

ON THE DIALECTAL FEATURES OF IBN AL-FAYYŪMĪ'S *BUSTĀN AL-ʿUQŪL*

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1. *Introductory Remarks*

1.1 The grammatical analysis of the language of the *Bustān al-ʿuqūl*, which is according to Levine (1908:x) the oldest Yemeni Jewish literary work, is the subject of this study. The theologico-philosophical treatise of Nathanael Ibn al-Fayyūmī, a contemporary of Maimonides and Ibn Rušd is written in Middle Arabic (= MA) and is very rich in Dialectal Arabic (= DA) elements. The nature and characteristics of MA are copiously dealt with in the works of Joshua Blau and the contributions of others¹. However, it is perhaps not unnecessary to shortly summarize its basic traits before going into detailed analysis of the language of the text itself.

1.2.1 First of all it should be made clear what is meant by the concept of MA. The language of texts which contain a wide variety of Classical Arabic (= CA), pseudoclassic and dialectal forms is called MA (Fischer 1982). The first such texts go back to the first century of the *biġra* (Blau 1981:4 ff; Fück 1981:110 ff). Often the dialectal component of MA is also called MA (Blau 1982:96), this way two concepts one of which contains the other fall under the same nomination. This particular usage is reflected in Blau's works until he suggested the clear-cut distinction between MA that is mixed language of the texts referred to and "Early Neo-Arabic" (*Frühmenarabisch*) for the dialectal component contained by them (*ibid.*).

The vernacular component of these texts shows those structural and lexical features which characterize the modern Arabic dialects. The most comprehensive and important of them is – as mentioned above – that

¹ For literature and evaluation of studies in this field see Blau 1966:38 ff.

both Early Dialectal Arabic and the modern vernaculars belong to the analytic type of language as against the synthetic nature of CA (Blau 1981:4).

1.2.2 What we know about the early stage of dialectal Arabic or as Blau (1981:3) says "the Older Epoch of Modern Arabic" is due partly to the purifying efforts of Arab grammarians who produced the *lahn al-‘amma* literature (*EL*² V, 605 ff) and to a greater extent, to MA texts mainly written by Christians and Jews. The explanation for this fact lies in that the two minority groups culturally less bound to the Koran and CA poetry, the main sources of CA (Blau 1981:22, 23). This way their mastery of this very difficult language, the perfect achievement of which was and still is an arduous task for Muslim Arabs as well, was limited. Nevertheless there are Muslim sources, too that contain dialectal elements.

1.2.3 The writers of these texts originally intended to write in CA, the proof of which is that there is no text in pure DA (Blau 1981:24) but in spite of this effort they created a mixed language. The pseudo-corrections are the result of the authors' or copyists' deficient knowledge of CA. These elements may be further analyzed: one part of them are hypercorrections, when even those dialectal forms were "corrected" which are identical with their CA equivalents. The reason of this phenomenon amply analyzed by Blau (1970:11 ff) is that the writer felt these forms colloquial, and the corrected one has become "so to say classical" (Blau 1982:97). In contradiction to that, hypercorrect forms are "not classical enough" being dialectal forms only partly "corrected" so they consist of Classical and dialectal features and are non-existent in either of the two languages.

1.2.4 The rules of Early DA to be found in MA texts may usually not to be formulated in such a perfect and clear-cut way as in the case of other languages or modern dialects which provide an infinite set of texts or utterances for the extraction of their rules. Its grammatical description is based on a limited number of clues which are embedded in a CA background, and are detected as "deviances" in comparison with it. The comparison with modern dialects is also a very important

method for identifying real vernacular, hypo- and hypercorrect forms occurring in MA texts.

1.2.5 Although several MA texts have been already investigated, a wider description of MA phenomena, and the systematic review of its temporal and local differentiation is still not accomplished (Fischer 1982:91). Blau (1966:38) also considers the investigation of other MA texts important in spite of the fact that because of the more or less successful efforts of the writers to eliminate dialectal elements "the linguistic structure of most of the texts is similar and their analysis does not give too much results from linguistic aspects" (Blau 1982:108). But at the same time he adds: "Das soll natürlich nicht besagen, daß es nicht notwendig ist, immer neue Texte sorgfältiger sprachliche Ertrag ziemlich gering ist, so ist es nur auf diesem Wege möglich, zu neuen Erkenntnissen über die Entwicklung des Neuarabischen zu gelangen" (*ibid.*).

1.2.6 In addition to the efforts to avoid dialectal features, the vowelless script also contributed to the obscuring of dialectal differences in MA text (Blau 1981:52). However, four dialectal types may be distinguished in MA: the Maghrebi, Iraqi, Egyptian and Yemeni ones (*ibid.* 54).

