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TRAVELLING THROUGH TIME

Essays in honour of Kaj Öhrnberg

EDITED BY

SYLVIA AKAR, JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA
& INKA NOKSO-KOIVISTO



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Edited by Sylvia Akar, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila & Inka Nokso-Koivisto
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G.A. WALLIN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF ARABIC DIALECTS

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INTRODUCTION

Both in Finland and internationally, Georg August Wallin (1811–1852) is primarily known as an adventurous explorer of Arabia, and not so well known as a linguist. That he had achieved a profound knowledge of Arabic and spoke it fluently both with city dwellers in Egypt and with Bedouins in the Arabian Peninsula is acknowledged as a practical skill that would have aided him in his travels, whereas his scholarly contributions to the field of the linguistic study of Arabic dialects are at present virtually unknown. That these contributions lie outside the scope of the general public is not surprising, but even among specialists in Arabic studies the situation is not much different.

The main reason is certainly not a diminished interest in the dialects of Arabic. On the contrary, in the wake of the rise of dialectology, a new branch of linguistic studies using modern methods developed in Germany in the late 1870s, the study of Arabic dialects flourished. Consequently, Wallin's pioneering works were soon buried beneath a plethora of modern, systematic dialect studies, such as W. Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Ägypten* (1880); A. Socin, *Der arabische Dialekt von Mosul und Merdin* (1882); C. Reinhardt, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in 'Omān und Zanzibar* (1894); H. Stumme, *Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch, nebst Glossar* (1896); W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen* (1902); and L. Bauer, *Das palästinische Arabisch: Die Dialekte des Städters und des Fellachen* (1913). It is only natural that by the 1920s Wallin's linguistic studies had fallen into oblivion and remained the concern of only a handful of historically orientated researchers of Bedouin dialects.

In order to assess Wallin's contributions to the linguistic study of Arabic, Modern Spoken Arabic in particular, we have to consider them in their original historical setting, starting from the state of the art in the European universities during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

Up to the end of the eighteenth century, the term “dialects” (*lahajāt*) with Arabic usually referred to the dialects of different Arab tribes in the Arabian Peninsula during the early centuries of Islam. Most information about them was found in the relatively late collective works *Lisān al-‘Arab* by Ibn Manẓūr (13th century) and *Muzhir fī ‘ulūm al-luġa* by al-Suyūfī (15th century). In these works many kinds of dialectal phonetic variants (*luġāt*) were referred to by different generalizing labels such as the ‘*an’ana* of the Tamīm, Qais and some other tribes, the *kaškaša* of the Tamīm, the *kaskasa* of the Bakr, and the *ġamġama* of the Quḍā’a. Although theological speculations had led to the dogmatic view that the language of the Qur’ān was the absolute norm of Classical Arabic (*al-‘arabiyya*), the grammarians still regarded some Hijazi linguistic features which appeared in the Qur’ān as non-Classical, for example, the disappearance of the glottal stop (*hamza*) between vowels. On the other hand, not all Najdi features were recognized as normative Classical Arabic, for example, the relative pronoun *dū* and the definite article *am-*.

When Wallin started his studies, the best known dialects of Arabic in Western scholarly literature were those spoken in the largest cities in Morocco, Lower Egypt, and the Levantine area. In addition, some scattered information was available from, for example, Algeria, Tunisia, Iraq, and Yemen. Yet, no systematic general description of any particular contemporary local or regional dialect of Arabic had been published. An example of the prevailing overall picture of the dialects of Arabic two centuries ago is found in the textbook *Arabische Grammatik und Chrestomathie* (1783, 2nd edn) by J.D. Michaelis, Professor of Semitic languages in Göttingen. According to the Arabs (*nach der Meinung der Araber*), he writes, in Aleppo and Damascus the pronunciation of Arabic is best (or, most elegant, *am feinsten*), with the exception of the inner parts of the Arabian Peninsula, where the pronunciation, that of the gutturals (i.e. the glottal stop /ʔ/, the pharyngeals /ħ/ and /ʕ/, and the postvelars /x/ and /ġ/) in particular, had been least influenced by foreign languages.¹ That some Levantine Arab informants may have looked upon the urban dialect spoken in Syria as the best is by no means surprising, and their opinion about the inner parts of Arabia as the place where “the purest Arabic” is spoken, was actually regarded as an axiom, a fact which required no linguistic evidence to support it.

The same common view appears in the widely-read reference book *Mithridates, oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde* (I 1806) by the prolific German grammarian and philologist J.Chr. Adelung. This book – after Adelung’s death in 1806 continued by J.S. Vater – deals with nearly 500 languages and dialects and contains, among

1 Michaelis 1783: 14–15.

other things, proofs of the Pater Noster prayer in several Arabic dialects. In his dissertation (1839) Wallin mentions Adelung's book as one of his sources.

In the Mithridates, Adelung refers to Carsten Niebuhr's travel report, *Beschreibung von Arabien* (1772), according to which the language spoken by the Arabs living in the highlands in the border area between Yemen and the Hijaz where there was almost no contact with foreigners, should have changed least of all, and should therefore also be closest to the language of the Qur'ān. Hence, Niebuhr concludes, if one wishes to make observations on Old Arabic ("die alte arabische Sprache"), this would be a most suitable place to visit.²

The idea of the purity of language and of linguistic change represented by Michaelis and Adelung is in fact almost identical with that of the mediaeval Arab philologists. The gigantic lexicons *Lisān al-'Arab* by Ibn Manẓūr (d. 1311/12) and *al-Qāmūs* by al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414) express this succinctly in three words: *afṣaḥ al-'arab abarruhum* 'the purest Arabic is spoken by those living remotest (in the desert)'. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) formulates the same idea the other way around: "The (linguistic) habit of the Mudar (original Arabs) became corrupt when they came into contact with non-Arabs."³ That is to say, linguistic change is – or, is mainly – due to language contact. Ibn Khaldūn adds a religious criterion: the purity of Arabic also depends on the distance from the Quraysh, the tribe of the Prophet Muhammad: "The Arabic dialects were used by Arab philologists as arguments for (linguistic) soundness or corruption according to the (degree of) remoteness of (the tribes speaking them) from the Quraysh."⁴

