

THE SANUSI CREED IN KABYLE BERBER:

MANUSCRIPT KA 21 FROM THE LMUHUB ULAHBIB LIBRARY (BÉJAÏA, ALGERIA)

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*To everyone who teaches, speaks, studies, or wants to learn Berber,
To whomever wishes to speak, understand, read, or decipher a language,
To those who seek to recover the meaning of a spoken or written word, no matter how obscure.*

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Abstract

This thesis presents the study of the *Sanusi Creed* in Kabyle Berber (manuscript KA 21 from the *Lmuhub Ulahbib* library, Béjaïa, Algeria). The Introduction provides necessary background information on Berber languages, on the manuscript in question, the topic it discusses, and the Arabic sources. The core of this work consists of the detailed analysis of the original document. It presents the text of the manuscript in the Arabic script, a line-for-line Latin transliteration, a transcription with added punctuation, a translation into English, interlinear glosses, and word-by-word glosses and comments. The last chapter discusses some of the most interesting features encountered in the manuscript, summarises the study, and draws some conclusions.

Abbreviations

In the gloss line

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
A	Aorist
ACT	Active (PTC.ACT – active participle)
AD	Preverbal “projective/ prospective” particle <i>ad</i> (‘non-realised’)
AN	Anaphoric deixis (<i>nni</i>)
AUX	Auxiliary
CAUS	Causative
COP	Copula (NEG.COP – negative copula <i>ulašš</i>)
DAT	Dative
DEF	Definite pronoun (<i>w, t</i>)
DO	Direct object
EA	Annexed State (état d’annexion)
EL	Free State (état libre)
F	Feminine
GEN	Genitive
I	Imperfect/ive, Intensive, Innacompli
IMP	Imperative
IMPF	Imperfective prefix <i>ṭṭ</i>
INDF	Indefinite
INSTR	Instrumental
IO	Indirect object
M	Masculine
MID	Middle
MPASS	Medio-passive
NEG	Negation (<i>u(r)</i> = NEG1, particle 1, <i>ara</i> = NEG2, particle 2)
NOM	Nominative
P	Perfect/ive or Preterite
PASS	Passive
PL	Plural (pl. tant. = plurale tantum)
PN	Negative Perfective
PRED	Predicative particle <i>d</i>
PRON	Pronoun (PERS = personal, INDF = indefinite, POSS = possessive)
PTC	Participle
REFL	Reflexive
SG	Singular
SPT	“Supportive element” or non-definite pronoun (<i>i</i> = SPT1, <i>a</i> = SPT2)
VENT	Ventive, deictic clitic <i>d</i> ‘hither’

Language

Ar.	Arabic
B.	Berber
Bz.	Berberized (the word is not used by my informant)
B(z)	Berberized (etymologically Arabic, but found in dictionaries)
G.K.	(Dialect of) Grande (Greater) Kabylia, Greater Kabyle
P.K.	(Dialect of) Petite (Lesser) Kabylia, Lesser Kabyle

Part of speech

ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
CONJ	Conjunction
DEM	Demonstrative
INDF	Indefinite
INT	Interrogative (question-word)
INTERJ	Interjection
N	Noun
NUM	Numeral
PREP	Preposition
PTC	Participle
PTCL	Particle
PRON	Pronoun (PERS = personal, INDF = indefinite, POSS = possessive)
V	Verb

Other

AH	(<i>Anno Hegirae</i>) Date according to Islamic calendar
C	Consonant
cf.	<i>Confer</i> (compare)
fig.	Figurative(ly)
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
lit.	Literal(ly)
MAN	Mood/Aspect/Negation
MS	Manuscript (MSS = Manuscripts)
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
OBJ	Object
REL	Relative
SUBJ	Subject
syn.	Synonym
Transcr.	Transcription
Transl.	Translation
Translit.	Transliteration
V	Vowel
var.	Variant

Literature

B&P	Basset, André & André Picard. 1948. <i>Éléments de grammaire berbère (Kabylie-Irjen)</i> .
Dallet	Dallet, Jean-Marie. 1982. <i>Dictionnaire kabyle-français: parler des At Mangellat, Algérie</i> .
Enc.Islam	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition</i> . 2006. Leiden: Brill Online.
KNZ	Naït-Zerrad, Kamal. 2001. <i>Grammaire moderne du kabyle/Tajerrumt tatrart n teqbaylit</i> .
Kossmann	Kossmann, Maarten. (f.c.). 'Berber'. To appear in: Zygmunt Frajzyngier & Erin Shay (eds.). <i>The Afroasiatic Languages</i> .
Lane	Lane, Edward William. 2004. <i>Arabic-English lexicon</i> [cd-rom].
<i>Lisān al-‘arab</i>	Ibn Manẓūr. 1990. <i>Lisān al-‘arab</i> . Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘ilmīyah.
vdB	Van den Boogert (1997 and 2000).
(f.c.)	(forthcoming)

Manuscripts

<i>aṣ-Ṣuyrā</i>	<i>al-‘Aqīda aṣ-ṣuyrā (Umm al-Barāhīn)</i>
KA 21	The studied manuscript
<i>Soummam</i>	Manuscript tia 08 (not catalogued in Mechehed 2004)

Symbols and conventions

<i>b.</i>	(a dot after a consonant) the consonant lacks vocalisation
<i>n° - n°</i>	page number-line number (e.g. 1-3: page 1, line 3)
*	- unattested/ ungrammatical form; - (in 'Word-by-word glosses') comment to the whole line
^	assimilation, e.g. <i>ṭ^ṭinna < ḍ ṭinna</i>
<	comes from
>	results in
<>	spelling (transliteration)
<i>k</i>	grapheme
/g/	phoneme
[text]	reconstructed/supplied text

The Sanusi creed in Kabyle Berber: Manuscript KA 21 from the Lmuhub Ulahbib Library

1. Introduction

1.1. Aims and methodology

Contrary to the famous quote from Aspinion (1953: 1), *le berbère ne s'écrit pas*, ('Berber is not written') this thesis deals with Berber as a written language. More specifically, the language treated here is (Eastern) Kabyle Berber, as recorded in the manuscript KA 21 from the *Lmuhub Ulahbib* library (Béjaïa, Algeria).¹ This MS presents a Berber version of a rather well-known Arabic text – the *Sanusi creed*. Both the Kabyle document and its Arabic sources were studied by the author. This task was greatly enhanced by the gracious assistance of Mohamed Hadji, a native speaker of Kabyle Berber and my principal language consultant.

The first chapter provides necessary background information on Berber languages and on the manuscript in question. Chapter 2 discusses the content of the manuscript and compares it with the Arabic sources. Chapter 3 deals with the writing system, orthography, and the language. Chapter 4 is an introduction to the main body of this work, presented in Chapter 5. The core of this thesis consists of the presentation and analysis of the original Berber document. In Chapter 5, on facing pages are shown: 1a) line-for-line Latin transliteration, 1b) the text of the manuscript in the Arabic script; 2a) transcription with added punctuation, and 2b) literal translation into English. Then follow the literary translation, interlinear glosses, and finally the word-by-word glosses and comments. Finally, Chapter 6 discusses some of the most interesting features encountered in the MS, summarises the study, and draws some conclusions.

The present work is partly inspired by Van den Boogert (1997, 1989, and 2000). I used his and similar studies as a guideline for this research.² Unfortunately, the literature on the subject of Berber codicology is rather limited (with the exception of Mechehed, Ould-Braham, and a few others).³

¹ The document consists of eight pages of approximately twenty lines each. See Section 1.3 for more details, and Appendix 1 for the photos of the MS and for the map of Algeria.

² On the general question of how to interpret and to translate a theological text, the example of Lati 1980 was also examined.

³ See Mechehed 2004; 2007a; 2007b; 2007c; Aïssani & Mechehed 1999; 2007 and *forthcoming*. There are a few studies of Berber MSS by Ould-Braham (1988; 2008). Other scholars working in the field of Berber codicology include Saadouni, Stroemer, and Abrous.

Therefore, my major source for this work was the Kabyle original itself. I also consulted (Kabyle) Berber dictionary (Dallet 1982) and a few grammars.⁴

Since the *Sanusi creed* is also known from Arabic sources, I have studied these as well. The Arabic texts of the *Sanusi creed* have been edited, compared, and commented upon in numerous studies.⁵ The problem here was to identify which Arabic text to choose for comparison purposes. Since the Kabyle manuscript does not seem to be a literal translation of any of the Arabic sources, I studied various versions of the *Sanusi creed* in search of parallels. This was a quite a laborious and time-consuming task, but as a reward, found Berber-Arabic parallels helped me to arrive at a better understanding of the text, which in turn helped me to translate it more accurately.

When examining Arabic sources, I did not work with language consultants since there are no native speakers of Classical Arabic. Fortunately, there are many Arabic dictionaries available.⁶ As for Kabyle, the only dictionary that I have consulted is Dallet (1982) – the most comprehensive dictionary currently available for this language. However, this dictionary is based on the dialect of Kabyle spoken in Grande Kabylia, as opposed to Petite Kabyle dialect (the language of the manuscript).⁷ Hence, some of the lexemes, forms, constructions, and meanings specific to Petite Kabylia, are not found in that dictionary.

A similar note must be made about my language consultant. Mr. Hadji comes from the area where Grande Kabyle is spoken.⁸ Therefore, some of the features of Petite Kabyle dialect were not readily recognised or understood by him. These special cases were verified with other language consultants who come from Petite Kabyle area and who are thus more familiar with that dialect.

⁴ Basset & Picard 1948; Naït-Zerrad 2001; and Rabhi 1994. A typological overview of Berber by Kossmann (f.c.) has also proven to be useful. I have also consulted Basset's *Atlas* (1939).

⁵ For the primary sources, see under the author Sanusi (Sanūsī) in the bibliography. Some of the major secondary sources on the *Sanusi creed* include: Luciani 1896 and 1898; Kenny 1970 and 1990; and Dorpmüller 2005.

⁶ The dictionaries that I referred to during my study of Arabic sources include: Lane 2004; Wehr 1979; and *Lisān al-‘arab*. However, these dictionaries are not sufficient when one deals with texts from North Africa. Therefore, while working on Arabic or Berberized lexemes found in the Berber manuscript, I have additionally consulted: Dozy 1927; Kazimirski 1860; Beaussier 1931; Marçais & Guîga 1961; and Sabia & Najji 2000.

⁷ There are some differences between these two dialects. Thus, on the level of sounds, G.K. [ɟ] often corresponds to P.K. [t̪], while [bb] corresponds to [w]. There are differences on other levels of the language as well. Whenever I encountered features specific for P.K. region in the manuscript, this is noted in the word-by-word gloss and commentaries.

⁸ Mr. Hadji's mother comes from Tizi Ouzou (Grande Kabylia), while his father comes from Bordj Bouareridj in Petite Kabylia. As a result, Mr. Hadji is (at least passively) familiar with both Kabyle dialects. However, he himself speaks the language of his mother (G.K.), since he has been more exposed to this variety.

In sum, the major sources of the present work are: 1) the original Berber manuscript; 2) secondary literature on Berber: grammar (B&P, KNZ, Rabhi, and Kossmann), lexicon (Dallet), and codicology (Van den Boogert and Mechehed); 3) primary literature on the *Sanusi creed* in Arabic; 4) secondary literature on the *Sanusi creed* in English, French, and German (by Kenny, Luciani, and Dorpmüller, respectively); 5) various (Classical, Standard, and dialectal) Arabic dictionaries, and one dictionary of Kabyle Berber.

The major goals of my research were: 1) to analyse the language of the document; 2) to examine the relationship between the language and the script; and 3) to translate the text into English.⁹ Additional goals could have been, for example: (a) to examine the theological content of the manuscript; (b) to compare it to the Arabic sources and to see how and where they differ in content; and (c) to investigate the history of the *Sanusi creed*. Alternatively, one could chose to compare the Berber manuscript with the Arabic sources linguistically (in terms of morphosyntax and lexicon), e.g. to examine which Arabic words or phrases are kept in the Berber version, and which ones are replaced by Berber equivalents. However interesting such questions might be, they fall outside the scope of the present study, since I have chosen to focus on the linguistic analysis of the manuscript. The entire text can be seen as a “corpus” that can be used to obtain various sorts of information about its language. Thus, a glossary was built on the basis of this corpus. A single manuscript has proven to be sufficient for these purposes.

However, working with a single written document of a limited size has its disadvantages. Since the studied manuscript was my major resource and since there is no possibility of consulting the scribe, various questions necessarily remain unanswered. Only a partial investigation into dialectology was possible. Thus, it is often difficult to determine when one deals with a scribal error, as opposed to a regional (or other) variation. Also, various sociolinguistic aspects (such as the distinction between high and low speech varieties) cannot constitute part of the present study. Necessarily, considering the limitations of the available data, some issues remain untreated, and a lot of problems were identified, but not solved. Any research of this kind inevitably leaves many lacunae. Nevertheless, it is sometimes more rewarding to look at what *can* be achieved using limited resources, and how many questions *can* be unanswered. Before the study of the manuscript itself begins, below follows a discussion of the major characteristics of Berber languages.

⁹ One of the additional goals of this research for me personally was to gain skills in paleography and to learn how to obtain information on a language from a written source. While working on my thesis, besides learning about the topic of investigation, I have also learned how to collect and analyse linguistic data, and I am sure that this knowledge will prove useful and will help me with work on any (written or spoken) language.

1.2. Brief characteristics of Berber

1.2.1. Overview

Berber (endonym in many, but not all Berber varieties: Tamazight) is a branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family that includes various Berber languages and dialects.¹⁰ These varieties are spoken mainly in North Africa, where they are surrounded and heavily influenced by Arabic dialects. There are also a considerable number of Berber speakers in Europe, the United States, and Canada. The exact number of Berber speakers is not known, and estimates vary greatly. According to *Ethnologue*, there may be between 16 and 25 million speakers.

The language of the manuscript treated in this thesis is a dialect of Kabyle Berber spoken in Petite Kabylie.¹¹ Kabyle (endonym: *Taqbaylit*) is one of the major Berber languages spoken in Algeria. It shares a number of features with Berber languages of Morocco: Tarifiyt, Tashelhiyt, and Middle Atlas Berber.¹² Estimates about the number of speakers of Kabyle again vary, and range from ca. 3 million (*Ethnologue*) to 7 million (INALCO).

For the sound inventory of Kabyle Berber, see Appendix 2. When presenting the data extracted from the manuscript, I used the transliteration and transcription systems that are encountered most often in literature.¹³ One of the complicated issues is whether to indicate in writing the *schwa*, whose phonemic status is questionable. I chose to keep the word-internal *schwa* (when written in the MS), since it makes the examples more pronounceable.¹⁴

¹⁰ Some of the major Berber languages include: Middle Atlas (or Central Moroccan) Berber, Tashelhiyt (Shilha), Tarifiyt (Riff Berber, Riffian), Beni Iznasen (Eastern Riffian), and Figuig in Morocco; Taqbaylit (Kabyle), Chaouia, Chenoua, Beni Snous, Ouargla, Gourara, and Mزاب in Algeria; Djerba in Tunisia; Djebel Nefusa and Ghadames in Libya; Siwa in Egypt; Zenaga in Mauritania; and Tuareg in various countries in North Africa.