Although a great number of Yemeni dialect traits have been recorded by Arabic grammarians (Greenman 1979:47; Rabin 1951:31, 34 etc.), only one i.e. the use of the strengthening *qad* occurring even in nominal sentences is the only one to be found in Yemeni MA texts (Blau 1981:65). So it is interesting to see if the investigation of a formerly not analyzed MA text of Yemeni origin offers any new in this respect as well. In addition to this it is probably not useless to enlarge the corpus of textual evidences serving the base of grammatical conclusions covering the early stage of Arabic dialects.

1.3.1 The writer of the work in question, Nathanael Ibn al-Fayyūmī probably died between 1165, the supposed date of his writing the *Bustān* (Levine 1908:x), and 1172 which is the date of a letter by Maimonides to his son in which he speaks about Nathanael as no longer living (*ibid.*). According to Levine (*ibid.*) he lived in Sanaa and was the leader of the Jewish community. Some suppose that his son, Jakob Ibn Natha-

nael was a correspondent of Maimonides to whom he wrote his *Iggereth Tēmān* in which he consoled and strengthened the faith of the pursued Yemeni Jews (Levine 1908:ix; Gottheil 1896:144; Mann 1920: 244).

He is considered to be a writer of secondary importance (Vajda 1974:205; Levine 1908:v), nevertheless, he deserves attention because he was one of the first Jewish authors who wrote about theology in South Arabia (Vajda 1974:205) and the only one who produced a synthetic treatise on Jewish theology (Levine 1908:v). At the same time he is probably the last exponent of the principles of the "Brethren of Sincerity" among the Jews of Yemen (*ibid.* xi).

1.3.2 The "*Garden of Wisdom*" is a popular and simplified introduction to theology and philosophy. It was intended to be a "compendium for our youth and for any of our brethren into whose hand it may fall" (*ibid.* ii) in the words of its author and is described by him as "the best articulated statement of a system that furnished a complete scheme of education, or of man's true relation to the Universe, that enabled him that received it to lead a perfectly rational, aimful and therefore free life" (*ibid.* xi).

It consists of seven chapters, which treat the Unity of God, man as a microcosm, the necessity of obeying God, repentance, reliance upon God, the excellencies of the Messiah and the Next World. Jewish theology is concerted in it with the views of the *Ihwān aṣ-Ṣafā'*, serving its philosophic and scientific basis (*ibid.*).

In addition to Jewish sources (Talmud, *Tesubōt*, Aggādah and Jewish legends poets etc.) the Qur'ān, the utterances of anonymous poets and "pious men", the Encyclopedia of the *Ihwān* are much quoted in the *Bustān* and constitute its basic sources (*ibid.*).

1.3.3 After the publication of the introduction of the *Bustān al-ʿuqūl* by Richard Gottheil in 1896 it was edited in full, translated into English and supplied with explanations by David Levine, based on a unique manuscript in possession of the Columbia University. It was republished and translated into Hebrew under the title *Gan ha-Seklah im* by Josef Qāfih in 1954 (*Encyclopedia Judaica* XII, col 971).

Gottheil notes in his introduction to Levine's edition of the *Bustān* that the scribe of the manuscript employed *šade* for Arabic *dād* and *ṭā'*, the letter *gimel* without a point represents in it Arabic *ǧīm*, and the same letter with a point stands for Arabic *ǧayn* (Levine 1908:vi). As far as the first case is concerned, *taw* with a dot was made to designate *ṭā'* in Levine's edition and in the latter case the order has been reversed, "in order to accommodate the reader and to follow the practice common in printed works of this character" (*ibid.*).

1.4.1 On the basis of the high frequency of the occurrence of nearly each MA grammatical feature the style of the *Bustān al-ʿuqūl* may be classified according to Blau's terminology as "semi-classical Middle Arabic" (1981:25 ff) which is in accordance with the fact that it probably was not intended to go outside the sphere of the Jewish community, being a religious-pedagogical work.

1.4.2 The purpose of this paper is to review those dialectal phenomena occurring in this book whose description and analysis may contain some new pieces of information about Early DA in addition to what has been expounded in studies about MA earlier, and to strengthen the basis of those rules formulated in them which are established on a small number of textual evidences only.

So I have chosen only those features from a very large set of dialectal elements found in the *Bustān al-ʿuqūl* which may be of importance from the point of view of increasing our knowledge of MA. The choice was not easy as the text is very rich in frequently and consequently occurring MA phenomena.

During their exposition I will follow the sequence of grammatical items which has been adopted by Blau and widely accepted in other works concerning this topic.

2. *Phonetics and Orthography*

2.1 As phonetic and orthographic phenomena may not be separated due to the nature of Arabic script, orthography and phonetics will be discussed together as is usual in MA grammars.

