessa (the hierarchy of administrative posts, lifestyle, the Iranian royal and aristocratic attire). This adds an indispensable component to his Aramaic, Arabic, and Greek analyses. Tubach pictures the cross-currents of culture on the Upper Euphrates and Tigris, a meeting-place for the Arabian, Aramaic, Greek and Iranian cultures, which resulted in fascinating, eclectic multicultural patterns.

Alain Desreumaux opens a collection of studies in this volume characterized by a predominantly literary and philological content. In his paper *La figure du roi Abgar d'Édesse* (pp. 31-45) he focuses on two important issues: the oldest manuscript tradition of the *Doctrina Addaei* and its alleged anti-Manichean apologetic component *qui ne se lit pas explicitement à la première lecture* (p. 33). The first part of the paper which discusses the interdependences between the Petersburg manuscript (L) and the two British Museum copies (B, D) makes up an excellent piece of Syriac scholarship. His conclusions which say that B seems to simplify the *difficiliores* readings of L, and that D probably stems from a different literary tradition than the two other manuscripts, and that Protonike's story of the True Cross was an independent component of D, probably added to the narrative at a later stage of the text's development, all sound novel (p.33). They also pose new intriguing questions about the chronology and literary history of the early Syriac literature, questions which have so far remained unanswered. In his textual interpretations Desreumaux follows H.J.W. Drijvers who argued that the Manichean controversy played a central role in the development of the early Syriac literature (*Cults and Beliefs at Edessa*, 1980). Desreumaux is inclined to believe that the manuscript version of the *Doctrina Addaei* (L, B, D) is a blend of an earlier simple, basic version, which was preserved by Eusebius of Caesarea. This tradition was allegedly strongly influenced by the doctrinal conflict with the Manicheans. I do not think that the cited passages can be interpreted specifically as anti-Manichean. The concepts of the immortal soul, of Salvation through Christ's Crucifixion, of Christ's Resurrection and the future resurrection of the dead point to the essence of Christian teaching. They can be certainly used for the needs of the apologetic literature as an anti-Manichean argument, but they can also be employed as anti-pagan in a general Semitic or Greek sense as well. However, their sense remains universal, essential for Christianity. Christ, the Good Physician, Christ the Healer, who cures man of all his illnesses, has been present in the earliest Christian art and also in the Western Christian art since its beginnings. The Cycle of Miracles is attested by the earliest painting galleries in the Roman catacombs. Hannan's icon of Christ from the *Doctrina Addaei* refers rather to the discussions on the veneration of images. They had already started in early Christianity long before Mani (Tertullian's *de idololatria*, Minucius Felix' *Octavius*). Both Christ the Healer in the Christian iconography (cf. Eusebius' Christ and the Haemorrhoids in Panyas; T. Matthews, *Clash of the Gods*, 1993)

and the discussion on icons preceded Mani. Similarly, the idea of Christ the King is embedded in the New Testament tradition: the Messianic King, the Son of David, Pilate's King of the Jews, St. Paul's Eternal King of the Universe, the Kingdom of God in John the Baptist's teaching, the King and Judge and the future Kingdom in St. John's *Revelations* etc. I do not share the author's feeling that all those ideas can be interpreted as specifically anti-Manichean. They are essential for Christianity. I certainly agree with Desreumaux that the teaching of Mani became a real challenge to the missionary work of the early Church in the Levant as well as in the Latin West in the 4th and 5th century, as impressively documented by the writings of St. Augustine.


Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan's paper *Zur Rezeption der Abgar-Legende in Armenien* (pp. 69-74) refers to three early Armenian versions of the Abgar Legend: one of them preserved in the framework of Moses of Choren's *History of Armenia*, and two others in the Armenian hagiographic lore. Drost-Abgarjan points to a number of minor changes in the Armenian Abgar Legend in comparison with the *Doctrina Addaei*'s original Syriac version. He finds one change of importance: in the Armenian literary lore Abgar Ukkama became the Armenian King Abgar Aršan, the son of an Arsacid king. Drost-Abgarjan's short and concise paper makes an important contribution which has added to the value of the conference volume. We are inclined to focus on the Graeco-Latin and Syriac-Aramaic studies and treat the Armenian tradition as secondary, which is certainly not correct, and particularly incorrect in relation to Upper Mesopotamia. Incidentally, this author dates Moses of Choren's *History* to the 5th century (p.70) (*LACL* p. 509 in the 8/9th century; Altaner, Stuiber, *Patrologia*, p.471, c. 820; *LThK* 7, 7th-9th century).

