

Vermondo BRUGNATELLI

*Some grammatical features of Ancient Eastern
Berber (the language of the Mudawwana)*

Extracted from



HE BITANEY LAGGE



STUDIES ON LANGUAGE AND AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

IN HONOUR OF

MARCELLO LAMBERTI



Edited by

Luca Busetto • Roberto Sottile • Livia Tonelli • Mauro Tosco



COMUNE DI GENOVA



UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI
STUDI DI GENOVA



PROVINCIA DI GENOVA

Milano Qu.A.S.A.R. s.r.l. 2011

HE BITANEY LAGGE



**STUDIES ON ON LANGUAGE
AND AFRICAN LINGUISTICS
IN HONOUR OF
MARCELLO LAMBERTI**



Edited by

- Luca Busetto • Roberto Sottile •
- Livia Tonelli • Mauro Tosco •



*He bitaney lagge · Studies Studies on Language and African Linguistics
in honour of Marcello Lamberti*

Edited by Luca Busetto • Roberto Sottile • Livia Tonelli • Mauro Tosco

La Collana “Quaderni di Lingua e Storia” è fondata e diretta da Luca Busetto
The Series “Quaderni di Lingua e Storia” is founded and directed by Luca Busetto

© 2011

Copyright by Qu.A.S.A.R. s.r.l.

Viale Marche 66

I-20159 Milano (MI) – ITALIA

Per ordinazioni dirette è possibile contattare il Direttore della “Collana”
For direct orders, please contact the Editor of the “Series”

Dr Luca Busetto *Dott.Ric.*

Via P. E. Bensa, 4/2

(Piazza della Nunziata)

I-16124 Genova (GE) – ITALIA



luca.busetto@tiscali.it



luca.busetto@lettere.unige.it



(+39) 010.2466260




(+39) 010.2095965 (% ex Istituto di Glottologia, Via Balbi 4, Genova)



web.tiscali.it/glottografo/qls/

Ideazione e composizione grafica a opera di S. G. Luca V. Busetto Cappellini di Genova

ISBN 978-88-87193-16-9

 I-XX + 1-270 (+ color cover)

Contents

<i>Foreword</i>	XIII
<i>Preface</i>	XV
<i>Publications by Marcello Lamberti</i>	XVII



Sergio BALDI – Rudolf LEGER	
<i>Arabic Loans in Bole-Tangale. A closer look to Bole, Karekare, Ngamo, Kupto and Kwami</i>	3
Václav BLAŽEK	
<i>Surmic Numerals in the East Cushitic Perspective</i>	15
Vermondo BRUGNATELLI	
<i>Some grammatical features of Ancient Eastern Berber (the language of the Mudawwana)</i>	29
Luca BUSEITTO	
<i>Note sull'adattamento e codifica della scrittura latina in Africa</i>	41
Guido CIFOLETTI	
<i>Sulla poesia dei Begia</i>	51
Grover HUDSON	
<i>Amharic rs Pronouns</i>	55
Herrmann JUNGRAITHMAYR	
<i>Binäre Oppositionen im Tschadischen</i>	67
Olga KAPELIUK	
<i>Creating Adverbs in Amharic</i>	81
Ilaria MICHELI	
<i>Two Points in Kulango Grammar: I. Analytic Equivalents for Fossilized Verb Extensions; II. the Diminutive Alteration</i>	91

Abdirachid MOHAMED ISMAIL	
<i>Somali Focus and topic system: a global analysis</i>	103
Moreno MORANI	
<i>Alcune riflessioni sui prestiti siriaci in armeno</i>	123
Umberto RAPALLO	
<i>Dalle teorie del "campo" alla ricostruzione etimologica e alle convergenze linguistiche</i>	143
Graziano SAVÀ	
<i>Bayso (Cushitic), a typologically interesting endangered language of Ethiopia</i>	163
Roberto SOTTILE	
<i>Personal Pronouns and Object Marking in Basketo</i>	175
Gábor TAKÁCS	
<i>Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting I: Omotic *b- with dentals, sibilants, and velars</i>	183
Livia TONELLI	
<i>Das Oromo von Somalia: Ansätze einer linguistischen Beschreibung</i>	201
Mauro TOSCO	
<i>On language, government, and the reduction of linguistic diversity</i>	211
Martine VANHOVE	
<i>Towards a semantic map of the Optative in Beja (North-Cushitic)</i>	231
Rainer VOIGT	
<i>Oromo studies and literature in the first half of the 19th century</i>	247
Andrzej ZABORSKI	
<i>New Examples of (yu-)qātilu as One of the Basic Imperfect Stems in Arabic</i>	261