2.1.1 When *hamza* stands between *a* and *i*, it is almost everywhere spelled with *yā'* in the *Bustān* as is in MA generally (Blau 1966:93; 1981:74), except some very strange cases, in which *alif* is used:

38:19,20 אֶלְסַאֵל "the beggar",
 88:2 אֶלְפֶּאֵתִיךְ "those passing away",
 31:13 אֶלְאַמְהֵי , 68:24 אֶלְאַמְהֵי "the prayer leaders".

As far as I know there are no similar cases in MA and these one are not enough in number to enable a firm generalization. They may be influenced by Hebrew spelling or the first two words perhaps reflect living usage, as speakers of *Wādī Mawr* in the *Tihāma* of Yemen were observed to pronounce the active participle of a hollow verb with *ē* instead of *ay* (Greenman 1979:54). On the analogy of that the above spelling may reveal living pronunciation like *as-sāyil* → *as-sēl* and *al-fāyitīn* → *al-fētīn*.

2.1.2 In the case of *ra's* – when *hamza* is not followed by a vowel – I found the following spelling:

10:24 אֶלְעֵלְמַיִם וְאֶלְסֵלְמַיִם "the two extremities of the world".

It may be explained by that after the elision of *hamza* (*ra's* → *rās*) *yā'* might have been felt to be the "unseen" middle radical, probably at the influence of *rāyis* (Blau 1966:93), so its plural was formed after that. This plural was then blended with the dual ending creating a hypocorrec form. "*Ruyūs*" being the vernacular plural form of *rās* was detected in the dialect of *Lahaḡ* as well by Fodor (1970:33).

2.2 The *muraqqaq* spelling of *tā'* was found to occur twice in the text, however, I do not know any Yemeni vernacular or MA parallel change so nothing sure can be said here about the following cases:

82:12 תֵּיבָה "good", 87:13 שְׂרֹת "conditions".

2.3 At first sight it seems unlikely that רגלס consequently spelled so reflects living *muraqqaq* pronunciation, as *ṣād* in this word is in the vicinity of *ḡayn* and *rā'*, which usually cause the opposite shift i.e. the *tafḥīm* of non-emphatic consonants. It is rather to be considered hyper-correct spelling (Blau 1966:109; 1970:66, 73; 1981:126). Or perhaps it is the sign of real *muraqqaq* pronunciation, as the transformation of *ṣād* to *zāy* in this word (\rightarrow *zāḡīr*) is a living phenomenon in the dialect of Ṣan'ā' (Šaraf ad-Dīn 1970:47)? This supposition could be strengthened by a further argument: according to Šaraf ad-Dīn *ṣād* may turn into *sīn* in the modern Yemeni dialect, for which he quotes a word which contains *rā'*, (*abṣara* \rightarrow *absara*) "see" (*ibid.* 46).

The same change is existent in other modern dialects as well, therefore Blau (1970:66) considers a part of the $\dot{s} \rightarrow s$ cases to reflect a living feature. Examples from the *Bustān al-^cuqūl*:

8:2	רגלס	"small",
39:20	רגלס	"your juvenility",
56:8	רגסלסל	"the smallest".

The same logic may be applied to:

56:20	נקס	"shortcoming",
87:22	אלסכל	"the polisher",
39:8	אלסכר	"the rock".

At the same time

68:15	אלסיננ	"preservation" and
50:23	מפין	"preserved"

are easier to be interpreted as *muraqqaq* pronunciation, because these words do not contain sounds causing *tafḥīm*.

2.4 The *tarqīq* of *q* is attested once:

39:9	אליך	"more suitable"
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for which I do not know any MA reference, so this occurrence may be a unique one. As a matter of fact, however, one example is not conclusive enough.

2.5.1 As a peculiarity of this text, *wāw* and *yā'* are consequently spelled doubly when they occur in II and V form verbs or in their derivatives. Although the majority of examples mentioned by Blau in his *Judaeo-Arabic Grammar* (1980:48) are also verbs belonging to these categories.) A possible explanation is that this way of spelling was chosen to distinguish between the first form on the one hand and the second and the fifth forms on the other hand. (תכון: תכוון *takūn: tukawwin, takawwan.*) Some examples:

4:28	וכוונהא	“and he created it”,
5:10	תחווול	“it is transformed”,
5:11	תתגייר	“it changes”,
15:20	וקיירהא	“and he set it in motion”,
7:11	מכווף	“frightening”,
7:20, 22:29	אפוּוץ	“I entrust”,
5:2	ויכוון	“and it creates”,
19:10	צוורהא	“he shaped it”,
28:14	יזינהא	“he embellishes it”.

2.5.2 When geminated *wāw* or *yā'* are in the end of a word a suffix is added to it, — which is mostly the *nisba*-ending or the pronominal suffix — it is as a rule spelled doubly in the *Bustān*:

1:4	באלאזליה	“eternally”,
25:22	אלכליה	“the total”,
35:20	עלאנייה	“openness”,
53:16	אלרבויה	“the divinity”,
85:13	אלרציה	“the pleasant”,
86:4	שקיה	“miserable”, etc.

