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## SPEAKERS & ABSTRACTS



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## The terms of kinship in Safaitic inscriptions

The relationship system among the ancient north Arabian Nomads (safaites) as a nomadic tribal people (community) is clear in their inscriptions through the occurrence of numerous terms of kinship of the immediate and extended family as the words of father ('b), mother ('m), son (bn), daughter (bnt), brother ('ḥ), sister ('ḥt), grandfather ('m), paternal uncle (dd) maternal uncle (ḥl) and wife's father / brother, wife's kinsman (ḥtn) etc. This article aims to present a linguistic analysis of these terms in the light of the Semitic languages and also to study its grammatical forms and meanings according to the contexts.

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Pèsah-Pašāḥu: toward a philological and exegetical hypothesis

The biblical feast of *Pèsah* related to the verb *pāsaḥ* was in past times assimilated to the Akkadian *pašāḥu* which means “to appease”. Nowadays this etymology has been left aside for a lack of argument and because, besides the biblical etiology of *Pèsah* (see Exod 12:27), its etymology remains dubious. However literary Akkadian sources may enlighten the biblical text in a new light. It is therefore the object of this communication the review the semantic field of the verb *pašāḥu* as it appears in the *Enûma eliš*, to recall the widely accepted dependence of the biblical Priestly Writing from Genesis to Exodus (at least) on the *Enûma eliš* and bring forth a new argument for this dependence in the theological influence of *pašāḥu* on the biblical feast of *Pèsah*.

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## Ebraico biblico *bāmâ* e il sostrato linguistico egeo-cananaico

Nonostante la ricchissima bibliografia a proposito di ebraico *bāmâ*, che ricorre un centinaio di volte nel testo masoretico, questo termine sfugge a una precisa definizione sia sul piano del significante che su quello del significato. L'indagine fonetica indirizza gli studi più recenti a individuare in esso la confluenza di almeno due diversi lessemi, ma non c'è concordanza sulla loro reale natura.

Nel suo impiego cultuale, caratteristico del testo biblico, la tradizionale interpretazione di 'luogo alto di culto' appare inadeguata per molte ricorrenze, mentre un più appropriato significato di altare, naturale o costruito, viene a sovrapporsi alla specifica denominazione *mizbēah*.

Un'interpretazione di fondo che rimandi alle concezioni di asse ombelicale della terra, tale da mettere in diretta comunicazione terra e cielo, anche attraverso olocausti e offerte d'incenso, renderebbe questo lessema affine e sostitutivo del quasi *apax ṭabbûr* "ombelico (della terra)" di *Giud.* 9:37 ed *Ez.* 38:12. Questo termine è stato da me confrontato con la base *dabur-* di greco *d/labúrinthos* e inserito in un novero di confronti greco-ebraici di connessi termini cultuali la cui eco rimanderebbe a una specifica ritualità, incentrata sulla fertilità, d'eredità neolitica. Ciò giustificerebbe una ripresa su basi più ampie rispetto a una considerazione strettamente linguistica del confronto più volte avanzato fra ebraico *bāmâ* e greco *bōmós*.

Lucia AVALLONE

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Neither fuṣḥā nor ‘āmmiyya: how to reach a  
simplified Arabic language writing for  
theatre.

Linguistic devices in Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm’s  
theory and practice of The Third Language.

In search of a language fit to the theatre Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, the greatest Egyptian playwright, brings a significant theoretical and practical contribution to the definition of what he calls The Third Language (*al-luġa aṭ-ṭālīṭa*), a new variety that could solve the problem of performing on the stage a text correct from a normative linguistic perspective and comprehensible to the whole audience. A drama written in this language seems vernacular but can also be read or acted according to the norms of standard Arabic. Through three of his works the dramatist develops a linguistic theory and puts into practice its rules, starting from *aṣ-Ṣafqa* (1956), an example of how a text in Arabic can be neither vernacular nor standard, or can seem either vernacular or standard, continuing with *Ta’ām li-kull fam* (1963), written in standard Arabic but with an afterword in which al-Ḥakīm reflects on the need to search for The Third Language, and finally reaching a simplified form of standard Arabic called *al-luġa al-‘arabiyya al-mubassaṭa* in *al-Warṭa* (1966). In carrying out these experiments Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm shapes a new model of Arabic and affirms his commitment to a linguistic renewal attainable by the rapprochement between varieties, a proposal of reform not yet fulfilled.

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## Gender in Hausa proverbs

Proverbs are an integral part of Hausa culture, passed on from generation to generation for centuries, they are still in wide use today and are very much part of everyday speech.

Pre-Islamic Hausa women were largely dedicated to storytelling activities. It was their domain. Every night, within the confines of their homes, or under the dark sky, they re-told age-old stories. They encapsulated the people's history and philosophy of life. This was more so because the people could not read and write. Their history and beliefs were stored and coded in some special people's mental capacities. They are then transmitted orally within various literary genres, proverbs inclusive.

The cultural heritage, ethics, mores, beliefs, traditions and wisdom of the Hausa are all embedded in their proverbs. The attainment of Islam as a state religion did not in any significant way diminish the status of proverbs in Hausaland. Islam only changed the general animistic belief system found in proverbs by shifting the focus to Allah. The laws governing inter-personal relationships as found in proverbs remained the same. Islam confirmed, to a large extent, the virtues of equity and fairness needed in one's dealings with others, as taught in Hausa proverbs. Islam broadened the horizons of Hausa proverbs by making use of them as titles of books, newspaper headings and articles, and in works of fiction. The highly moralistic works of fiction by Muslim authors, writers, and poets relied heavily on the adoption of proverbs for easier transmission.

Hausa gender proverbs, though relatively few in number compared to those of the Yoruba and Igbo, reflect the hierarchical position of women, and the attitudes and beliefs that shape their existence. The paper will examine a few some proverbs on gender showing the position of women in the Hausa society.

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Ethnorêma

## Aspects of Saho dialectology

Saho is an East Cushitic language spoken by approximately 225,000 people. Most of them live in central and eastern Eritrea; ca. 30.000 live across the Ethiopian border in north-eastern Tigray. A sizable diaspora now lives also in Sudan and several other Arab countries, in Europe and in North America. The language closely resembles °Afar, that is its eastern neighbour language. There are however some important isoglosses that separate the two, such as the 2.nd plural subject pronoun: Saho *atin* vs. °Afar *isin*. Thanks in particular to the surveys performed by the Eritrean Ministry of Education (cf. Ibrahim Mohammed 1997), to work by Didier Morin (e.g., Morin 1994 and 1995), and to fieldwork done on several occasions by the two authors of this presentation both in Eritrea and, more recently, in the Saho-speaking area of Tigray, it is now possible to provide several other details about the complex set of phonological, grammatical and lexical isoglosses that characterise the many varieties of Saho that are spoken in the different areas inhabited by its speakers in the northern Horn of Africa.

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The Biblical Hebrew wayyiqtol and the  
Evidence of the Amarna letters from Canaan

In spite of recent attempts to define the meaning of the Biblical Hebrew *wayyiqtol* as non-Preterite, in light of the constant use of this form in past narratives, it must be concluded that this is an archaic form which contains the short prefix conjugation, the Semitic perfective form *par excellence*. Its archaic character transpires in the limited pattern of syntactic distribution and the vocalization of the conjunction as *wa*. It is uncertain when the *yaqtul* form which stands at the origin of *wayyiqtol* stopped to be freely used and when the *wayyiqtol* form began to be used for historical narratives. The Amarna letters from Canaan shed some light on these questions. Their evidence is, however, in part over-interpreted and in part overlooked. My contribution will address the nature and use of the evidence from Amarna letters for linguistic investigation. It will be argued that the Amarna letters attest to a scribal interlanguage which contains cases of transfer of linguistic usages from the native language of the scribes. The use of the Akkadian *iprus* for past events in the Amarna letters constitutes the case of the successful acquisition of a feature of the target language and also testifies to the active use of a corresponding form *yaqtul* in the native language of the scribe because the verbal system of the letters shows a systemic transfer of the Canaanite verbal system. Moreover, the prevailing use of *yaqtul* preceded by the conjunction *u* in the beginning of a clause in several passages which have the tone of a historical narrative is most easily explained as transfer of a similar usage from the native language of the scribes. Consequently, it can be argued that a form corresponding to Biblical Hebrew *wayyiqtol* functioned as the narrative past in Canaanite languages already in the Late Bronze Age. My contribution will discuss several passages of the Amarna letters which contain this overlooked usage.