In Wallin's time, another commonly embraced idea concerning linguistic development was the influence of the local natural conditions and physical features on language. According to Adelung, vernacular Spoken Arabic is divided into a number of separate dialects, which vary depending on climatic and geological conditions, way of life and culture, "as the Danish explorers have had best experience of". He refers to Niebuhr, who writes that even in the more civilized part of the Peninsula, in Yemen, the language used in the court differs from that of the common people in the mountains, and that, on the other hand, the language spoken in the mountains differs from that spoken in Tehama so much that they need an interpreter.⁵ This view is shared by Wallin, as can be read in his comments on E.W. Lane's article on the vowels and accents in Arabic:

2 Niebuhr 1772: 84–85.

3 Ibn Khaldūn, Cap. 45: 691.

4 Ibn Khaldūn, Cap. 45: 691.

5 Adelung 1806: 391.

Among the Bedouin, the place of articulation of every letter is sharply confined and defined, whereas among the rest of Arabic-speakers it is more undefined, deeper or higher, broader or narrower, in accordance with the different natural conditions of the countries in which the language transplanted from its true homeland is spoken.⁶

By “natural conditions”, he not only means mountain ranges, deserts, and the like, as natural barriers between linguistic areas, but the influence of the natural environment on the language, for example, the influence of the “majestic Nile” on the pronunciation of Arabic in Egypt.⁷ When assessing theories of this kind, we have to bear in mind that up to Wallin’s time, no one had put forth the idea that much of language change actually takes place through inner-language development, such as different phonological and morphological chain reactions, analogy, and language economy.

WALLIN’S DISSERTATIO PRO VENIA DOCENDI

When Wallin started writing his dissertation *De praecipua inter hodiernam Arabum linguam et antiquam differentia dissertatio* (1839) (“On the most important differences between Classical and Modern Arabic”), he did not have access to any oral material, as he explicitly states in his *Lectio praecursoria*.⁸ In the bibliographical footnote IV he gives a list of his sources. The list starts with Adelung’s *Mithridates* “and works cited there”.⁹ The other books listed by Wallin as his sources are Silvestre de Sacy’s *Grammaire arabe* (1810) and “other works by him”, H.G. Lindgren’s *De Lingua neo-arabica disquisitio* (1829), and *Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache mit Vergleichung der verwandten Dialekte* (1817) and *Versuch über die Malthesische Sprache* (1810) by Wilhelm Gesenius. By far the most important source was, however, A.-P. Caussin de Perceval, *Grammaire arabe vulgaire* (1833).

6 Wallin 1858b: 666. Cf. Burckhardt 1830: 211: “[All Bedouins] agree in pronouncing each letter with much precision, expressing its exact force or power, which, with respect to the letters, ذ, ث, ظ, ض, is never the case among the inhabitants of towns.”

7 Wallin 1858b: 667.

8 “En igitur iam fontes [...] quos in hacce dissertatione conscribenda mihi erat adeundi copia, quum ex ipso vivo fon[t]e non esset hauriendum.” Öhrnberg & Berg 2010: 291 (Sw. 317 “[...] så fanns det inte en levande källa att ösa ur.”)

9 These works, not specified by Wallin, scarcely provided him with useful material; they include eight textbooks on Modern Educated Arabic (Adelung: “die lebende gelehrte Sprache”), ranging from *Grammatica Arabica Maronitarum* by Gabriel Sionita (1616) to *Développemens des Principes de la langue Arabe moderne* (1803) by F.J. Herbin, as well as two books on dialects: P. Franc. Cañes, *Diccionario Español Latino Arabigo* (1787) and fr. de Dombay, *Grammatica linguae mauro-arabicae* (1800).

Among the literary sources mentioned by Wallin, de Sacy's and Caussin de Perceval's works were undoubtedly the most important ones. H.G. Lindgren's study is of a particular interest, since it deals with the same subject as Wallin's and, like Wallin's dissertation, is an academic thesis *pro venia docendi*, written only ten years earlier. The works of de Sacy and the establishment of *l'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes* had made the subject topical. Lindgren sharply criticizes Niebuhr, who had compared the relation between Classical Arabic and the spoken dialects of Arabic with that between Latin and the modern dialects spoken in Italy, or Classical Greek and Modern Spoken Greek.¹⁰ In Lindgren's opinion, most of the works written on Modern Arabic were of no value, the only one deserving mention being Herbin, which, however, he regarded as "somewhat disappointing".¹¹

Only one year before Lindgren's *Disquisitio*, J. Gråberg af Hemsö (1776–1847), a Swedish diplomat who in 1816–1822 had served as secretary at the Swedish consulate in Morocco and in 1822–1828 as consul general in Tripoli, published in *Journal Asiatique* 7 (1828) the article "Du Dialecte arabe du Moghrib-el-Aksà". In it he proves convincingly that the British diplomat J.G. Jackson gives a misleading idea of the language relations of Arabic, when in his article "Sur la Conformité de l'arabe occidental ou de Barbarie avec l'arabe oriental ou de Syrie" (*Journal Asiatique* 4, 1824) he claims that there are no essential differences between Moroccan and Syrian Arabic. Jackson's argument is based on mutual intelligibility, whereas Gråberg emphasizes the structural gap.¹² Gråberg concretizes the divergences, among other things, by pointing to Moroccan traits such as the genitive markers *dsé*, *dyāl*, and *mtā'*, the first person *nekteb* singular and *neketbu* plural in the imperfect, the present-tense preverbs *ka-* and *ta-*, the future marker *māš*, and the negative affirmative *-š(i)*.¹³

Thus, the theme of Lindgren's thesis was obviously controversial. Referring to the vast area where Arabic is spoken, he points out that he concentrates his study on Syrian Arabic and mentions other dialects only in passing.¹⁴ It is interesting to

10 Niebuhr 1772: 84. "Ita inter alios C. Niebuhr, quem, quum ipse et Syriam et Aegyptum et Arabiam peragravit, tantum a veritate aberrasse, admodum miramur." Lindgren 1829: 2 b.