¹¹ More specifically, the document is written in a variant of Kabyle spoken in At Wartilan (see Section 1.3 and Chapter 6).

¹² These languages can be subsumed under the label “Northern Berber”. This label does not represent a historical classification, however. Similarly, Berber languages spoken in Libya and Egypt may be referred to as “Eastern Berber”.

¹³ See Chapter 4 for more details. Pharyngealized (“emphatic”) consonants are written with an under-dot (<ṭ>); underscore indicates spirantisation (<ṭ̣>). The vowel system of Kabyle consists of three phonemic vowels: /i/, /a/ and /u/.

¹⁴ Schwa in Berber languages has also been analysed as consonantal syllabicity, its function being to create well-formed syllables. There are two types of syllabification (schwa-insertion) in Northern Berber: 1) sonority-based, and 2) structure-based. Various insertion rules have been proposed that generally predict the place of the schwa, but these rules are complicated and have exceptions. I chose to keep the schwa in my transcription, in order to spare the reader the trouble of supplying the schwa by relying on these rules.

Major lexical categories in Berber languages include nouns and verbs (closed classes are pronouns, prepositions, and adverbs). Nouns have a morphological distinction between number (SG vs. PL) and gender (M vs. F). Further, most Berber nouns are marked for state (*État Libre* vs. *État d'Annexion*, glossed EL vs. EA). This distinction is similar, but not identical to the case-marking.¹⁵

The adjective is a problematic category (missing in some Berber languages, e.g. Tuareg, and marginal in others). Instead of adjectives, Berber languages use either a relative (the so-called “participle”) form of the verb, or a nominal form. When a noun is used to modify another noun, its function is attributive, while its morphology is nominal. In this case, adjectives can be regarded as a sub-class of nouns.

Berber languages are head-initial (so, for example, the modifying noun follows the head noun), although numerals precede the noun. Word order in Berber is not fixed, and it is not clear, in fact, which word order should be considered “unmarked”. VSO, SVO, and other permutations of the verb, subject, and object are indeed possible. Since the discussed MS lacks punctuation marks, determining the phrase boundaries is often problematic and must be based on the contextual meaning.

As is the case in Semitic languages, Berber lexemes can often be analysed by means of abstract consonantal roots, while vowel schemes are used for word formation and carrying grammatical information. This (strictly consonantal) analysis is problematic, however. Many nouns have no verbal counterpart, and some verbs are distinguished only by their vowel. Still, a vowel scheme is often employed for verb formation, i.e., to distinguish verb aspects (see below).¹⁶ Derivational prefixes are used to derive passives, middle, and causatives. Finally, inflectional affixes (prefixes and/or suffixes) convey information about person, number, and gender.

¹⁵ There are different views on EL/EA distinction (Kossmann *forthcoming*). According to the French school (Galand), it is a difference of “state”, where EA indicates a close relationship between two elements. Another view (advocated by Sasse 1984) is that Berber is a “marked-Nominative” language, where EL (noun is unmarked) corresponds to Accusative (used in isolation, left-dislocation, as DO), while EA (marked) corresponds to Nominative (used for the subject when it follows the verb, after most prepositions and numerals). Both views have some problems, however.

¹⁶ I use the term “verb formation” to refer to forming of aspects, which generally happens by applying a vowel scheme to the verb root. The term “verb derivation” is reserved for derivation that adds modifications in voice (cf. Penchoen 1973: 30). This happens by means of derivational prefixes (see below).

1.2.2. Verbal system

Berber uses various means to mark semantic roles and syntactic functions. Since word order is not fixed, the subject can either follow or precede the verb. However, the subject is marked differently in these cases (EA vs. EL). Second, there is a verbal agreement. The verb agrees with the subject in person, number and gender. This agreement is expressed on all finite verbs by means of an affix (prefix or suffix, or a combination of both). An object may be marked on the verb as well. The sentence can consist of a single verb.

The opposition between stative and dynamic verbs is important in Berber.¹⁷ While the Berber verbal system is believed to be aspectual, the importance of stative/dynamic opposition poses a problem for this assumption. For Berber, one can speak of the MAN (Mood, Aspect, Negation) system rather than of the TAM (Tense, Aspect, Mood) system (Kossmann, *forthcoming*). The Berber verbal system distinguishes between three aspects:

- 1) Aorist (glossed A), or unmarked stem, used for the imperative and consecutive (sequential, narrative); preceded by the particle *ad*, Aorist is used for non-realised events (e.g. irrealis, future, conditional, prospective, subjunctive, etc.);
- 2) Perfect/ive or Preterit (glossed P), used for a dynamic event in the past and a stative (including resultative) event;
- 3) Imperfect/ive or Intensive (glossed I), used for habitual, iterative, durative, and inchoative (with stative verbs); particle *ad* + Imperfect encode the imperfective event that has not been realised.

It is especially in the Perfect that the distinction stative vs. dynamic is important for interpretation. Thus, with dynamic verbs, the form labelled “Perfect” describes the situation in the past. With stative verbs, however, it does not have any specific time reference.

A change in verb valency is usually achieved by derivation in Berber. Kabyle uses three prefixes that fulfill different functions. These are: 1) passive *ṭṭw-*; 2) middle *m(m)-/ n(n)-* (typically used for reciprocal, reflexive); and 3) causative *s(s)-/ z(z)-*.

At this point, we are acquainted with the major characteristics of Berber. Before turning to the discussion of the manuscript’s content, I will provide background information about its provenance, appearance, size, and date.

¹⁷ Mettouchi (2004) states that this opposition informs the whole verbal system and that it is the attractive pole of this system. However, many Berber verbs are labile, and can be both stative and dynamic.

1.3. Background information on the manuscript

1.3.1. Provenance and physical appearance

The electronic copy of the MS can be found at www.e-corpus.org in the digital library of manuscripts *Lmuhub Ulahbib*.¹⁸ The original document is kept in the actual library *Lmuhub Ulahbib* in Béjaïa (capital of Béjaïa Province), Algeria.¹⁹ The library is named after its founder, Lmuhub Ulahbib, who lived in the 19th century (born 1822, A.H. 1237) in At (Aṭ, Ath, Aït, Ayt) Wartilan (Wartīlan, Warthilan, Urtilan), French *Beni Ouartilane*.²⁰ At Wartilan is a district of the Sétif Province in Petite Kabylia bordering on the Béjaïa Province. The studied MS exhibits some linguistic features characteristic of this area (see Chapter 6). Lmuhub Ulahbib's collection was brought to Béjaïa in 1994. At present, the library consists of 476 manuscripts catalogued in Mechehed 2004, and 96 documents not found in the catalogue.

Manuscript KA 21 constitutes part of “Berber manuscripts” category in the digital *Lmuhub Ulahbib* library. In total, this category contains six manuscripts (including the one in question).²¹ Two of the other Berber manuscripts treat the same subject as the document under investigation, viz. the *Sanusi creed*.²² These are manuscripts KA 22 and Tia 8, or the *Soummam* MS. The library also contains an Arabic version of the *Creed* (manuscript KA 02). The studied MS is considered rare in Algeria. Luciani (1893) noted its existence.

Some details of the manuscript can be found on the *e-corpus* website. Thus, the website describes the physical appearance of the document. The ink color is black (red ink is not used even occasionally for emphasis of an important word or passage). The format is: 16x24 cm, while the written area is 12x20 cm. The document is unbound and complete; the paper is not watermarked. All pages are folded (creased) in the middle, which sometimes makes this part of the manuscript (around lines 10-11) illegible. If not repaired soon, it will be even more difficult to read the manuscript in the future.

¹⁸ Reference link: http://www.e-corpus.org/eng/ref/69248/KA_021/. See Appendix 1 for the images. As can be read on the homepage of the website, “*e-corpus* is a collective digital library that catalogs and disseminates numerous documents: manuscripts, archives, books, journals, prints, audio recordings, video, etc.” The digital *Lmuhub Ulahbib* library contains 481 documents in the *e-corpus*.

¹⁹ Homepage of the library: <http://lmuhub.ulahbib.free.fr/>.

²⁰ For the biography of Lmuhub Ulahbib, see Mechehed (*forthcoming*). Mechehed is a direct descendant (a great-great-grandson) of Lmuhub Ulahbib, and now the keeper of the library.

²¹ See <http://www.e-corpus.org/eng/ref/100656/mssber/>. Upon a closer investigation, however, it turns out that one of these “Berber MSS” is not Berber at all, but Arabic.

²² See Section 2 for more information on the *Sanusi creed*, and Appendix 4 for a comparison of the various versions.

1.3.2. Length

The *e-corpus* website states that the number of folios is eight. In fact, the number of folios is four, while each folio has two sides, *recto* (the front) and *verso* (the back), thus yielding eight pages in total. However, only six images (showing six pages) are presented on the website, while two pages are apparently missing.

The lack of two pages is evident even without reading the entire document. Thus, it is customary in Arabic manuscripts that the *verso* page contains a catchword (also called *custos* in philology) at the bottom that corresponds to the first word on the next page, thus facilitating the ordering of the unbound folios. The first image presented at the website is the first page (1-R: first folio *recto*) of the manuscript, and thus it does not contain a catchword. Image 2 is the *verso* of the same folio (1-V), and indeed we find a catchword (استشلس) at the bottom of the page. Hence, one would expect that the next page to start with this word. However, استشلس is not found in the first line of image 3, which in fact presents page 4 (2-V: second folio *verso*). We can thus conclude that page 3 (folio 2 *recto*) is missing. Further, since it is a *verso*, image 3 contains the catchword (ذ مخالف اكلا), but again we do not find this phrase in image 4. Hence, page 5 (folio 3 *recto*) is also missing. The remaining pages are all in place. The catchword found in image 4 (ام ذ الصنعة) representing the real page 6 (folio 3 *verso*) does indeed correspond to the beginning of image 5 (page 7, or folio 4 *recto*). Finally, the last page does not contain a catchword, even though it is a *verso* of folio 4, since this is the end of the document and nothing follows it. The following table shows the correspondences between the images presented on the website compared to the real page numbers.

Table 1. Correspondence between the images and the pages of the manuscript

Website Image	Real page	Folio-R(ecto)/ Folio-V(erso)	Catchword
1	1	1-R	
2	2	1-V	استشلس
MISSING	3	2-R	
3	4	2-V	ذ مخالف اكلا
MISSING	5	3-R	
4	6	3-V	ام ذ الصنعة
5	7	4-R	
6	8	4-V	(end)

It is clear from the table which images/pages are *verso* and thus need to have a catchword, and which ones are *recto* and thus lack a catchword. More important is that one can conclude on the basis of this table that pages 3 and 5 are missing. This conclusion is corroborated by the statement on the website that the document consists of 8 “folios” (meaning: pages).

Because of this discrepancy, I wrote to Mr. Mechehed, the owner of the *Lmuhub Ulahbib* library and the great-great-grandson of its founder, Lmuhub Ulahbib. He kindly provided me with the two missing images, along with a few other manuscripts from the collection and his own publications on Berber codicology, some of which are still in preparation. I am very indebted to Mr. Mechehed for his assistance, without which the present study would not have been possible.

In conclusion, it can now be stated with certainty that the studied manuscript consists of eight pages of approximately twenty lines each. Only the last, eighth page is left half empty, and contains only twelve lines.²³

1.3.3. Dating, codicology, and paleography

Not all problems were solved with the recovery of the missing pages. For example, the scribe’s name is unspecified in the document. The document also lacks the date and its place of origin.²⁴ At the *e-corpus* website, it is stated that the manuscript probably originates from the 18th or 19th century (based on the codicological and paleographical evidence).²⁵ This information comes from Mr. Mechehed.²⁶ However, the given arguments are not strong.

²³ The exact number of lines per page is: (1) 18, (2) 21, (3) 20, (4) 20, (5) 19, (6) 20, (7) 20, and (8) 12, which makes 150 lines in total. The number of “words” (tokens, i.e. individual occurrences of a word) is more difficult to determine. If we count as “words” the elements that are spelled separately in Arabic script by the scribe, their number is approximately 1,500 for the whole document. In my Latin transcription, the number of tokens is higher (namely, 2,000), since some of the function words (e.g., particles and prepositions) are spelled separately from the lexical words according to the rules of the modern orthography. Finally, the amount of “types” (instances of a given word) is still harder to determine, since identical tokens have to be counted as a single type. Mr. Mechehed has counted 1061 “words” for the entire document. For his study of manuscript’s vocabulary, see Section 3.7.

²⁴ I would like to express my thanks to Mr. Mechehed, Mr. Witkam, and Mr. Van den Boogert for the information on the possible date of the manuscript.

²⁵ On codicology and paleography of Islamic manuscripts, see especially Déroche 1989, 2004, and 2006; Déroche & Richard 1997, Déroche & Berthier 2000; and James & Déroche 1988.

²⁶ See Mechehed 2004. Mr. Mechehed is currently working on the types of paper in the *Lmuhub Ulahbib* collection, examining 450 manuscripts and their dates of copies. His conclusion is that both the handwriting and the type of paper (not watermarked) suggest that the manuscript in question predates the 19th century.

As for paleography, there are actually no sources to assist with assigning a date to any particular style of the Maghrebi script. This script is remarkably homogeneous, both in time and space. As a result, the date of the discussed manuscript cannot be stated with certainty.

1.3.4. Script, handwriting and language(s)

The document is written in the Maghrebi style of Arabic script (see further Section 3.3). It shows a well-practiced hand, from a copyist who was clearly used to holding a pen. That said, he may or may not be a “professional scribe”. Any Islamic scholar was by definition a copyist and scribe, since the writing of various documents and copying manuscripts was a central part of his daily life. As a result, there are very few examples of *cacographia* (really bad handwriting) in manuscripts. What we can say is that the scribe/copyist of the manuscript discussed here certainly belonged to the class of the *ulama*.

When Arabic script is employed to write other (non-Arabic) languages, this is known as *qjami* (see Section 3.2 for more details). Most of the text in the studied manuscript represents the Kabyle dialect of At Wartilan (Petite Kabylia). However, it contains many Arabic (albeit Berberized) terms and phrases, and several pure Arabic sentences.²⁷ This is not surprising, especially when one takes into account the content of the document.

1.3.5. Content

The subject of the manuscript is the *Sanusi creed*. The document is a rough translation of an Arabic theological text dealing with monotheism, proof of God’s existence, and God’s attributes.

Although a detailed examination of the theological content of the manuscript was not the primary goal of my study, without knowing the nature of the text and the underlying ideas, the translation would have been a nearly impossible task. The lack of punctuation was still another obstacle. Comprehension is further complicated by the fact that the Berber text is rather laconic, i.e., it often contains only abrupt formulas rather than finished sentences. Finally, Arabic words (perhaps even more so than those in other languages) can have very different meanings, depending on who uses them, in which place, and in which century. For this reason, I have provided a brief introduction to the manuscript above. It is also the reason why the *Sanusi creed* is treated in more detail in the the following chapter.