The suffix is pronominal in the following cases:

78:8	וּבְגִייהָם	“and the prostitutes come from them”,
7:20, 84:20	וּלְיִיהָ	“his saint”,
85:6	נְבִייהָ	“his prophet”,
32:17	עֲדוּוּהָ	“his enemy”, etc.

and is that of the accusative in these words:

82:2	דְּכִייהָ	“clever”,
57:18	צְבִייהָ	“a boy”,
25:16	עֲלוּוָהָ	“highness”, etc.

2.5.3 However, when such words are not suffixed, *γā'* consequently and *wāw* more rarely getting into final position, are spelled in accordance with the rules of CA, probably due to short pronunciation, as final long vowels are apt to shorten in MA (Blau 1966:65; 1981:70):

1:11	אֱלֹכְרֹסִי	“the throne”,
37:12	אֱלֹנְבִי	“the prophet”,
11:26	וְאֱלֹנְמוֹ	“and the progress”,
58:24	אֱלֹדְנוֹ	“the approach”,
59:22	אֱלֹכְלִי	“the total”,
37:15	עֲדוּ	“enemy”, etc.

2.5.4 Final *γā'* in the derivatives of *verba tertiae γā'* and *wāw*, – which is not geminated in pronunciation in CA, – is almost everywhere spelled doubly when suffixed (Blau 1980:93) – just like the former category of words –, perhaps affected by the spelling of the *nisba*-ending and reflecting its geminated pronunciation (this is a typical orthographic mistake in modern Arabic as well):

6:4	מִסְתוּוִייהָ	“equal”,
84:6	אֱלֹמְעֻצִייהָ	“the disobedience”,
31:2	וּמְעֹאנִייהָ	“and their meaning”,
32:9	תְּרַבִּייהָ	“education”,
39:7	נֹאמִייהָ	“growing”,

57:2 מקצ'י א "ordained (acc.)", etc.

When they are not suffixed, they are not doubled:

40:15 מרמי "thrown".

2.5.5 In word categories not mentioned above doubled spelling of *wāw* and *yā'* freely alternates with the single one, e.g.:

2:2	אורל	, 60:20	אור	"first",
4:22	איאך	, 2:23	ואיאנא	"us (acc.)",
31:12	אלאנביא	, 12:12	אלאנביא	"the prophets".

2.6 I have come across only one instance for the doubling of *tā'* and another for that of *qāf*, for which I do not know any MA parallel:

26:26	אן צמתה	"if you are silent",
21:1	דקקה	"fineness".

3. Morphology

3.1 There is one example in the *Bustān* for the demonstrative *da* "this" which although mostly occurs in Egyptian MA texts, it is also attested, however, in modern Yemeni (Blau 1981:66; Diem 1973:67):

44:20 א' ירזק "he gives sustenance to this".

3.2 Also one instance was met with for *hā'ulā'ika* "these", which occurs in CA and Christian Arabic (= ChrA), but I do not know about any Judaeo-Arabic (= JA) occurrence of it. *Haulāk* is an existing form in the modern Yemeni dialect as well (Wright 1896-98 I, 268; Blau 1966: 138; Diem 1973:46):

87:22 פיהולאך פי אלדניא פי אלעמא יעשון
"so these live in the world of blindness".

3.3 I have found two *masḏars* which exhibit the change of the second form into the first for which I do not know any MA parallel cases:

- 41:27 אַדבֵּהּ (הֵּ stands for ה) “his punishment”,
 66:11 וְלוֹ תְּבָרִינָא מִן שְׂרִיעָתָהּ וְכַלְפָּהּ
 “if we forsook his law and the duties he has imposed upon us”,
 72:24 כַּלְפְּנָא סְבִי כְּלִיפֵי כְּתִירָהּ
 “he has imposed upon us many duties”.

3.4.1 The third form seems to replace the first one in one case, which is not enough to make any generalization as I have no information about any similar feature of MA:

- 33:2 סְאַעֲאָהָ “he strived for it”.

3.4.2 Once the first form was found to stand for the second in the *Bustān*. This shift has been met with in one case in Muslim MA as far as I know (Schen 1973:68):

- 57:12 פִּאן יֶאֱדַקְתָּהָ “so if you believe it”.

3.5.1 The fifth form (as in CA) functions as the passive of the second as a result of the disappearance of the internal passive, which is amply analyzed feature of MA (Blau 1966:164; 1981:105). I have observed only one example for that here:

- 78:14 יֶתְגַרְבוּם “they are tested”.

(The final *m* is perhaps the result of the confusion of the vernacular perfect form “*katabkum*” (Diem 1973:97, 100, etc.) and the imperfect.)