11 "Ut caeteros [...] merito silentio praetereamus, [...] F.S. Herbin, qui titulum gerit: *Développemens des principes de la langue Arabe moderne*, sed justae lectorum expectationi tam male respondet, ut pro omnibus fere nihil in eo invenias, quod linguam vulgarem speciatim respiciat." Lindgren 1829: 3 c.

12 Michaelis was informed by Mr. Schumacher, a diplomat who had served as consul in Morocco, that "Moroccans and Meccans understand each other; thus, the difference between the dialects is not as great as could be supposed having regard to the great distance". Michaelis 1783: 13.

13 Gråberg af Hemsö 1828: 193–197.

14 "Nos in hac nostra opella hodiernam Syriae dialectum praecipue tractabimus, de caeteris, quae nobis ut singulis propria innotuerint, non nisi obiter allaturi." Lindgren 1829: 5.

compare the titles of Lindgren's and Wallin's dissertations from this point of view. While Lindgren only writes "on Modern Arabic", Wallin's contrastive approach is more explicit: his discussion covers the differences between the two historical types of Arabic, the old one (*lingua antiqua*) represented by Classical Arabic, and the new one (*lingua hodierna*) represented by the modern dialects of Arabic. The titles seem to reflect two basically different approaches to the linguistic situation of Arabic. In Wallin's thesis it is difficult to find any traces of the academic polemics on the issue. Perhaps the most explicit reference to Lindgren is to be found in the introduction, in which Wallin – apparently following Lindgren's critique of Niebuhr – states that the difference between Classical Arabic and Modern Spoken Arabic is not as marked as is the case between Latin and the language presently spoken in Italy.¹⁵

In his dissertation, Wallin concentrates on morphology. The distinctive phonetic features are treated in a lengthy footnote, and in the sphere of syntax Wallin is content with the most essential hallmarks of Modern Spoken Arabic, that is, the loss of the Old Arabic cases and moods, and two important innovations caused by reductional development: (1) the dialectal analytical genitive and (2) the rise of new mood and tense constructions.

As to analytical genitive constructions, Wallin gives all the modifiers found in Caussin de Perceval's book, also using the same examples: "*bitā'*, *mitā'*, apud Mauros *tā'*; in Arabia *ḥaqq*; Barbaria *dijal* < *allaḍi li-*; in urbe Bagdad *māl*".¹⁶

Among new imperfect constructions caused by the breakdown of the Old Arabic mood system, Wallin first mentions the *bi*-imperfect, which, following Caussin de Perceval,¹⁷ he actually presents almost as a mere morphological doublet without defining any difference in the functions of the two imperfect forms (with and without the prefixed *b*). Like Caussin de Perceval, he only points out that the *bi*-imperfect cannot be used in conditional clauses, nor in the future construction *bidd-* + imperfect.¹⁸

Wallin's descriptions of the new durative present tense preverb '*ammāl*, '*ammālin*, and so on, in shortened form '*amm*: '*amm(āl) biktob* used in sedentary dialects in Lower Egypt and Greater Syria, as well as the North African present tense preverbs *ka-/ta-* ("in dialecto maroccana *ka-/ta- kejakol*, *tejakol*") follow faithfully Caussin de Perceval, as do the future form *beddhā tektob* 'she will write' and the future perfect of the type *ikūn katab* 'he will have written'.

15 Öhrnberg & Berg 2010: 320–321.

16 Öhrnberg & Berg 2010: 301–302.

17 Caussin de Perceval 1833: 30: "*beddo byektob* serait mal dit".

18 Öhrnberg & Berg 2010: 298–299.

Wallin's most important source, Caussin de Perceval's *Grammaire arabe vulgare*, is neither a theoretical study nor an academic textbook, but a practical guide to Spoken Arabic, without references to written sources. The areas and cities mentioned in it are Morocco (often called Barbary), Egypt, Syria, Kasrawan (on the Syrian coast), the Mountains of the Maronites and Druzes, Aleppo, Syria, Baghdad, the Hejaz, and Eastern Bedouin. Since Caussin de Perceval had lived in different eastern parts of the Ottoman empire, first as a student in Constantinople, thereafter a year with Maronites in Lebanon, and later on as an interpreter in Aleppo, he was obviously very often able to draw from observations of his own.

Since the data on Arabic dialects found in the literature were scattered and often rather poorly documented, one wonders whether the picture given by Wallin in his dissertation was reliable. In fact, it is difficult to find indisputable errors other than a slip due to an oversight concerning the interrogative pronoun "who?", which according to Wallin is *ejna* in Syria, *anā* in Egypt, and *amā* m/f in Barbary. Caussin de Perceval gives the correct forms *men/mun* or *mīn*, in the Maghrib *aškūn*¹⁹ but Wallin has mistakenly copied the adjectival "which" (*eyy*, Syr. *eyna*, Eg. *ana*, Barb. *ama*, on the same page, four paragraphs later, §250). Generally speaking, appropriately updated, Wallin's dissertation could even today be used as a short introduction to the main differences between Written and Spoken Arabic.

WALLIN'S LINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS

During his continued studies in St Petersburg 1840–1842, under the guidance of the Egyptian sheikh Muḥammad 'Ayyād al-Ṭanṭāwī (1810–1861), Wallin came into a living contact with Spoken Arabic, and during his stay in Egypt since December 1843 he acquired a profound knowledge of Cairo Arabic. He also widened his dialect repertory on trips to Upper Egypt and to the Nile Delta.