²⁷ On the (sometimes rather problematic) distinction between Arabic, Berber, and Beberized, see Section 3.7.

2. Scope of the manuscript

2.1. The *Sanusi creed*

The studied manuscript presents a Kabyle version of the *Sanusi creed*, or the *Sanusi dogma* (Arabic: العقيدة السنوسية, *al-‘Aqīda as-Sanūsīyya*), a text of Islamic theology, named so after its author (known briefly as-Sanusi). There were in fact several individuals known as *as-Sanusi*. One of them, Mohamed ibn Yusuf as-Sanusi (Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf as-Sanūsī, محمد بن يوسف السنوسي الحسني), lived in the 15th century (ca. 1429-1490). He is the author of the Arabic original of the studied manuscript, as well as many other theological texts.²⁸

The *Sanusi creed* is a very popular work, and there are many manuscripts, editions, and translations.²⁹ Several versions of the creed were written by Sanusi himself, and thus existed already in the Arabic language. The main versions include:

- 1) *al-‘Aqīda al-kubrā*, ‘the Big, or the Large(r) creed’;³⁰
- 2) *al-‘Aqīda al-wuṣṭā (as-Sanūsīya al-wuṣṭā)*, ‘the Middle, or the Intermediate creed’;³¹
- 3) *al-‘Aqīda aṣ-ṣuḡrā* ‘the Small creed’ (= *Umm al-Barāhīn*);³² and
- 4) *al-‘Aqīda aṣ-ṣayīra*, or *Ṣuḡrā ṣ-ṣuḡrā*, or *Ṣiḡrat aṣ-ṣuḡrā*, or yet *Ṣiḡrat aṣ-ṣiḡra* ‘(yet a) Smaller creed’.

Such a division into three or four is rather common for Islamic manuscripts. Furthermore, each of the above versions has two variants: a plain one (i.e., original, without a commentary), called *matn* (مَتْن), and one with an additional commentary or explanation, called *ṣarḥ* (شرح). We thus have at least eight major versions of the creed.

²⁸ For Sanusi’s biography, see Kenny 1970 and Dorpmüller 2005. Even though Sanusi’s works were (and remain) popular, we do not know much about the author. The date of his birth is not certain, but we know that he died in 1490 (895 A.H.). He was born, lived, and died in the city of Tilimsān (Tlemcen, Northwestern Algeria), during the rule of the dynasty Banū-Zayyān.

²⁹ See bibliography under Sanūsī. For a number of Arabic manuscripts and editions, see Brockelmann 1996 and Voorhoeve 1980. For a translation into German, see Wolff 1848; into French: Luciani 1896 and 1898; and into English: Kenny 1990.

³⁰ This was Sanusi’s first work on *tawḥīd*. The complete official title of the work is: ‘*Aqīdat ahl at-tawḥīd al-mukhrīja bi-‘awn Allāh min ḡulumāt al-jahl wa-ruqbat at-taqlīd al-murghima be-faḍl Allāh ta‘ālā anf kull mubtadi‘ wa-‘anīd*’.

³¹ Of all the versions, only this one has the date (875 A.H. = 1471 C.E.).

³² This title was not used by Sanusi himself.

In Arabic, the ‘Small creed’ (*al-‘Aqīda aṣ-ṣuyrā*) is better known under the name *Umm al-Barāhīn* (أم البراهين), ‘Major evidence’, or ‘Origin of evidence’ (lit. ‘the Mother of Evidence’). Judging by the number of manuscripts and translations, it is Sanusi’s most popular work.³³ Indeed, as will be demonstrated below, the studied MS resembles this version of the Sanusi creed most closely. Henceforth, when Berber text is compared with the “Arabic version” (“Arabic text”, or “the original”), this particular edition is referred to (viz. *aṣ-ṣuyrā*).

The main subject of the *Sanusi creed* is monotheism, or *tawḥīd* (توحيد), and the twenty attributes (*ʿiṣrūna ṣifa^h*) of Allah. In South-East Asia, in fact, Sanusi’s work usually goes by the Malay title *Sipat duapuluh*, ‘The twenty attributes’.³⁴ God’s attributes are the subject of the following section.

2.2. Attributes of Allah

A lot could be said about the concept of Allah, or God, in Islam. Since this is not the subject of this thesis, the focus here is only on his “twenty attributes”, as this background information helps to clarify the text of the manuscript.³⁵

According to Islam, since Allah is different from everything and everyone, he cannot be compared to anything. Thus, he can be known only by his names and attributes. The Arabic word for ‘attribute’ is *ṣifa* (PL *ṣifāt*), also meaning ‘qualification’. This word, as well as *waṣf* (PL *awṣāf*), is a verbal noun derived from the verb *waṣafa* ‘to describe, characterise, ascribe (a quality or property)’.

In many Arabic sources (and, most notably, in the *Sanusi creed*), one finds a reference to the attributes of Allah. The description of these attributes can be seen as attempts to understand the difference between human and divine qualities. Allah’s attributes are traditionally divided into several groups. However, there is no agreement among theologians on the exact number, order, and grouping of these qualities. Thus, the Kabyle MS discussed in this work, just as the Arabic original, speaks of the twenty attributes. However, not all theologians accept all of these attributes. According to other traditions, Allah is characterised by fourteen (and not twenty) attributes.

There are further differences. Thus, Sunni theologians admit fourteen attributes, but there are differences in their classification between the two schools Ashariyya (Ash‘arite theology) and Maturidiyya (Māturīdī theology). Maturidiyya theologians usually divide these attributes into two groups: 1) *ṣifāt dātiyya^h* (*naḥsiyya^h*, *salbiyya^h*); and 2) *ṣifāt al-maʿānī* (*tubūtiyya^h*).

³³ The commentary of the creed describes it as follows (translation after Kenny 1990), “Although it is small in volume, it is large in knowledge, containing all the articles of *tawḥīd*, together with decisive demonstrations adapted to anyone who has a proper use of reason”.

³⁴ For translations into Malay, see, e.g., Sanūsī 1883 and 1924.

³⁵ In preparation of this section, the author relied on Gilliot [2011] (Enc.Islam, THREE).

1. *Şifāt dātiyya*³⁶ ‘attributes of essence, essential attributes’³⁶

- 1) *al-wuğūd* (الوجود) ‘existence’: Allah exists and His non-existence is impossible;
- 2) *al-qidam* (القدم) ‘eternity without beginning; oldness; antiquity’: Allah is eternal without the beginning; [He is before the before. He did not become. He always was];
- 3) *al-baqā’* (البقاء) ‘eternity/ existence without end; everlastingness, staying, remaining’: Allah is eternal without the end; [He is after the after, Eternal, He always will be];
- 4) *al-muxālafā*^h (المخالفة) (*al-muxālafatu li-l-ḥawādiṭ*) ‘difference from everything’: Allah is different from everything; [He is the Creator, bearing no resemblance to the created];
- 5) *al-qiyāmu-bi-n-nafs(i)* (القيام بالنفس) ‘self-existence/subsistence/sufficiency, independence from everything and everybody; taking care of oneself’: Allah exists by himself; [He is self-existent, without any needs];
- 6) *al-waḥdāniyya*^h (الوحدانية) ‘oneness, being the only one’: Allah is (the only) one; [He is unique without partner, without resemblance, the cause of all. All is in need of Him, all has become by His order ‘Be!'].

2. *Şifāt al-ma’ānī* ‘attributes of morality’ (lit. ‘attributes of meaning’)³⁷

- 7) *al-qudra*^h (القدرة) ‘power, ability, omnipotence’: Allah is almighty; [He is the Omnipotent, the Almighty One, and has power over all things];
- 8) *al-’irāda*^h (الارادة) ‘will’: Allah does what He wants; [He has absolute will: Allah the most high has the quality of Divine determination so that He does whatever He wishes and in whatever manner He wishes];
- 9) *al-’ilm* (العلم) ‘knowledge, omniscience’: Allah knows everything; [He is the All-knowing One: Allah the most high knows everything to such an extent that He even knows the secret intentions of the heart];
- 10) *al-ḥayā*^h (الحياة) ‘life’: Allah is (always) living; [He is the Living and Resurrecting One];
- 11) *as-sam*[’] (السمع) ‘hearing’: Allah hears everything; [He is the All-hearing One: Allah the most high hears everything];

³⁶ This group is also called *şifāt aḍ-ḍāt* (*dāti şifāt*) ‘attributes of essence, self’ (< *aḍ-ḍāt* ‘self’), and *şifāt naḥsiyya*^h (< *an-naḥs* ‘self’, synonym of *aḍ-ḍāt*), as e.g. in *aş-Şuyrā*. There are six attributes in this group. The five attributes following the first one, *al-wuğūd* ‘existence’, are also called *şifāt salbiyya*^h ‘qualities of denial’, as they “deny everything inappropriate”.

³⁷ These qualities are also known as *şifāt tubūtiyya*^h or *tubūtu şifāt* ‘qualities of proof’.

- 12) *al-baṣār* (البصر) ‘sight, seeing’: Allah sees everything; [He is the All-seeing One: Allah the most high can see a black ant crawling on a black rock in the dark of the night and He can hear the sound of its moving limbs];
- 13) *al-kalām* (الكلام) ‘speech, speaking’: Allah speaks; [His manner of speech is unique to Him; Allah speaks without need for letters or sounds].

In some sources, we find the fourteenth attribute (i.e. eighth in this group): *at-takwīn* (التكوين) ‘creating, bringing into existence’: Allah creates everything; all existence and actions depend upon Him [He is the Creator out of nothing of all things and beings].³⁸

Ashariyya theologians accept all these attributes, but they consider *al-wuḡūd* (the attribute of existence) to be special. *At-takwīn* (‘creation’) is considered by them an attribute that is possible for Allah, but not necessary. Also, Ashariyya theologians sometimes make two attributes for each of the *ṣifāt tubūtiyya*^h: a noun and a corresponding adjective, or agent noun (the Arabic term is: اسم فاعل *ism fā’il*). Thus, they speak of twenty attributes of Allah. In other Islamic traditions, however, it is not customary to speak of twenty attributes, but rather of fourteen attributes and seven *ism fā’il*’s. Since the studied manuscript mentions the phrase ‘twenty attributes’, all twenty are listed here.³⁹

3. *Ṣifāt ma’nawīyya*^h ‘moral attributes’⁴⁰

- 14) *qādir* (قادر) ‘omnipotent, able’;
- 15) *murīd* (مرید) ‘willing’;
- 16) *‘ālim* (عالم): ‘(all-)knowing’;
- 17) *ḥayy* (حي) ‘living’;
- 18) *samī‘* (سمیع): ‘(all-)hearing’;
- 19) *baṣīr* (بصیر) ‘(all-)seeing’;
- 20) *mutakallim* (متكلم): ‘speaking’.

³⁸ The Eastern Ḥanafites rejected the distinction between eternal attributes of essence and temporal attributes of act. For them, the attributes of act, which they combined in a single notion of *takwīn* (‘bringing into existence’), were equally eternal and part of God’s essence.

³⁹ It is necessary to note, however, that although the manuscript mentions the phrase ‘twenty attributes’, it does not make a clear distinction between them or enumerates them.

⁴⁰ The attributes in this group are thus not new, but are based on the preceding seven attributes of the *ṣifāt al-ma’ānī* group. While the attributes of the previous group were expressed by abstract nouns, these are expressed by adjectives or agent nouns. Note that attributes 17, 18, and 19 are actually not *ism fā’il*’s.

2.3. The Kabyle MS and other versions of the *Sanusi creed*

In this section, there follows a brief comparison of the studied MS with other versions of the *Sanusi creed*. Already taking into account the length of the Kabyle document, it is reasonable to suggest that it is a small version of the *Sanusi creed*. Indeed, the text resembles *al-‘Aqīda aṣ-ṣuyrā (Umm al-Barāhīn)* most closely. However, it is not an exact translation of it. In fact, it is not obvious, on which edition of *Umm al-Barāhīn* (i.e., *ṣarḥ* or *matn*) the Berber MS is based.⁴¹

If we compare the Berber manuscript with the *Ṣarḥ Umm al-Barāhīn*, we see that the latter is longer and more elaborate. Since the *Ṣarḥ* version contains an additional commentary on the *Sanusi creed*, it is not surprising that it is longer than the Kabyle text. It is usually the highlighted lines (i.e., those that constitute the core of the manuscript and that are explained) that have parallels in the Kabyle version.

Thus, the second line of the Kabyle document (i.e., the actual beginning of the text after the *Bismillah*) corresponds to a sentence found only after a long introduction in the *Ṣarḥ* text. This sentence is highlighted (in red and/or bold) in the Arabic version, so that it stands out from the commentary. This is true for the majority of other parallels: most of the sentences that are found in both versions, are highlighted in the Arabic text. Further, if we pay closer attention to the found parallels, the Berber version is more abridged, while the Arabic version is usually more elaborate. From this, one is tempted to conclude that the Berber MS is a summary of *Ṣarḥ Umm al-Barāhīn*, or that it rather corresponds to its plain (*matn*) version.

However, this conclusion is not necessarily justified. Thus, the Berber text also contains sentences that are *not* found in the *Ṣarḥ* version. If the studied MS were indeed merely a summary of the Arabic original, we would find unparalleled sentences only in the Arabic text. The question remains, however, where such unparalleled sentences come from, if they are not found in either version of *Umm al-Barāhīn*. There are a number of possibilities here. First, since it is not definitively known which edition of the *Sanusi creed* served as a model for the scribe/Berber author, it is still possible that his explanation has an Arabic source. Alternatively, the Berber author could have added an explanation himself, without relying on any Arabic text. For the time being, this question must remain unanswered, since investigation of the exact origins of the studied MS falls outside of the scope of the present work.⁴² Suffice it to say here that although the Kabyle MS definitely has an Arabic origin, it is not a literal translation of it.

⁴¹ See Appendix 3 for the Arabic text of *aṣ-Ṣuyrā (Umm al-Barāhīn)*.

⁴² For a more detailed comparison between the Berber MS and other versions of the *Sanusi creed*, see Appendix 4.

Besides its reduced length, another (and more striking) difference is that the Berber text differs *structurally* from the Arabic one, as demonstrated in the following section.