3.5.2 I have met two instances for the substitution of the first form by the fifth (Blau 1966:164) which may be an indirect proof of the

is still living in the modern Yemeni dialect (Goitein 1934:xxiii). So it is perhaps not far from the truth if I suppose that *ṭimnān* is a hypocoristic blend of vernacular *ṭimnān* and CA *ṭuma'nīna* or *ṭmi'nān*.

3.12 The limited use of the dual is attested by cases in which the context would require dual in CA, but instead, singular is used although the general MA tendency is the substitution of the dual by the plural (Blau 1966:209; 1980:99; 1981:88):

70:1

אלשעבוד... ואלאסתכפאר... קד כאן סבק פי אלעלם אלבארי
 "the servile condition ... and the contempt were anticipated by
 the prescience of the Creator",

78:17

... וכזאלך אלליל ואלצללם לולאה.
 "The same can be said of night and darkness. But for them..."

I have no information about the occurrence of this phenomenon in MA except for the double parts of the body (Blau 1966:218; 1980:103).

3.13 The sound masculine plural suffix is added instead of the feminine to some nouns:

11:7, 19:12, 19:13

ומיין "and hundreds",

16:12

באלמכלוקין "by the creatures",

47:21

אלמכלוקין "the creatures".

There is no reference to such cases in MA as far as I know.

3.14 *Nufūs*, "souls" and *anfūs* "-selves" often interchange, perhaps revealing that *nafs* was used for the plural of "-self" as e.g. in the modern Iraqi dialect.

7:12

ואנפס לטיפה "subtle souls",

12:13

אלאנפס אלגזוייה "the partial souls",

21:24

טרחו נפוסהם פי אלנאר

"they cast themselves into the fire", etc.

3.15 The circumlocution of comparison by an adjective and an adverb expressing "more" instead of the way used in CA is a very rarely

noted feature in MA (Blau 1981:89). So it is noteworthy to mention the case found here:

- 58:1 פְּעוּרָה יֵא אֲכִי מִקְבוּל עֲנַד אֱלֵלָה אֲכִתְּר מִנִּי
 “so his excuse, my brother, is necessarily more acceptable in God’s presence than mine”.

4. Syntax

4.1.1 In spite of the general tendency of the widening of the usage of *mā* as a negative particle in MA that is accompanied by the consequent restriction of that of the other negative particles (Blau 1966:303; 1981:108), it is remarkable to find that *lā* quite frequently occurs in the *Bustān* even in the function (*ma^cnā*) of *laysa*:

- 10:28 וּמְנַהֵם מִן לֹא לֵה לֹא עֵלֶם וְלֹא עֵמֶל
 “and there are (people) who have neither knowledge nor practised it”,
- 11:19 וּמְנַגֵּס לֹא נִגַּס וְנִגַּס לֹא מְנַגֵּס וְלֹא מְנַגֵּס וְלֹא נִגַּס
 “that which makes impure but is not impure, the impure which does not make impure, and that which neither makes impure nor is impure”,
- 66:25 פִּדְלֵה אִנְה רְסוּל אֱלִיָּהֶם לֹא אֱלֹדִי מִן קְבֻלָּהֶם
 “It indicates that he was a prophet to them but not to those who preceded them”,
- 69:15 וְהֵם שְׂרִיעָהּ לֹא מְעַהֵם שְׂרִיעָהּ
 “and they have no Law”, etc.

Lā occurs twice with perfect verbs although not preceded by a former negation:

- 28:15 עֵינִן לֹא רִאָהוּ “I did not look”,
 86:12 עֵינִן לֹא נִצְרָה “Eye has not seen”.

Uncertainty may be observed in the usage of *lam* and *lā* in two cases where they are mixed up:

1:4 לא ילד ולא יולד
 "He does not bear and is not born" (citation of *sūra* 112),
 57:26 והו לם יעלם "he does not know".

4.1.2 One might easily explain these phenomena as hypercorrection (Blau 1966:302; 1981:109) being the result of the "recession of *lā* in favour of *mā*" (Hopkins 1984:152) and the falling into disuse of *lam*, because this is the general tendency in the history of Arabic (Blau 1966: 303; 1981:108). However, *lā* negating perfect verbs is an existing feature of the modern Yemeni vernacular (Diem observed a speaker of Yarim saying (Diem 1973:132): *lā dara*, *lā darait*, *lā lgīt*, "he did not know, I did not know, I did not find") so the above mentioned instances for *lā* with the perfect verb may reflect living usage, although the general trend seems to be reflected on that *mā* is used instead of *lā* in the following cases:

30:4 ואלעלם מא ינקץ "knowledge does not diminish",
 39:6 פמא יפעל בך אלא מא יראה אליך בך
 "he has made for you only that which he saw was most
 fit for you".

Once *mā yakūn* replaces *laysa*:

46:8 מא יר' דאלך פי אלבהאים
 "This is not the case with the brutes".