ቃለ፡ በረከት፡ ዘሄኖክ፡ ዘከመ፡ ባረከ፡ ኅሩያነ፡ ጳድቃነ፡ እለ፡ ሀለው፡ ይኩኑ
በዕለተ፡ ምንዳቤ፡ ለአሰስሎ፡ ኩሉ፡ እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓን።

*Qāla barakat za-Hēnōk zakama bārraka ḥirüyāna wa-ṣādḳāna ʾīla halaw yikūnū
baʿilata mindābē laʾasaslō kʷilū ʾikūyān wa-rasīʿān•*

‘Word of blessing of Henok, wherewith he blessed the chosen and righteous who would
be alive in the day of tribulation for the removal of all wrongdoers and backsliders.’
(1 Enoch)

Some grammatical features of Ancient Eastern Berber (the language of the *Mudawwana*)

THE EASTERN BERBER LANGUAGES are less known and studied than the Western and Southern ones. Our lack of knowledge is even deeper for the ancient stages, since up to now only western manuscripts have been investigated. So far, just one early text is known from the East, the so-called “*Mudawwana* of Ibn Ġānim¹”, which is still unpublished. This important work of ibadite *fiqh* was discovered in Tunisia, towards the end of the 19th century, by the French officer Francis Rebillet (1848-1923), who showed it to Adolphe de CALASSANTI-MOTYLINSKI in view of its full edition. Unfortunately, the latter died shortly after the publication of a first article in the acts of the 5th Congress of Orientalists (CALASSANTI-MOTYLINSKI 1907), and the manuscripts were not to be heard of until lately.

In the last years, some new publications reopened the scientific debate on this work, drawing the attention to a couple of manuscripts which contain parts of it. The first one, found in a French library, had been in possession of CALASSANTI-MOTYLINSKI and BOSSOUTROT (U-MADI n.d.), while another one, bought some years ago from a bookseller, was still unnoticed (OULD-BRAHAM 2008 and 2009). Moreover, some months ago I have been able to locate in a Tunisian library the reproduction of a huge manuscript containing this text (the longest piece of evidence known so far: almost 900 pages²). This copy bears the Arabic title *Kitāb al Barbariyya* (‘The book of the Berber Language’).

This text is a bilingual arabo-berber commentary of the *Mudawwana* and was composed in older times, when the Arabic language was little known in

¹ Or Abū Ġānim: the author’s full name is Abū Ġānim Bišr Ibn Ġānim al-Ḥurasānī (about 765-820 A.D.). In the text his name is quoted in Berber as *Buyanem*.

² U-Madi’s manuscript contains 594 pages and covers 9 chapters out of 16 (plus the first page of another one); Ould-Braham’s text contains 394 pages and 7 chapters; the Tunis manuscript contains 896 pages and 14 chapters.

North Africa and the original text of Abū Ġānim could hardly be understood. We don't know the date and the circumstances of the composition, but its great antiquity is sure. CALASSANTI-MOTYLINSKI remarked: « il est bien antérieur à toutes les compositions en berbère du sud Marocain que possèdent nos bibliothèques »³ Some hints come from the opening lines of a glossary published by BOSSOUTROT (1900), stating that it contains a set of Berber words occurring in the *Mudawwana* which were obsolete and could hardly be understood by contemporary readers. Such a glossary was established by order of Mas'ūd bin Šālīḥ al-Šamumni, who was the sheikh of Djerba during the 16th century. The glossary also informs us that the name of the author was Abū Zakarīya' al-Ifrānī, but it has hitherto been impossible to ascertain when this individual lived. Anyway the work is likely to be traced back to at least a couple of centuries before the 16th, since at that moment many vocables had already disappeared from the language. If the author comes from Ifran (Yefren), in Jebel Nefusa, Libya, the language of this text might be an old variety of this dialect — though some clues point to a sort of literary *koine* of the Ibadite area (BRUGNATELLI 2008).

After the discovery of the *Kitāb al Barbarīya*, I have begun to study it: since a full publication will presumably take a lot of time, owing to its huge dimensions, I am currently preparing some introductory articles which will provide a thorough description of the manuscript and of its contents. In the present paper I will limit myself to a short overview of the overall plan of the text. The following table shows the full index of the work and the parts contained in each of the three aforementioned manuscripts (T = Tunis; M = U-Madi; B = Ould Braham)⁴:

1. <i>Kitāb al-Tawḥīd</i>	T	—	B
2. <i>Kitāb al-Šalāḥ</i>	T	M	B
3. <i>Kitāb al-Zakāḥ</i>	T	M	B
4. <i>Kitāb al-Šiyyām</i>	T	M	B

³ Quoted from a working paper of CALASSANTI-MOTYLINSKI, discovered, along with the old manuscript, by U-Madi who kindly showed it to me.