In the next paper of the volume, *Šarbēl, Göttin von Arbela – Šarbēl, alias Tūṭāēl, Märtyrer in Edessa: Religions- und überlieferungsgeschichtliche Probleme*, which focuses on philological and historical religious matters, Lutz Greisiger discusses the Eastern and Western Christian hagiographic tradition of Šarbel and Tuṭael, the Edessan martyrs, or a martyr executed under Trajan (pp. 75-96). His expertise in the Western and Oriental calendars, martyria, menaia and menologia of the Late Antiquity and Middle Ages and his proficiency in Syriac, Akkadian, Arabic and Greek have allowed him to collect, compare and analyse dispersed aspects of linguistics and literary, religious and cultural history, and draw interesting conclusions on the origins and development of the Šarbel/Tuṭael cult in the Eastern and Western Mediterranean. Greisiger emphasises that the name Šarbel did not come from Edessa, but from Arbela of Adiabene, the place of worship of the ancient Babylonian goddess Ishtar of Arbela (Istarbel? Šarbel?). He manages to identify an earlier pre-Edessan tradition in the Persian *Martyrium of Aitilaha*. He suspects that this tradition might have stood at the roots of the Edessan *Acta Šarbel* (pp.94f.). In an Armenian *Synaxarion*, dated c.1240, he discovers, that Sarbil's Christian name was Towtayel (p. 92). In the light of

Greisiger's research it seems that an earlier Edessan Tuṭael tradition blended with a later Šarbel tradition which originated in Adiabene and appeared as one legend in the West (p. 95). His learned analyses are appended with reflections on the impact exerted by Syrian intellectuals in Southern Italy and Sicily, which was temporarily under the Byzantine rule and cultural influence (e.g. p. 95). They left the Orient for the West in the time of the Persian-Byzantine wars and the subsequent Arab invasion.

Thomas Koonammakkal presents an interesting literary essay on Ephraim's verse *Ephrem On the Icon of Nature*, conspicuous for its fresh inventiveness, illuminating theological ideas and sensitiveness to the beauty of the natural world (pp. 97-104). 'The iconic or sacramental character of Nature is crucial in the revelation of divine realities' (p.101), 'Christ plays his music of revelation on three harps, namely, nature, the Old and New Testaments' (p. 103), comments Koonammakkal on passages cited from Ephraim's poems. The idea of the unity of Nature, Scripture and Revelation is a recurrent motif in Koonammakkal's essay. He also emphasises that Ephraim was critical of the Gnostics, the followers of Marcion, Bardaisan and Mani, who held that matter, and the visible world are evil by nature: 'It is easy to understand how mankind has come to hate creation; having become hateful themselves, they hold creation to be hateful...' (*de Paradiso* 15, 11). It was a pleasure to read and contemplate Koonammakkal's essay on the poetry of St. Ephraim the Syrian.

Ovidiu Ionut Ioan directs his attention to the correspondence of Išo'yahb III, the Patriarch of the Eastern Syrian Church (580-669) and his contemporary Sahdona, in the next paper dominated by philological problems, *Die Rolle Edessas in der christologischen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Katholikos-Patriarchen Išo'yahb und Sāhdōnā* (pp.105-115). He defends the authenticity of Išo'yahb's *Letter 22* on good grounds (cf. Baumstark, *Geschichte* p.197); its authenticity was once argued by J.M. Fiey (*OCP* 35, 1968). Fiey attributed the letter's authorship to the theologian Sahdona. This is a model paper, a model apology as regards philological methods. Ioan shows that the letter's rhetorical composition, epistolographic formulae, and parallel linguistic and stylistic components which we also meet in Išo'yahb's other letters speak for the letter's authenticity. A summary of Ioan's paper might have been appended to Wolfgang Speyer's discussions on authorship in his invaluable *Literarische Fälschung im Altertum*. In his analysis Ioan also employs rhetorical, psychological and extratextual elements (e.g. on the *Ep.22* 'vordergündig diplomatisch und hintergründig psychologisch geschickt, Menschen zu motivieren und zu führen' p. 111). I was very interested to follow Ioan's passages on the Edessan *mandilion*, which was referred to in the Patriarch's *Epistle 22* (pp.107f.). The passage corroborates the *mandilion's* worship in Urfa in the mid-7th century. Ioan's quotation of the original Syriac Estrangelo text with some of the central words in the discussion vocalised adds to the value and not least to the pleasure of reading of his paper.