2.4. Structure and summary of the text

The search for parallels in the Berber and Arabic versions is further complicated by the fact that the Kabyle text is not structured as *aṣ-Ṣuyrā*: that is, the order of presentation is different. In *aṣ-Ṣuyrā*, after the introduction that describes various kinds of knowledge or judgment, we first find a complete list of the attributes that are necessary for Allah (some with a brief explanation). They are divided into three groups: 1) *ṣifāt dātiyya^h* or *ṣifāt salbiyya^h*, 2) *ṣifāt tubūtiyya^h* or *ṣifāt al-maʿānī*, and 3) *ṣifāt maʿnawiyya^h* (as discussed above). After the last group, the text continues with the discussion of the attributes that are impossible for God. These are the negative counterparts (antonyms) of the qualities treated above. Then, the proof of the attributes follows. With this, the discussion of God's attributes finishes, and the text proceeds with the discussion of the attributes characteristic for messengers. These are: truth, honesty, and conveying [the message]. The opposites (negation of the above) and the proof of these attributes follow. Finally, the last part of *aṣ-Ṣuyrā* is devoted to the explanation of the creedal statement of Islam ("there is no God but Allah"), and how it relates to everything mentioned above. This last part is missing completely in the Kabyle MS.

Apart from the omission of the last part of *aṣ-Ṣuyrā*, there are other structural differences between the Berber and the Arabic versions. In the Kabyle manuscript, for example, there is no clear division between different groups of attributes. Furthermore and more significantly, the order of presentation is different. The Kabyle MS first treats all attributes of God (some with a brief explanation) and the three attributes of messengers, upon which the explanation (proof) of all of them follows. The division in the Kabyle version (first attributes, both of God and of messengers, then their proof) is thus different from that found in the Arabic version (first God's attributes: list and proof; then the messengers' attributes: list and proof).

Since the Kabyle text lacks the third part (explanation of "there is no God but Allah"), the entire document consists then of two parts: 1) attributes of God and of messengers, and 2) their proof. The two parts are separated by the Arabic abbreviation (◌) which stands for *'intahâ*, meaning 'end'.⁴³

⁴³ The abbreviation is written twice: ◌ ◌. See MS 3-13.

Starting from 3-13 (the second part of the text), the proof of each of the previously mentioned attributes is given. The presentation of the proof follows the same model. The general scheme is given below in Table 2 (parentheses = variable/ optional). Table 3 presents the list of God's attributes ("A") together with their corresponding negative counterparts ("NEG.A"), while Table 4 presents these attributes expressed by adjectives ("ADJ").

Table 2. General scheme of the proof of God's attributes

A NEG.A PROOF IF-THEN IF2-THEN THEN.FIN	<i>A iwğeb (F tewğeb, PL weğben) i Rebbi, NEG.A fell-as d lmuḥal; ddalil fell-as d šṣeneā, imi d šṣeneā (...) tella; d winna i d ddalil yef Rebbi (yella/ d ADJ i yella); lewkan (ur illi ara d ADJ), ilaq (d NEG.ADJ i yella); ma (yella d NEG.ADJ) (ilaq/ ad yili d...); ilaq itwedda/ tetwedda/ ad itweddi (yr) šṣeneā ulašš-iṭṭ.</i>	A is obligatory for God, NEG.A is impossible for Him; The proof of this is creation, since creation exists; it is that which is the proof that God (exists/ is ADJ); If (he were not ADJ), then (he would be NEG.ADJ); If (he were NEG.ADJ) (he would be...); This would lead to the non-existence of the creation.
BUT CONCL	<i>Lakin a yyi-tenkert g šṣeneā; mbeed mi tṭalleyey zzē-es/ zzeḡ-s, d lmuḥal (...) i s-iweğben i Rebbi d A, NEG.A fell-as d lmuḥāl, wa-huwa al-maṭlūb</i>	But you will deny me in creation. Later when I am looking in it, it is impossible (that...) What is necessary for God is A; NEG.A. is impossible for Him, and that is what was asked: Q.E.D.

Table 3. God's attributes and their negative counterparts

	A		NEG.A	
1	<i>lwuğud</i>	'existence'	<i>leedem</i>	'non-existence'
2	<i>lqidem</i>	'oldness'	<i>lḥudut</i>	'emergence'
3	<i>lbaqa</i>	'eternity'	<i>lfana</i>	'end'
4	<i>lmuxalafa</i>	'difference'	<i>lmumaṭala</i>	'similarity'
5	<i>al-qiyāmu bi-n-nafs</i>	'self- sustenance'	<i>leftiqar</i>	'need'
6	<i>lweḥdaniyya</i>	'oneness'	<i>ttaeaddud</i>	'plurality'
7	<i>lqudra</i>	'power'	<i>leeğez</i>	'incapacity'
8	<i>lirada</i>	'will'	<i>lkaraha</i>	'unwill'
9	<i>leelem</i>	'knowledge'	<i>lğahl</i>	'ignorance'
10	<i>lḥayat</i>	'life'	<i>lmamat</i>	'death'
11	<i>ssemee</i>	'hearing'	<i>šṣamam</i>	'deafness'
12	<i>lbašar</i>	'sight'	<i>leama</i>	'blindness'
13	<i>lkalam</i>	'speech'	<i>lbakam</i>	'muteness'

Table 4. God's attributes expressed by adjectives

	ADJ		NEG.ADJ	
1	(yella)	(exists)	-	-
2	aqdim	'old'	lḥadet	'new'
3	lbaqi	'eternal'	-	-
4	amxalef	'different'	mmetel	'similar'
5	lyani	'self-sufficient'	(iffetqir/ yeffetqer)	('to need')
6	awḥid	'one'	(g sin yyed-sen)	('two of them')
7	lqader	'powerful'	leajez	'unable'
8	lmurid	'willing'	lkarih	'compelled'
9	lealem	'knowing'	lḡahel	'ignorant'
10	lḥay	'living'	lmeyyet	'dead'
-		-		-

To be able to read Table 2 (which covers the entire second part of the Berber MS), one needs simply to substitute the necessary attribute for **A** (e.g., *al-wuḡūd*, *al-qidam*, *al-baqā'*, etc.), its opposite for **NEG.A** (*leēdem*, *al-ḥudūt*, *al-fanā'*, etc.) (Table 3), and the corresponding positive adjective for **ADJ** (Table 4).

There are only minor deviations. For instance, if the attribute of God is a feminine noun, then the form of the verb agrees with it in gender. Thus, *tewḡeb* is used instead of *iwḡeb* with *al-baqā'*, *al-muxālafah*, *al-waḥdāniyyah*, *al-qudrah*, *liradah*, and *lḥayat*. Also, the last three attributes are treated together (*ssameε d al-baṣar d al-kalām* 'hearing, sight, and speech'. In this case, then, the form of the verb is plural (*weḡben*).

In the actual "PROOF-clause" following the statement that a negative attribute is impossible for God, it is always the world, or the creation (*ššenεa*), which proves that a (positive) attribute is necessary for Him. One needs simply to supply the appropriate adjective from Table 4 (corresponding to the attribute-to-be-proven) in the gap after *ddalil yef Rebbi*, indicated in Table 2 by parentheses: (...). Only in the first case, where God's existence has to be proven, the verb 'to be' is used instead of an adjective, so the sentence reads: *d winna i d ddalil yef Rebbi yella* 'it is that which proves that God exists'. In the subsequent cases, the pattern is: *d winna i d ddalil yef Rebbi d (ADJ) i yella*, where ADJ stands for the appropriate adjective from the table, e.g. *d winna i d ddalil yef Rebbi d aqdim i yella* 'it is that which proves that God is old'.

Similarly, in "the IF-clause", *lewkan (ur illi ara d ADJ)*, God's attributes expressed by adjectives are normally used. The first attribute is again an exception, but also attribute number 3. Finally, in the "THEN-clause", the negative counterparts of adjectives appear. Exceptions are constituted by attributes 1, 3, 5, and 6.

The “THEN.FIN-clause” is the final “THEN-clause”. It invariably concludes with ‘this would lead to the non-existence of creation’. There are three minor variants in the manuscript: *ilaq itwedda yr şşeneā ulaşş-itt; ilaq tetwedda şşeneā ulaşş-itt; and ađ itweddi yr şşeneā ulaşş-itt*.

The “BUT-clause” introduces a contradiction: *lakin a yyi-tenkert g şşeneā*, lit. ‘but you will deny me in creation’ (meaning: ‘but you will contradict me, oppose this idea, not accept this, destroy my arguments’), and continues with *mbeed mi ttaşleyey zzġ-es, d lmuḥal*, lit. ‘later when I am looking in it (i.e., ‘when I am examining the matter), it is impossible’. This clause is repeated eight times in the MS. It appears with attributes 1 to 4, but is not found in attributes 5 and 6; then it reappears in attributes 7-10.

After the “BUT-clause”, the final conclusion (CONCL) follows, expressed by the formula: *i s-iweġben i Rebbi d A; NEG.A fell-as d lmuḥāl, wa-huwa al-maṭlūb* ‘What is necessary for God is A; NEG.A. is impossible for Him, Q.E.D. (and that is what was to be proven)’. With this, the proof of the necessity of a given attribute for God is completed, and the proof of the next attribute starts, following the same scheme.⁴⁴

The proof of messengers’ attributes does not follow this general pattern, but the formula *A iwġeb (tewġeb) i rrusul*, NEG.A *fell-asen d lmuḥāl* (‘A is obligatory for messengers, NEG.A is impossible for them’ applies to them as well. (The verbal form *tewġeb* (F.SG) is used in case of a feminine noun *lamana*.) The list of messengers’ attributes and their negative counterparts is presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Attributes of messengers and their negative counterparts

	A		NEG.A	
1	<i>şşedq</i>	‘truth’	<i>lekdeḅ</i>	‘lie’
2	<i>lamana</i>	‘honesty’	<i>lxiyana</i>	‘betrayal’
3	<i>ttaḅliḅ</i>	‘conveying’	<i>lkitman</i>	‘concealment’

When the proof of messengers’ attributes is presented, for each of the three of them, there is a question: *Aşu d ddalil fell-asen?* ‘What is the proof of this (lit. ‘for them’)?’ To find out the answer to this question, the reader must refer to the actual text of the manuscript (Chapter 5). However, in order to be able to read the text, one first has to be acquainted with the writing system employed in it. The next chapter investigates this and related issues.

⁴⁴ This pattern is interrupted only by the last three attributes that are treated together: hearing, sight, and speech (*ssemee d lbaşar d lkalam*). Here, after the statement that the corresponding negative attributes (deafness, blindness, and muteness: *şşamam d leama d lbakam*) are impossible for God, there follows a question: *Aşu d ddalil fell-as?* ‘What is the proof of this?’

3. Script and language

In order to be able to read Berber manuscripts in general and the MS under investigation in particular, it is important to understand the conventions of Berber orthography. This orthography, in turn, must be explained within a larger context of the *ajami* writing, which is an adaptation of the Arabic script. The present chapter investigates these and related topics. The discussion proceeds from the Berber as a written language, the Arabic script, its *ajami* adaptations, the Maghrebi style, and finally, to the Berber orthography as employed in the studied MS.

3.1. Berber as a written language

Although Berber is often thought of as an oral (and not a written) language, this opinion can be challenged. In fact, at least at present, three writing systems exist for it simultaneously.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Berber has been written in the previous centuries as well. The studied MS certainly does not belong to the category of the oldest Berber manuscripts. See Van den Boogert 1997 and 2000 for the study of medieval Sous (Tashelhiyt) Berber texts and the analysis of their orthography. Van den Boogert claims that the first Berber language to be written is Tashelhiyt (Sous Berber), or a language closely related to it (vdB 1997). He refers to the orthography employed for Berber between the 10th and 14th centuries as ‘old orthography’, to be distinguished from the ‘new orthography’ used from the 16th century onwards.

In fact, already before the Middle Ages, there are specimens of written Berber in another script, known as *Tifinagh*. This term should not be confused with the *Neo-Tifinagh* that has only recently (namely, in the 1960s) been developed by Kabyle activists. The traditional Tifinagh is the original script for some of the Berber languages (viz. the Tuareg).⁴⁶ It has provided a basis for the Neo-Tifinagh script.⁴⁷ Finally, the Latin script has been (and continues to be) employed for Berber as well, although mostly in the linguistic context.

⁴⁵ See Souag 2004 for a summary of various writing systems employed by Berber.

⁴⁶ For the studies of the traditional Tifinagh and its predecessor, the Libyco-Berber script (also: Old Libyan, or Numidic), see Elghamis 2011, Pichler 2007, and Kerr 2010. It is not quite clear, when and how the “transition” from this script to Arabic occurred (cf. Ennahid 2011: 269 and Skounti 2003).

⁴⁷ In fact, even though the shape of letters is similar, the systems as such are very different. New letters have been added, and (more important), vowels have separate graphemes in this script. Most notably, the script is written from left to right, as the Latin alphabet. Neo-Tifinagh has become a marker of Berber identity and often appears on posters, websites, and so on, in spite of the fact that (at least at the moment) only a few people can actually read it. Very recently (in 2003), a variant of this script became official in Morocco and is now taught at some schools, so it might have a future.

As a result, the “oral Berber languages” in practice use at least three different writing systems (each with its own variants): Tifinagh, Arabic, and Latin. The choice of one of these scripts often has political connotations. Although Berber activists and linguists promote the use of Tifinagh and the Latin script (respectively), Arabic still continues to be used by many Berbers. The next section examines the use of the Arabic script for non-Arabic languages in general and for Berber specifically.

3.2. Arabic script and *qjami*

The Arabic script is an “impure *abjad*”, or consonantal alphabet: that is, consonants and long vowels are written, while consonant length and short vowels are generally not indicated in writing.⁴⁸ This is in contrast to a “true *alphabet*”, where both consonants and vowels are represented by full graphemes (e.g. Greek, Latin), and an *abugida*, where vowels are obligatorily represented by means of diacritics or modification of consonants (e.g. Devanāgarī script used for Hindi).⁴⁹

The usual term for the Arabic script used for languages other than Arabic itself, is *qjami*. This term comes from Arabic ‘*aḡamī* (عجمي), meaning ‘foreign’ (i.e., ‘non-Arab’). In a broad sense, the term is used to refer to any (non-Arabic) language written in the Arabic script. In a narrow sense, it refers only to those languages that are written in Arabic outside of the Muslim world (this usage would thus exclude Berber). I use the term in a broad sense, thus in reference to any Arabic-based script. This term is especially often applied to writing languages of Africa, such as Hausa, although it is seldom applied to Berber.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ See Appendix 5.1 for the glossary of terms related to grammatology in general and to Arabic script specifically. The term *abjad* comes from Arabic ‘*abġad* (أبجد), which in turn derives from pronouncing the first four letters of the Arabic script in the traditional (*abġadī*) order. These are: ‘a, b, ġ, and d, written respectively with ‘*alif* (ا), *bā* (ب), *ġīm* (ج), and *dāl* (د). This order is based on the order of the Phoenician script, and is similar to that of related (West Semitic) scripts, such as Hebrew and Aramaic. The second (newer) collating sequence used for Arabic is *hiġā’ī* (هجائي) or ‘*alifbā’ī* (cf. the word ‘alphabet’). It groups letters by similarity of shape. Here, the first letters are ‘*alif* (ا), *bā* (ب), and *tā* (ت). This order is more commonly used today, e.g. in modern dictionaries and other reference books. See Appendix 5.2 for the comparison of the two orders and their variants.