⁴ Transcribing Arabic words the usual rules of Arabic transliteration are used, while Berber words are transcribed according to the official orthography of Kabyle (when applicable). As a consequence, in some cases different symbols apply to one and the same sound: š = c, ḥ = x, ʿ = ε, ġ = γ.

5. <i>Kitāb al-Nikāh</i>	T	M	—
6. <i>Kitāb al-Ṭalāq (al-Kabīr)</i>	T	M	B
7. <i>Kitāb al-Ṭalāq (al-Ṣagīr)</i>	T	M	—
8. <i>Kitāb al-Naḥla wa al-Hiba</i>	—	M	—
9. <i>Kitāb al-Wiṣāya</i>	—	M	B
10. <i>Kitāb al-Diyāt</i>	T	M	B
11. <i>Kitāb al-Aṣriba wa al-Hudūd</i>	T	(M) ⁵	—
12. <i>Kitāb al-Šahadāt</i>	T	—	—
13. <i>Kitāb al-Buyūʿ wa al-Aḥkām</i>	T	—	—
14. <i>Kitāb al-Aḥkām wa al-Aqḍiya</i>	T	—	—
15. <i>Kitāb Šarḥ al-Buyūʿ wa al-Aḥkām</i>	T	—	—
16. <i>Kitāb al-Ribā</i>	T	—	—

As a first approach, I am now studying above all the lexicon, beginning with the numerous Arabic glosses scattered in the manuscript. Besides the lexicon, some interesting features are also noticeable in the domain of grammar, and I shall present here some remarks concerning three specific issues which point to the preservation of archaic features, namely the morphology of verbs ending in *-t/Ø*, the paradigm of “say/tell” and the construction of numerals.

A preliminary notice concerning the phonetics is necessary. As a general rule, the language of this texts displays a regular alternation of plosive and sibilant sounds according to the same principle of Hebrew *begadkefat*, which means that non-geminated stops are maintained as such when they are not preceded by a vowel (i.e. at the beginning of a word or after another consonant), but are replaced by sibilants in postvocalic occurrence⁶. For instance, the feminine marker in Arabic borrowings occurs either as *-t* or as *-et* according to the context, like in the following example: *as yellef i leurt-is, tenwa leureṭ* ‘when he repudiated his wife, the woman said...’ (f. 123b, l. 14 = 290a, l. 19-20). When the word *leureṭ* ‘woman/wife’ is followed by an affixed pronoun beginning with a vowel (*leurt-is* ‘his wife’), the schwa

⁵ The text is interrupted shortly after the beginning of this chapter.

⁶ This phenomenon is especially remarkable as far as dental consonants are concerned, since the Arabic script makes it easy to distinguish between dental stops and sibilants. As regards other places of articulation, the actual situation can hardly be discerned owing to the lack of specific graphemes.

which precedes the sound $-t$ drops and the latter, placed immediately after a consonant, is realised as a stop. Nowadays, this general rule only applies to the Berber spoken in Djerba (southern Tunisia), while the other Berber languages have either kept the plosives or generalised the sibilants in almost every position: a phenomenon which for a long time was one of the main features taken into account for the classification of Berber varieties.

1. Verbs with $-t/\emptyset$ ending

Some Berber verbs have a peculiar form, since in their paradigms they show a $-t$ ending alternating with zero. This class of verbs is still widespread in Tuareg, but only some relics are nowadays attested in the other modern languages (the verb *emmet* ‘die’ in Figuig and Djerba, for instance)⁷. The language of the *Mudawwana* displays some verbs where this alternation is still operating, and this fact points to an archaic character of the language.

Below, a list of some instances of such verbs in the parts of the text examined so far.

♣ M(T) ‘die’

yemmut ‘he died’ (f. 299a, l. 20) / *mman* ‘they died’ (f. 120a, l. 2)

imman ‘who died (participle)’ (f. 310a, l. 20)

see also (n) *unemmitu* ‘(of) the/a dead’ (f. 46’b, l. 18)

♣ YS(T)/KS(T) ‘inherit’⁸

a *tt-yekseṭ* (= Ar. gloss *yariṭu-hā*) ‘he will inherit from her’ (f. 113b, l. 8 ; f. 388b, l. 12)

⁷ This feature has been first examined by A. BASSET in his thesis on the Berber verb (1929: XVIII-XIX): « Le suffixe *t* [...] est très fréquemment attesté en Ahaggar. En dehors de ce parler il n’est pas vivant mais son caractère fondamental en berbère, son ancienneté et son extension à tous les parlers ne font pas l’ombre d’un doute en raison de quelques exemples que l’on retrouve un peu partout ». Subsequently, the thorough analysis of the Tuareg and Berber verb by PRASSE (1973) led the latter to a different conclusion, namely that *t* is not a suffix but a phonetic shape of *h*-ending roots in certain environments: « **h* comme dernière radicale de verbe [...] a un double traitement : il se contracte avec la voyelle qui le précède [...] ou bien se remplace par *t* » (p. 73-74).