One of Wallin's most important pioneer achievements was collecting the first samples of Bedouin poetry, which he transcribed, translated, and commented upon. They were published in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 5 (1851) and 6 (1852). Many of Wallin's contributions to the study of Arabic dialects were included in these comments.

The two articles did not pass unnoticed. They actually came to play an important role in the history of the study of Bedouin poetry and, subsequently, also of Bedouin dialects, a fact which has not been properly acknowledged. I would like to draw attention to an interesting phase, or chain, in the course of study on Bedouin poetry and Bedouin dialects. When J.G. Wetzstein (1815–1905), who

19 Caussin de Perceval 1833: 102, §246.

in 1848–1862 had served as Prussian consul in Damascus, in the winter term of 1867–1868 held in Berlin a series of lectures on Bedouin poetry, he started it with an analysis of the poems published by Wallin, and used the remaining lectures to discuss the material he had collected himself. One of the participants was the 23-year-old Swiss-born Arabist Albert Socin (1844–1899), who came to Berlin in order to follow these lectures and found them most inspiring. In the following year he started his own field studies in Arabic and Aramaic dialects, and also collected Bedouin poetry.²⁰ Thus, there is a direct scholarly succession from Wallin via Wetzstein to Socin, and to Socin's three-volume study in Bedouin poetry, the classic *Diwan aus Centralarabien* (1900–1901) in which also the poems collected and published by Wallin are critically republished and annotated.

Apart from Wallin's comments on Bedouin poetry, many interesting linguistic observations can be found in his two nearly 70-page articles on the phonetics of Arabic, published posthumously in 1855 and 1858. Among the explorers of Arabia in the nineteenth century, Wallin was probably the best linguist, and in the field of phonetics he was easily superior to all other Arabists of his time. He had a good ear for both languages and music, but that was not all: when he heard an Arabic sound, he was usually able to give an exact acoustic and physiological description of it. His physiological training was part of a course in practical medicine 1842–1843, which he had attended before leaving for the Middle East. His articles on the phonetics of Arabic are indeed admirable in their accurate acoustic and physiological descriptions. Thus, as late as 1956, R.S. Harrell, a leading American general linguist specialized in Arabic, assessing the well-known Oxford university textbook *The Phonetics of Arabic* (1925) by W.H.T. Gairdner, criticizes the author's "impressionistic, metaphoric descriptions" and refers to "the cool, clear factuality of Wallin, written seventy-five years earlier".²¹

The Bedouin *tanwīn*

Some European explorers in Arabia observed that Bedouins in the inner parts of the Peninsula make use of the so-called *tanwīn*, nunation, the Old Arabic indefinite marker in the singular. That they regarded it as a Classical Arabic device is only natural, but it could also be looked upon as evidence of a preserved Old Arabic case system. Thus, W.G. Palgrave (1826–1888) in 1862 wrote that the Arabic spoken in Ha'il "is in fact the language of the Coran, neither more nor less, with all its niceties, inflections, and desinences, not one is lost or slurred

²⁰ See Socin 1901: 8.

²¹ Harrell 1956: 22.

over". According to Palgrave, this is true for Jabal Shammar as well as Northern and Central Najd: "Here the smallest and raggedest child that toddles about the street lisps in the correctest book-Arabic that ever de Sacy studies or Sibawee'yah professed."²² This description might be ascribed to the general impression that the Northern Arabian Bedouin dialect made on Palgrave, and the exaggerated formulations could be looked upon as a literary means to convey this impression rather than as linguistic documentation. But when in another context he states that the case system in Riyadh is about to collapse, whereas it is still productively used in Qasim,²³ these statements are obviously written in order to be taken as attested linguistic facts. Yet, they can scarcely be treated as anything other than fictitious speculations or second-hand hearsay information.

Richard Burton (1821–1890) describes the language situation in inner Arabia – which he did not visit – with circumspection:

The traveller in Arabia will always be told that some remote clan still produces mighty bards, and uses in conversation the terminal vowels of the classic tongue, but he will not believe these assertions till personally convinced of their truth.

Burton does not seem to be fully convinced; he does not refer to any specific linguistic trait but adds only a general note: "The Badawi dialect, however, though debased, is still, as of yore, purer than the language of the citizens."²⁴

C.M. Doughty (1843–1926) was also impressed by the Shammari dialect. In the small village of Mōgag (Mawqaq), about 60 km west of Ha'il he came to the fringes of Jabal Shammar:

Here first in Nejd I heard the *nūn* in the ending of nouns pronounced indefinitely, it is like Attic sweetness in the Arabian tongue, and savours at the first hearing of self-pleasing, but is with them a natural erudition.

Doughty does not, however, identify the Shammari dialect with Classical Arabic. He mastered the dialect well enough to use the Bedouin *tanwīn* in correct positions:

I pronounced, in the Nejd manner, the *nūn* in the end of nouns used indifferently, and sometimes the Bedouin plurals; which might be pleasant in a townsman's hearing.²⁵

²² Palgrave 1865: 53, 311.

²³ Palgrave 1865: 463–465.

²⁴ Burton 1855, II: 98, n. 2.

²⁵ Doughty 1888, I: 580–581; II: 521.