⁴⁹ The word *alphabet* comes (via Latin) from Greek *alphabētos*, which derives from the names of the first two letters of the Phoenician script: *alpha* (*alf*) and *beta* (*bet*). Similarly, the term *abugida* derives from the Ethiopian name of the Ge‘ez script, named so after its first four letters: ‘*ä*, *bu*, *gi*, *da*. The word *alphabet* in a broad sense can refer to all of the above segmental writing systems: alphabets proper, abjads, and abugidas.

⁵⁰ However, the term can be also used for Turkish (as e.g., in Boeschoten 2009) and Farsi (Persian). In fact, in Arabic, the word ‘*aḡamī* is sometimes understood as ‘Persian’.

However, *ajami* can be also used to refer to Turkish when it was written in the Arabic script (as e.g., in Boeschoten 2009), and to Farsi (Persian). In fact, in Arabic, the word ‘*ağamī*’ is sometimes understood to mean ‘Persian’.

In Africa, texts in *ajami* are abundant, covering a vast geographical area and time span. This is contrary to the common misconception that African languages are rarely written, and all the communication and culture transmissions are oral.

The spread of *ajami* in Africa went hand-in-hand with the spread of Islam. In fact, the goal of the introduction of the *ajami* writing was initially to promote the religion. It is not surprising, then, that the content of (especially early) *ajami* texts is often religious, although later, there appeared texts dealing with a variety of other subjects, such as law, medicine, botany, astronomy, and literature. During the time of the European colonisation of Africa, the Arabic script was not favoured and had to compete with the Latin script. Thus, some of the languages that initially were written down in *ajami*, currently employ (a modified version of) the Latin alphabet.

Naturally, the phonetic systems of African languages differ from that of Arabic. Hence, the script often had to be modified in order to fit the communicative needs of the local languages. There are quite a few studies devoted to that subject.⁵¹ Some of the many languages that were, at one time or another, written in *ajami* include: Afrikaans (as it was first written among the “Cape Malays”), Bambara, Berber, Fulfulde (Fula, Pulaar), Harari, Hausa, Kanuri, Malagasy, Malinke, Mandinka, Nubian, Somali, Songhay, Swahili, Wolof, and Yoruba.

According to Ziadah 2008, the oldest *ajami* texts come from Mali (Timbuktu) and date from the 14th century. However, as demonstrated by Van den Boogert (1997 and 2000), Berber languages have been written in (a form of) the Arabic script for a long time as well, with the oldest examples stemming also from the 14th century. In this period (and, in fact, until this century), Berber was written in the style of the Arabic script known as *Maghrebi* – the topic of the following section.

⁵¹ For a brief introduction, see, e.g., Ziadah 2008; for the use of *Ajami* for African languages, see Chtatou 1992, Hassane 2008, and Souag 2010. For the study of *Ajami* in relation to specific languages, see, e.g.; Piłaszewicz 2000, Zima 1974, Akinaso 1996, (Hausa), Kossmann & Elghamis (*forthcoming*) (Tuareg Berber). Amadu Sajoh Bah is currently working on a thesis devoted to the development of the *Ajami* tradition for Fulfulde. On the manuscript culture in Muslim Africa, see also Krätli & Lydon (eds.) 2011 (especially Ennahid and Scheele in that volume).

3.3. The Maghrebi style of the Arabic script

The Arabic script has many different styles of writing. The style of writing used in the Maghreb (western North Africa) is known as Maghrebi (also: Maghribi), and it is distinguished by a number of characteristic features.⁵² Variants of *ajami* employed to write various African languages (including Berber) generally follow the Maghrebi style. Hence, in order to be able to read Berber manuscripts, one has to be acquainted with this style of writing. Below are discussed some of the peculiarities of the Maghrebi script (as opposed to the Mashreqi style common in the Middle East, or the MSA).⁵³

The first general difference concerns the collating sequence: in the Maghrebi style, the characters in the alphabet are ordered differently.⁵⁴ A further difference relates to the notation of numerals. Thus, “Eastern Arabic numerals” (١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠) are usually used in the Mashreq, while, in the Maghreb, “Western Arabic numerals” (1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0) are more common.⁵⁵ Another general characteristic is that the Maghrebi is written with a sharp, pointed pen. Hence, the lines in this script are of even thickness, unlike in the Mashreqi (vdB 1989: 31). Further, the Maghrebi script generally employs different proportions than other scripts. In other words, the *x*- and *h*-height of letters is different. For example, letter *fāʾ* is often bigger than usual.

The Maghrebi script contains some letterforms and ligatures that differ from the Mashreqi. The two styles also differ in their use of the diacritical points. Thus, the shape of the letter *nūn* is different, and the final *nūn* has no dot (ن). Most notably, the position of the dots on the letters *fāʾ* and *qāf* differ.⁵⁶

⁵² Maghreb (مغرب) is an Arabic word meaning ‘West’ or ‘(place of) sunset’. It refers to the countries in North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Mauritania, plus the disputed territory of Western Sahara). The Maghreb is often contrasted with the Mashreq (مشرق), the term derived from the root *šrq*, meaning ‘East’ or ‘(place of) sunrise’. The Mashreq refers to the large area in the Middle East, namely to the Arabic-speaking countries to the east of Egypt and north of the Arabian Peninsula.

⁵³ For the study of the Maghrebi script, see Houdas 1886, Déroche 1994, and vdB 1989.

⁵⁴ As already mentioned, the Arabic alphabet has two main collating sequences: 1) the older *abġadī* order (cf. the word *abjad*), and 2) the (newer) *hiġāʾī* or *ʾalifbāʾī* order (cf. the word *alphabet*). Each of them has two variants: the Mashreqi, and the Maghrebi. See Appendix 5.2 for a comparison between these variants.

⁵⁵ A variant of West Arabic numerals emerged in the Maghreb around the 10th century. These numerals are known as the *ghubar* (lit. ‘sand-table’). Modern Western Arabic numerals, used in Europe and in most parts of the world, are the direct descendent from the *ghubar*. In the studied MS, there are only few numerals (e.g. in the phrase ‘twenty attributes’), and they are always spelled out.

⁵⁶ This usage is also observed in the Sahel.

Thus, letter *fā'* is written with an above-dot in the Mashreqi (ف), and with an under-dot in the Maghrebi style (ف), while letter *qāf* is written with two above-dots in the Mashreqi (ق), and with one above-dot in the Maghrebi (ق), as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Mashreqi vs. Maghrebi letters *fā'* and *qāf*

	Mashreqi	Maghrebi
<i>fā'</i>	ف	ف
<i>qāf</i>	ق	ق

As can be inferred from the table, the Maghrebi *qāf* resembles the Mashreqi *fā'* (as both are written with a single dot above). However, since Mashreqi *fā'* is not encountered in the Maghrebi manuscripts, the two letters cannot be confused. On the other hand, the Maghrebi *fā'* becomes more similar to the letter *bā'* (ب), that is likewise written with an under-dot. Perhaps this is the reason why the letter *fā'* is often bigger than usual in the Maghreb, since then it is sufficiently differentiated from *bā'*. In any case, the scribe's goal (as it is the goal of any writing system) is to be clear, and hence most letters have a distinct shape and are usually kept apart.

A further difference concerns the way to notate the *tašdīd*, or gemination. In fact, in the Maghreb, two systems are employed for *tašdīd* (vdB 1989: 32). The conventional system is identical to the one found in the Mashreqi (i.e., a W-shaped *šadda*). A second variant of *šadda* is characteristically Maghrebi. Here, I will refer to it as “the V-shaped *šadda*”. This sign has different positional variants, depending on the vocalisation. Thus, the V-shaped *šadda* with *fatha* is written above the line, with *fatha* either on top of it, or at the side (as in our MS). By contrast, the V-shaped *šadda* with *kasra* is written below the line (and then inverted, Λ). Example: *er[^]Rebbi* <arrabbi> in 1-3. Interestingly, in the studied MS (as well as in other Maghrebi MSS), the Maghrebi (i.e., V-shaped) *šadda* varies freely with the W-shaped one, often in the same line or even in the same word (if it has two *šaddas*).

Not only the shape of the letters and the use of the diacritics, but also the orthography employed in the Maghreb differs. For example, *alif* (indicating long *ā*) can be written in words which traditionally contain no *alif* in the Mashreqi, e.g. Maghrebi هادا vs. Mashreqi هدا for *hādā*. The orthography system as employed in the studied MS is the subject of the following section.

3.4. Orthography of the studied manuscript

Since there is no “standard” for writing Berber in the Arabic script, one can expect a considerable degree of variation in the way Berber is written in this script. However, the orthography employed in the studied manuscript has proven to be rather consistent.⁵⁷ The major principles of this orthography are discussed in this section. In presentation of the material, Van den Boogert 1997 and 2000 were used as an example, and parallels were drawn with the ‘old Berber orthography’ (‘old orth.’) and the ‘new orthography’ (‘new orth.’) as described in these studies.

3.4.1. Word boundaries

Function words can be (but are not necessarily) spelled together with the adjacent lexical word in the MS. Thus, prepositions are often spelled together with the following noun (e.g., *g elḥeq* <ka'lḥaq>), and the preverbal particle *aḍ* is often spelled with the verb (e.g., *aḍ irḡeḥ* <aḍirḡaḥ>). The spelling of the predicative particle *ḍ* is more problematic. Thus, it is usually spelled together with the following adjective (e.g., *ḍ amxalef* <ḍamxālaf>). Also, the combination *ḍ ašu* (‘what’) is often spelled as <ḍāšū>. This suggests that the particle is treated as part of the following word, similar to the treatment of monoliteral (one-consonant) prepositions in Arabic. However, the particle is usually spelled separately from the noun, e.g. 2-2 <ḍā 'lmuxaṣṣiṣ> *ḍ elmuxaṣṣiṣ*.

Since the grapheme used to represent /ḍ/ is never joined with the following character, it is often difficult to decide whether the predicative particle *ḍ* is spelled separately or not. Hence, the particle is transliterated as a separate word when it is followed by an *alif*, and together when it is vocalised with a *fatha*. Similarly, preposition *s* can be spelled together with the noun, or be followed by an *alif*. In instances such as *s lmuḥal* <sa'lmuḥāl> (سَالْمُحَال), it is difficult to decide whether an *alif* (representing a schwa) belongs to the preposition (*se lmuḥal*), or to the noun (*s elmūḥal*). In any case, the preposition is here most likely written together with the noun. This is unlike the ‘old orth.’, in which prepositions are written separately. However, the studied MS is also unlike the ‘new orth.’, in that it spells possessive pronouns such as *nnsen* separately.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Cf. 7-1 and 3-2 for a similar sentence with only slight differences in spelling, e.g., <ḍā> vs. <'ḍā>, <'ṣṣaneā> vs. <'ṣṣaneā^h>. Compare also 7-9 and 6-18 for the same phrase, the only difference being in the spelling of the preposition: <azkas> vs. <azzakas>. These sentences prove that the orthography of the MS is consistent, with differences mainly in the writing of *alif* (to represent the initial *schwa*) and *tā' marbūṭa*, which was not pronounced.

⁵⁸ Examples: 3-9, 3-10, 3-11, and 8-6 (all spelled as <annasan>). Note, however, that the 3SG possessive pronoun *ines* is spelled together with the noun, at least in the elided form <aṣṭaslinas> *es ṭesl(i) ines* in 3-1.

3.4.2. Consonants

Berber consonants (see Appendix 2 for a phoneme chart) are contrasted by voice, pharyngealisation, and gemination. They are often fricativised, but this distinction is not phonemic. Further, consonants can be labialised, but this distinction is marginal and normally not noted even in contemporary orthography. Thus, the following distinctions in Berber consonants can potentially be notated in script: voice, pharyngealisation, gemination, spirantisation, and labialisation.

Ideally, distinct phonemes should be represented by means of different graphemes. The Arabic script lends itself quite well to writing Berber, as indeed this principle is usually observed. Below follow examples that illustrate the distinctions, and their exceptions.

1) **Voice:** ت /t/ vs. د /d/, س /s/ vs. ز /z/, ث /t̤/ vs. ذ /d̤/

Arabic script generally successfully represents the distinction by voice.

Exception: the Arabic language does not have a phoneme /g/, and thus lacks a grapheme for it. Hence, Berber /g/ is represented by *kāf* (ك), which in Arabic is used for /k/ (and in Berber, also for /k̤/ and /g̃/), as in the ‘old orthography’.

Examples: (1-3) *g l̥heq* <ka'l̥haq> (كَالْحَقِّ), (1-7) *g lfiray* <ka'lfirāy> (كَالْفِرَاغِ).

In the ‘new orthography’, /g/ is represented by *kāf* with three under-dots: ڭ. Three dots is a common device for indicating “ajami” sounds (see e.g. Souag 2010). In fact, in one instance (1-13) in the MS, /g/ is represented by a *kāf* with three above-dots (ښ). This grapheme is also used in present-day Morocco for /g/. In Algeria, however, this phoneme is written with a *qāf* with three above-dots (ڨ).

2) **Pharyngealisation:** ت /t/ vs. ط /t̤/, س /s/ vs. ص /s̤/, د /d/ vs. ض /d̤/

In Arabic, as in Berber, pharyngealised (traditionally called “emphatic”) consonants are distinct from their non-emphatic counterparts, and hence are usually written with separate graphemes.

Exception: in Berber, /r/ and can be also emphatic [r̤], although this distinction is marginal. Arabic script does not differentiate between /r/ and /r̤/, hence <ر> is employed for both sounds (as e.g. in *Ṛebbi* <rabbi> in 2-16).⁵⁹

⁵⁹ The phoneme /z/ is not encountered in the studied MS. However, it is attested in the *Soummam* MS, where it is written with *zāy* (ز), as in the ‘old orthography’. In the ‘new orthography’, this phoneme is notated with *ṣād* (ص) with three under-dots.

From the above, one might conclude that the orthography of the studied MS is closer to the ‘old orth.’ than to the new one. However, the next emphatic consonant contradicts this conclusion. Thus, the phoneme /ḍ/ is represented by *ḍād* (ض) (see e.g. *lmuḍerres*, *lɛɛreḍ*), as in ‘new orthography’. In the ‘old orthography’, this phoneme was represented by *tā’* (ط) or sometimes by *zā’/ḍā’* (ظ). This can be explained by the fact that *ḍād* was not pronounced as /ḍ/ at the time when the old orthography was designed, but was used for an interdental or lateral fricative (vdB 2000: 363).

3) Gemination: ب /b/ vs. بّ /bb/

Gemination is phonemic in Berber. Although geminated consonants do not have separate graphemes in Arabic, they can be represented by means of *tašdīd* (*šadda*; cf. above under ‘Maghrebi script’). Since the studied MS contains the *taškīl* (diacritics), the identification of the geminated consonants is not problematic, and there are numerous examples.