Andrew Palmer's *The Logos of the Mandylion: Folktale or Sacred Narrative? A New Edition of the Acts of Thaddaeus*, and commentary sets a difficult task for me and poses an insoluble problem. Palmer's text occupies nearly one third of the conference volume (pp.117-207!). Consequently it deserves a separate book edition and a separate review. I think such a review would exceed the limits of the present reviewer's job in this context. Consequently I am going to limit myself to comments on a few selected problems. I am grateful to the editor for the opportunity to read the integral Greek version of the *Acta Thaddaei*. However, I would prefer to have the *apparatus criticus* directly under the Greek text, which is an old and good tradition of Greek and Latin text editions. Palmer appended the *apparatus criticus* at the end of the Greek text, which makes the reading difficult and inefficient. Palmer's 'investigation' into the historical identity of the missionaries who founded Edessan Christianity is worth reading (p.187). The confusion of the hagiographic tradition of St. Thomas the Apostle, St. Addai/St. Thaddaeus the Apostle is perplexing. Palmer shows clearly enough how little we actually know about them. We do not even exactly know where they were born (Panyas? Edessa?), and where they died (Beirut, Dyarbakir?). A stanza cited by Palmer from the Edessan *Sugitho* which refers to the *acheiropoietos* image worshipped in the Hagia Sophia Church cannot be translated as rendered by Palmer (p.131f.). It is true that the verse is extremely difficult. It is a *crux interpretum*, however, I think that Palmer read as he wanted to read it. The verse does not say of 'the marble imprinted with the image' (cf. T. Polański, *Christian Art in Oriental Literatures*, pp.139ff.; I would also recommend H. Goussen, *Muséon* 25, 1925, and A. Dupont-Sommer, *CA* 2, 1947). Palmer's reading of  'fittingly', that is a simple adverbial meaning, Goussen's 'passend', as if it consisted of lahmo (bread) surrounded by mit (dead) is unacceptable. Palmer writes about the *acheiropoietoi* images as if the early Syrian Christianity had already had a developed theology of icons. It had not. The theology of icons did not develop until the early second half of the 7th century with the rise of the Incarnation argument (G. Ostrogorsky, *Studien*, 1929). Palmer argues that the Greek *Acta Thaddaei* were composed in the early 620s for the immediate need of Heraclius' war propaganda (p. 190f., 206). However, he must recognize, that 'dates in the early 7th and early 8th century have been proposed as alternatives' (p. 154). Palmer aptly observes: 'This (sc. the story of the Camulia icon) shows how an object...may be made to vanish by the caprice of historians' (p. 141). Here he is perfectly right (cf. 'silence, so often deceptive of the sources' p. 153, n.114). And not only by the caprice of historians, also by incidental or premeditated destruction, by lack of any interest on the part of contemporaries, and by want of historians to make a record.

We also have a group of papers which focus chiefly on the archaeological material: artworks, mainly funeral reliefs and mosaics, weaponry and inscriptions. In her interesting paper *My Lord with His Dogs. Continuity and Change in*

the Cult of Nergal in Parthian Mesopotamia Lucinda Dirvan discusses the iconography of Nergal, a local deity of the old Babylonian origin Nergal, who was worshipped in the rich caravan city of Hatra in the Parthian period (pp. 47-74). Dirvan argues, and in all likelihood she is right, that some monuments from Hatra and related Aramaic inscriptions refer to the local god Nergal Kalba (Dahashpata) Heracles, who was represented either in an Oriental gown or as the Greek Heracles. This practice of representation was widespread in the Orient of the Arsacid period as documented e.g. by the reliefs of Heracles/Varatragna and Apollo/Mitra from Kommagene, and the impressive figurine of Astarte shown as a Praxitelean Aphrodite in the ancient collection of the Israeli Museum in Jerusalem. It is interesting to notice that Nergal's Hatran iconography shows his cult as a ramification of the ancient Anatolian and Levantine cult of Atargatis of Hierapolis/Mabbug, which can be illustrated by such details as the Roman-styled standard, and the goddess seated on the throne supported by lions, on the well-known Hatran relief of Nergal from the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (Dirvan cites J. Lightfoot's exhaustive and expert commentary on *The Syrian Goddess*, n.30, p. 55). The Iranian origin of Nergal's guard dogs (pp. 66ff.) does not contradict a parallel assimilation with Heracles and the three-headed dog of Kerberos. The idiosyncratic art of Kommagene in the 1st century BC with its symptomatic blend of Greek, Iranian and Aramaic religious ideas and art forms can be illustrative of a similar phenomenon in the Hatran art and religion. Dirvan's paper shows modern archaeology at work. Modern archaeologists have rediscovered and saved a number of great centres of civilisation from complete or almost complete oblivion. Every Classical student knows Septimius Severus' reliefs from his triumphal arch on the Forum Romanum, which pictures the siege of Hatra. He would also be able to recall a few related passages from Cassius Dio or Herodianus. Until recently that has been just about all there is. The case of Hatra with its impressive gallery of artworks and now about 500 inscriptions calls to mind the rediscovered world of Azitawada's Karatepe with its extensive Phoenician-Luvite inscription and imposing fortifications, and the *hierothesia* of Arsameia on Nymphaios and Nemrud Dagh in Kommagene with their Greek inscriptions, which tell us the story of the Greek-Iranian Dynasty hardly mentioned by the Graeco-Roman historiography. However, the modern history of Hatra is also and unfortunately reminiscent of the art gallery of Tell Halaf/Guzana, which was transported to Berlin before the Second World War, and subsequently destroyed during an air bombardment in 1945.