⁸ This roots displays an alternation *k/y*. In some of the following examples a similar alternation *g/y* is visible too. The reasons for such alternations seem unclear.

a kestey (= Arabic gloss *nariṭ*: dialectal form?) ‘I will inherit’ (f. 212b, l. 12)
wel t-etksit <wtatksit>⁹ (= Ar. gloss *lā tariṭu-hu*) ‘she will not inherit from him’ (f. 113b, l. 8)
ekestey <’kas°tay°> (= Arabic gloss *warittu*) ‘I have inherited’ (f. 306b, l. 7)
ikeset <’ikasat°> (= Arabic gloss *warita*) ‘he has inherited’ (f. 306b, l. 20)
tisednan wel teksetneṭ mawlan ‘women don’t inherit from clients’ (f. 305a, l. 10-11)
ttemyeseten (= Ar. gloss *yatawāritūna*) ‘they bequeath to each other’ (f. 305a, l. 10)
tiyusawin <tywsawin> (= Ar. gloss *mīrāt*) ‘heritage’ (f. 95b, l. 14); *wel ġar-
 asen tiyusawin* (= Ar. gloss *lā mīrāt baynahumā*) ‘there is no inheritance
 between them’ (f. 388b, l. 8)
amekkasu <’mKasū> pl. *imekkusa* ‘heir’ (sg.: f. 305a, l. 14; pl.: 306a, l. 9);
 BOSSOUTROT *amkasu*, pl. *imkusa* ‘héritier’; *tiysawin* ‘héritages’.
 For this root, compare tuareg *kušat*^{WY} ‘inherit’, *tākasit* ‘inheritance’.

YN(T) ‘be new’

yunen (or *yunan*) (= Arabic gloss *ġadīd*) ‘new’, literally ‘being new’, participle of a verb of quality (f. 112a, l. 5 ; 121a, l. 14 ; f. 122b, l. 4 ; f. 127a, l. 2)
netta yel d-yuynuṭ wuynuṭ i tẓallit (= Ar. gloss *ħaraġa min-hu riḥ wa huwa fi
 ’l-ṣalāt*) ‘the one to whom happens something which can happen while
 praying’ (euphemism meaning ‘the one who happens to pass wind dur-
 ing the prayer’) (f. 25a, l. 13); *wuḍi yel d-yuynuṭ* (= Ar. gloss *ħaraġa min-
 hu ’l-riḥ*) ‘the one to whom it happens’ (f. 25a, l. 16).

In BOSSOUTROT’s glossary we find: *yuynuṭ* ‘il est arrivé, il a eu lieu’; *uynuṭ* ‘l’apparition, la naissance d’une chose’; *yunnen* ‘neuf’; ‘solide, fort, robuste’.

This root is nowadays attested as a verb only in Tuareg *inay* ‘be new’, which lacks the final *-t*. The inclusion of this root in the series of verbs with alternating *-t/∅* ending, attested by this ancient text, explains the final *-t* of Kabyle *amaynut* ‘new, unusual’. This word, considered sometimes as a neologism, is indeed attested in traditional texts: «*yusa-d lexbaṛ d amaynut la nouvelle est arrivée insolite*» (MAMMERI, 1987: 157) and *aenu abrid aneṣli*

⁹ In some instances I put in angle brackets a sort of transcription of the word, in order to show what the Arab script displays: short or long vowels, whenever marked, as well as *matres lectionis* when no vowel is marked; moreover, ° is used instead of a *sukūn*, explicitly marking the lack of vowels, while an upper case consonant marks the gemination (*šadda*).

/ win ur nelli d amaynut «rejoins l'antique tradition: défie-toi des chemins nouveaux» (AMROUCHE, 1988: 242).

♣ FYN(T)/FĠN(T) 'be a slave'

ifuynu (= Ar. gloss *al-ʿubūdiyya* (290a, l. 17) / *al-riqq* (123b, l. 11)) 'slavery'.