However, *šadda* is not always found where one expects it. Thus, in (4-4), the MS reads <atīdiswaḡḡdan> for *t-id-issweḡḡden*. See also <ayas> for (e)yes-s in 2-10. Here, there is only *sukūn* and no *šadda* on *s*. Contrast with (e)yyes-sent in 2-15 (with *šadda* on *s*). There are other forms where *šadda* is expected, but not written, e.g. *a t-ide-ss-wejḡdent* in (2-11).

How can one explain the omission of *šadda* in cases such as <ayas>? In fact, two different phenomena are at play here. First, it might be a phonetic matter: geminated consonants can sometimes be realised as plain consonants. The speaker might not always be able to recognise a geminate. Thus, we find the spelling <alḡaq> *elḡeq* in 1-3; <ayas> is apparently another example. Geminate consonants are usually written as such when they are followed by a vowel, and as plain consonants when followed by another consonant. Apparently, the latter context makes it difficult for the speaker to recognise the geminate.

There is, however, another explanation possible, which has to do with spelling conventions rather than with phonetics. In Arabic orthography, the signs *šadda* and *sukūn* can never be combined, as a geminated consonant is always followed by a vowel. By contrast, in Kabyle, a geminated consonant can be followed by another consonant. In these cases, the MS writes a *šadda* with a “dummy *fatha*” in order to comply with the Arabic spelling rule, but this *fatha* does not in fact represent a vowel. See, e.g., <ɛallaqant> for *ɛellqent* in 2-10, <annasan> for *ennsen* in 8-6, and <ballayantid> for *bellyen-t-id* in 8-11.

To summarise, there are two solutions when a geminated consonant is followed by another consonant: either the *sukūn* is written, and the *šadda* is omitted, or the *šadda* is written, and a “dummy *fatha*” is introduced.

4) Fricativisation (spirantisation): ت /t/ vs. ث /t̤/ , د /d/ vs. ذ /d̤/

Some fricatives that exist in Berber also exist in Arabic, and hence can be represented by separate graphemes. The exceptions are the fricative counterparts of /k/ and /g/ (viz. /k̤/ and /g̤/), that do not have a separate grapheme. In fact, all these four sounds are represented by the same letter (ك). Examples: (1-8) *aḱeččum* <akaššūm> (اَكَشُّومْ); (1-7) *i d̤ges* <idkas> (اِدْكَسْ).

In Berber, unlike in Arabic, fricativisation is usually predictable.⁶⁰ Hence, the notation of fricativisation can be seen as an example of “over-representation”. In fact, in modern dictionaries and grammars of Kabyle (that employ a Latin-based alphabet), fricativisation is normally not indicated in writing.

5) Labialisation

Labialisation, by contrast, can be found in modern Berber texts (noted as a superscript w, e.g. *b^w*), but was not encountered in the studied MS. A possible instance where one could expect to find a labialised consonant in the MS, is represented by *teqqel*, a form of the verb *qq^wel* in (3-14). However, it is written as <taqqal> without any marker of labialisation. Again, the omission of labialisation does not cause any problem for the interpretation.

6) Fricative /j/ [ɟ] vs. affricate /ǧ/ [dʒ]

The Arabic script lacks a grapheme for the fricative sound /ɟ/ (transcribed with j; in other transcription systems also as ž). It is represented by *ǧim* (ج), as in the ‘old orthography’. Example: (2-2) *wejdent* <waǧdant> (وَجْدَنْتْ). The same grapheme is employed for the affricate /ǧ/ in the related word *lwuǧud* <alwuǧūd>. Since [ǧ] and [j] are not distinct phonemes in Berber, the use of the letter *ǧim* for both of them does not impede understanding.

7) Affricates

Affricate /č/ (IPA [tʃ]) does not have a grapheme in the Arabic script. In the studied MS, it is written by means of *šin* (ش), as in (1-8) *aḱeččum* <akaššūm> (اَكَشُّومْ) ‘entering’; this verbal noun is derived from the verb *kšem* ‘enter’.

⁶⁰ Generally, consonants are spirantised in Kabyle. Their non-spirantised (occlusive) variants almost always occur in predictable environment. See KNZ: 18. Thus, /k/ is occlusive after *f, b, s, l, r, n, h, š, ε*; /g/ is occlusive after *b, j, r, z, ε* and sometimes *n*; /d/ and /t/ are occlusive after *l, n*; /b/ is occlusive after *m*. Letters *b, d, g, k* and *t* can have two pronunciations.

Affricate /t̪(t̪)/ (= IPA [t̪s]), which in Kabyle comes historically from the geminated /tt/, is usually written by means of *tā'* with a *šadda* (ت), e.g. (1-13) *iṭṭilin* <ittilīn> (اِتْلِين). It can probably also be phonetically realised as voiced [d̪], e.g. in (1-6) *iṭṭzeyyiḥen* <itzayyiḥan> (اِزَيَّيْحَن).

This affricate is often encountered in the Berber imperfective marker (as in the above examples). It can also be a result of assimilation of the predicative particle (*d*) with the following /t̪/, as e.g. in (2-1) *eṭʰtinna* <'ttinna > (اَتْن), resulting from the underlying *d tinna*. It is interesting to note that assimilation is written in the MS, unlike in the modern dictionaries and grammars.⁶¹

To conclude this section on Consonants, overall, the Arabic script seems to be quite well-adapted to write Berber sounds. The major distinctions (by voice, pharyngealisation, and gemination) can easily be represented by the Arabic script. There are a few discrepancies, and several sounds may be considered “underrepresented” while others “overrepresented”, but on the whole, the system is logical, and consistent. Following is a discussion of the notation of the vowels.

3.4.3. Vowels

Both (Classical/ MSA) Arabic and Berber have three phonemic vowels: /a/, /i/, and /u/. Those vowels are referred to as “plain” vowels. Additionally, Berber has a central vowel [e] (schwa), that is probably not phonemic, but which facilitates the pronunciation of a group of consonants.

The Arabic language makes a distinction between long and short vowels, while in Berber, this distinction is absent. Since the Berber vowel system is simpler than Arabic, the Arabic script adapts easily to the notation of Berber vowels. Below are summarised the principles of vowel notation in the studied manuscript. It must be noted, however, that a different system is used for the notation of vowels in Arabic loans, that are written etymologically as long or short, even though the contrast does not survive in Kabyle pronunciation.⁶²

First of all, in the studied MS, vowels are generally indicated by means of vocalisation (or spelled *plene*), even though the traditional Arabic script is an *abjad*, i.e., a consonantal script, and vocalisation is used only infrequently and in certain contexts. The script of the studied MS can thus be rather classified as a “vocalised *abjad*” (see the following section for more details).

⁶¹ On assimilation and other issues of morphophonology, see further Chapter 6.

⁶² See below for a (sometimes rather problematic) distinction between Arabic, Berber, and Berberized, and how it relates to spelling.

Medial and word-final vowels /a/, /i/, /u/ are written with the *ḥarakāt* (diacritics used to mark vowels): *fatha*, *kasra*, *damma*, sometimes (but not always) followed by the *ḥurūf al-madd* (letters of lengthening): *alif*, *yā'* and *wāw*. Example: (3-4) *isla-yas* <islayas>. The presence/ absence of *ḥurūf al-madd* might have to do with the vowel stress.⁶³ More often, however, letters of lengthening are used in Arabic loans (etymological spelling), while vowels in native Kabyle words are written short.⁶⁴ The *schwa* and (unstressed) /a/ can thus be written in the same way. In the 'old orth.', medial vowels are consistently followed by the *ḥurūf al-madd*.

As follows from the above, a word-final *u* can be indicated by the presence of *damma* on the preceding consonant alone, or by a *damma* plus a *wāw*. Sometimes we find variation in the spelling of the same word, e.g., *ḍ ašu* <ḍāšū> in 1-6, and <ḍāšu> in 1-12. In the 'old orth.', the word-final *wāw* (representing either *u* or *w*) is usually followed by *alif al-wiqāya* (ا). This usage of *alif al-wiqāya* is found only occasionally in the studied MS (e.g., <ašū> in 8-3).

Word-initial vowels are marked by the appropriate *ḥarakāt* on the *alif*, without following *ḥurūf al-madd*.⁶⁵ Example: (1-7) *i ḍges* <iḍkas> (اِذْكَسْ), (1-11) *asekkud* <asakkūd> (اَسْكُوذْ). Word-initial *schwa* and /a/ are thus always written in the same way. This is again different from the 'old orth.', which employed both an initial *alif* and the *ḥurūf al-madd*.⁶⁶

Problem of *fatha* and of *schwa*

Fatha can represent both [a] and the central vowel [e], as e.g. in (8-5) *fellasen* <fallasan>. Even when used with the following *alif*, it can still represent [e], as in the spelling of the predicative particle *ḍ(e)* <ḍā> or the preposition *s(e)* <sā> when followed by a sequence of two consonants (cf. Chapter 6). *Fatha* + *alif* probably also represent [e] in originally Arabic words, where *alif* is used as a "chair" for *hamza*, e.g. <'lāl wān> for *lelwan* (from Ar. *al-'alwān*), <'lāk wān> *lekwan* (<al-'akwān>), <'lāfē āl> *lefeal* (<al-'afeāl>), <'lās bāb> *lesbab* (<al-'asbāb>), etc.

⁶³ Further, there is probably a tendency to avoid a sequence of two identical graphemes, i.e., two *wāws* (for *wu*, *uw*), or two *yā's* (*yi*, *iy*). Thus, examples of two successive *wāws* or *yā's* are not encountered in the MS. In (3-17), *yiwen* is written as <yiwan> (يُون).

⁶⁴ Exception: the negative particle *ara* is spelled with a final *alif* in (3-6) <arā>. It appears without a final *alif* in (2-17), although the phonetic environment is the same.

⁶⁵ In old orth., word-initial vowels are marked with the *madda* (ا). This use of *madda* is derived from the Maghrebi style (which differs from the Mashreqi style).

⁶⁶ The only instance in the MS where initial *alif* is followed by *yā'*, is in 1-6 (اِيَّاعْ). However, *yā'* here is probably not employed as a letter of lengthening, but rather as an approximant. Hence, it is transliterated as <iy.tāy> and not as <itāy>, and transcribed as *i yettay*.

I chose to transcribe these words with *e* and not with *a* in spite of the presence of the *alif*, since *alif* here is merely a spelling convention of Arabic: it does not represent a long vowel in Arabic, and hence probably does not represent a plain vowel *a* in Berber.

Initial [e] is written with *alif* + *fatha* (إ), which is the same as the representation of the initial /a/. In this case, *alif* is neither transliterated nor transcribed as a long vowel (<ā>). Examples: the spelling of the predicative particle (e)d <ad> or the preposition (e)s <as> when followed by a CV- (as opposed to CC-) sequence, or the spelling of the word-initial schwa of the Arabic article (<alwāğab> for *elwāğeb*).

The use of *fatha* to represent schwa in the studied MS resembles the ‘old orthography’ rather than the ‘new orthography’: in the ‘new orthography’, this vowel is not represented, while *fatha* is used exclusively for /a/. The notation of schwa in the ‘old orthography’ is justified, since (as suggested by vdB 1997 and 2000) at that stage, this vowel was phonemic. In present-day Tashelhiyt Berber, schwa is not a phoneme, and, in fact, it is often not even pronounced. However, it is pronounced in Kabyle, although its phonemic status remains questionable.

Now that we are familiar with the major orthographic principles employed in the studied MS, the next question emerges: can this writing system be still considered an *abjad*, given the fact that it represents vowels? The next section deals with this question specifically.⁶⁷

3.5. Alphabet, abjad, or abugida?

Before trying to characterise the writing system of the studied MS as an alphabet, abjad, or abugida, it is useful to define these terms (cf. Section 3.2). The word *alphabet* (in its usual, broad sense) can actually encompass both abjads and abugidas in it. The word *alphabet* in a narrow sense (a *true alphabet*, or *alphabet proper*) refers to a writing system, where each phoneme, whether a consonant or a vowel, is represented by a basic grapheme, and where (ideally) there is a perfect correspondence between letters and phonemes. In practice, however, this correspondence is not always strict (as, e.g., in English).⁶⁸ Examples of alphabets include Greek and Latin.

⁶⁷ The author thanks Maarten Kossmann, Lameen Souag, and Dmitry Bondarev for sharing their thoughts on this subject.

⁶⁸ The reader may recall the famous example of *ghoti*, meant to illustrate irregularities of English spelling. The word is to be pronounced as ‘fish’ /fɪʃ/: *gh* stands for /f/ as in *tough*, *o* stands for /ɪ/ as in *women*, and *ti* stands for /ʃ/ as in *nation*.

An *abjad*, by contrast, is a consonant-based writing system, in which each symbol stands for a consonant, while the vowels are not indicated in script and thus must be supplied by the reader.⁶⁹ West Semitics scripts (“alphabets” in a broad sense) are, in fact, abjads, e.g., Phoenician, Arabic, and Hebrew. However, within abjads, as well, a further distinction can be made between “pure abjads”, where only consonants are represented, and “impure abjads” that allow for vowel-marking. This typically happens by means of vocalisation, called *ḥarakāt* in the case of Arabic, and *nikkud* for Hebrew. Hence, both Arabic and Hebrew, and, in fact, all presently existing abjads, are not pure abjads. (An example of a pure abjad is the Phoenician script, now extinct).

Finally, an *abugida* may be placed on the continuum between an *abjad* and an *alphabet* proper, since it is a consonant-based writing system that marks vowels obligatorily, but secondary (i.e., not by means of basic graphemes). There are numerous examples, such as the large Brahmic family of scripts (including Brahmi, Burmese, Devanagari, Gujarati, Khmer, Lao, Tamil, Thai, and Tibetan, among others), but also the Ge‘ez script (also: *fidäl/ fidel*; used for several languages in Ethiopia and Eritrea), from where the term *abugida* in fact originates.⁷⁰

Coming back to the writing system of the studied MS, the question is: how to characterise it? Obviously, it is not an alphabet in a narrow sense, since it does not represent vowels systematically by means of basic graphemes. It is also not a pure abjad, since it does not mark consonants exclusively. Does that make it into an abugida? For this, let us consider the differences and similarities between a vocalised abjad and an abugida.

The major similarity between the two types of writing systems is that both are consonant-based, and vowels in both scripts are written only secondarily. However, there are also differences. First (and most important), in abugidas, vowels are written *obligatorily*. From the studied MS alone, one cannot conclude whether vowel notation was obligatory in all Berber MSS, or not. However, if we examine other Berber MSS from the *Lmuhub Ulahbib* library, such as KA 21 and the *Sommam*, it appears that they are either not vocalised (KA 22), or vocalised only partially (*Soummam*). In a real abugida, notation of vowels cannot be omitted.

⁶⁹ The term is coined by Peter T. Daniels. *Abjads* are otherwise known as consonantal alphabets.

⁷⁰ This term is likewise coined by Peter T. Daniels. Another term one might encounter is *alphasyllabary* (William Bright) that reflects the fact that this type of writing shares some features with an alphabet [proper] and with a syllabary. In a syllabary, each grapheme stands for a syllable (such as CV, but V alone, and other permutations are also possible).