Jutta Rumscheid enriches the archaeological collection of papers with her review of Edessan funeral mosaics in *Familienbilder im Haus der Ewigkeit. Zu Grabmosaikern aus Edessa* (pp. 255-265). This concise and good paper gave me the opportunity to learn more about a group of well-known Edessan mosaics collected together with some new findings, all of them presented in their original architectural and topographic context. The paper offers a clear classification of

basic compositional arrangements, and a precise and informative description of the clothing portrayed on the Edessan mosaics. Rumscheid aptly refers to the collection of breath-taking large-scale mosaics from Zeugma/Belkis (n.2, p. 255), which together with the mosaics rediscovered in Antakya and Defne give us an idea of what we have irreparably lost in Edessa. I think the translations of the funeral inscriptions should have been appended with their Estrangelo printed transcriptions. The inscriptions can be read on the two good photos, but unfortunately not on the other two. It would have been helpful to the reader if he could read them in the printed Estrangelo script and next read them on the photos. I am personally grateful to this author for the information on the mosaics' whereabouts (*in situ*, Istanbul, the Urfa Museum).

Sylvia Winkelmann in her interesting study of weaponry in the Parthian East, *Partherzeitliche Waffenträger in Edessa und Umgebung* (pp. 313-350) follows the archaeological report convention. Her report appended with numerous drawings is exact and exhaustive, as for example her description of Pognon's Cave in Sumatar Harabesi. Her description and drawings of gradually vanishing reliefs and archaeological sites in Edessa have a documentary value. An impressive deep relief of a nobleman in Parthian dress disappeared from the site in Edessa as recently as in the 1970s (Sumatar Harabesi). Its whereabouts remain unknown. In fact a visitor to the Edessa Museum can easily conclude that the museum keeps only incidental findings, modest remnants of once gorgeous integral archaeological material. Winkelmann's paper can be used as a guide for a visitor who would personally like to see something of the Edessan antiquities. It also shows how little is left of that once great town of the Roman and early Byzantine Christian East, Urfa, the Pearl of the Orient. The same can be said of some other prominent towns of the Christian Orient, once rich in cultural heritage, such as Antioch on the Orontes, Gaza, Kyros, Tarsos, Istanbul and Jerusalem, where the feeling of irresistible and ultimate disaster overwhelms the mind of a solitary wanderer. Any effort to restore something of a deplorably reduced material heritage of once so rich a city is worth undertaking. Winkelmann's paper has contributed to studies on the reconstruction of still only roughly known weaponry, military strategies and schools of the martial arts in Arsacid Iran and the surrounding lands. In this context I would like to refer to a thorough, documentary and expert doctoral dissertation submitted by Robert Wójcikowski, *Kawaleria perska w okresie wczesnosasanidzkim. Aspekty militarne i społeczne* (Persian Cavalry in the Early Sasanid Period. Military and Social Aspects) (the class of Professor Marek Olbrycht, University of Rzeszów, Poland, 2013; T. Polański was commissioned to review Wójcikowski's dissertation). Winkelmann suspects, and she is in all likelihood right, that the long sword of an Edessan nobleman, which goes from his breast down to his feet, may be like the ones used by Central Asian cavalrymen (p. 333; cf. p. 349). I think we have becoming more aware of the exchange between the Asian warfare and Iran. Winkelmann

has demonstrated the predilection for Central Asian weaponry (long cavalry swords, different types of daggers) and Iranian fashion in dress characterising the nobility of Edessa, Palmyra and Hatra.

This is a great volume of the Edessan studies. Travellers, academics and readers of Segal's old classic *Edessa. The Blessed City* have received an important book, which presents up-to-date knowledge and shows the achievements of modern Edessan scholarship. It was a difficult task for this reviewer to grasp such different and demanding papers on such different subjects, which spanned from theology and philosophy, through philology, linguistics, text editions, manuscript tradition, and literary critique, to ethnic history, history of religion, archaeology, and art history. I have conducted and concluded my job with satisfaction. My congratulations to the lecturers at the Conference and the editors of the volume. Well done!