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## The Language of emotions in Chadic: a research framework

Emotions have been neglected in linguistics and language studies at least until the '80, when works such as 'Metaphors We Live By' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and 'Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things' (Lakoff 1987) broadened the cognitive approach in linguistics, giving a strong impulse to investigate the metaphorical event as a cognitive structure characterised by a culture-dependent output (e.g. the conceptual metaphors). The interest for the relationship between metaphor and emotion, and subsequently for the emotional encoding *tout court*, gained ground over the years: 'Emotions across Languages and Cultures' (Wierzbicka 1999), 'Metaphor and Emotion' (Kövecses 2003), 'Emotion Categories across Languages' (Boster 2005), 'Codes and Rituals of Emotions in Asian and African Cultures' (Pawlak ed., 2009), 'Encoding Emotions in African Languages' (Batic, ed., 2011), and 'Le langage de l'émotion' (Tersis and Boyeldieu, eds., forthcoming) are examples of this growing interest.

The paper addresses the issue of the language of emotion under the perspective of language documentation (and description) across the Chadic family. Previous research has shown that emotional encoding is by far the richest in terms of lexical inventory and imaginative strategies, that is, of strategies making use of metaphors, metonymy, image-schema, and symbolic conceptualisation. This richness, however, is often by-passed, both for theoretical and methodological reasons, by the researchers working in the area. In this paper, I will present an emotion-oriented working framework to document and describe under-described languages as well as the main challenges in using such a framework in the Chadic area.

Anna BELOVA

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## La racine arabe et la morphologie arabe

La racine à trois consonnes ( -CVCC-/-CVCVC-) est une propriété marquante de la structure grammaticale sémitique. Cette propriété trouve son incarnation la plus évidente dans la langue arabe.

Tous les modèles apophoniques de formation des mots (modèles de la flexion et de la dérivation, surtout – internes) s'accordent avec la "triade" consonantique radicale. Les racines à quatre consonnes fonctionnent comme thèmes dérivés.

Tandis que la flexion externe (ainsi que l'affixation externe) peut être combinée avec n'importe quel thème, la flexion interne exige un thème à trois consonnes. Telles formes comme CV:C et leurs dérivés sont traitées comme résultat du changement phonétique combinatoire.

Ces phénomènes deviennent plus évidents au cours de l'adaptation (l'assimilation) des emprunts.

En examinant ce problème on peut poser une question: est-ce que la morphologie a un lien étroit avec la structure phonétique et la structure syllabique du morphème racine? Ou – autrement dit – est-ce que le système phonique détermine le système grammatical?

Cependant, la situation dans les langues non-sémitiques se présente d'une autre manière.

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Consonnes radicales (- voisées, -éjectives):  
effets inattendus en mehri d'Oman

Dans le système consonantique du mehri d'Oman, les sourdes non-éjectives  $f, \theta, t, s, \mathfrak{s}, \mathfrak{t}, k, \chi, \mathfrak{h}, h$  (infra ©) s'opposent aux voisées ou éjectives (∅). Cette opposition intervient dans plusieurs processus morphophonologiques. En particulier, dans une séquence initiale  $\#h + \text{©}$ , on observe un processus d'assimilation totale de  $h$ , mais la géminée résultant de cette assimilation ne fait pas surface en tant que telle ; l'une de ses branches demeure latente, i.e. sans réalisation phonétique :  $/\#h-\text{©}_i/ \rightarrow / \text{©}_i \text{©}_i / \rightarrow (\text{©}_i) \text{©}_i$ , où la parenthèse indique le caractère latent (Bendjaballah & Ségéral, 2014). Ainsi dans la forme causative, à préformante  $h-$ , si la première radicale est une ∅, la séquence  $h-\text{∅}$  fait surface :

- a. R1 = ©  $\sqrt{\text{frk'}}$  frighten so.       $/h\text{-frük'}/ \rightarrow /f\text{-frük'}/ \rightarrow \text{frük'}$   
b. R1 = ∅  $\sqrt{\text{nsm}}$  breathe       $/h\text{-nsüm}/ \rightarrow \text{hə}\text{-nsüm}$

Nous montrons 1. que l'assimilation de  $h$  dans les séquences  $h\text{©}$  initiales se produit également lorsque  $h$  est la première radicale. Ceci engendre diverses anomalies dans les formes verbales de quatre racines à R1 =  $h$  ( $\sqrt{hm\mathfrak{s}}$ ,  $\sqrt{hk'y}$ ,  $\sqrt{hfk'}$ ,  $\sqrt{hfh}$ ) anomalies incomplètement comprises 2. que ces formes verbales sont en réalité régulières, leurs anomalies apparentes découlant des règles phonologiques de la langue.

Olga BERNIKOVA

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## Computational analysis of the Arabic morphology: new findings <sup>(1)</sup>

Over the last decade the Arabic language processing has mostly been concerned with the development of software linguistic solutions. In order to satisfy the requirements of the majority of linguistic applications different kinds of morphological analyzers have been implemented. The main task of the morphological analyzers is to create practical linguistic software and machine translation technologies.

The aim of our study is the opposite: to use computer applications for linguistic research such as qualitative and quantitative definitions of the morphological system of Arabic.

It is necessary to revise the traditional description of the morphological structure of Arabic, that rely on the techniques based on the intuitive perception of linguistic facts and are not confirmed by quantitative indicators.

For an objective description of the morphological structure of the Arabic language we have developed the so-called "grammar dictionary", which includes algorithms of nominal and verbal inflection of the most Arab stems. After this task has been accomplished, we have correlated these algorithms with the most frequently used vocabulary of 10,000 words. On the basis of a thorough analysis of the qualitative and quantitative indicators, we have reached some conclusions regarding the features of the morphological structure of the Arabic language.

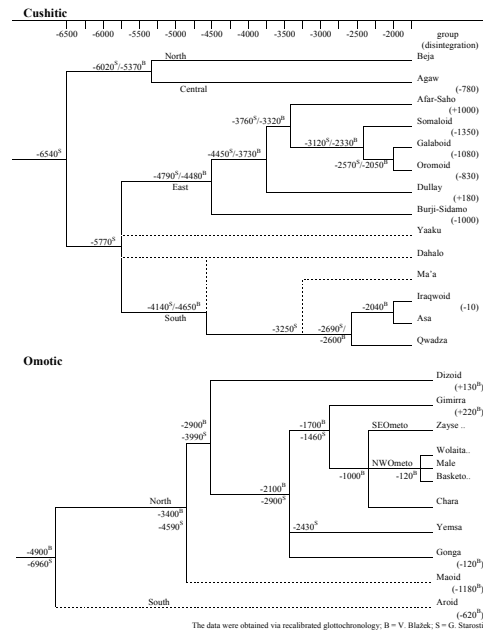
(1) This work was supported by Russian Foundation for Humanities (research project 13-04-00425).

Waka Girma BESHAN

→ Graziano SAVÀ

Cushitic and Omotic numerals in comparative perspective

In the contribution the cardinal numerals 1-10, 20-100, 1000, of all described Cushitic and Omotic languages are collected and arranged according to their genealogical classification:



The analytical step consists in their etymologizing to differentiate the external and internal borrowings from inherited forms. The ambition of the final step is to determine the donor-languages in the case of loans and cognates within Afroasiatic in the case of unborrowed forms.

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Deixis spatio-temporelle et espace  
d'interlocution dans les dialectes arabes  
maghrébins

En positionnant une référence (objet, événement, procès) dans l'*espace d'interlocution*, construit *dans* et *par* le discours, les *expressions spatiales* permettent non seulement d'exprimer les *relations spatiales* mais également, comme en témoignent de nombreuses langues, les *relations temporelles*.

Ainsi, en considérant les deux phénomènes que sont le « moment de la parole » (MP) et le « point de référence » (PR), on remarque que la distinction temporelle « maintenant » vs « non-maintenant », qui recouvre le cas où (MP) et (PR) – lieu où se trouve le locuteur – coïncident, trouve son pendant dans la distinction spatiale « ici » vs « non-ici » où (MP) ne désigne plus seulement le moment de la parole, mais l'endroit où se trouve le locuteur, autrement dit le « ici » de « je ».

Dans cette perspective, il s'agit dans cette communication, d'examiner le fonctionnement de certains indicateurs spatio-temporels au sein du discours en tenant compte, d'une part, de leur sémantisme de base et, d'autre part, des relations interlocutives entre les participants à l'acte de communication.

Afin de permettre la comparaison entre les dialectes examinés, l'étude se basera sur un genre textuel unique – un corpus oral de contes dans lesquels il est possible de mettre au jour le cadre spatio-temporel où évoluent les personnages, les objets, les procès et les événements mis en scène dans le récit.

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## Categories of Kinship in Shahri/Jibbali

As the drive to document the Modern South Arabian Languages continues, most recently in the form of the ongoing project collecting, transcribing, translating and posting Omani South Arabian oral texts by JCE Watson and Miranda Morris, scholars who are not so fortunate to be able to spend long periods in the field benefit from greater access to primary material in the languages of their project. In a first attempt to learn Shahri/Jibbali during a brief period of residence in Salalah in the first quarter of 2013, I was struck by the remarkable conceptual and categorical differences between kinship terms in Shahri/ Jibbali, and those in the Arabic through which I prompted my informants for help in formulating my novice sentences in the target language. This brief paper will offer an initial comparative framework of kinship relations presented through kinship terms in Shahri/Jibbali, Arabic, and select other South Arabian and Semitic languages which may throw light on these features. We will examine these terms from a variety of linguistic perspectives, and will contemplate the cultural implications of the different categories of relatedness which such terms encode. As the South Arabian Languages in Oman retreat in the face of the state-sponsorship of Arabic (and, secondarily, the contemporary commercial and academic utility and prestige of English) and the impending total loss of the traditional lifestyles which the South Arabian Languages encode, it is curious to consider the socio-cultural conceptual and categorical changes which such language shifts eclipse.