A further difference is, that in the case of KA 21, vowels *can* be occasionally written with basic graphemes (namely, with “letters of lengthening”) rather than with diacritics (e.g. <ašū> vs. <ašu>).⁷¹ In this case, original consonantal graphemes are used for the notation of vowels. In abugidas, that does not normally happen.

Further, even if we posit that vowel notation was obligatory in all Berber MSS, and even if we imagine that this always happened by means of diacritics only, this does not make the writing system in question a real abugida yet. There are further differences between the two types of scripts. Thus, in abugidas:

- vowels are often written through *modification* of consonant letters; in other words, there are changes in the form of the letter itself;
- one can speak of a *default* or *inherent* vowel (i.e., consonants each have an inherent vowel which can be changed to another vowel or muted by means of diacritics);
- one often encounters the so-called *ligatures*, or *conjunct letters*: symbols that indicate that two (or more) consonants occur together without an intervening vowel.⁷²

There are other differences. Thus, already if we consider the “size” of the script (i.e., the inventory of its graphemes), it is usually larger for abugidas, since consonantal letters bearing different vowels are counted separately. The script of the studied MS, by contrast, hardly contains 28 graphemes (the letter *zā'* (ظ) is never used). Hence, already judging by the size of the script in question, it should rather be classified as an abjad than an abugida.

Another (although, not the strongest) argument to not classify the script in question as an abugida, is the fact that in most abugidas (including the Ge'ez script), letters are written from left to right, unlike in the studied MS. However, this characteristic feature of abugidas could also have to do with history rather than with the system as such.

⁷¹ Interestingly, this word has a variation in spelling. Thus, it appears as <ašu> (أش) with a *ḍamma* in 1-18, as <ašū> in 1-6, and as <ašū'> (أشوا) in 8-3, with a “prophylactic *alif*”. This variation shows that the scribe did not treat vowels as consonants, hence variation in their representation.

⁷² It has to be noted, however, that the presence of ligatures alone does not make the script into abugida, and ligatures are also encountered in other types of script (including abjads, alphabets proper, and also syllabaries, such as the cuneiform script used for Sumerian and Akkadian). In fact, there are ligatures in Arabic script, too, but these are of quite a different type, and they do not have a function to show that two consonants occur without an intervening vowel.

Notwithstanding all of the above, the boundaries between different types of scripts (and especially between the three types of segmental scripts: alphabets, abugidas, and abjads), are not always clear. Thus, Kurdish uses Arabic script, but writes the vowels obligatorily, and with full letters. Hence, it is a true alphabet. Ge'ez, from where, ironically, the term *abugida* comes, has in fact evolved from an abjad. At present, some would perhaps even classify it as a syllabary, since the base form of the letter may be altered depending on the vowel. In other words, the diacritics have been fused to the basic consonant graphemes, so that the resulting graphemes have to be learned separately.

To make the story even more complicated, there are, indeed, some similarities between vocalised abjads and abugidas, such as:

- zero vowel, or a vowel-cancelling mark: a device that indicates the lack of a vowel (viz. *sukūn* in Arabic, and *virama* in Hindi);
- zero consonant letter (used when a vowel is not preceded by a C-) and distinct initial vowel letters; this can be compared to the use of the *alif*.⁷³

Hence, while abugidas can be considered an intermediary between abjads and syllabaries, vocalised abjads can be seen as an interim step between a true abjad and an abugida.

It must be clear by now, that there are borderline cases, and the studied MS can be seen as one of them. It cannot be called either an abjad of the Arabic-type, or an abugida of the Devanagari-type, but, rather, a vocalised abjad.

Interestingly, it is still a debatable question, whether the Arabic script itself should be considered an abjad, since vowels can be and sometimes are encoded in Arabic, too.⁷⁴ Hence, the Arabic script itself is a continuum between a pure abjad and an abugida.

There are several other issues that distinguish ajami systems from abugidas. Here, the questions are: what phonological elements does the script represent? how is it created?; and how is it processed?⁷⁵

As has been mentioned, in *ajami*, the omission of vowels is possible. In the studied MS, unvocalised words appear as catchwords. Further, the same word can either be spelled with full vowels (*plene*), or with vocalisation (e.g. <ṣṣifāt> vs. <ṣṣifāt>), thus showing a certain freedom in vowel notation. It would be interesting to investigate, whether the *reader* perceives this difference.

⁷³ In the studied MS, initial *a*, *i*, *u* are represented by *alif* with an appropriate vocalisation.

⁷⁴ In the present context, vocalised Arabic is used in the Qur'an; as teaching material for children or foreign students; and in poetry. See also Ratcliffe 2001 for a treatment of Japanese *kana* and the Arabic script as representing moras.

⁷⁵ Regarding the first question, see Bondarev (forthcoming). The author shows how “long vowels” or “consonants” are used for suprasegmental features (viz., tone) in Kanuri/Kanembu and in Hausa, e.g., *waw* + *ɗamma* = /ú/ or /û/.

The above arguments make it clear, that the *ajami* script as treated in this study does not fit neatly into any of the above categories. It differs from *abugidas* in a number of ways, while it has also become different from the Arabic system, from where it comes historically.

Of course, a script classification should be based on the *system* rather than on *form*. In this regard, it is comparable to language classification in morphological typology as isolating vs. synthetic. Thus, Indo-European languages stem from the same origin and in historical linguistics, they are treated as one group. In linguistic typology, however, these languages are classified in different groups according to their morphological properties.

In linguistic typology, it has become customary to speak of a linguistic continuum. At the end of this continuum, there are extremes, such as “purely” isolating and “purely” synthetic languages. However, many will be in-between, tending more to one side or to the other. Thus, on the continuum from abjad to a syllabary, Ge‘ez script tends more in the direction of a syllabary, than, for example, the Devanagari script. Furthermore, within each writing system, there may be exceptions.⁷⁶

To conclude, there is no strict division between these different systems, and all kinds of transitions are possible. One can rather speak of a continuum from one type of writing system to another, comparable to a linguistic continuum from one type of language to another in morphological typology.

The next question is, how *useful* this typology is, and how much importance should be assigned to questions pertaining to the type of script (abjad vs. abugida), or to the type of language (isolating vs. inflectional, SV vs. VS, etc). Does it matter very much, whether we call a script an abjad, an abugida, or an alphabet proper? In my view, it is more productive to see *ajami* as a borderline type. Further, it is interesting to investigate, how the original Arabic script is modified in different cases, in order to fit phonological systems of other languages. In some cases, “long vowels” are used to indicate short vowels of the target language. In other cases, the same “long vowels” are used for suprasegmental features (as, e.g., in Kanuri/Kanebu). Here, the questions are: 1) *how* was Arabic script modified; and 2) *why* was it the case?

In this author’s opinion, there is very often a link between the language and the script. Thus, ideographic (or, more accurately, logographic) writing systems are more suitable for writing East Asian languages, such as Chinese.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ For example, in Cyrillic alphabet, letters я, ю, and ё (pronounced /ja/, /ju/, /jo/, respectively) represent syllables, but have nothing in common to indicate that there is a shared sound /j/.

⁷⁷ Ideograms are graphemes that represent an idea or a concept, while logograms represent words or morphemes. Chinese includes both ideograms and logograms, and also some phonetic elements. In any case, writing is separated from pronunciation, which has its advantages and disadvantages.

This is, first of all, due to the fact that most of these languages are analytic. Further, there is an extralinguistic factor that favours the use of a logographic system in China. Thus, it allows speakers of different varieties to communicate in writing.

Abjad, on the other hand, is more suitable for writing Semitic languages, such as Arabic and Hebrew, where vowels can be supplied by the reader. However, the same system is not as suitable for a European language. This might have been the major impulse for the advent of an alphabet (proper) itself, as it emerged in Greece when the Greek alphabet derived from the Phoenician abjad. It is not surprising, then, that the Arabic abjad has often developed in a true alphabet (as in Kurdish), or into a vocalised abjad (as in Kabyle Berber ajami).

Apparently, the Berber scribe of the studied MS felt the need to represent vowels, even though these were not usually represented in contemporaneous Arabic MSS. The question remains: *why* is this the case? Would the author have been writing the full vocalisation because it was necessary for the reader to understand the meaning clearly, or because of calligraphic conventions (that were by that time established in Berber)? There is no definitive answer to this question. Moreover, it is related to another question that also has not yet been resolved: the origin of the Berber orthography.

3.6. Origins of Berber orthography

Before concluding this section on Berber orthography, there are two questions to address that have not yet been investigated: when and where did this orthography first come into use? It should be noted that neither of these two questions can be answered with certainty.

For a hypothesis regarding the possible time of the origin of the ‘old Berber orthography’ (for Tashelhiyt Berber), see Van den Boogert 1997 (122-124). If one compares the old and the new orthographies, both employ the *ḥarakāt* (vocalisation) for writing vowels, but not in the same way. In the new orthography, the use of *ḥarakāt* is essential, while in the old one, it is used in addition to *ḥurūf al-madd* (letters of lengthening), and hence can be omitted.

According to Van den Boogert, this can be seen as an indication that the old orthography was originally designed to be written without the *ḥarakāt*. The author concludes that, in this case, the orthography must have come into being before the use of diacritics (*taškil*) was developed, which happened in the second half of the 8th century.

If this is true, then the invention of the old Berber orthography, known from the texts from the Almohad era (starting from the 12th century), predates that era by several centuries.⁷⁸

However, one should not exclude other possibilities. Thus, the use of *ḥurūf al-madd* might be an indication that at this point, Berber still had a vestigial length contrast in vowels. Another possibility is that the old orthography came into being not necessarily before *taškil* emerged, but rather before *taškil* became widespread, or before it reached North Africa. In fact, there are many possibilities to be considered, which means that this question cannot be considered resolved yet.

The second question (where did the Berber orthography originate?) can be also formulated as follows: which Berber language was written first? According to Van den Boogert, the first Berber language to be recorded is Tashelhiyt (Sous Berber), or the language variety which is closely related to it. Another candidate could be a Berber language spoken in the eastern part of the Maghreb (in the Djebel Nefousa in Libya).

The issue of the origin of Berber orthography remains uncertain. Additional material has to be studied before one can say anything with certainty. What is apparent, however, is that the Berber language obviously had a literary tradition. Although old Berber texts are scarce (or as yet unknown), such texts certainly existed, since a standardised writing system cannot exist without the texts.

Returning to the orthography of the studied MS, it appears to be logical and consistent. One observes how a foreign (Arabic) script is used to represent phonemes that exist in Berber and that do not exist in the original language of writing (e.g. /g/, /ḡ/, /k/, /j/, /t/, and /č/). Cross-linguistically (or, across the writing systems of the world), there are two strategies to solve this problem:

- 1) an existing symbol from the borrowed script is chosen that represents the *nearest equivalent* to the phoneme in question (most typically, this will be its voiced or voiceless counterpart); e.g. /g/ written with <k>;
- 2) (mostly at a later stage) a separate letter is formed, usually on the basis of the existing letter (used at stage 1) by means of diacritics.

⁷⁸ We know of only one Berber text written before *taškil* came into use: *Qur'an of Baryawāṭa* (revealed in the year 177 A.H./793). The scriptures have not survived, but are mentioned in later sources. In the 8th century, parchment was the preferred writing material, and unvocalised Kūfic script was used for religious texts. The use of *ḥurūf al-madd* (representing long vowels in Arabic) was necessary to represent Berber vowels in order to make the text legible. The use of *alif al-wiqāya* was also necessary to indicate word boundaries.

Following this universal tendency, Berber phonemes missing in Arabic, are represented by their nearest counterparts from the Arabic script. The studied MS consistently uses *kāf* for /g/, while the same symbol is also employed for /k/. In one instance, /g/ is represented by *kāf* with three under-dots (كٓ).

If one looks at the spelling of the vowels, it is clear that the system used in the studied MS is different from the Arabic system. Most significantly, the MS under investigation is written with full vocalisation. Also, it actually employs two systems for the notation of the vowels: one used for the Arabic loans (“pure” or “Berberized”), where long vowels are preserved (at least in spelling), and the other for the notation of “native Berber words”, where vowels are usually written short. The next section is devoted to a rather problematic distinction between Arabic, Berber, and Berberized.

3.7. Arabic, Berber, or Berberized?

The first question that immediately comes to mind when one glances at the studied MS, or in fact at any other MS written in the Arabic (or *ajami*) script is: “What language is it written in?”. Is it an Arabic text with some Berber words, or is it a Berber text with a few Arabic words, or is it a well-balanced mixture of the two? In fact, the majority of the manuscripts from the Berberophone area are actually written in the Arabic language. Sometimes they contain Berber names, words, and sentences embedded in the Arabic. The studied MS, however, presents a text written predominantly in Berber.

Mr. Mechehed conducted a statistical study of the words in the manuscript (see the *e-corpus* website and Mechehed 2007a). He concluded that the text contains 155 Arabic words, 626 Berberized Arabic words, and 280 Berber words, or 14,61%, 59%, and 26,39%, respectively (1061 words in total). This study is not unproblematic, however, and raises many questions. First, how does one define a “word” (see the issue of “token” vs. “type” above)?⁷⁹ Second, how does one decide what is pure Arabic, and what is a Berberized form? Is the spelling the only criterion? It might well be the case that the word is spelled exactly as it should be spelled in Arabic, but pronounced in a Berberized way. On the other hand, the reverse can also be the case: i.e., it is possible that a word is spelled not entirely according to the Arabic rules, but pronounced as in Arabic. Even “pure Berber” words are sometimes questionable, since many Berber words originally come from Arabic. Do we then count such words as Berber or Berberized? To conclude, this three-fold distinction among Arabic, Berberized, and Berber is not always definitive or easy to make.

⁷⁹ In other words, does each individual occurrence of a word count (“tokens”), or is every lexeme counted only once (“types”)? Does it matter if the word is encountered several times in the same or in different forms (e.g. the same verb with different PNG-marking)?

In the beginning, this author tried to verify Mechehed's findings, and therefore also maintained the division of words into separate categories according to the language.⁸⁰ However, this distinction was later omitted from the Transliteration and Transcription. Words are labelled as Arabic ("Ar."), Berber ("B."), and Berberized ("Bz.") only in the glossary. Even then, it is not possible to claim that there are always strong arguments for putting a certain word in a certain category.

1) Borderline cases: Arabic or Berberized?

Some of the problematic cases include, for example, the omission of *tašdid* (gemination) in the manuscript. Thus, in Arabic orthography, words such as *al-ḥaqq*, *aš-šarr*, and *al-maḥall* should be spelled with a *šadda* on the final consonant. However, in the examined manuscript, they are written with a *sukūn* (<'lḥaq>, <'ššar>, and <'lmaḥal>, respectively). The question is: are these words Berberized only in spelling, or also in pronunciation? In other words, should they be pronounced with a single or with a double consonant (*lḥeq* or *lḥeqq*, *ššer* or *ššerr*, *lmaḥel* or *lmaḥell*)? There is no conclusive answer to this question. The choice was made to transcribe such words with a single consonant, keeping in mind that the other option is also possible.