See also *ġġ_fuynu* (= Ar. gloss *fī al-riqq wa al-ʿubūdiyya*) 'in slavery' (f. 288a, l. 9);

(n) *wayt fuġnuten* (= Ar. gloss *al-ʿābidīn*) '(of) pious people' (f. 7a, l. 21);

d afuynet i t-yesfuynet (= Ar. gloss *taʿbīdan taʿabbada-hu* [?]¹⁰) 'it is the enslavement which made him slave' (f. 8b, l. 6 and f. 9a, l. 14)

No clear correspondences are found in modern languages. Maybe this word is connected with Chleuh *afgan* 'human being' or Tuareg *afāgan* 'person' (compare Arabic *ʿabd* with the same meaning).

♣ Ġ(T)/Y(T) 'be numerous'

eġġin <'Ġin> (= Ar. gloss *kaṭīr*) 'they are many' (f. 323b, l. 20)

ewla t_tegġetay <'tġat> *ewla t_tedrusay* (= Ar. gloss *kaṭīr^{an} ʿaw qalīl^{an}*) 'many or few', adjective (fem s. ?) (f. 299b, l. 8-9); see also *s tedrusay yel teyyetay* 'from few to many' (f. 85b, l. 2)

d aḍrim aġġ_eytiṭen d aḍrim aġġ_eḍrusen 'one dirham more, one dirham less' (f. 85b, l. 1)

These forms seem somehow connected with the root of Tuareg *igat* 'be abundant', participle *āggên* 'much, many', even if the expanded forms *tegġetay/teyyetay* and (y)*eytiṭen* are unclear. Maybe reduplicated forms *yty(t)?

2. Verb "say"/"tell"

This text contains a lot of instances of the verb "say / tell" in the past (perfective) or in the present (imperfective, "intensive aorist"). The instances of aorist are much rarer. The stems attested are: *nwa/nwi* for the perfective and *nna/nni* for the imperfective.

Many glosses translate the *nw*-forms with the Arabic perfect: *tenwa-yas* = *qālat la-hu* (f. 116b, l. 10); *yenwa-yas* = *qāla la-hu* (f. 310a, l. 12 = f. 360a, l. 2).

¹⁰ Reading and translation uncertain.

Moreover, in a case where a Berber sentence is repeated in Arabic (f. 301a), we find: *yenwa* Abū al-Mu'arriġ (l. 15: Berber)/ *qāla* Abū al-Mu'arriġ (l. 22: Arabic)

On the contrary, the following gloss translates the *nn*-form with an imperfect: *nnan* = *yaqūlūna* (f. 4a, l. 6, twice)

In many instances (e.g. f. 7a, l. 1 (twice); f. 15b, l. 6; f. 288b, l. 16, f. 299b, l. 20), the phrase *nnan iseryinen* 'the Arabs say' precedes the quotation of an Arabic saying (value of general/habitual present). Conversely, *yenwa useryin* 'an Arab said/told' always precedes the quotation of a specific author (action placed in the past).

As far as the aorist is concerned one can quote: *ewc-aney-d w' al' ayen-(n)imel* <walayanyamal> *lexšayel n uykuzen* 'provide us with someone to tell us the virtues of Islam' (f. 36b l. 14)¹¹.

The suppletive paradigm revealed by this text matches the situation found in many other Berber dialects. The following table summarizes the relevant data:

	aorist	perfective	imperfective	'brother'
<i>K. al-Barbariya</i>	<i>mel</i>	- <i>nwa/nwi</i>	- <i>nna/nni</i> -	<i>umma/ewwa</i>
Kabyle	<i>ini</i>	- <i>nna/nni</i> -	<i>qqar</i>	<i>gma</i>
Djerba	<i>mel</i>	- <i>wwa/wwi</i> -	<i>mmal</i>	<i>ewwa</i>
Sened	<i>mel</i>	- <i>mma/mmi</i> -	<i>qqar</i>	<i>uma</i>
Douiret	<i>mel</i>	- <i>ṛṛṛ^wa/ṛṛṛ^wi</i> -	- <i>nna/nni</i> -	<i>yuma</i>
Zuara	<i>mel</i>	- <i>ṛṛṛ^wa/ṛṛṛ^wi</i> -	- <i>nna/nni</i> -	<i>eṛṛṛa</i>
Siwa	- <i>mm^wel/mm^wi</i> -	- <i>mm^wel/mm^wi</i> -	- <i>tumm^wel/tumm^wi</i> -	<i>amm^wa</i>
Tuareg	<i>änn</i>	- <i>nna/nni</i> -	- <i>ganna/genni</i> -	<i>aña</i>

I have already dealt with this issue in another article, focused on modern dialects (BRUGNATELLI 2010-2011), and the evidence provided by this ancient text confirms the hypothesis that the perfective form attested in most Berber languages is the result of an assimilation.