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## The expression of inalienable possession in Egypto-Semitic bound constructions

In Ancient Egyptian and some Semitic languages (including Akkadian and Biblical Hebrew), nouns denoting inalienably possessed things, especially body parts, occur in the singular or dual even when the possessor is plural. This contrasts with nouns denoting alienably possessed things, whose grammatical number agrees with the number of the possessor. The choice of grammatical pattern for nouns other than the empirically obvious body parts—including, for example, the noun “name”—provides a window into ancient Afroasiatic concepts of the soul. In addition, exploring how these patterns are applied in the cases of different genders, nonhuman beings, and metaphorical extensions of the human body to the natural and built environments helps us to understand how humans, animals, and other aspects of the world were conceptualized. In this paper, I survey the choice of grammatical pattern in a corpus of Egyptian and Semitic texts, and I discuss the anthropological significance of these findings. The presentation proceeds through the following categories: empirically obvious human body parts; body fluids; skin and hair; the spirit; the name; abstract qualities; male vs. female bodies; animal parts; the built environment; and the natural environment.

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Conflict in government (Tanāzu‘):  
terminology and debates of the shared  
constituent construction inside the Arabic  
Linguistic Tradition

Like modern western languages, Arabic exhibits the phenomenon of the “shared constituent construction”, in which two conjoined sentences undergo a reduction by deletion of an identical element. However, considered the central role played by the theory of government and case assignment (*naẓariyyat al-‘amal*) inside the Arabic Linguistic Tradition, grammarians has dealt with this structure in terms of syntactic “conflict” (*Tanāzu‘*) between the two coordinated verbs, which compete in order to assign the inflectional vowel to the common constituent. Thus, the *Tanāzu‘* chapter has triggered a considerable debate, since it violates one of the basic principles of the theory of government, which states that two or more regents cannot act together over the same linguistic element. Moreover, another problematic issue is that, contrary to what happens in western languages, the shared constituent can play two different syntactic roles in the coordinated clauses. The present paper aims at studying the different interpretations given by the Arab grammarians in order to account for all these facts, shedding light on the development of the phenomenon, starting from the traditional positions (Sībawayhi and Basran Grammarians) to more innovative and revolutionary approaches (Ibn Maḍā al-Qurṭubī), which replaces the notion of case assignment with the structural notion of *ta‘alluq*.

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## Le subjonctif en sémitique, aspects diachronique et paradigmatique

Le rôle clef dans l'évolution du système verbal sémitique appartient au dynamique de l'opposition binaire 'perfectif ~ imperfectif'. Mais l'examen du statut de subjonctif est impératif pour l'analyse diachronique de cette opposition aspectuelle.

Dans le cadre de la famille sémitique on peut noter trois types principaux de la corrélation du subjonctif avec les membres de l'opposition aspectuelle. Seulement dans le sémitique central le subjonctif est en directe corrélation avec le membre imperfectif de l'opposition aspectuelle. En hébreu biblique, trois formes de l'inaccompli *yiqtol* sont attestées, la forme de base, la forme allongée et la forme raccourcie, mais il n'y a pas de liens forts entre l'une d'elles et le subjonctif. En araméen biblique, seules les formes de base de l'imparfait sont attestées. "Comme subjonctif, l'imparfait est d'un usage régulier", comme l'a noté Rubens Duval en 1881. Pour l'arabe S.R. Driver (1892) indique: "the imperfect tense possesses four distinct modal forms, each marked by its own termination, viz. the indicative, the subjunctive, the jussive, and the energetic."

L'analyse de la place du subjonctif dans le sémitique central est menée dans le cadre du modèle diachronique du système verbal en sémitique élaboré par un des auteurs de ce papier.

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Towards a systematisation of the broken  
plural patterns in the Mehri language of  
Oman and Yemen

The present paper is an attempt at the systematisation of the broken plural patterns in the endangered Mehri language spoken by about 100.000 people in Oman, Yemen and Saudi Arabia, which is one of the six Modern South Arabian Languages (MSAL), that constitute a sub-branch of the Semitic language family. The broken plural is a non-concatenative plurarisation strategy shared by a small number of Semitic languages, including Arabic, MSAL and Ge'ez.

In these languages nouns and adjectives may, and in certain cases must, be pluralised by applying a different vowel pattern to the singular form while retaining its consonantal root. While great and successful efforts have been made throughout a long established grammatical tradition to find regular correspondences between singular and plural patterns in Arabic, the MSAL are still largely understudied in this respect.

Thus, questions arise as to whether it is possible to find similar correspondences in these languages and, if so, how to group them according to semantic and/or phonetic criteria. The data taken into account for this analysis proceed from both the existing corpora of the Mehri language and original fieldwork carried out in Salalah (Oman) with speakers of Omani and Yemeni Mehri.

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Central Asian Arabic Dialects: language  
contacts and internal development of Arabic  
linguistic material

The Arabs' migration to Central Asia has a centuries-old history. It is related with Arab conquest and takes origin in 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., which is narrated in historical documents.

Century-old isolation from Arab world is an important peculiarity of Central Asian peripheral Arabic dialects. The Bukhara and Qashqa-darya Arabic dialects developed independently of the Arab world torn from their native linguistic environment, over a long period. A significant linguistic picture has resulted from the development of Arabic dialects, when they co-existed being in linguistic contacts with Indo-European (Tajik, Dari) and Turkic (Uzbek, Turkmen) languages.

The paper deals with linguistic peculiarities of Central Asian Arabic dialects resulted by the contacts with non-kindred Indo-European and Turkic languages and internal development tendencies of Arabic language material. The analysis of the Arabic dialectological materials shows the oldest phonological, grammatical and lexical features of Arabic language, preserved in the dialects, - important from the prospect of the history of Arabic and, in general, Semitic languages. The role of extra linguistic factors in the development of Central Asian Arabic dialects is also important.

The paper is mainly based on the materials recorded by me in Bukhara and Qashqa-darya regions of Central Asia.

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## Case-marking variation: a classic analysis in the Tawhid formula

Arabic grammar has been fundamental in the Arab world during the Middle Ages, for many reasons, one being the importance of the Arabic language which was, and still is, the sacred language of the Koran. The *tawhīd* formula, the famous *lā ilāha illā Allāh* 'there is no god but God', represent a good case study of the *i'rab* -the Arabic case-marking strategy- and shows the high level of sophistication attained by the scholars in this field at the time.

Ibn Hišām, a grammarian from the VIII/XIV century wrote a *risālat*, a short treatise, in which he analyzes all case-marking possibilities of the above mentioned formula. In fact this could change accordingly to the different interpretations of the grammatical rules concerning the *'amil* and the *ma'mūl fihi*, the *ibtidā'* and the theory of the *ḥaḍf* 'elision'.

The talk will focus on the most interesting of these explanations, underlining the main features of Hišām and the other scholars' thought as well as highlighting some relevant links to recent and less recent linguistic theories.

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Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"

## Polyglot Bibles and Semitic lexicography in the Renaissance

Among the most important editorial achievements of biblical philology during the Renaissance is the publication of a series of multivolume polyglot Bibles: the four main ones were the *Complutensis* (Alcalá de Henares, 1514-17), the *Biblia Regia* (Antwerp, 1569-72), and the Polyglots of Paris (1629-45) and London (1653-57). While their contribution to biblical exegesis and textual criticism and their broader significance for the history of Oriental and antiquarian studies in Europe have been critically researched in the last 30 years, their importance for Semitic language studies has heretofore been hardly touched on, and rather by specialists in modern European intellectual history than in Semitic linguistics. The role of these works, and of the many scholars involved in their production, in the development of Semitic language studies of the 16th to 18th centuries was however considerable, either by including grammatical and lexicographic tools among their supplements or by stimulating the compilation of “harmonic” grammars and synoptic dictionaries of the major literary languages then known. This topic certainly needs today a comprehensive survey: we only propose to illustrate here a few implications for Semitic lexicography, focusing particularly on the multilingual dictionaries by Valentin Schindler (1612), Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1661) and Edmund Castell (1669).