All these notes on the Bedouin *tanwīn* were written after Wallin's travels and his publications. Before him, J.L. Burckhardt (1784–1817) described the language type of the Bedouin, but only in relative terms, without mentioning any particular linguistic feature:

The Bedouins use a dialect much more pure, and in its construction much more correct and grammatical than the low language of the Syrian and Egyptian mob, which is wholly excluded from the encampments of the Desert.²⁶

Wallin, having entered the Northern Arabian dialect area, was also impressed by the conservative type of the dialect. In his letter to Professor Geitlin on 4 July 1845, he described the dialect spoken at al-Jawf: “the language is almost the pure language of the Qur'an, with nunation”. The preservation of the *tanwīn* spontaneously associated the dialect with Classical Arabic,²⁷ and it naturally raised the question whether the old cases were preserved as well. In the same sentence Wallin answers the question: “there is no clear distinction between the cases”, which can probably be understood as a cautiously formulated statement that in the dialect spoken at al-Jawf there are no case contrasts.²⁸

To the best of my knowledge, Wallin is the first European scholar who reports the use of *tanwīn* in Northern Arabia. As such, this is a feature which is easy to discern almost at first hearing, but Wallin goes deeper. Examining the feature diachronically, he establishes that the Bedouin *tanwīn* is not only a residue but also the result of an innovative development. After the disappearance of the case system, the difference between the so-called triptote or diptote nouns also disappeared, and the *tanwīn* spread to cases where it did not occur in Old Arabic, such as the sound masculine plural forms: *nāzilīnīn*, plural of *nāzil* ‘staying (at someone’s)’. The same applies to dual forms, too, although Wallin in this connection does not mention them. All proper names of any form belong to the same category. The examples *Maḥmūdīn*, *Su'ūdīn*, *Najdīn* given by Wallin happen to be triptote in Old Arabic, but in his transcriptions there are also a few examples of broken plurals which in Old Arabic were diptotes: *malā'imīn*, plural of *mal'ūn* ‘damned’, and *mebāgīdīn*, plural of the “intensive form” *mibgād* (Wallin) or *mabgūd* ‘hateful’ (Socin).²⁹ Since the examples occur in poetry, it has to be borne in mind that in Classical poetry diptotes are also used as triptotes.

²⁶ Burckhardt 1830: 211–212.

²⁷ Another striking archaic trait mentioned by Wallin next to the *tanwīn* is the use of long imperfect forms such as *ṭigūlīn*, *yigūlūn*, etc. (“med fulla verbalformer såsom *taḳolīna*, *jaḳolōna*, o.s.v.”)

²⁸ “utan bestämd skilnad emellan casus” Elmgren III: 165; Palva 1997: 233.

²⁹ Wallin 1851b: 6, 23; 1852: 191; 1858b: 673. *mebāgīdīn*, Wallin 1852: 191, line 15 (transcription), the vowel of the last syllable should be read as short, cf. the Arabic script (p. 190), and Socin 1900: 282.

Wallin does not call attention to the form and presence vs. absence of *tanwīn* alone, but he also makes observations on the contexts in which it typically occurs. One of the most frequent cases is before the suffixed prepositions *l-* and *b-*, for example, *ibnilli* 'a son of mine', *ummilli* 'my mother ('meine Mutter') (undefined?)', *axuilli* 'a brother of mine', *nāziṭīnimbah* 'those living in it'. Wallin also points out that *tanwīn* does not occur prepausally, an observation which, generally speaking, is correct.³⁰

Wallin undoubtedly had acute hearing and a good memory; yet, not all observations are above suspicion. Thus, having stated that the plural morpheme of masculine regular nouns is *-īn*, he continues:

[H]owever, in Najd and Mesopotamia (never in other provinces) you very often hear [the suffix] *-ūn*, even in the speech of common people and women, who can neither read nor write.³¹

That Wallin in his diaries on a few occasions transcribes the short vowel preceding the *tanwīn* as *a*, or once even *u*, is morphologically not significant, as these are obviously used as case markers. But Wallin's report regarding the seemingly nominative plural suffix *-ūn* looks perplexing, especially as it cannot be ascribed to carelessness. However, the affirmative *-ūn* cannot properly be regarded as a nominative morpheme – in fact, Wallin does not explicitly imply that – neither is it probably a case-indifferent variant used side by side with *-īn*. Unfortunately, Wallin does not give examples of the phenomenon. Instead of interpreting *-ūn* as a preserved nominative morpheme, it is more plausible to regard it as a hybrid form using the plural morpheme *-ūn* of the imperfect (*yigūlūn* etc.), the more so as the long imperfect forms are typical of Mesopotamian and Najdi Arabic. Considering Wallin's note that the plural morpheme *-ūn* occurs commonly, it is somewhat surprising that it has not been reported by others after Wallin. On the other hand, hybrid forms combining nominal and verbal elements are not entirely improbable in Arabic dialects. Thus, the etymologically problematic plural forms of genitive exponents such as *ḥaggūn/ḥaggōn*, *tabā'ūn*, *btā'ūn* may be such a case. A further parallel case can be found in plurals of demonstrative pronouns going back to **hādūn*.³²

It should also be observed that Wallin's remark on *-ūn* was part of material published posthumously by his successor Herman Kellgren, who points out

³⁰ Wallin 1858b: 673.

³¹ Wallin 1858b: 674. The nominative form *مترىضون* *mitrayyidūn* 'tarrying, lingering', Wallin 1852: 209, can probably be attributed to an unintended slip.

³² Palva 1991: 130–131; Fischer 1959: 80–81.

that the 1858 article was based on a rough draft by Wallin.³³ Another interesting feature is discussed on the same page, namely the suffix *-ān*, which Wallin reports having very frequently heard among the Bani ‘Aṭīye and Bani ‘Ugba tribes in the northwestern corner of the Peninsula. It occurs in the items ‘*ūdān* and ‘*ugbān* ‘after a while’, and Wallin identifies it as a dual morpheme.³⁴ In that case it would be an ossified nominative, preserved as part of an adverb. However, this analysis is hardly plausible; the latter component of the adverb has more likely to be traced to a particle, probably the same as, for example, in the adverbs *ba’dēn*, *halla’tēn*, and *kamān*.