Tomasz Polański

Bibliographical Notes

Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé, Ziony Zevit (eds). *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Winona Lake 2012. Eisenbrauns. XVIII + 525 pp. ISBN 978-1-57506-253-2. *Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic Languages* Vol. 8.

The volume contains papers directly or indirectly responding critically to the rather extravagant hypothesis presented by I. Young and R. Rezetko with M. Ehrens-vård in ‘Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts’ (=LDBT), vol. 1-2, London 2008, Equinox, claiming that linguistic dating is either impossible or unreliable and that Early Biblical Hebrew and Late Biblical Hebrew allegedly represent only coexisting styles of literary Hebrew throughout the biblical period. The authors of the papers included in the volume rather politely acknowledge some positive effects of the stirrup provoked by LDBT but quite unanimously and with good reasons maintain that reconstructing history of Biblical Hebrew and linguistic (in my opinion linguistic and philological!) dating of the Biblical text is both feasible and necessary.

Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé has written an ‘Introduction’ entitled “Diachrony in Hebrew: Linguistic Perspectives on Change and Variation” (pp.3-15). She provides a solid panorama of recent developments in diachronic linguistics and discusses the methods and results of the particular papers included in the volume.

B. Elan Dresher with ‘Methodological Issues in the Dating of Linguistic forms’ Considerations from the Perspective of Contemporary Linguistic Theory’ (pp. 19-38) in a polemic with LDBT argues very well for rationality of a diachronic analysis and linguistic dating of texts based on the example of the chronology of *mamlākā* and *malkūt*.

Talmy Givón in ‘Biblical Hebrew as a Diachronic Continuum’ (pp. 39-59) provides a brilliant discussion of change of word order, tense-aspect, attrition of lexemes into bound morphemes and the transfer of morphosyntactic patterns from relative clauses to verbal complements as parameters for diachronic change.

Jacobus A. Naudé in one of the best papers in the volume entitled ‘Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew and a Theory of Language Change’ (pp. 61-81)

applies to Biblical Hebrew and develops new theories of language change and diffusion.

John A. Cook in ‘Detecting Development in Biblical Hebrew Using Diachronic Typology’ (pp. 83-95) opposing LDBT analyses the development of aspect to tense and the decline of stative adjectives and thus shows that chronology of Biblical Hebrew can be reconstructed.

Robert D. Holmstedt in ‘Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew’ (pp. 97-124) provides a new discussion of methods of dating Biblical texts and a well founded refutation of the claims of LDBT.

Dean Forbes, Francis I. Andersen in ‘Dwelling on Spelling’ go back to their 1986 and 1992 books (pp. 127-145) try to demonstrate how statistical and distributional analysis of *plene* and defective spelling can be used for dating texts.

Yigal Bloch in ‘The Third-Person Masculine Plural Suffixed Pronoun *-mw* and Its Implications for the Dating of Biblical Hebrew Poetry’ (pp. 147-170) concludes that the use of *-mw* continued at least until the mid-eighth century B.C.E and the use of short prefixed forms of verbs to express complete situations in the past without *w-* continued at least until the sixth century B.C.E. In my opinion it would be important to try to detect when these features acquired a status of stylistic variants and of archaisms.

Steven E. Fassberg in ‘The Kethiv/Qere *hw*’. Diachrony, and Dialectology’ (pp. 171-180) assumes that the 3rd fem. sing written as *hw*’ in the Pentateuch is evidence for an early dialectal form (*hīw) that later disappeared in BH. In my opinion, the problem is that no such a form is known in other Semitic languages and the evidence of Akkadian oblique case forms adduced by Tropper in 2001 is not decisive at all.

Martin Ehrensverd in ‘Discerning Diachronic Change in the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System’ (pp. 181-192) discusses the appearance of the 2nd masc. sing. with simple *Waw*, i.e. *wetiqtol* in Early and Late Biblical Hebrew, the use of Lamed + Infinitive Construct, Passive Infinitive Construct with Prepositive Subject and Predicative Infinitive Absolute as indicators of language change.

Tania Notarius in ‘The Archaic System of Verbal Tenses in ‘Archaic’ Biblical Poetry’ (pp. 193-207) concentrates on the imperfective *yqtl* used as a present progressive tense in conversation and on the use of the suffix conjugation *qtl* which in narrative is limited to indicate anterior perfect in relative clauses.