Eleonora DI VINCENZO

Università di Roma Tre

→ Cristina SOLIMANDO

Julien DUFOUR

Université de Strasbourg

Voyelles atones, accent et consonnes  
sourdes: questions de phonologie comparée  
des langues sudarabiques modernes

While Mehri has reduced all unstressed vowels to phonological schwas, Jibbali has not and possesses quite a rich array of distinctive pre-tonic vocalic phonemes, often subject to what could be described as secondary accent or pre-tonic lengthening. However these phonologically and phonetically full-fledged vowels are lacking altogether where they would be expected to appear between two voiceless consonants (non-voiced and non-ejective). In contrast to *ṭṣrǝf/ṭṣrǝfǝt* “he/she folded” (the double accent indicating main stress), one gets on the same verbal pattern *fsók/ fskǝt* “he/she finished”. Soqotri has undergone a general leftward stress-shift and exhibits initial-stressed G-form perfects such as *ṭérof/ṭérfəh* “he/she put away” vs. Jibbali *ṭṣrǝf/ṭṣrǝfǝt* and Mehri *ṭərūf/ṭərəfūt* “he/she kept (cloth)”. Even this stressed vowel however is dropped between two voiceless consonants as in *sfor/sféroh* “he/she traveled”, resulting in the strange rule that there can be no vowel between two voiceless consonants in Soqotri except where this vowel would bear the (main) stress in Jibbali and Mehri, regardless of the position of the Soqotri stress.

Regular cases of vowel loss between voiceless (“idle-glottis”) consonants can be demonstrated for Mehri as well (and apparently for Hobyot too), which makes this feature an important phonological isogloss for Modern South-Arabian.

Lutz EDZARD

University of Oslo

## Arabic grammatical theory and marked nominative constructions in Afroasiatic

In this presentation I will align the discussion of subject and object case in traditional Arabic grammatical theory (notably in connection with the so-called *mas'ala zunbūriya*) with the discussion of the phenomenon of the “marked nominative“ in various branches of Afroasiatic. Arabic as well as other Semitic languages feature many examples of the “accusative“ in non-object positions that can be best explained in a comparative Afroasiatic perspective.

Ali FARAJ

Università degli Studi di Milano Bicocca

Incantation bowl with Mandaic inscription  
from Iraqi Museum

The Iraqi Museum housed now hundreds of Incantation bowls in terracotta that are generally written in a formal standardized literary Eastern Aramaic. My paper presents a new incantation bowl that is written in Mandaic characters. The text runs such as sunbeam lines from the center outwards. in 26 lines. It is part of a collection housed in the Iraq Museum (IM 91-100147), reserved in my name. Its provenance is from Tell *al-dhuwahi*. The inscription was written on the inner surface of the cover of a vessel. The purpose is to protect what is inside this vessel or against various types of malevolent forces. This paper is divided into the following sections: physical characteristics, transliteration text and my most important linguistic comment.

Some challenges in the Nnominal system of  
Oman Mehri

One of the interesting challenges presented by Mehri glide-median nouns is the glide instability. For the two nouns in column (i) of (1), the null hypothesis is: the complement of (ūt) displays its entire basic segmental equipment; (ii). However, we can establish that the root of *ħəwrūt* is  $\sqrt{\text{ħwr}}$  and that of *k'əzūt* is  $\sqrt{\text{k'wz}}$ ; (iii). The question that immediately follows is why \**k'əwzūt* not attested in parallel to *ħəwrūt*?

- (1)
- |    |               |                |                      |                                |
|----|---------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
|    | i.            | ii.            | iii.                 |                                |
| a. | <i>ħəwrūt</i> | <i>ħəwr+ūt</i> | $\sqrt{\text{ħwr}}$  | 'black nanny-goat'             |
| b. | <i>k'əzūt</i> | <i>k'əz+ūt</i> | $\sqrt{\text{k'wz}}$ | 'second stomach of a ruminant' |

Close examination of Mehri nouns reveals that (ūt) can select two types of complements:

- (2)
- |                              |                        |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| a. Stem1 (CVCC)+ūt           | b. Stem2 (CVCVC)+ūt    |
| <i>rəbθūt</i> 'foam on milk' | <i>kənəmūt</i> 'louse' |

The treatment of *ħəwrūt* and *k'əzūt* in analogy with *rəbθūt* and *kənəmūt* leads to the establishment of two different underlying representations of glide-median nouns; this is shown in (3).

- (3)
- |                     |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| a. Stem1 (CVGC)+ūt  | b. Stem2 (CVGVC)+ūt   |
| /ħəwrūt/ → [ħəwrūt] | /k'əwəzūt/ → [k'əzūt] |

The assumption that a *glide is crushed between two vowels*, classically represented in other Semitic languages (e.g. Arabic: [māt] ← /mawat/ 'he died'), can accordingly be developed.

Margaretha FOLMER

University of Leiden

The translation of the Biblical Hebrew  
absolute infinitive in Jewish Aramaic Bible  
translations

In this paper I would like to examine how the Middle Aramaic Targum Onqelos to the Pentateuch has rendered Biblical Hebrew constructions with the absolute infinitive. In approximately 1/3 of the cases this Aramaic translation precisely mirrors the Biblical Hebrew construction. This is of interest because in contemporary Aramaic the absolute infinitive is not present. In the remaining cases, several constructions without the absolute infinitive are found in this Aramaic translation. I will try to uncover the underlying principles which have led the Aramaic translator in his choices. The evidence from Targum Onqelos will be compared with the evidence in the later Jewish Palestinian Targumim.

## Zygmunt FRAJZYNGIER

University of Colorado at Boulder

### Coding the role of the second NP in the clause: why the coding means matter

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate that the inference about the grammatical relation 'object' is made possible by the means of coding whose primary function is unrelated to the coding of this specific grammatical relation. This fundamental finding allows one to explain why clauses with the same referential meaning have different properties in different languages. König's 2008 observation that case is unmarked in clause-initial position in African languages receives a cause-effect explanation.

In Hdi, a predicate-initial Central Chadic language (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002), the nominal subject and the nominal object are unmarked when they are the only arguments that follow the verb.

If the subject, whether nominal or pronominal, follows the verb and another argument follows the subject, the second argument is preceded by the preposition *tá*. On the face of it, the preposition *tá* thus appears to be the object marker.

The function of *tá* is actually much wider: It precedes nouns having relationships other than the object. The preposition *tá* also marks modification of the noun phrase and comment on focus.

Massimiliano FRANCI

CAMNES, Firenze

## Afroasiatic causation and causative forms

The causative form, in linguistics, is an expression of an agent causing or forcing a patient to perform an action (or to be in a certain condition). All languages have ways to express causation, but they differ in the means. In some languages there are morphological devices (such as inflection) that change verbs into their causative forms, or adjectives into verbs of “becoming”. Other languages employ periphrasis, with idiomatic expressions or auxiliary verbs. Many languages also have lexical causative forms. Following his studies on Afroasiatic Linguistics in this note the Author proposes an analysis of the Causation and Causative in Afroasiatic languages.



Giulia Francesca GRASSI

Philipps Universität Marburg

## Direct object in Old and Imperial Aramaic

Members from the various linguistic departments of the University of Marburg are involved in a project entitled *Exploring the building blocks of language*. It consists of two parts, one dealing primarily with phonological issues, the other with morphosyntactic subjects. As part of the latter, which includes languages such as German, Celtic, and Hittite, the marking of direct and indirect objects in the history of Aramaic is investigated (*Aramaic: Merger of direct and indirect object in a Semitic language*). The differential object marking in Aramaic, which shows at least partly the merger of the marking of direct and indirect object (I-), is of major importance. However, the main focus of the research is on the tendencies shared by the above mentioned languages toward the codification of the direct object, and the relevance of parameters such as word order, animacy, and accessibility. The group of scholars working on the project has developed a theoretical concept which is the foundation for an online database, which allows the collection of the relevant morphosyntactic and semantic data. The paper, after a short description of the project, deals with its first results, currently limited for Aramaic to the most ancient phases of the language.

Grover HUDSON

Michigan State University

## Genetic evidence for issues in Semitic and South Semitic

Darwin (1859) supposed there would be found good correspondence between genetic groups and language families, and Cavalli-Sforza et al. (1988) supported the claim in a comparison of tree structures of genetic groups and world language families. In the comparison, however, Afroasiatic was split between genetic populations of Africans and southwest Asians, perhaps consistent with Afroasiatic (as first branch) in Nostratic, and with later genetic studies showing association of Afroasiatic with Khoisan. The somewhat natural association of genetic group and geography insufficiently explains that of genetic group and language family (Nettle and Harriss 2003).

Several studies now associate Afroasiatic with the Y-chromosome E-M35 haplogroup. As in the out-of-Africa diaspora of humankind, greater genetic diversity (heterozygosity) of African vs. southwest Asian Afroasiatic is attributable to a 'serial founder' effect (similarly, linguistic archaic heterogeneity) of Afroasiatic origin in northeast Africa.

Within Semitic, Middle Eastern Jews fit well into a genetic group with southwest Asians (presumptive Semitic), while 'Ethiopian Jews' (Beta Israel) fit well with other Ethiopians. Genetic association of Ethiopians with eastern rather than western populations of South Arabia was puzzling to Černý et al. (2008), who were unaware of the association of these two populations in the linguistic group of South Semitic.