Phonetic conditioning of affrication of *q and *k

In the classification of the dialects of Arabic, one of the most central typologically distinctive features is the pronunciation of the reflexes of the consonants *qāf* and *kāf*. As to the former, it is a well-known fact that it has three main reflexes the distribution of which broadly follows the history of settlement. In sedentary dialects its reflexes are voiceless: in most old urban dialects of Lower Egypt and Greater Syria – as well as in some urban dialects outside these areas, for example, Fez – the reflex is the glottal stop [ʔ] ‘*āf*, for example, ‘*ahwa*, and most old sedentary dialects of rural type have the post-velar [q] *qāf* reflex, for example, *qahwe*, whereas – as already pointed out by Ibn Khaldūn – in Bedouin dialects the reflex of *qāf* is the voiced [g] *gāf*, as in *gahwa* or *gahawa*. In several textbooks of Arabic available to Wallin, this distribution is actually commented upon.³⁵

But there is another typologically distinctive phenomenon concerning both *qāf* and *kāf*, which Wallin was the first scholar to analyse, that is, the pattern of their palatalization. In mediaeval Arabic philological literature it is known as *kaškaša*, or *kaskasa*, which implies affrication of *kāf* in certain dialects, in some to *tš*, in some other to *ts*, often using, for example, the affixed personal pronoun of the 2nd person singular feminine *-ki/-ik*.³⁶

The phenomenon is well known in several modern Arabic dialects as well, and in his dissertation Wallin – following Caussin de Perceval – also mentions the affrication of *kāf* among the Bedouin in the East.³⁷ Interestingly, mediaeval

33 “nach einem im Nachlasse des Verfassers befindlichen ersten Conceptione in deutscher Sprache”, Wallin 1858b: 666*.

34 Wallin 1858b: 674.

35 e.g. Caussin de Perceval 1833: 9, §24.

36 e.g. Bakr *ik* > *its* in prepausal position; Rabī’a: *ik/ki* > *itš/tši* both in prepausal and medial position, de Sacy 1829: 110–111; *k/tš*, e.g. *tchēlb*, Caussin de Perceval 1833: 10, §25; Wallin 1855: 60–61.

37 Öhrnberg & Berg 2010: 312 (Sw. 338), Note III,2.

Arab philologists discuss the affrication of *kāf*, but do not mention that of *qāf*, that is, that of its voiced reflex [g] typical of Bedouin dialects. This suggests that in the eighth to ninth centuries *qāf* had not yet become fronted enough to bring about affrication of its front allophone. Consequently, the palatalization of the voiced [g] variant of *qāf* can plausibly be regarded as a relatively late phenomenon, caused by either push-chain or pull-chain development that followed the fronting and palatalization of *jīm* (the Semitic *g*).

In Wallin's report of his third expedition to Arabia, *Notes Taken during a Journey through Part of Northern Arabia, in 1848*, linguistic matters are not much touched upon. However, having at al-Jaww left the tribal area of the Bani 'Aṭīye, he comes to the Hijaz proper. Entering the tribal area of the Beli, he observes an important dialect boundary:

The Bely is the first tribe in this part whose dialect assimilates to that spoken in by the inhabitants of Negd (Nejd), and the 'Enezé Bedouins [...] by its frequent use of the tanwīn, and by certain grammatical forms and idiomatic expressions from the ancient language; and still more strikingly by the peculiar pronunciation of the letters *ḵ* (*ḵāf*) and *k* (*kāf*), called *kashkashé*, by the Arabian grammarians.³⁸

In a letter to Professor Geitlin from al-Jawf on 4 July 1845, Wallin writes: “curiously enough, *kāf* is pronounced as *k* in our [Sw.] *kārra*, and *ḵāf* almost as *ds*. This gives the language a peculiar slurring ring and renders it difficult to understand.” Here he thus mentions the affrication of both *qāf* and *kāf*. Earlier on, the affrication of *qāf* was – in a rather vague wording – only mentioned by Niebuhr, who reports that in Muscat and some regions (“in einigen Gegenden”) in the Persian Gulf area it is pronounced as *tsh*.³⁹ Niebuhr's obviously inaccurate observation is then without any further comment referred to by Michaelis.⁴⁰ Thus, Wallin is the first scholar who observed the phonetic conditioning of the affrication of both *qāf* and *kāf*, and even he explicitly not earlier than in a posthumous article published in 1858:

The more common feature, among the purest and noblest Bedouin tribes of Najd in particular, is the irregularity in the pronunciation of *qaf* as *ds* [...], however, as far as I can remember, only before and after a *kesr* and before a *fath*, not after it or an *alif*, and never before or after a *ḍamm* or a *waw*. Thus, these Arabs pronounce for instance *aldzābile*, *dzible*, *midzbil* [...] ‘*adzil*; whereas

³⁸ Wallin 1851a: 325. The difference between the Northwest Arabian dialects and the Hijazi dialect of the Beli is striking indeed, see Palva 2008: 400–408.

³⁹ Niebuhr 1772: 83. The affricated reflex of /g/ is probably voiced rather than the voiceless *tsh*.

⁴⁰ Michaelis 1783: 23.

I cannot recall that for instance *'r'q, yqwl* and so on would be pronounced otherwise than *'irāg, iagōl* and so on.⁴¹

Wallin's observation would imply that, according to him, /g/ in certain Bedouin dialects is affricated before and after /i/ as well as before the front allophone of /a/, never before or after /u/ and the back allophone of /a/. Interestingly, on the same page, a few lines lower down, Wallin frankly admits:

However, I have to point out that *ts* and *dz*, into which ʕ and ǧ have merged, are usually merged, and pronounced so rapidly and unclearly that at least my ear is not able to define and distinguish the separate sounds of which they are composed. In particular, this applies to the latter sound; my ear does not tell for sure whether I should describe it with *dz*, *ds*, or *dṣ*.⁴²