Elitzur A. Bar-Asher Siegal in ‘Diachronic Syntactic Studies in Hebrew Pronominal Reciprocal Constructions’ (pp. 209-244) presents the development of reciprocals from Biblical to Mishnaic Hebrew.

Na’ama Pat-El in ‘Syntactic Aramaisms as a Tool for the Internal Chronology’ (pp. 245-263) attributes the marginalization of the use of *nota accusativi* with suffixed pronouns and the introduction of a causal conjunction *b-dyl d-* ‘because’ to the syntactic influence of Aramaic. In my opinion the use

of the *nota* with suffixed pronouns was typical of emphatic, elevated style and Aramaic influence could be only another factor influencing its marginalization in less elevated not to mention 'natural' style.

Avi Hurvitz in "The 'Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts' : Comments on Methodological Guidelines and Philological Procedures" (pp. 265-279) examines the history of 'iggeret 'letter, epistle, edict' as well as of *midraš* and *daraš* to show the method of philological and linguistic dating.

Jan Joosten in 'The Evolution of Literary Hebrew in Biblical Times: The Evidence of Pseudo-Classicism' (pp. 281-292) shows that "The presence of pseudoclassicisms in the Hebrew literature of the Second Temple period strongly favors the chronological approach developed by Wilhelm Gesenius and continued in our times by Avi Hurvitz and others" (p. 290).

Shalom M. Paul's 'Signs of Late Biblical Hebrew in Isaiah 40-66' (pp. 293-299) is a short but detailed linguistic analysis of the text which is most representative for the period.

Frank H. Polak in 'Language Variation, Discourse Typology, and the Sociocultural Background of Biblical Narrative' (pp. 301-338) analyses both purely linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of different styles in biblical narrative prose using a wealth of data.

Gary A. Rendsburg in 'Northern Hebrew through Time: From the Song of Deborah to the Mishnah' (pp. 339-359) provides a long history of a number of grammatical features.

Chaim Cohen in 'Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew Lexicography and Its Ramifications for Textual Analysis' (pp. 361-375) discusses textual history of *nota accusativi* and of the *-ūt* suffix for abstract nouns.

Michael Sokoloff has given us an 'Outline of Aramaic Diachrony' (pp. 379-405) which is a very useful synthesis of the evolution of the Aramaic languages and dialects through the first millennium A.D.

Joseph Lam and Denis Pardee in 'Diachrony in Ugaritic' (pp. 407-431) deal with the difficult problem of history of the language known from texts recorded during a relatively short period. Some archaisms must have been used in poetic texts.

N.J.C. Kouwenberg in 'Diachrony in Akkadian and the Dating of Literary Texts' (pp. 433-451) presents a short but very concrete history of Akkadian and concludes that nonliterary texts show clear dialect differences and are easy to date but the literary 'dialect' of Standard Babylonian, a learned language, shows little internal evolution over time and literary texts cannot be dated on the basis of linguistic criteria. I should add A. George's 'Babylonian and Assyrian: a History of Akkadian', in J. N. Postgate (ed.) 'Languages of Iraq', pp. 31-71. 2007. Oxbow.

Ziony Zevit in 'Not-So-Random Thoughts Concerning Linguistic Dating and Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew' (455-489) is a very serious and deep review-

article of LDBT. The author rejects the idea that a linguistic history of Hebrew from the iron Age through the Persian period cannot be recovered but he emphasizes several positive results the LDBT volume.

This is a valuable collection of papers. One thing is certainly clear for the authors involved in the publication but could be better highlighted: 1. there can be no good linguistics without good philology and *vice versa*; 2. only a massive and joined application of philology (including text criticism and literary studies), linguistics and history can provide serious relative (rarely absolute!) chronology and a new really historical grammar which is a desideratum.

Andrzej Zaborski

Mohammed Sawaie, Fundamentals of Arabic Grammar. Padstow 2014. Routledge. xxvi + 457 pp. ISBN: 978-0415-71003-9.