Felice ISRAEL

Università di Genova

Byblos, laboratorio linguistico della Fenicia e  
delle lingue semitiche del Levante

Tra le diverse città fenicie Biblos, accanto ad un'intensa esplorazione archeologica, presenta anche una storia linguistica che si estende, fatto unico per la civiltà fenicia, su ben tre millenni. Questa documentazione parte da Ebla, passa per una successiva fase amorrea, per la documentazione amarniana e poi per quella specificatamente fenicia. La valutazione di questa documentazione permette, non solo di stabilire il susseguirsi storico delle diverse documentazioni linguistiche semitiche presenti, ma anche di indagare quali siano stati i rapporti storici intercorsi tra le varie lingue dell'area fenicia. Queste permetterà di determinare conseguentemente la cronologia delle medesime su base innanzitutto storica, ma anche la natura del loro rapporto genetico.

Olga KAPELIUK

Hebrew University, Jerusalem

## What happened to the special features of South Semitic in the modern languages

If we go back to the traditional classification of South Semitic as it was formulated by Th. Nöldeke, C. Brockelmann and their followers prior to the relatively recent new discoveries and the far reaching refinement in the knowledge of many particular modern languages, we see that the criteria chosen to group Arabic, Ethio-Semitic and South Arabian are in many cases not preserved any more. Also Hetzron's and others' attempts to put Arabic apart is not of much help. The three elements which were at the base of the traditional classification, namely: the absence of the labial stop *p* and its realization as *f*, the presence of the broken plural, and the existence of the stem C with a long vowel *ā* after the first root consonant, underwent various changes in the modern languages and dialects which undermine the whole principle of this classification. The question is: to what extent a classification which is established on ancient languages (or reconstructed forms) or mixes ancient and modern languages is also valid and justified when modern languages alone are concerned.

Mena LAFKIOUI

Ghent University

Vermondo BRUGNATELLI

Università di Milano Bicocca

The Berber negation system: variation,  
typology and evolution

One of the most noteworthy issues of the rich and complex morphosyntax of Berber negation is its tendency towards a redundant marking, not only by means of discontinuous morphemes (circum-fixes) but also through the use of special “negative verb stems” - a feature that is attested in nearly all of the Berber-speaking area, regardless of the type of negative affixes in use. This paper deals with the main transformation processes that have led to the current Berber negation system, with special focus on basic clause negation. It starts with a synchronic overview of its various markers and their typological features, which is followed by a diachronic discussion of the different evolution stages that the system may have undergone.

Giuliano LANÇIONI

Università di Roma Tre

## Beyond the Standard-Spoken divide: the Arabic syntax as a system

The standard view of the Arabic language system is diglossia: two main varieties, a higher, formal, and a lower, native, one, with two distinct grammars, share a common linguistic environment. Speakers are assumed to integrate the two varieties through code-switching or code-mixing.

This model has some serious shortcomings: it assumes that most Arabic texts, both written and spoken, which mix formal and informal features, cannot be described by ordinary linguistic means: in fact, while every human language has formal and informal features, a single grammar (and a single lexicon) is regarded as able to account for both.

Several authors in the last few years have shown convincingly the lack of substance of many claims about the exceptionalism of the Arabic linguistic reality; however, no proposal has hitherto been presented in order to replace the standard account with a novel, single-system one.

The paper presented will show the feasibility to analyze ordinary Arabic texts (which would be labeled as “mixed” in most accounts) by means of a single grammatical description device. A sketchy Categorical Grammar model will be proposed in order to show the possibility for a single formal grammar to generate both formal and informal Arabic texts.

Rudolf LEGER

Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main

→ Sergio BALDI

Jérôme LENTIN

INALCO, Paris

The [x] realization of qāf and its implications  
for the phonological and lexicological history  
of Arabic

It has been often noticed that Arabic \*/q/ is sporadically realized as [x]. The examples put forward generally refer to isolated words (*waqt* / *waxt* 'time'). But if one looks more closely at facts, it appears that this realization is rather frequent in all the layers and periods of Arabic. Starting from a large collection of examples taken from various sources and from numerous dialects, we will try to highlight the importance of this phenomenon (and of the reverse phenomenon, \*/x/ realized as [q]) and its implications for the historical phonology and lexicology of Arabic. Some etymological proposals will also be made (in relation to some other Semitic languages).



Jean LOWENSTAMM

Université Paris Diderot

## Two mysteries in the Moroccan Arabic perfective inflection

This presentation is devoted to the elucidation of two analytical challenges related to the management of phi-features by the grammar of Moroccan Arabic (MA), specifically the realization of Gender Agreement in the Perfective paradigm of verbs.

Mystery 1. One of the most robust generalizations regarding the relationship of MA to Classical Arabic (CA) appears in (1)

(1)

- a. MA lost the short vowels of CA
- b. an epenthetic vowel appears where necessary

Examples appear in (2).

(2)

CA *taktubu*, MA *tekteb*; CA *muslim*, MA *meslem*

All the MA Perfective forms are well-behaved with respect to (1), except for the two feminine forms *kteb-ti* and *ketb-at*, which should have been *kteb-t* and *ketb-et*.

Mystery 2. *ketb-at* violates (1), but not in consistent fashion. Consider the forms in (4).

(4)

- |                                 |                                   |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a.                              | b.                                |
| <i>ketb-at</i> 'she wrote'      | <i>šaf-et</i> 'she looked'        |
| <i>ketb-at+u</i> 'she wrote it' | <i>šaf-t+u</i> 'she looked at it' |

With Measure I verbs from medial weak roots such as *šaf* 'look', the 3f.sg. is almost null (e or  $\emptyset$ ). However,

Measure II of verbs from the same medial weak roots DO display the same feminine allomorph as verbs from sane roots, as shown in (5).

(5)

- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| a.                                     | b.                                    |
| <i>kettb-at+u</i> 'she made him write' | <i>šewwf-at+u</i> 'she made him look' |

What is the relationship between the shape of the stem (*šaf* vs. *šewwf*) and allomorph selection (-et vs. at) ?

Massimiliano MARRAZZA

Università degli Studi di Firenze

Some remarks on the lexematic function of  
the adjectives ḤLH and ŠLM in Ancient  
Hebrew

In this study the essential theoretical foundation is to be found in modern functional languages. This study analyses the classes, the dimensions and the changes of usage of two important lexemes pertinent to the lexical field of health and illness in ancient Hebrew. In this research, I employed the important work of scholars from the University of Florence in relation to the identification of twelve functional languages in ancient Hebrew. This application was perfected by I. Zatelli at the University of Florence. The research in question looks at the occurrences of *ḥlh* and *šlm* within the lexical field of all adjectives indicating “health” and “illness” in the corpora of Ancient Hebrew. This research also made use of ancient Versions: Targumim, LXX and Vulgate in order to establish an old intelligence of the analyzed lexemes.

Alessandro MENGOZZI

Università di Torino

## Non canonical subjects and the emergence of split ergativity in Neo-Aramaic

In this paper an attempt will be made to explain the emergence of split ergativity in Neo-Aramaic dialects and the extension of Neo-Aramaic ergative markers to intransitive verbs, which contradicts Marantz' generalization. The hypothesis is that the dative/possessive endings that were to develop into Neo-Aramaic ergative markers had various functions in Late Aramaic, some of which are preserved in Neo-Aramaic, that help explaining their development as ergative markers and the extension of ergative marking to intransitive verbs, thus yielding the anomalous and ambiguous alignment type of the "extended ergative" Neo-Aramaic dialects (Barotto, forthcoming). According to the proposal formulated by Haig (2008) for Iranian languages, ergative markers may have emerged through the extension of pre-existing non-canonical subject constructions. Moreover, Late-Aramaic dative/possessive markers were used as markers of middle voice semantics with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

Giuliano MION

Università "G. D'Annunzio" di Chieti-Pescara

A propos de la nature mixte des ‘parlers  
villageois’ en arabe tunisien

La littérature dialectologique consacrée à l’arabe parlé en Tunisie distingue les parlers citadins et les parlers bédouins sur la base de certains traits phonologiques et morphologiques, comme par exemple la réalisation du \**qāf* (sourde/sonore) et la morphologie des verbes défectueux (consonantisation/assimilation du morphème pluriel *-w* à l’accompli et à l’inaccompli). A côté de ces deux typologies dialectales, on signale la présence d’une troisième typologie de parlers dits ‘villageois’ (ou bien ‘ruraux’) qui ont été souvent définis d’une façon assez vague. Leur système consonantique, par exemple, a été normalement considéré comme analogue à celui des parlers sédentaires ; certains de ses traits morphosyntaxiques sembleraient être partagés aussi bien par les variétés citadines que par celles bédouines.

La présente communication entend proposer une analyse succincte des parlers villageois tunisiens en mettant en exergue leur nature mixte, provoquée par un long contact inter-dialectal, qui pourrait fournir un élément supplémentaire dans l’histoire de la stratification linguistique et dialectologique de la Tunisie.