Diachronic theory of *q

In his 1858 posthumously published article, Wallin launches the theory that *q in Old Arabic was an unaspirated stop with both voiced [g] and voiceless [q] variants, of which the voiceless variant has disappeared in Bedouin dialects and the voiced in sedentary dialects.⁴³ H. Blanc, when discussing the fronting of Semitic *g* and the *qāl* vs. *gāl* dialect split, rejects both J. Cantineau's (1950) and A. Martinet's (1953) theories which resort to borrowing; the former presumes that the voiceless *q* was borrowed from Aramaic, whereas the latter regards the voiced *g* variant as a borrowing from those dialects of Arabic in which it had developed.⁴⁴ As far as Old Arabic is concerned, it is interesting to notice that Blanc's starting points are not very far from Wallin's theory: "Now there are good grounds for believing that *q* had both voiced and voiceless allophones; that *g* (*gīm*) was fronted, possibly as a result of pressure from *q*, before the *qāl* – *gāl* dialect split occurred; and that all present-day reflexes of *q* can probably be derived from a single Old Arabic voice-indifferent *q*."⁴⁵

41 Wallin 1858a: 604. In a previous article he had given a rather detailed, physiologically based description of the phenomenon, commented on by Cantineau (1936: 29) as follows: "En ce qui concerne les dialectes modernes de nomades, ces affrications sont signalées pour la première fois, je crois, par Wallin, *Über die Laute des Arabischen und ihre Bezeichnung*, ZDMG, IX (1855), p. 60."

42 Wallin 1858a: 604. Cf. 1851b: 10: "*Alšidk* wird von den Beduinen Negd's gewöhnlich *aššuduts* gesprochen. Die Buchstaben ʕ und ʕ̣ lauten namentlich bei ihnen immer etwa wie *ts* oder *ds*, zuweilen wie *tsch* oder das englische *ch*."

43 Wallin 1858a: 605.

44 In more detail, see Edzard 2009: 1–3.

45 Blanc 1969: 11.

The “*gahawa syndrome*”

One of Wallin's phonetic and phonotactic observations pertains to the changes in syllable structure commonly called the “*gahawa syndrome*”, so labelled by Blanc in 1970. This implies that when a laryngeal, pharyngeal or postvelar fricative is preceded by /a/ and followed by a consonant, an anaptyctic /a/ is pronounced between the two consonants, that is, -aXC → -aXaC (X = *ħ*, ' , *χ*, *ġ* or *h*)⁴⁶ or, as Wallin puts it, when a vowelless guttural (“ein ruhender Guttural”) is preceded by the vowel *a*, it often gets an [a] vowel. According to Wallin, this happens even in Egypt, where however it is more uncommon than in the desert, and “in Syria one can often hear *i'arif* instead of *ia'rif*.”⁴⁷

The examples *ḥasan* and *ḥamar* given by Wallin⁴⁸ represent the syllabic structure after the *gahawa syndrome* and the subsequent resyllabification of the sequence CaCaCV- → CCVCV- in most Bedouin dialects: *'aḥsan* → *'áḥsan* → **ḥásan* = *ḥasan*; *'aḥmar* → *'áḥmar* → **ḥámar* = *ḥamar*. This process was analysed and defined for the first time by Cantineau in the 1930s.⁴⁹ Further examples given by Wallin are *yā mā ḥalā* ‘how sweet!’ instead of *yā mā 'aḥlā*, and *yā ḥala* ‘welcome!’ instead of *yā 'aḥlan/'aḥlā*. The process *'aḥl* > *'aḥal* > **ḥal* > *ḥal* can be explained as a case of the *gahawa syndrome* followed by resyllabification, whereas the short items *ṭar* ‘trace’ in *baṭar* ‘after’, and *bil* ‘camels (coll.)’, mentioned in the same context, belong to the same category only partially, if they are explained as being related to resyllabification: *'aṭar + uḥ* > **ṭaruh* > *ṭaruh*; through generalization > *ṭar*; *'ibil + uḥ* > **biluh* > *biluh* + triradicalization of the root: > *billuh*, but *ábil*.⁵⁰

In a later, posthumous article Wallin gives more examples which follow the *gahawa syndrome* pattern: *'aḥd* > *'aḥad* ‘epoch’, ‘agreement’, *yahfar* > *iiḥafir* ‘to dig’, *ra'l* > *ra'al* ‘young ostrich’, *baġš* > *baġaš* ‘rain cloud’.⁵¹ However, his examples also include cases such as *bu'd* > *bu'ud* ‘distance’ and *yuxšā* > *yuxašā* ‘to fear’, ‘to be ashamed, embarrassed’, which do not belong to the same category but represent another type of anaptyxis.

In Wallin's days, practically all European textbooks of Arabic abounded in comparative notes, most often making comparisons to Hebrew and Aramaic. In this context, Wallin points out that this rule is – as is well known – common in

46 Blanc 1970: 125–126.

47 Wallin 1852: 199.

48 Wallin 1852: 215

49 See in more detail, Edzard 2009: 1–3; Cantineau 1936: 61–63.

50 Wallin 1852: 200; Wetzstein 1868: 171; Socin 1901: 117; Cantineau 1936: 66.

51 Wallin 1855: 28.

Hebrew, but, unlike in Hebrew, when the guttural in Arabic occurs in word-final position, it is not preceded by a *pataḥ furtivum*.⁵²

The 3rd person plural perfect morpheme *-um*

In his 1851b article, Wallin gives the 3rd person plural perfect forms of the *tertiaefirmae* verbs: *gau* ‘they came’, *raḍau* ‘they were willing, satisfied’, adding the information that the Egyptians and partly also the Syrians use the variants *gum* and *riḍyum*. This seems to be the first report of this feature, at the present time still common in Eastern and Central Delta, Cairo included. Wallin correctly explains the form as having been taken over from the pronominal morphology.⁵³