¹¹ It is possible that the verb *emel* still preserved its original value as an independent verb 'point out, show', since other tenses are attested: *yessen af izwar yezzenz wel yemli* <wlyml> 'he knew the fault but sold without reporting it' (Arabic: *lam yuḥabbir bi-hi*), f. 283a, l. 19-20.

Starting from *yenwa* (still attested in the old text) three different developments took place:

- 1) *yenna* (pan-Berber), with a full progressive assimilation
- 2) *yewwa* (Djerba), with a full regressive assimilation
- 3) *yemm^{wa}*/ *yem̃ma*/ *yem̃m^{wa}* (Siwa, Zuara, Douiret), with a partial reciprocal assimilation.

The last column of the table shows the word “(my) brother” which is an ancient noun composed of **aw* + **ma*, i.e.: ‘son-of-my-mother’ and displays a parallel phonetic evolution *w* + nasal (though in reverse order).

The fact that as early as the age of this medieval text the imperfective stem was *nna/nni*, like in nowadays Zuara and Douiret dialects, suggests that this stem can hardly be considered as an innovation (a problematic change from perfective to imperfective) and points to the preservation of an archaic imperfective stem with reduplication of *n*. This could also explain why many Berber languages have replaced the imperfective stem with the corresponding stem from other roots: such a change was apt to rule out clashes of homophonous forms.

3. Syntax of numerals

GALAND’s study (1967) on Berber numerals pointed out that the most archaic construction of Berber numerals was the one he labelled “IA group”, namely: lack of preposition in numerals up to ten and counted object in the singular from eleven onwards. Some other features are shared by the whole Berber domain concerning the number and the “state” of the counted name with numerals of the first decade: « On a toujours le singulier après “un”, toujours le pluriel de 2 à 10 »; « dans les deux cas le complément prend l’état d’annexion s’il en est capable » (p. 254).

The language of the *Mudawwana* shows some peculiar constructions of numerals. I will list here the most remarkable ones.

3.1 Numeral + noun in singular, without state syllable

sen yil ‘two cubits’ (f. 21a, l. 4)

sen yur ‘two months’ (f. 133b, l. 18)

careḍ lyem ‘three camels’ (f. 190’b, l. 14)

uqqez yur ‘four months’ (f. 116a, l. 17)
semmes ḡrim ‘five dirhams’ (f. 52a, l. 17)
semmes lyem ‘five camels’ (f. 190^b, l. 15-16)
semmes menkuc ‘five dinars’ (f. 323b, l. 21)
ḡza yur (f. 133b, l. 17); *zaz yur* ‘six months’ (98b, l. 3)
sa lyem ‘seven camels’ (f. 190^b, l. 17)
tam yur ‘eight months’ (f. 50a, l. 1)
tis yur ‘nine months’ (f. 98b, l. 7)
mraw menkuc ‘ten dinars’ (f. 306a, l. 22)

This is the most puzzling construction, since it has no known parallel in any other Berber language. This apparently abnormal syntax is hardly a matter of writing custom, since in some occurrences the reading is confirmed by the accurate use of vowels, for instance: *uqqez yur* <’uqaz° yūr°> ‘four months’ (f. 116a, l. 17).

Such a construction seems to point to an archaic stage, when the initial syllable was still a sort of article and nouns determined by a numeral could omit it.

3.2 Nominal forms of numerals

Another peculiar feature of numerals in the language of this text is the faculty they have to be treated as real names when they are determined or when they occur in isolation, without a counted object. In this case, they acquire the nominal prefix *a-/i-* or *ta-/ti-* (the vowel is not always inferable), which is normally absent in the numerals, along with the suffixed particle *-in*, *-yin* (or just *-n*), similar to the anaphoric suffix *-(d)in* which can be affixed to nouns when they have already been mentioned.

‘2’ masculine: *isn-in* <’is°nīn°> ‘both’ (f. 190^a, l. 12); feminine: *tisent-in* <tisan°tīn> (f. 188b, l. 13)

‘3’ masculine: *ayard-in/iyard-in* <’yr°ḡdyn> = *al-ṭalāṭa* (f. 304a, l. 12); feminine: *tayard-in* <tyrḡdīn> = *al-ṭalāṭa* (f. 304a, l. 3, 8 and 12)

‘4’ *uqqez-yin* <’uqaz°yn> = *al-arba’a* (f. 101a, l. 19)

‘10’ *imerwa-n* <’mar°wan°> = *al-‘ašra* (f. 45b, l. 6)

After counted object: *fell-asen isn-in* ‘on both of them’ (f. 190’a. l. 12), *tiṭṭawin-is tisent-in* ‘both his eyes’ (f. 188b. l. 13), *n wuḍmawen-din ayarḍ-in* = *al-ṭalāṭa* ‘of the three aspects (already mentioned)’ (f. 201b, l. 3 and 270a, l. 20 and 22); see also *uḍmawen ayarḍin* ⟨‘ayar°ḍin°⟩ ‘les trois raisons’ (BOS-SOUTROT 1900: 498, 505).