Marco MORIGGI

Università di Catania

Syriac scripts in Sasanian Mesopotamia:  
Estrangelo and other Syriac scripts on the  
eve of the Islamic conquests

In the framework of Syriac palaeography Syriac incantation bowls (4th-7th cent. A.D.) bear important data and foster further research. On these clay vessels, where a rich inventory of incantations, historiolae, exorcistic spells and formulae were inscribed, at least two varieties of Syriac scripts are used: the Estrangela and the Manichaean script. Their Jewish Babylonian Aramaic and Mandaic counterparts respectively present Square script and Mandaic script only. The analysis of the Estrangela and Manichaean scripts of incantation bowls yields important new evidence on the forms and ductus of the letters, as well as on their relationship with earlier and contemporary Mesopotamian Aramaic scripts.

Malkawi NOUMAN

University of Al-Hussein Bin Talal - Ma'an

## Weak resumption in Jordanian Arabic

In Jordanian Arabic (JA), we distinguish strong resumption (strong pronouns and epithets) from weak resumption (clitics and doubled clitics). Strong resumption shows a diagnostic properties of movement: reconstruction effects with both 1) positive binding conditions (Bound Variable Anaphora condition, and 2) negative binding condition (Condition C) appear only in no island contexts. This kind of resumption (Strong resumption) can be derived via movement à la Lebeaux (1990), Aoun et al. (2001),etc.

In the other hand, weak resumption does not show a diagnostic properties of movement: 1) Reconstruction effects appear in island contexts and 2) no reconstruction effects with condition C in no island contexts. I admit that weak resumption is derived with ellipsis (Winkler 2006) (See also Elbourne 2001) in the following way: reconstruction with condition C applies only at Phonological Form where the PF site ellipse is empty, whereas reconstruction with BVA applies at Logical Form : the identity of the elliptical constituent is lexically represented for a semantic interpretation at LF.

Simona OLIVIERI

Sapienza Università di Roma

## Standards and variations in the Arabic Ḥilāfāt literature

The elaboration of theoretical principles, descriptive observations and rules concerning Arabic language comes out from a long twisting path followed by grammarians belonging to the schools of Kūfa and Baṣra, whose argumentations have been then collected and analysed by later grammarians. Still, many scholars do not believe in the actual distinction between the schools and do affirm that positions endorsed by Kūfan grammarians have been created *a posteriori*. As Carter and Weil suggest, such a net dichotomy is supposed to be made by later grammarians in order to compare ‘right’ Baṣrian opinions with ‘wrong’ Kūfan ones. Therefore, while Baṣrians’ standards are necessarily considered as trustworthy, Kūfans’ opinions are not corresponding to real linguistic phenomena, but considered as unreal variations or later reconstructions.

In the *ḥilāfāt* (controversies) tradition, linguistic issues are often analysed according to the presumed ‘unconventionality’ of Kūfans’ opinions. But, despite such suppositions, the same scene can be analysed investigating different factors: the way grammarians interact, even in later grammarians’ reports, creates an internal structure where complex dynamics give truthfulness to grammatical issues. Along these lines, a deeper analysis of these interactions would shed light both on the way schools developed and on linguistic facts as well.

Na'ama PAT-EL

University of Texas at Austin

Aren Max WILSON WRIGHT

University of Texas at Austin

## The features of Canaanite: a reevaluation

The Canaanite subgroup is one of the better-studied branches of Semitic. The position of this branch in relation to other Semitic languages is a matter of almost unanimous consensus, the result of many detailed studies. However, despite the fact that most of the texts written in Canaanite dialects are consonantal, the features that distinguish Canaanite from the other Northwest Semitic languages are essentially vocalic (for example, the Canaanite shift). In this paper we will suggest a couple of additional morphosyntactic features, which should be considered a Canaanite innovation: the relative particle *\*ʔatar* and the morphosyntax of the infinitives. These features are easily detected in non-vocalized texts and improve our ability to identify texts written in Canaanite dialects.



Ivana PEPE

Sapienza Università di Roma

## La langue des journaux en arabe: une analyse des néologismes d'hier et d'aujourd'hui

En 1798 Napoléon envahit l'Égypte, une province de l'Empire Ottoman isolée de la scène européenne et obligée par l'arrivée des Français à se confronter avec un monde politiquement, culturellement et technologiquement plus avancé. Cet événement qui au début se présente comme un drame pour le pays est ensuite transformé, grâce surtout à la capacité visionnaire et à la vigueur de Muhammad 'Ali (1805-1848), dans une opportunité unique de changement globale de l'Égypte.

Le renouvellement devient donc évident dans plusieurs domaines, entre autres dans l'évolution de la presse qui demande à la langue elle-même une adaptation quasi immédiate. Le style excessivement affecté et répétitif de la langue classique doit s'accorder au caractère rapide et essentiel des communications modernes. Le lexique change et se renouvelle d'une façon sûrement très difficile à détecter et à enregistrer. D'ailleurs beaucoup de mots et d'expressions nouveaux sont créés sous le mouvement de traduction voulu par Muhammad 'Ali et parfois il s'agit d'usages sporadiques qui ne se fixeront pas définitivement dans le lexique du "néo-arabe".

Notre objectif sera donc de déceler, analyser et classer les premiers changements lexicaux qui ont apporté à l'émergence du "néo-arabe" et les comparer avec les changements qui le concernent aujourd'hui.

Sara PETROLLINO

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Gender and evaluative morphology in Hamar  
- South Omotic

Gender, number and evaluative morphology in Hamar are closely intertwined in a complex noun classification system. Hamar does not have special 'evaluative' markers, but gender marking is functional to the encoding of size (augmentation and diminution). The interaction between sex-based gender systems and evaluative morphology is quite common in African languages: Di Garbo (2012), in her typological study of gender systems and evaluative morphology in African languages shows that the majority of the languages with sex-based gender in her sample encode diminution and augmentation by shifting a noun from one gender to the other. Hamar however differs in many respects from the languages surveyed by Di Garbo and from other Omotic languages: it does not employ 'gender shift', and it reverses the stereotypical semantic associations 'female-small' and 'male-big' attested cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald 2012).

Victor PORKHOMOVSKY

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## South Semitic languages and the evolution of the Semitic comparative paradigm

The aim of the present paper is to analyze the status and role of “South Semitic languages” in Semitic comparative linguistics. South Semitic group originally included Arabic (and Maltese), Epigraphic South Arabian, Modern South Arabian and Ethiosemitic. Later Arabic and Epigraphic South Arabian were reclassified as Central Semitic together with Canaanite and Aramaic. Modern South Arabian, Ethiosemitic and Central Semitic are now considered as three independent branches of West Semitic, which, in its turn, is opposed to Akkadian (East Semitic).

Modern South Arabian and Ethiosemitic were a bit overlooked on the early stages of comparative Semitic studies for different reasons, though their historically important characteristics were evident from the very beginning. It was only in the second half of the last century that Modern South Arabian and Ethiosemitic were included into Semitic reconstructions and internal classification on a par with classical languages. That triggered drastic changes in the paradigm of comparative Semitic as a whole. These changes are discussed in the present paper, with a specific focus on phonetic isoglosses, the development of Semitic verbal system, and evolution of the opposition ‘perfective ~ imperfective’ in particular.

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→ Philippe CASSUTO

Alessia PRIOLETTA

Università di Pisa

## Reconsiderations of some grammar facts in Ḥaḍramitic with comparative notes

Among the four epigraphic languages attested in southern Arabia before Islam and labelled as Ancient South Arabian (ASA), Ḥaḍramitic, which was geographically attested in the most eastern part of the region, is the least documented and understood.

The archaeological expeditions to Shabwa and to Raybūn carried out respectively by the French and the Russian mission on a regular basis over the past decades have led to the discovery of a large number of new Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions, about a thousand of which have now been published. Nevertheless, only a few dozen are complete and characterised by relevant length and linguistic data. Moreover, almost any examples of inscriptions in minuscule script and on wooden sticks are known in Ḥaḍramitic.

Therefore, our knowledge of this language only relies on the monumental inscriptions, which show a fixed and stereotyped style providing very limited evidence of the language system and its lexicon.

Notwithstanding the chronological (from 7th c. BC to 3rd c. AD) and geographical extension of the material and although the mechanism of cultural fragmentation also appeared in the Ḥaḍramitic corpus on the linguistic level and some genuine innovations or stylistic choices are known to have been imposed to the other cities from a single writing school, the material's discontinuity and exiguity prevent us from establishing a historical development of the language that can be considered as certain, nor the existence of regional variations.

Just like the other ASA languages, Ḥaḍramitic shows distinctive traits, either specific or shared with other languages of the family. This study is aimed at reconsidering some of the main Ḥaḍramitic grammar features, in order to define its relationship with the ASA family and the other neighbouring Semitic languages.