Intransitive verbs of Form II

Wallin also points out, as probably the first scholar to do so, that in Bedouin dialects many verbs in the predominantly transitive Form II (*fa^{al}*) are used with intransitive meaning, instead of the basic Form I, for example, *rawwalḥ* ‘to go’ and *qarrab/garrab/’arrab* ‘to come close’, usually with a sort of intensive connotation.⁵⁴ Referring to Wallin, Socin adds the information that this is used preferably (“ist besonders beliebt”) in verbs of motion, such as *sayyar* ‘to roam, ramble’, *bawwa* ‘to stride’, *wagga* ‘to fall down’, *ḥawwal* ‘to descend, dismount’, *waggaf* ‘to stop’; and verbs of becoming something, such as *ḥayyal* ‘to strengthen’, *šayyab* ‘to grey’, *ḍayyag* ‘to become narrow’.⁵⁵

Expressing future action

In his 1852 article, Wallin reports the use of the imperfect forms *yabḡī*, *tabḡī*, *abḡī* and so on ‘to want’ in the ‘Anazi Bedouin dialects to express future action, in the

52 Wallin 1855: 28–29.

53 “Die Aegypter und zum Theil auch die Syrer substituiren die Endung des Pronomens und sagen *gum* und *riḍyum*.” Wallin 1851b: 5. Cf. Behnstedt & Woidich 1983, Map 206: *katabum*, *mish(y)um*, *yīgum*, *yiktibum* occur very frequently, especially as prepausal forms in Central and Eastern Delta; outside this area it is less frequent or does not occur. See also Woidich 1980: 220; Behnstedt 1997, Map 139: only the Syrian desert: *-am* f. *-an*, Albū Kmāl *-um* m./f.; Map 214a: the Syrian desert: *jaw/jō*, nowhere in Syria *jum* or the like. Woidich 1980: 220: “Als fakultative Variante tritt das Pluralmorphem *-um* neben *-u*, und zwar in der 2. und 3. Person, sowie im Imperfekt, jedoch nie zusammen mit weiteren Suffixen. Es ist obligatorisch in Kairo bei dem unregelmässigen Verb *gib* ‘er kam’: *gum* ‘sie kamen’, mit Negation aber immer *ma-ḡūs*”. In el-Tantavy 1848, the *-um* variant is mentioned as a phonetic feature in Préface, pp. xi–xii.

54 Wallin 1852: 209–210.

55 Socin 1901, III: 153.

Hijaz *tibgā*, in al-Jawf and Jabal Shammar in the shortened form *tabī*, for example, *abgī amidd bācīr* [Arab. orth.] = Eg. *rāyīḥ asāfir bukra* 'I'll travel tomorrow.'⁵⁶ Interestingly, he points out that the form both in the desert and in Mesopotamia is also used about inanimate objects: *al-jidār yabgī yūga* 'the wall will collapse, is about to collapse'. This piece of information is diachronically most relevant, as it is a sign of the beginning grammaticalization of the form, a development which in Syria and Egypt many centuries earlier had led to the rise of the *bi-* imperfect.⁵⁷

Lexical observations

As mentioned above, Wallin did not compile any lists of Bedouin vocabulary, but his notes on Bedouin poems contain several items many of which probably appear for the first time in Western scholarly literature. Examples of such typical Bedouin items are *biḥāda* 'here' (Wallin 1852: 6), *ḡād* 'there' (1852: 215), *mar/mēr* 'but, however' (= *lākin*) (1852: 203), *atārīk* 'it seems, as I see it' (a sentence initial particle introducing new information which explains something that occurs previously in the story; 'now it so happened', expresses a sudden realization, counter expectation, surprise or regret) (1852: 212), *ḡadi* 'perhaps' (1852: 214), *dōb* 'scarcely' (1852: 217), *yamm* 'towards; beside' (1851b: 20), *galaṭ* 'to approach', *gallaṭ* 'to send before; to put forth, to serve' (*garrab*, synonym of both) (1851b: 21), and *gowṭar* 'to go' (1851b: 22).

Summary

Georg August Wallin did not write systematic descriptions of any single dialect of Arabic, nor did he publish comparative studies of different dialect types, for example, sedentary and Bedouin dialects. These kinds of studies were not introduced in Europe earlier than towards the end of the nineteenth century. Wallin's first contributions to the study of the dialects spoken in the Arabian Peninsula are closely connected to his pioneer work as the first publisher of modern Bedouin poetry which he had collected in the Peninsula; many of his linguistic observations can be found in the commentaries of the poems. His thorough linguistic training helped him to identify salient dialectal features and to analyze their structural implications.

⁵⁶ Wallin 1852: 210.

⁵⁷ "Es wird in der ganzen Wüste so wie in Mesopotamien gebraucht um das Futurum zu umschreiben, auch von leblosen Dingen: *abgī amidd bācīr* [Arab. orth.] = Eg. *rāyīḥ asāfir bukra*, cf. Egypt *rāyīḥ*.

Among the observations discussed in this article, the following structurally important aspects may be pointed out: (1) In spite of the partial preservation of the Old Arabic *tanwīn* in certain Peninsular Bedouin dialects, the old case system has disappeared. The vowels occurring in the same position as the old case vowels no longer serve as case markers. (2) The *tanwīn* used in Bedouin dialects is not only a residue of the Old Arabic *tanwīn*, it also implies innovations. It may be attached to the plural and dual morphemes *-īn* and *-ēn*, as well as to the former diptote nouns; the category of triptotes has been generalized, and that of diptotes has disappeared. (3) In dialects in which the front allophones of *gāf* and *kāf* are pronounced palatally, they are commonly affricated to [ǧ] or [ǧ̣] and [č] or [č̣] respectively. The affrication is in most cases phonetically conditioned.

As an observer of Arabic dialects, Wallin differed from other explorers in two important respects. Firstly, he had already before his explorations systematically studied the structural differences between Classical Arabic and Modern Spoken Arabic and was therefore unusually well prepared to observe relevant dialect features. Secondly, due to his good knowledge of physiology, he, unlike most other colleagues, was able to define his acoustic observations in exact physiological terms.

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