These forms seem very ancient, since some phonetic phenomena differentiate the basic forms of numerals and the corresponding nominal forms. From *KAREḌ ‘three’, the sound **k*- underwent two different treatments depending on the context:

> *c* /*ʃ*/ before *a* at the beginning of the word: *careḍ*;

> *y* /*j*/ between vowels, i.e. **akarḍ-in* > *ayarḍ-in*.

Here too, we notice a feature pointing to an old stage, when a true ‘article’ could be added to a noun when it was determined.

3.3 Plural after high numbers

As far as the number of counted objects is concerned, many instances show a plural where the Arabic construction and the Berber languages of the “A group” require the singular, thus placing the language of this text in the “B group” of GALAND’s classification. Some examples:

arbeein n yeḍrimen = ‘arba‘ūna dirham^{an} ‘40 dirhams’ (f. 85a, l. 16 and 18)

sebeein n takbirat ‘70 takbirs’ (f. 47a, l. 20-21)

sent en tmaḍ en yeḍrimen ‘200 dirhams’ (f. 52a, l. 17)

ifeḍ en wulli = ‘alfu ḡanamⁱⁿ ‘1000 sheep’ (f. 131a, l. 13)

3.4 Lack of gender agreement

careḍ tikkal ‘three times’ (f. 54b, 22 and *passim*)

al careḍ tikkal ‘up to three times’ (f. 315b, 4)

careḍ errekeat ‘3 bowings’ (f. 34b, l. 20)

uqqez errekeat ‘4 bowings’ (f. 43b, l. 8)

semmes tmaḍ ‘five hundred’ (f. 185a, l. 14 et 15)

Another uncommon feature is the lack of gender agreement which is apparent in some cases. The cases observed so far display a “masculine” numeral with a feminine noun, and never the opposite. It could be due to a tentative of reproducing the Arabic construction in the Berber translation, but the lack of occurrences of “feminine” numerals with masculine nouns would be hard to explain.

What is most puzzling is the random occurrence of different constructions, which may occur in one and the same page of the manuscript. An example from f. 42b:

Numeral + noun in singular, without state syllable

uqqez yur ‘four months’ (l. 21).

Numeral + plural noun (in annexed state if applicable)

– masculine numeral and noun

careḍ wussan ‘3 days’ (l. 2-3); *uqqez wussan* ‘4 days’ (l. 3)

– feminine numeral and noun

uqqezeṭ errekeṭ ‘4 bowings’ (l. 19); *sent errekeṭ* ‘2 bowings’ (l. 13 and 14)

– masculine numeral and feminine noun

uqqez errekeṭ ‘4 bowings’ (l. 10)

Numeral + preposition *n* + noun in plural

mraw en yiḍan ‘10 nights’ (l. 21-22)

Numeral + preposition *n* + noun in singular over 10

xamṣtaḥ en yum ‘15 days’ (l. 3: mixed vernacular Arabic and Berber)

Arabic syntagms, borrowed as such :

– ‘*aṣrīn yawman*’ ‘20 days’ (l. 4: numeral over 10 + noun in singular)

– *rak‘atāni* ‘2 bowings’ (l. 18, twice: Arabic dual, no numeral)

References

- AMROUCHE, Jean 1988, *Chants berbères de Kabylie* (textes berbères réunis par T. Yacine), Paris : L’Harmattan.
- BASSET, André 1929, *Le verbe berbère. Étude de thèmes*, Paris : Leroux.
- BOSSOUTROT, A. 1900, *Vocabulaire berbère ancien (Dialecte du djebel Nefoussa)*, «Revue Tunisienne» 7, pp. 489-507.