The book is a new and rather detailed traditional grammar of Modern Literary/Standard Arabic and “it is intended for a special audience: students learning Arabic as a foreign language at university level. One of its major goals is to present the fundamentals of Arabic grammar to those in the process of acquiring the language in an easy-to-read format” (p. xxii). In the author’s opinion it is also “not intended to replace instructional textbooks” but rather “to supplement and to reinforce them; to function as a resource book, a reference tool providing a holistic presentation of grammar” and allegedly it “is well suited for an independent grammar course at university level” (p. xxiii). It should be emphasized that practice sheets, exercises and verb tables are available for free download at <http://www.routledge.com/books/details/9780415710046/>. The idea of a pedagogical reference grammar of Modern Literary/Standard Arabic is very sound but there have been rather serious problems with the execution of the ambitious plan. In short: the book is good for people who already know basic Arabic but it is, in my opinion far too difficult for learners, even for advanced students. Of course we have to remember that Arabic is not an easy language at all but exactly for this reason any pedagogical grammar must be especially easy and well balanced. The main problem with this grammar is that the presentation and explanations are very logical but extremely condensed and thus not very clear for students at all. Practically almost every sentence is a definition and this definition depends on other definitions appearing elsewhere with cross references which do not help much because they do not protect the beginner from being constantly bombarded with both generalizations and details. The author himself warns that the first (!) chapter on verbs (p. 1-14) “is too detailed to present to a beginning-

level class in one sitting”. As a matter of fact the dose of grammatical rules in this opening chapter (many basic facts that should be given first, e.g. on the use of ‘tenses’ appear much later on pp. 111-250) could be rather killing, i.e. it could scare even very motivated students. I have to emphasize that the arrangement is neither pedagogical (there is a very limited gradation of difficulties) nor that of a systematic descriptive grammar, not to mention minor flaws. A student looking both for a ‘holistic’ vision and for a precise information on a precise point should dare turning to standard grammars, i.e. mainly Elsaid Badawi, M. Carter, A. Gully ‘Modern Written Arabic – a Comprehensive Grammar’, London 2004, Routledge and to undeservedly neglected (not even mentioned on pp. 446-447) grammar by R. Buckley ‘Modern Literary Arabic – a Reference Grammar’, Beirut 2007, Librairie du Liban, not to mention textbooks like K. Ryding’s ‘Reference Grammar of Modern Standard Arabic’, Cambridge UP 2005 or even, as far as really Classical Arabic is concerned, to W. Fischer’s ‘Grammar of Classical Arabic’, 3rd ed., 2001, Yale University Press, and even to Alan Jones ‘Arabic through the Qur’ān’, Cambridge 2006, The Islamic Texts Society. The standard grammars may be too bulky for beginners who must cleverly select the basic things but they provide clear and systematic presentation of facts. To learn to read, write and speak Modern Literary Arabic good practical textbooks are needed and they are available. Learning grammar as such is another thing and the book under review will not be very helpful.

Andrzej Zaborski

Pablo Sánchez. El árabe vernáculo de Marrakech – análisis lingüístico de un Corpus representativo. Zaragoza 2014. Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza. 492 pp. Estudios de Dialectología Árabe 8. ISBN 978-84-16028-31-3.

This is one of the most important publications not only dealing with the traditional variety of Arabic spoken in the historical center of the city of Marrakesh (rather neglected by Arabists!) but concerning Moroccan dialects in general. The author has worked in the city on several occasions between 2008 and 2011 using altogether twelve native informants. The book consists of a historical introduction, grammatical analysis of the corpus, of texts provided with translations and notes and finally there is an ample glossary of the corpus.

Andrzej Zaborski

Takamitsu Muraoka. Classical Syriac for Hebraists. Second, revised edition. Wiesbaden 2013. Harrassowitz Verlag. XXI + 161 pp. ISBN 978-3-447-10046-5.

This is not a reprint but a really new, i.e. corrected and slightly revised edition of the book published in 1987. The main novelty is that the Estrangela script used in the first edition has been largely replaced by the Jacobite Serto.

As in the first edition, there is a part on orthography and phonology, a part on morphology, then on morphosyntax and syntax where comments and references to scholarly literature are especially rich and illuminating, and finally there are paradigms and a short ‘Chrestomathy’ (the first text, i.e. Gen. 39.7-23 transcribed) with ample comments and explanations and a short Syriac-English glossary.

The author mentions ‘rival’ textbooks for beginners by John F. Healey (*Leshono Suryoyo – First Studies in Syriac*, Piscataway 2005, Gorgias Press), Wheeler M. Thackston (*Introduction to Syriac*, Bethesda 1999, IBEX Publishers) and Massimo Pazzini (*Grammatica siriaca*, Gerusalemme 1999, Edizioni Terra Santa) but it would have been better to give full bibliographical descriptions and to mention also the very good reader by Martin Zammit entitled *‘Enbe men Karne Suryoyo – a Syriac Chrestomathy* (Piscataway 2006, Gorgias Press) which has very good annotations and two glossaries, and *The New Syriac Primer* by George A. Kiraz (Piscataway 2007, Gorgias Press, 3rd revised edition reprinted 2013) as well as Daniel M. Gurtner’s *Key to Exercises & English-Syriac Vocabulary* (Bethesda 2006, IBEX Publishers) which is a useful supplement to Thackston didactically remarkable ‘Introduction’. There should also be information on J.F. Coakley’s edition of *Robinson’s Paradigms and Exercises in Syriac Grammar*, 5th ed., Oxford University Press 2002; as well as on Pazzini’s *Lessico conordanzionale del Nuovo Testamento siriaco* (Gerusalemme 2004, Edizioni Terra Santa). All these books can be very useful not only for Hebraists but for Semitists in general ‘attacking’ Syriac. It is not true (see p. 1) that “only in the present work and the other one by the present author (his *Classical Syriac: a Basic Grammar with a Chrestomathy*, 2nd ed. Wiesbaden 2005, Harrassowitz Verlag) the chosen texts are annotated” since they actually are at least in Healey 2005 and in Zammit 2006.