4.2 *Aḥad/wāḥid* may be used as ordinary number in ASP for which Blau (1966:376) mentions two examples. The occurrence of such cases in the *Bustān* may prove the – not unexpected – existence of this phenomenon in JA, too:

8:16 פואחדהמא "and the first of them".

4.3 The demonstrative pronoun following its governing noun is a characteristic feature of the Egyptian dialect, although it occurs in other modern dialects and exists in modern Yemeni, too (Hopkins 1984:207; Fodor 1970:42, 44). According to Blau (1980:174; 1981:66) this construction comes up mostly in MA texts which are connected to Egypt. So it is noteworthy that such a case is found in a text of Yemeni origin and bearing another "deviant" feature i.e. the lack of the definite article:

- 56:12 פֶּאן וְגַדְתָּ יוֹמָא גִּזְא דְאֵלְךָ מֵלִדְיָ קַד אֲלִפְתָּה
 "If I find one day the food to which I am accustomed
 to...".
- 22:25 מִן אֲלִפְצֵל הַדְי "from this chapter".

The demonstrative with the indefinite noun – although not postpositioned – is to be found in ancient West-Arabian dialects which according to Rabin's map covers the territory of Yemen, namely Sanaa and the land of Ḥimyar (Rabin 1951:74-76). This way it seems quite acceptable that this example reflects a living vernacular feature, together with the postpositioning of the demonstrative. As far as I know the only occurrence of the demonstrative pronoun with an indefinite noun in MA is to be found in ASP where it is presumably due to Greek or Aramaic influence (Blau 1966:399).

4.4 *Qad* is widely used in the *Bustān* because the Yemeni dialect preserved this particle – in contradiction to other modern Arab vernaculars. Moreover it functions as a particle introducing both nominal and verbal sentences "wobei sie im zweiten Fall zur Bekräftigung steht" (Diem 1973:13). Blau (1980:182; 1981:65) also considers the use of *qad* in nominal sentences to be reflections of living usage in Yemeni JA texts and he quotes a few examples. I have found the following cases for *qad* introducing nominal sentences:

- 28:1 וְקַד הִי כְאִמְלֵהּ מֵרְצִינֵיהּ "it is perfect and satisfying",
 60:22 וּמִן מִנְהֵם וְקַד הוּ מוֹמֵן קֶרַח עֵינָה
 "and who is from them and was a believer will be glad",

- 69:16 פקד ענדה שיא יהתדי בה
 "he had something by which he may be lead aright".

4.5 Invariable *‘ād* occurs here exclusively as an adverb meaning "still" or if negated "not yet", which is widespread in MA (Blau 1966: 442; 1980:88; 1981:132) and is attested in modern Yemeni (Fodor 1970: 43-44):

- 53:11 אלברג אלדי למ עאד יגרב
 "the sign of the Zodiac which has not yet set",
 53:19 ועלי אן עאד לזאלך אסראר שריפה
 "because it still has noble secret",
 67:20 ולם עאד יצהר "and it has not appeared yet",
 27:8 פלם עאד גצל "and we have not arrived yet".

It is remarkable that *‘ād* is negated here only by *lam*, while in JA it is *mā ‘ād* (Blau 1980:188).

4.6 The use of *zād* as an auxiliary verb expressing repetition or meaning "to do more" occurs five times in the *Bustān*. As far as I know it has not yet been attested in this function in MA so this is perhaps the only text where it may be found performing this function:

- 54:7 ונזיד נזכר "and we mention more",
 67:12 וזאד אאללה אפרץ עליה פראיץ
 "God imposed more duties upon him",
 69:8 יזיד יאמר "gives additional command".

4.7.1 In some cases where *kān* is followed by a perfect, *qad* precedes it, which is rare in ChrA (Blau 1966:434), unnoticed in JA and occurring in early Muslim Arabic (before A.D. 912) as observed by Hopkins (1984:214):

- 60:6 וקד כאן סבק "it preceded",
 54:16 וקד כאן תקדם לנא "and we have earlier",

70:2 קד כּאן סבּק "it preceded".

4.7.2 Once *rubbamā* is inserted between the two verbs:

84:14 לכּאן רבּחא תּאב "he surely would have repented".

4.8 *Qabla* introducing asyndetic clauses is widespread in MA (Blau 1966:505), however, Blau (1980:217) mentions JA examples only for *min qablu*. The *Bustān* offers two such cases:

32:25 קבּל יציר "before it comes",
39:21 קבּל יקדר "before he is able".