- BRUGNATELLI, Vermondo 2008, *D'une langue de contact entre berbères ibadites*, in: Vermondo BRUGNATELLI – Mena LAFKIOUI (Editors), *Berber in Contact: linguistic and socio-linguistic perspectives*, Köln: Köppe, pp. 39-52.
- BRUGNATELLI, Vermondo 2010-2011, *Les péripéties du verbe « dire » en Berbérie orientale*, «Études et Documents Berbères» 29-30, pp. 81-91.
- CALASSANTI-MOTYLINSKI, Gustave-Adolphe de 1907, *Le manuscrit arabo-berbère de Zouagha découvert par M. Rebillet; notice sommaire et extraits*, in : *Actes du XIV^e Congr. des Orientalistes (Alger 1905)*, t. 2, Paris, pp. 69-78.
- GALAND, Lionel 1967, *La construction du nom de nombre dans les parlers berbères*, in : *Verhandlungen des Zweiten Internationalen Dialektologenkongresses: Marburg/Lahn 5.-10. September 1965*, Wiesbaden: Steiner, pp. 252-259.
- MAMMERI, Mouloud 1987, *Les isefra de Si-Mohand-ou-Mhand*, Paris : La Découverte.
- OULD-BRAHAM, Ouahmi 2008, *Sur un nouveau manuscrit ibāḍite-berbère. La Mudawwana d'Abū Ḡānim al-Ḥurāsānī traduite en berbère au Moyen Âge*, «Études et Documents Berbères» 27, pp. 47-71.
- OULD-BRAHAM, Ouahmi 2009, *Lemmes en berbère ancien provenant d'un glossaire berbéro-arabe et d'une œuvre ibāḍite-berbère médiévale*, «Études et Documents Berbères» 28, pp. 7-22.
- PRASSE, Karl-G. 1973, *Manuel de grammaire touarègue (tahaggart). VI-VII Verbe*, Copenhague: Akademisk Forlag.
- U-MADI, Muḥammad no date, *Mudawwana Abī Ghānim (Al-fiqh bi-'l-amazigiya)*, «Silsila Dirāsāt Nufūsiyya» 3, 6 pp. (article on-line, URL: www.tawalt.org/pdf/article_3.pdf, visited July 2009)
- VYICHL, Werner 1975: *Begadkefat im Berberischen*. In: James and Theodora BYNON (Editors), *Hamito-Semitic. Proceedings of a colloquium held by the Historical Section of the Linguistics Association (Great Britain) at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, on the 18th, 19th and 20th of March 1970* (The Hague-Paris: Mouton) 315-317.

Vermondo BRUGNATELLI
 Università di Milano-Bicocca
vermondo.brugnatelli@unimib.it

COLOPHON

HE BITANEY LAGGE

STUDIES ON LANGUAGE AND AFRICAN LINGUISTICS
IN HONOUR OF
MARCELLO LAMBERTI

EDITED BY

LUCA BUSEITTO • ROBERTO SOTTILE • LIVIA TONELLI • MAURO TOSCO



VOLUME TERZO DELLA COLLANA
"QUADERNI DI LINGUA E STORIA"



COMPOSTO IN CARATTERI DI BASE
DELLA FAMIGLIA OPENTYPE®
ADOBE® ARNO PRO™
AMPLIATA

FINITO DI STAMPARE
NEL MESE DI OTTOBRE 2011

DALL'AGENZIA DI STAMPA DIGITALE

S T A T U S

STATUS S.R.L.

VIA PALEOCAPA 67 R - 16135 GENOVA

PER CONTO DELLA SOCIETÀ EDITRICE



QU.A.S.A.R. S.R.L.

VIALE MARCHE 66 - 20159 MILANO



PRINTED IN EUROPE

Genuae, mense Octobris, a. D. MMXI ☉ "exigua pars est uitae quam nos uiuimus". ceterum quidem omne spatium non uita, sed tempus est.



~ Offprint ~

Vermondo BRUGNATELLI

Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca

vermondo.brugnatelli@unimib.it

***Some grammatical features of Ancient Eastern
Berber (the language of the Mudawwana)***

—•—
He bitaney lagge
~

***Studies on Language and African Linguistics
in honour of Marcello Lamberti***

—•—
Edited by

Luca BUSETTO • Roberto SOTTILE • Livia TONELLI • Mauro TOSCO

Contributors:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| • Sergio BALDI – Rudolf LEGER | • Moreno MORANI |
| • Václav BLAŽEK | • Umberto RAPALLO |
| • Vermondo BRUGNATELLI | • Graziano SAVÀ |
| • Luca BUSETTO | • Roberto SOTTILE |
| • Guido CIFOLETTI | • Gábor TAKÁCS |
| • Grover HUDSON | • Livia TONELLI |
| • Herrmann JUNGRAITHMAYR | • Mauro TOSCO |
| • Olga KAPELIUK | • Martine VANHOVE |
| • Ilaria Micheli | • Rainer VOIGT |
| • Abdirachid MOHAMED ISMAIL | • Andrzej ZABORSKI |