Annarita PUGLIELLI

Università di Roma Tre

## The relation between syntactic structure and text organization: the Somali case

The aim of this paper is to start a reflection about the interaction between the above mentioned levels of linguistic analysis: syntax and text organization. Given the typological characteristics of Somali, this investigation appears to be particularly promising. In fact the main syntactic features involved when we examine complex sentences in text structure, are subordination and coordination. In respect of both of these Somali shows specific syntactic features that will have an impact on text structure.

In fact all subordinate clauses in Somali have the structure of relative clauses, and that implies that *sentential subordination* is realized as *nominal subordination*.

The other syntactic mechanism for combining sentences is coordination, and Somali has four different conjunctions : *-na*, *ee*, *oo* and *iyoo*. They have a distribution that is basically different, and are therefore used in different contexts with different syntactic restrictions.

By examining some examples of short texts, we will try to show how the previous syntactic features influence the overall organization of Somali texts that are characterized by very long and complex sentences with what appears to be a 'flat structure' rather than a 'hierarchical one'.

Mostafa RECHAD

Université Hassan II, Casablanca

## Predication and focalisation in verbless Arabic sentence

The verbless sentence can be defined as a sentence with the absence of an overt verbal copula in the present tense :

The primary aim of this paper is to provide a comprehensive analysis for the predication in verbless Arabic sentences, not only in the argument construction in (1) but also in so called identification one as in (2) :

- (1) al-kaatib-u mas ?uul-un/ 9aadim-un/ fi-ljaami 3at-i  
the-writer-Nom responsible-nom/ coming-nom- at-the-university  
« The writer is responsible/ coming/ at the university »
- (2) al-kaatibu huwwa l-mas?uul-u/ l-9aadimu  
the-writer-Nom him responsible-nom/ coming-nom  
« The writer who is responsible/ coming »

Concerning the construction in (1) is to know why a so called nominal sentence in Arabic is verbless ?

Different hypothesis will be revised : a. hypothesis of small clause Kayne (1984), (Mouchaweh (1986) among others. b. hypothesis of nul verb ; Fassi-Fehri, 1993; Rechad (1994), among others). c. Hypothesis of weak tense cf. Aoun et al (2010).

The predicate in (2) is defined, the 3rd person pronoun huwwa (or hiyya) must occur between the two constituents ; it functions as anti-ambiguity devices to force a sentential, vs. a phrasal, interpretation of a structure (Eid, 1983). We suppose that this pronoun (PRON) is a result of a focalisation of subject or predicate.

An unified analysis will be proposed for two types of predication in light of generative grammar.

Oleg REDKIN

Saint-Petersburg State University

## Formalization of Arabic and computer tools

(1)

Since the first centuries of the Islamic era Arabic had been the object of study by grammarians. However, only in the recent decades the structural analysis of Arabic based on a syntactic lexical and morphological description of Arabic texts has become a major scholarly task.

The degree of 'algebraicity' of Arabic is significantly higher than that of the other Semitic or Indo-European languages. Linguistic lacunas and exceptions to the rules constitute a comparatively small percentage, while the bulk of Arabic language structures is subject to the strict rules of inflection and morphological derivation. Thus, the internal logic, which shapes the functioning of Arabic, allows the use of a formal mathematical analysis.

Along with the purely academic linguistic goals, the formalization of Arabic may also solve some practical tasks, e.g., defining the formal markers such as frequency of words entries, peculiarities in the use of morphological structures, syntactic combinations which may help to identify the author of the text as well as chronology and place of its origin.

(1) This work was supported by Russian Foundation for Humanities (research project 13-04-00425).



Gabriel Moshe ROSENBAUM

Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Old Egyptian movies as a source for the  
study of spoken Egyptian Judeo-Arabic

This paper is based on a section from a larger study which I have conducted in recent years on modern spoken Egyptian Judeo-Arabic. After intensive work with many informants, it became clear that the Jews of Egypt spoke a distinctive variety differing in a number of features from the variety spoken by their Muslim and Christian neighbors. There are no known recordings of this unique variety from the first half of the twentieth century, but there are traces of it in old Egyptian films, that demonstrate some features of pronunciation, morphology, syntax and the lexicon with unique borrowings used in the spoken language of Egyptian Jews. The paper will demonstrate these features, with examples taken from the movies.

Aaron RUBIN

Penn State University

## A comparison of the Modern South Arabian languages

In the last five years, a wave of new material has become available on the Modern South Arabian languages, including two grammars of Mehri, a grammar of Jibbali, a dictionary of Hobyot, and new text collections in Mehri, Jibbali, and Soqotri. Although much work remains to be done on these languages, Semitists can now begin real comparative work on the Modern South Arabian group. This paper, based on published material and the author's own fieldwork, will outline some of the key similarities and differences between the languages, as part of a study of the internal classification of MSA. This can also serve as preliminary attempt to determine what features can be reconstructed for proto-MSA. Phonological, morphological and syntactic features will be discussed, along with lexical items.

Helmut SATZINGER

Universität Wien

## A lexicon of Egyptian Lexical Roots (Project)

Although the lexicography of the Egyptian language has been under way since nearly two hundred years, this activity has never yielded an inventory of the roots of the language. The roots, abstract elements from which the lexemes are derived, differ often from the latter, thus appearing on different places in the alphabetic order of the lexicon: Some stems of Egyptian verbs are derived from their roots by the addition of a prefix, like *s-*, *n-*, or *m-*, and/or by reduplication of the root, as *snsn* 'to join,' 'to associate with,' as compared with *sn*, with a similar meaning. The identification of the roots is not always an easy task; in many cases it takes both philological and linguistic methods to determine or discern them. Whereas it is important to describe and systematize the mechanics of derivation, the study of the semantics, the development of meaning, is equally important.

I have applied at the Austrian Research Foundation for support of this project, in order to enable me to engage one or two students who can accomplish a large part of time-consuming activities.

Graziano SAVÀ

Hamburg University

Waka Girma BESHAH

A new Italian-Amharic Amharic-Italian  
dictionary

The Italian-Amharic Amharic-Italian dictionary which is object of the present presentation is a project proposed, financed and published by the Italian publishing company A.Vallardi, leader in the production of user-friendly and pocket dictionaries in several languages of the world. The dictionary is an extremely important desideratum since the best Amharic-Italian dictionary available up to now (without Italian-Amharic part) was published by Ignazio Guidi in 1901.

The presentation overviews the technical and linguistic choices made for the edition of the Italian-Amharic Amharic-Italian dictionary. Two main points in focus are the solution adopted for the easy and consistent transcription of the Amharic words and the strategies to find the best translation of Italian words that require the use of Amharic phrases and sentences. Some notes will also be presented on the difficulties to translate cultural-specific Amharic concepts and terms in Italian.

Constant reference will be made to the fact that in spite of having the wide public as target the elaboration of the dictionary is based on a high-level professional linguistic knowledge of Italian and Amharic.

Philip C. SCHMITZ

Eastern Michigan University

## An unrecognized Akkadian hybrid loan in the Phoenician text of the inscription of Ahiram

The phrase | *wskn* | *bsnm* | in the Phoenician inscription on the sarcophagus of Aḥirōm from Byblos has been regarded since the first publication of the inscription as involving a textual error, routinely corrected to read | *wskn* | *bs<k>nm* |. The rationale for the emendation is weak, and even so emended the text of the inscription involves unintelligible segments. Rejecting the emendation, I argue that the phrase | *wskn* | *bsnm* | involves a hybrid loan from the Akkadian idiom *ana sūni šakānu* ‘to place in the lap’. Recognized as an Akkadianism, the segment becomes thematic, disclosing the context of interpretation for the entire inscription. This presentation will consider the implications of a new interpretative approach, and open discussion of early Phoenician as an heir of Late Bronze language contact between Akkadian and Canaanite.

Philippe SÉGÉRAL

Université Paris Diderot

→ Sabrina BENDJABALLAH

Roula SKAF

LLACAN, Paris

## Grammaticalisation des verbes de mouvements en Soureth

Le présent travail tente d'élaborer une description d'une classe de verbes appelés verbes de mouvement en néo-araméen oriental (le soureth). Nous définissons tout d'abord le concept de mouvement en général pour pouvoir ensuite le décrire en soureth.

Les verbes de mouvement ont deux sens en soureth. Le verbe trouvé par excellence dans notre corpus est celui qui vient de la racine *qwm*. Ce verbe a un double sens : un sens statif *qā'im* 'être debout' qui exprimait dans une phase antique un présent actuel comme \**qā'im kātīb* 'il est en train d'écrire' (cf. Pennacchietti 1994 :145) et un sens dynamique *qā'im* 'il se lève' (cf. Pennacchietti 1994 :145). Ce verbe se comporte comme un verbe, mais aussi, simultanément, comme un élément d'une autre catégorie.