4.9 As to *inda* in the same position it seems to occur more scarcely in MA (one mentioned in Ancient South Palestinian (= ASP) texts (Blau 1966:505) and no instance for JA). There is a unique one to be found in the *Bustān*:

54:21 נצר אלגואצין פּענד "and when the divers looked at"

4.10 ללא "lest" not existing in CA (Reckendorf 1921:460) (*li'an* + *lā* or *li* + *lā*) (Blau 1966:539; 1980:226), is rare in ASP and inferring from the fact that Blau (1980:226; 1981:110) quotes for its occurrence in JA only one example, neither may be often met with in JA texts. This only instance is a substantive clause which is usually expressed in CA by the particle *an*. However, in the cases which I have run into in the *Bustān*, ללא stands in the function of an adverbial particle of purpose:

23:8, 31:22 ללא יטול אלשרח
 "in order that the explanation should not last long",
84:13 לקא ילין ללא יקול "so that people may not say".

4.11 *Mā* referring to persons is a rare phenomenon in MA (Blau 1966:559) and its opposite i.e. *man* related to things is even more scarce,

so that Blau (*ibid.*) noted only one instance in ASP and mentions only one example in his *Judaeo-Arabic Grammar* (1980:238). I think it is perhaps worth noting that three such cases are extant here:

- 17:6 דליל אלחרוף מן הי בי וכי הו אנן...
 “the evidence of the letters ‘beth’ and ‘kaph’ is that...”,
- 29:14 אלעלם אפצל מן זלק אללה
 “knowledge is the best of what Allah has created”,
- 72:14 למא סבק מן ועדה סבי לאבאינא
 “when God has promised to our ancestors...”.

4.12 I have found only one example for a verb in the imperfect after *idā* in the protasis of a conditional sentence, which may appear in ASP (Blau 1966:579), is rare in CA (Reckendorf 1921:466); and there is no hint at its occurrence in JA in the literature at my disposal:

- 38:8 פאדא יצח “and if it is true”.

There is also one similar case with *law*:

- 39:21 לו יגמסוהא “if they submerged it...”.

4.13 It is remarkable to find *in* functioning as a temporal particle, because in contradistinction with *idā* it is exclusively a conditional one in CA (Reckendorf 1921:484). It is supposed to be hypercorrect indicating that *in* fell into disuse in living speech, as is the case with modern dialects in general. This is further corroborated by the fact that the majority of conditional sentences is introduced by *idā* in the *Bustān*:

- 58:21
 רב חריץ עלי סכונך אן לא תסכך וחי אליום חריץ עלי כלאמך
 “Many one eager for your silence when you were not silent
 today is eager for your speech when you do not speak”.

4.14 Notable is the occurrence of *kān* introducing the apodosis of conditional sentences and followed by a verb in the imperfect. This structure is non-existent in CA but is in use in modern dialect e.g. in Cairene Egyptian and Iraqi Arabic (Salib 1982:318; McCarthy & Raffouli 1964:368). I have not met any references as far as its MA occurrence is concerned although *kān* with the participle is to be found in the same position in ASP, but it is attributable there to Aramaic influence (Blau 1966:435). The time value of such an apodosis is determined by the protasis:

55:1

פאן וגדו פיה שייא כאנו ישקו אגואף אלבאקיינ
 “if they find anything in him they would then split
 open the abdomens of the others”,

11:27

פאדא עבד אללה חק עבאדתה כאן לא ימות
 “if he truly serves God he dies not die”,

56:24

פלו כאנו אלעאלם כלקו נפוסהט לכאנו יכתארו אלבאק
 “if mundane beings had created themselves they would
 have made choice of eternity”.

4.15 There are sentences in MA which begin with an indefinite noun that may be conceived in the case of translations as influenced by the original text, others may reflect living usage (Blau 1966:504; Hopkins 1984:260). However, I know about the existence of only two MA cases for “one-term” existential sentence found in ASP (Blau 1966:469) which begin with the indefinite nominal predicate and have no subject. Therefore it is worth noting that there is a unique instance in the *Bustān* illustrating this construction, which by the way exists in CA but is very rare (Reckendorf 1921:356):

16:9

וכתיר מחל זאלך פיזכר אלזי ופצילתה
 “There are thus many passages mentioning seven and
 its excellence”.

4.16 I have found a unique instance for the preverbal position of *qattu*:

35:23 פְּצֻדְקָה אֶלְסֵר תַּחֲסֵן לִמֵּן לֵם קֵט יִפְתֵּשׁ וְגָהָה
 “Charity in secret is well for the one whose face has
 never been seen”.

Only *ba^cdu* has been observed in MA in the same position (Blau 1980: 264).

4.17 There is a tendency in MA to rely upon isolation much more frequently than in CA (Blau 1966:470; 1981:98) owing to its more comfortable and easy (or “careless”) style. Even the isolation of two words may occur in MA this way (Blau 1966:473; 1980:202; 1981:98). However, I think the occurrence of a triple isolation in the *Bustān* is unique and deserves mentioning:

30:15 אֶלְעֵלִם אוּוֹלָה מֵר מִדְּאֻקְתָּהּ
 “At first knowledge is bitter”.