There is no doubt that Professor Muraoka’s textbook remains one of the best introductions to Classical Syriac not only for Semitists.

Andrzej Zaborski

Henri Mercier. Textes berbères des Ait Izdeg (Moyen Atlas marocain) Textes originaux en fac-similé avec traductions. Traduit par Claude Béringué avec l'aide des formateurs de l'Association Amal à Midelt, édité par Harry Stroomer. Köln 2013. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. XII + 169 pp. Berber Studies Vol. 39. ISBN 978-3089645-939-8.

This is a facsimile edition of forty texts in a variety of Tamazight Berber spoken by Ait Izdeg in Morocco (Middle Atlas) published by Henri Mercier in his 'Vocabulaires et textes berbères des Aït Izdeg', pp. 451-512, Rabat 1937, René Céré. Now the texts have been translated and provided with some commentary. This is a valuable collection of ethnographic texts (with some forty photos!) which is now more accessible both to linguists and anthropologists. It is a pity that notes explaining linguistic and anthropological problems could not be more extensive.

Andrzej Zaborski

Luciano Rocchi, *I Repertori Lessicali Turco-Ottomani di Giovan Battista Montalbano (1630 ca.)*, EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste, Trieste 2014, 230 pp, ISBN 978-88-8303-546-3.

The so-called "transcription texts" are very important for all scholars dealing with various aspects of Ottoman Turkish, and especially so for those who research historical phonology and linguistics. Having been written by non-Ottoman Turkish speakers, mostly Europeans, these sources have an obvious advantage over the texts having been originally written in the Arabic script: they were written down in alphabets that could note all sounds of the Ottoman-Turkish language, especially the vowels. Since these works were often compiled as grammars and dictionaries, they record not only the pronunciation of Ottoman Turkish words but also their translation into European languages.

Of course, Turkologists aiming at synthesis based on such works do face some problems. One of them is the availability of the texts themselves. Since they were written between the 16th and the 19th centuries their few copies are presently being kept at various libraries and thus are not always easily accessible. Authors of the transcription texts were not native users of the Ottoman Turkish language, so they obviously used a specific spelling when transcribing the Ottoman words. Considering this, the significance of scholarly editions of the transcription texts is unquestionable.

Over the last few years Luciano Rocchi has published several books which are editions of the Ottoman Turkish transcription texts. The work presented here is the most recent publication in the series. The manuscript of Giovan Battista Montalbano's *Turcicae linguae per terminos latinus educta Syntaxis [...]* was written in Latin probably between 1625-1632. It consists of three main parts, namely: the grammar of the Ottoman Turkish, the Ottoman Turkish – Latin dictionary, and the collection of 144 proverbs that are alphabetically ordered and translated into Latin. The manuscript is kept at the National Library in Naples and until now, it has only been known to scholars from some articles about it written by Aldo Gallotta. Rocchi's work is the first edition of vocabulary recorded by Montalbano. Its main part – “Corpus lessicale turco” – is preceded by an introduction (pp. 7–12), a short description of Montalbano's graphemes (pp. 13–16), and some remarks on phonology/phonetics (pp. 17–24), morphology (pp. 24–28), and syntax (p. 28) of Ottoman Turkish recorded in Montalbano's work. Each entry in the vocabulary (pp. 43–215) begins with an Ottoman word in contemporary Turkish spelling. It is followed by Montalbano's original spelling, his Latin translation and the attestations in other Ottoman Turkish transcription texts, mainly Hieronymus Megiser's *Dictionarium Latino-Turcicum, Turco-Latinum* which served as a basis for Montalbano's grammar (cf. p. 10). However, Montalbano also referred to Meninski, Argenti, Ferraguto etc. Montalbano's words that differ from the literary Ottoman Turkish forms are listed in the last part of the book (pp. 291–230).

Marzanna Pomorska