Sa forme participiale passive *qimle* est suivie plus souvent d'un autre verbe. Son emploi assez fréquent et concomitant avec d'autres verbes (V1 + V2) mène à poser les questions suivantes : le V1 garderait-il sa vraie valeur d'un prédicat ? Son emploi fréquent avec V2 serait-il un passage d'un vrai verbe de mouvement à une autre catégorie ? Perdrerait-il son statut verbal pour passer à un statut d'auxiliarité ?!

La structure d'auxiliarité se définit par le fait que ses éléments forment une unité morphologique, sémantique et syntaxique. Nous allons nous appuyer sur plusieurs critères sémantiques et fonctionnels solidaires qui nous permettront de déterminer le statut d'auxiliaire, voire le statut exact de ce verbe *qimle*.

Cristina SOLIMANDO

Università di Roma Tre

Eleonora DI VINCENZO

Università di Roma Tre

## Arab grammarians and other languages

The content of our contribution is to show the few –but very important– exceptions among the Arab grammarians who, in the Arabic linguistic history, gave attention to other linguistic realities.

Comparing with the meticulous linguistic attention devoted to Arabic language, Arab grammarians showed in the history of Arab Linguistics an almost complete indifference towards other languages. The military conquests together with the religious and linguistic supremacy on the populations of the Middle East areas made Arabs face the existence of different languages. Some of those languages showed analogies with Arabic, but although some observations –even if superficial– annotated in travelers' reports, no grammarians invested his efforts in studying linguistic comparison among the Semitic languages of the region. If other languages than Arabic have been mentioned – except for Greek language – they are usually viewed in a negative light.

But some exceptions can be individuated: Abū Ḥayyān al-Ġarnāṭī (m.1345), famous for his commentary on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik and for the *Al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, is the author of *Kitāb al-idrāk li-lisān al-Atrāk* which represents one of the most exhaustive historical source for Turkish language. An interesting aspect of this work is the theoretical and linguistic pattern of analysis which is completely based on Arabic structures. Together with Abū Ḥayyān but differently from him, Ibn Qurayṣ with his *Risāla* (sec. X) formulated more general rules between Hebrew and Arabic common phenomena, not only between lexical similarities.

The target of our contribution is to show the few –but very important– exceptions among the Arab grammarians who, in the Arabic linguistic history, gave attention to other linguistic realities.



Naftali H. STERN

Bar-Ilan University

vê`el 'išēk tēšûqātēk (Genesis 3:16).  
Thoughts about biradicals and other

By using the term *biradical(s)* we mean roots that consist solely of two consonants.

After a short historical survey ranging from the third through the nineteenth centuries, the paper deals with the development of theories concerning the original root in Semitic languages which consists solely of two consonants. Particular attention will be focused on the ideas of Professor Yechezkel Kutscher regarding the evolution of *biradicals* to *triradicals* in the Hebrew language.

The paper ends with a radical conclusion: the theory—if accepted—may influence and even change the interpretation of words and verses in the Bible.

## Olga STOLBOVA

Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

### Chadic lexical parallels to Semitic roots primae waw and media waw (on the origin of Chadic labiovelars)

The presentation focuses on Chadic parallels to Semitic roots *primae waw* and *media waw*. Chadic cognates regularly show promotion of *primae waw* to the right (Semitic wC1C2 ~ Chadic C1wC2). Cf., for example: Semitic \*wsn- 'to sleep' ~ Chadic Siri sunni, swəni, sunsuni 'to sleep', Ngizim saunu 'to dream', Duwai, Bade suwan 'a dream'; Kulere ?aswan 'dream', Birgit sooni 'to sleep', Jegu suun- 'träumen', etc. Roots with a velar or a postvelar in the C1 position show a labialized consonant in anlaut (w-k-s > k-w-C > k<sup>w</sup>-C). Compare : Semitic Arabic wqs 'ôter, tirer, enlever (la peau)', waqs- 'gale (des chameaux), itch of camels' ~ Chadic \*k<sup>w</sup>as- 'itch, skin disease': Hausa kaswaa 'scabies, crawl-crawl'; Ngas k<sup>w</sup>as 'itch', Mushere kwass 'raches on buttock', Goemai k<sup>w</sup>as 'skin disease'; Bade kasakasa 'localized itch', əksatuwa 'scabies'; Cuvok k<sup>w</sup>əʃe-k<sup>w</sup>əʃe 'rougeole, measles', Mofu k<sup>w</sup>ese-k<sup>w</sup>ese 'varicelle, smallpox'.

The list of relevant cognates will be under discussion. The data so far collected prove, in our opinion, the secondary origin of labialized phonemes (k<sup>w</sup>, k<sup>w</sup>, g<sup>w</sup>, ɣ<sup>w</sup>, , x<sup>w</sup>, h<sup>w</sup>) in Chadic languages.

Alessandro SUZZI VALLI

Universität zu Köln

Some morphological features in a few Bole-  
Tangale languages (West Chadic)

The old feature of Chadic *-t-* covers a number of morphological functions. Apart from marking the feminine, like in all Afroasiatic, it is widely used for verbal extensions with variable vocalization. In this paper will be investigated the direct object marking verbal extension displayed by some Chadic languages and in particular Maaka, which seems to have preserved the complete set of such extensions. A diachronic perspective of the evolution of these morphemes will be taken into the analysis.

Catherine TAINE-CHEIKH

CNRS, Paris

Les particules d'orientation du berbère.  
Fonctionnement, sémantisme et origine

L'existence, comme satellite(s) du verbe, de particule(s) d'origine déictique est l'une des caractéristiques des langues berbères (Basset, *La langue berbère*, 1952, p. 36).

Dans les parlers les plus conservateurs, ces particules sont au nombre de deux et fonctionnent avec certains verbes comme les pôles d'une opposition de nature spatiale, leur présence soulignant généralement - mais pas uniquement - l'existence d'un mouvement par rapport au locuteur, soit centripète soit centrifuge.

Ce phénomène ayant été étudié très en détail dans un certain nombre de variétés du berbère, la comparaison montre qu'il existe, au-delà des convergences patentées, des divergences notables. Celles-ci portent, non seulement sur le nombre de particules usitées, mais aussi sur leur comportement comme clitiques (ordre des clitiques, place pré- ou post-verbale, détermination de l'élément support, caractère figé ou non de leur présence...). Dans la mesure où elles portent aussi sur des variations de formes et de sens, on essaiera de préciser quelle est la relation de ces particules d'orientation avec les autres déictiques.

Maria Vittoria TONIETTI

Università degli Studi di Firenze

Some reflections on Archaic Semitic in the  
light of the Ebla documentation

In 1975, the discovery of the Ebla Archives at Tell Mardikh (near Idlib, Halab) revealed a new Semitic language in the North-Western Syria region for the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium.

Over the past forty years our knowledge of Eblaite greatly improved.

As it was soon demonstrated, that language, despite its location, shares no West Semitic innovations. A deeper analysis of the language also allows us today to definitely reject a classification as an Akkadian dialect.

By revising the new picture offered by the Ebla texts which strongly questions the very definition “East Semitic”, this paper wants to provide new interesting elements to approach the first phases of Semitic languages history and the models of their diffusion.

Moreno VERGARI

Ethnorêma

→ Giorgio BANTI

Klaus WEDEKIND

SIL International, Dallas

## Beja auxiliaries

Bema has been regarded as straddling the border between Semitic and Cushitic.

As far as suffix verbs are concerned, Beja certainly is Cushitic - but about half of the Beja verbs are Semitic prefix verbs - more than in any other Cushitic language.

Verbs in both of these classes have undergone grammaticalization - but *all* of them are still being used both as main verbs as well as auxiliaries. For grammaticalization, this is not unusual.

Among the 'Semitic' verbs are *aha* 'take', *asa* 'rise', *b'a* 'lie', *bariya* 'have', *d'iya* 'put', *diya* 'say', *faya* 'be', *fir'a* 'leave', *gada* 'stand', *gooya* 'fail', *hiya* 'give', *haya* 'be', *kaya* 'become', *n'a* 'descend', *riba* 'refuse' *weera* 'do' *siniya* 'stand'.

Among the 'Cushitic' verbs are *keeyaa* 'exist', *yakaa* 'arise', *karaa* 'dislike'.

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Aren Max WILSON WRIGHT

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→ Na'ama PAT-EL



Tamar ZEVI

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## Content clauses in West Semitic in the Second and First Millennium BC

Content clause, a term coined by Otto Jespersen, is a subordinate clause which substitutes for nouns in a sentence and provides their content. While content clauses in English and Modern Hebrew regularly function in four syntactic roles: subject, predicate, attribute and object, this has not been the case in early levels of Hebrew, especially in Biblical Hebrew. In the latter, content clauses mostly play a role of objects, less frequently, of subjects and attributes, and never of predicates. The current paper analyzes the types of content clauses found in other West-Semitic languages, antedating Biblical Hebrew and contemporaneous with it, and seeks to learn whether the use of content clauses in four syntactic roles is an early West-Semitic syntactic feature of the second and first millennium BC or a later one.