Without isolation of the subject this sentence would sound as follows: *madāqatu awwali l-ilmu murra*. Each isolated word should follow the other without interruption, but a sentence like *al-ilmu awwaluhu madāqatuhu murra* may have been felt to be too clumsy style, because of the sequence of too many nouns, therefore the nominal predicate was placed between the second and the third isolated word. This way it preceded its subject so the necessity of strict concord was not felt compelling in analogy with the verb which comes before its subject.

4.18

34:17 אֱלֹהִים אֵן לֹלֵא חֲשַׁמְתַּנִּי
 “O God were it not that you put me to shame”

is an example for the lack of any vocative particle (where CA would use one) as it often happens e.g. in the modern Iraqi dialect². No MA parallel is known to me in connection with this feature.

4.19 Remarkable is the unique occurrence of *immā ... wa-illā* for CA *immā ... wa-immā*:

36:7 אַמא בַחאַדָּתְךָ וואַל אַ בוארְתְךָ
 "either through accident or by way of a heir".

This אַלְא is probably the *wallā/walā* of the modern dialects (Spitta-Bey 1889:181-182). Blau (1980:257) quotes but one such case where it is:
 וואַמא אַן וואַל...

5. Lexical features

I have noticed the following lexical peculiarities in the *Bustān al-^cuqūl*, which are worth noting:

- *min qibal* for "as to":

1:12
 לא אַלערש לה מן קבל אַלמכאַן וואַל אַלכרסי מן קבל אַלגְלוֹן
 "he has neither throne as for place nor chair to sit on"

- *min sabab* to mean "because of" (6:2, 25:18, etc.)

- *qādī* for "present":

10:26 וואַלזמאַן מאַצִי וקאַצִי ומסתקבל
 "time consists of past, present and future".

- *ḏbn* for "to know" (17:10 יאַ אַכִי פאַדְהֵן "to know my brother")

- *ištahā* for "want, like" as in the modern Yemeni dialect:

² This statement is based on my personal observation.

- 34:12 וְאֵן תִּשְׁתְּהִי אֵן נִקְיִלְךָ אִקְלִנְךָ
 “if you want us to dismiss you, we do so”,
 34:14 אֵן נִסְמַע מִן כְּצִמְךָ פִּיךָ
 “do you want us to hear from your enemy about you?”

- *amal diyāfa* for “receive as a guest” (53:21) instead of *istadāfa* is probably an expression reflecting the analytic trend of MA. The existence of e.g. many modern Iraqi expressions with *sawwa* “do” is a similar manifestation of this trend.

- *mirāya* for “mirror” as in some modern dialects:
 (86:9, 87:20 אִלְמִרְאִיָּה)

- *salāma* often stands in place of *salām* meaning “peace” (60:24, 9:21, 62:4, etc.).

6. Conclusions

6.1 In the end of the review and analysis of the above grammatical items it should be noted that their frequency is relatively low, nevertheless, they may represent real vernacular phenomena. To sum up the results of this study I shall enumerate those phenomena found in Nathanael’s text which may shed more light on Early DA on the basis of the language of the *Bustān al-‘uqūl*.

6.2 This way in the field of phonetics and orthography the *tarqīq* of *q*, the doubling of *qāf*, the consequent double spelling of *wāw* and *yā’* in verbs of the second and fifth forms and in suffixed nouns ending in *yā’* or *wāw* deserve attention. The other features found in the text do not differ from those formulated in MA grammars.

As to the clues of Yemeni dialects, the active participle of אִלְמִרְאִיָּה and אִלְפִּאֲתִיָּן perhaps reflects an *e* pronunciation and *ruyūs*, the vernacular plural of CA *ra’īs* was also found in the text.

6.3 As far as morphology is concerned, I have met cases for the transition of verbs of the second form into the first, one instance for the change II→III having been found earlier but once in a Muslim MA

work. There are also cases for the transition V→VIII which has been observed once in Muslim and once in Christian MA earlier and instances for the change I→X or VIII→X as well.

I have also run into an example for the rarely occurring circumlocutive expression of comparison. It is noteworthy that the plural ending *-at* is replaced by *-in* in some places, for which I cannot offer any explanation. Yemeni vernacular features are the *fiʿāl* form of the *maṣḍar* of the second form, the occurrence of the demonstrative *da* and *hawlāk*.

6.4 It would be too lengthy to recapitulate every syntactic feature connected with Early DA and found in the *Bustān*, therefore only those will be mentioned which are felt to be the most significant of them. They are as follows: the use of *lā* with the perfect, the occurrence of the demonstrative pronoun with an indefinite noun, the postpositioning of the demonstrative, *zād* as an auxiliary verb meaning "to do more". I have found $\aleph\aleph$ in the function of an adverbial participle of purpose, a verb in the imperfect after *idā* and *law*. The occurrence of *kān* introducing the apodosis of conditional sentences and followed by a verb in the imperfect was also observed together with many other features.

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