In addition to the omission of *tašdid*, there are other issues that can be debated. Thus, *hamza* is also often omitted, e.g. *al-baqā'* / *lbaqa* <albaqā>. Here again, it can be an issue of spelling or pronunciation, and again there are two possibilities for transcription. The decision was made to transcribe these words without a *hamza*.

The use of *fatha* to represent both a short [a] and a schwa [e] also leads to ambiguity. For some words, from the spelling alone, one cannot deduce whether the word is Berberized in pronunciation or not. Examples include: *al-mukallaf* / *lmukellef* <'lmukallaf>, *al-qidam* / *lqidem* <alqidam>, *aš-šaffāf* / *ššeffaf* <aššaffāf>, *al-εaraḍ* / *leereḍ* <'learaḍ>, *xamsa* / *xemsa* <xamsa>, and so on.

It is also not certain whether Arabic long vowels are preserved in pronunciation in cases such as *al-muḥāl* / *lmuḥal* <almuḥāl>, *al-wuḡūd* / *lwuḡud* <alwuḡūd>, *al-kaṭīf* / *lkaṭif* <alkaṭīf>, *aṭ-ṭuēūm* / *ṭṭuēum* <'ṭṭuēūm>, and the like.

One and the same word can be spelled differently in the manuscript. This might be an indication that in one instance it is Berberized, and in the other not. Sometimes, there is an explanation for this. Thus, one finds a Berberized spelling (and pronunciation) when the word is part of a Berber phrase, and a pure Arabic spelling (and pronunciation) when it is part of an Arabic phrase.

⁸⁰ Thanks are due to M. Kossmann and N. van den Boogert for their advice to give up this strict division.

For example, the word *leḥal* is Berberized in 1-15 and in the beginning of 2-8, where it is part of a Berber phrase and where it follows the Berber preposition *g*. However, it occurs in its pure Arabic form *l-'aḥal* further in 2-8, where it is part of Arabic phrase and where it follows Arabic preposition *fī*.

In other instances, however, a difference in spelling does not necessarily reflect a difference in pronunciation. Thus, the word *ad-dāt/ddaṭṭ* is spelled <'ddāt> in 1-5, 1-17, 2-1 etc., and <'ddat> in 3-2. This may be an indication that in the pronunciation of the scribe, the distinction between long and short vowels in Arabic is lost. In this case, Arabic words are spelled with long vowels simply because they are spelled so in Arabic (etymological spelling).

A given word can also be spelled in the same way, but be part of an Arabic phrase in one instance, and a Berber phrase in the other. The word *ad-dāt/ddaṭṭ*, for example, appears as <'ddāt> both in 1-4 (Arabic phrase) and in 1-5 (Berber phrase). In the author's transcription, then, the decision was made to transcribe it as *ad-dāt* in the first case, and as *ddaṭṭ* in the second, only due to the context.

In sum, for many words, spelling alone is not sufficient as a criterion of Berberization. This involves the loss of gemination (*al-ḥaqq/lḥeqq*, *aš-šarr/ššer*, *al-maḥall/lmaḥel*), the loss of hamza (*al-baqā'/lbaqa*), and the interpretation of the vowels: short [a] vs. [e] (*al-qidam/lqidem*, *xamsa/xemsa*), and long vs. short (*al-muḥāl/lmuḥal*, *al-wuḡūd/lwuḡud*). From the spelling of these words, it is impossible to conclude whether their form is pure Arabic or Berberized. Hence, a label “Ar.” or “Bz.” does not apply to them.

2) Berberized lexemes: “Bz.”

Other words, however, are clearly Berberized, both in spelling and in pronunciation. Such cases typically involve a change in vocalisation, e.g. *i > e* (*fatḥa* instead of *kaṣra*) as in *al-wāḡib > lwaḡeb* <'lwāḡab>, *al-ḡā'iz > lḡayez* <'lḡāyaz>, *al-ḡirm > lḡerm* <'lḡarm>. These words are labelled “Bz.” in the glossary.

Another instance of clear Berberization occurs when the *lām* of Arabic article is vocalised (i.e. we find a vowel instead of *sukūn*), e.g. *al-ʿadam > leʿdem* <'laʿdam>, *al-'aqsām > leqsam* <'lāqsām>, *al-'aṣrād > leṣraḍ* <'lāṣrād>; *al-'alwān > lelwan* <'lālwān>, *al-'akwān > lekwan* <'lākwān>, *al-'aḥāl > leḥal* <'lāḥāl>, *al-'asbāb > lesbab* <'lāsḥāb>, and so on.

3) Berber(ized) lexemes: “B(z)”

Some of the Berberized (originally Arabic) words have become part of the Berber everyday lexicon, and can be found in modern dictionaries (such as Dallet). Examples include various parts of speech, such as function words, e.g., prepositions (*mebla*) and conjunctions (*lewkan*, *extir*); and lexical words, e.g., verbs (*sawi*, *nkeṛ*, *ḥdiğ*, *wjed*, *xdem*, *xleq*), nouns (*lekdeb*, *ṣṣeneṣa*, *ṣṣifa*, *leelem*), adjectives (*aqdim*, *ajdid*, *amxalef*), and proper nouns (*Rebbi*). Such words are labelled as “B(z)” in the glossary. Needless to say, the distinction between “Bz.” and “B(z)” is not always clear-cut.

4) Berber lexemes: “B.”

Finally, there are also “pure Berber” words in the MS (i.e., native words as opposed to integrated or non-integrated loanwords). These, too, encompass various word classes. Function words include particles (*d* PRED, *ad*, *u*, *ara*), prepositions (*f*, *g*, *n*, *yer*, *s*), conjunctions (*d* ‘with’, *imi*, *mi*), independent pronouns, and pronominal affixes and clitics (*i*, *ay*, *nekk*, *-k*, *-is*, *-yas*). Lexical words include, for example, verbs (*ssen*, *zwar*, *ili*, *ay*, *ekšem*, *skeḍ*, *seu*) and nouns (*awal*, *akeččum*, *asekkud*).

5) Blends: “A + B”

There are also some forms that can be regarded as blends of Berber and Arabic lexemes, e.g. *isnin* ‘both’ (a blend of Berber *sin* and Arabic *iṭnain*). The form *iṭṭfetqir* in 2-3 is likewise probably a blend of B(z) *feqqer* (as found in Dallet) and Arabic 8th stem verb *iftaqara*.

6) Arabic lexemes: “Ar.”

As pointed out earlier, although the major language of the manuscript is Berber, it still contains many Arabic words. This mainly has to do with the religious nature of the document. The majority of Arabic lexemes are then philosophical and theological terms.

The text also contains several Arabic phrases. Apart from the *Bismillah* in the incipit (opening line) and the closing line of the manuscript, see e.g. 1-3, 2-9/10, 7-18, 7-19/20, and 8-1/2.⁸¹

⁸¹ In untranslated Arabic phrases and sentences, long vowels are kept in the transcription, and the article is separated by a hyphen, e.g. *al-wuğūd huwa ʿaynu d-dāt* (1-3/4).

3.8. A note on Arabic terminology

At this stage, one may wonder: why is a Berber text abundant in Arabic terminology? First, this has to do with the religious nature of the document. The link between Islam and Arabic is apparent. Second, Arabic was not only the language of religion, but also of education. Authors of Berber manuscripts were usually scholars, and were thus necessarily literate in Arabic. Hence, it is not surprising that Arabic is always present in Berber manuscripts.

On the one hand, many of the technical terms discussed in the MS simply do not have a Berber equivalent. These are terms such as *lǧerm* ‘matter, substance’, *lmeēna* ‘meaning’, *ddalil* ‘proof’, *ddur* ‘circularity’, *ttasalsul* ‘infinite regress of causes’, *lmuxaššis* ‘specification’, *lēereḍ* ‘an accidental property’, *ššifa* ‘attribute’, and most of God’s attributes themselves (e.g. *lwuǧud* ‘existence’, *lmuxalafa* ‘difference’, and so on). In this case, one can imagine that the author of the text had difficulties in finding native Berber words to translate such technical religious terms. It is likely that these words had been never used before in the author’s region, and lack a Berber equivalent.

On the other hand, some of the Arabic lexemes certainly could have been translated in Berber. Words such as *ššamam* ‘deafness’, *lēama* ‘blindness’, and *lbakam* ‘muteness’, all have a Berber equivalent. In fact, in another Berber version of the *Sanusi creed* from the *Lmuhub Ulahbib* library (viz. the *Soummam* MS), these terms are explained in Berber. Thus, after the mentioning of *ššamam*, the *Soummam* MS reads: *ašū i d ššamam? tteezzugt (< d t tteezzugt)* ‘What is *ššamam*? It is *tteezzugt* (deafness).’ There are more similar cases. These examples suggest that the lack of a Berber native word was not always an issue. In some cases, the author of the text probably chose to keep the Arabic term, in order to convey the nuanced meaning better, and to keep the translation more precise and closer to the original.

At this point, the reader should be well acquainted both with the content and the writing system employed in the MS. The author hopes to have provided sufficient background information on the text’s provenance and appearance, length, and the language(s) it represents. It is now time to take a closer look at the MS itself.

4. Kabyle manuscript: Introduction

4.1. Foreword

In the previous chapters, background information on the manuscript under investigation has been provided. The document was placed in its historical and religious context, its contents were outlined and compared with the original Arabic text on which it was based. Finally, its form was examined: what kind of script and orthographic conventions it employs, and in what language(s) it is written.

The following chapter presents the main part of the present thesis: namely, the complete text of the manuscript, consisting of: 1) (Latin) line-by-line transliteration and the typed text in the Arabic script; followed by 2) the transcription and (literal) translation. The material is presented on facing pages (*a* = even page numbers, and *b* = uneven page numbers), so that the reader can read and compare both sections simultaneously.

Then follow: 3) the literary translation into English; 4) interlinear glosses (linguistic analysis), and finally, 5) word-by-word glosses, notes and comments (paleographic-orthographic, linguistic, content, etc.). The word-by-word glosses present the material in order of occurrence (as encountered in the manuscript). The outline of the next chapter is as follows:

- 5.1. (a) Transliteration and transcription
(b) Text in Arabic script
- 5.2. (a) Transcription with added punctuation
(b) Literal translation into English
- 5.3. Literary translation into English
- 5.4. Interlinear glosses
- 5.5. Word-by-word glosses, notes and comments

In what follows, the principles behind each of these sections are outlined, and the transition from one stage to the other explained. Since the transcription is derived from the transliteration, they are treated in succession, while the typed text in the Arabic script is treated first.

4.2. A note on the typed Arabic

As mentioned above, the MS in question is written in the Maghrebi style of the Arabic script, which has its own characteristic features, such as shape of letters and use of diacritics. However, in the typed Arabic text presented in the following chapter, for typographical reasons, the Mashreqi system is employed. Thus, letter *fā'* is written as ف (and does not represent the Maghrebi *qāf*), while *qāf* is written as ق.⁸² This is done for the sake of clarity, since the majority of students and scholars of Arabic are familiar with the Mashreqi use rather than with the Maghrebi. For those who wish to study the palaeographic specifics of the MS, the pictures of the original document are presented in Appendix 1. The typed Arabic script in Section 5.1 is necessarily a simplification (based on the author's interpretation), since the written forms are always more diverse than the typed text.

Some of the palaeographic features of the MS include, for example:

The use of three dots (.) as a “comma”, or, rather a “phrase divider”⁸³

It is typed as <.> since this sign resembles the original the most. Alternatively, this sign could have been represented with (.) (a usual Arabic comma, known as *fāṣila*). In the Transliteration, this sign is indicated with a usual comma <,>. Another option would have been to represent it with <::>.

The use of a “filler” (which is not represented in the typed Arabic text)
Not all the signs function as phrase dividers. Thus, one finds several occurrences of a sign that has no special name, but can be labelled as a “filler”, since its function is merely to fill in the space. The use of this graphic device can be explained by the fact that the Islamic scribe generally avoids open spaces in the text (this phenomenon is usually referred to as *horror vacui*). The ‘filler’ typically appears at the very end of the line, as in (2-16) and (3-7), but can also occur between the letters of a word, as in (1-5), where it appears between the last two letters (*r* and *m*) of the word *lǧerm* (الْجَرْمُ) at the end of the line. In the latter case, the sign is employed to fill the spacing that was added between the letters in order to justify the text on the left-hand side. Similar signs are also found in other Arabic MSS.

⁸² The font used for the representation of the Arabic script is called “Traditional Arabic”. The author chose this font not because it resembles the shapes of the letters from the studied MS, but because it is indeed “Traditional”, and thus represents the Arabic writing conventions quite well, while at the same time being clear and legible.

⁸³ In fact, the studied MS has very little punctuation; the phrase divider is found in (1-3) and (ambiguously) in 6-14. See below under ‘Transcription with added punctuation’.

The use of the margin

While the Islamic scribe avoids open space, he does occasionally make use of the margin in order to add a word that was either forgotten or that did not fit on the line. See, e.g., 3-9, where the phrase *g elheq nnsen* (كَالْحَقِّ أَكْسَنَ) is added on the left margin, written almost vertically (and cf. further 3-17).⁸⁴ Naturally, this is not represented in the typed Arabic text, and the text on the margin is indicated by parentheses: (...). There are also insertions above the line, see, e.g., the word *sin* (سِنْ) in 3-18.

The use of a *custos* ('catchword')

Further, the bottom margin of all the even ('back') pages (except for the last one) also contains the *custos*, or 'catchword', whose function is to facilitate the ordering of the folios of the MS. The use of catchwords in this MS also helped to identify the missing pages, as described in Section 1.3. As can be seen in Table 1, catchwords appear in the MS unvocalised, unlike the main text. This is indicated with a full stop after the consonant in the transliteration, e.g. (استسلسلنس) <'s.t.s.l.n.s> for *es tesl(i) ines* in p. 2. In the first line of the following page, the same word appears vocalised: <astaslinas> (اَسْتَسَلَسَلَنَسْ).

The use of *šadda*

Following the general practice of the Maghrebi style (see Section 3.3), the studied MS employs two different systems for the notation of gemination: the usual (Mashreqi) W-shaped, and the characteristic Maghrebi V-shaped *šadda*. These are not differentiated in the typed version of the text. Hence, those who wish to study the distribution of the two, must refer to the original document. However, to the author's knowledge, the choice of one of the two variants of *šadda* is not conditioned by any external factor.

To conclude this section, in general, the writing style of the manuscript under investigation was not too difficult to decipher. It is a clearly written text with consistently used signs (i.e., letters are written more or less in the same way). However, there are some difficulties. First, the manner of writing in the studied MS is rather compact, with little space between characters. Separate words (and letters within the word) are sometimes written quite close to each other (but still not connected, following the Arabic writing conventions). Sometimes, it is merely the final form of the letter that indicates that it is the end of the word. However, some instances are rather ambiguous. The problem of word boundaries was already mentioned previously (see Section 3.4.1).

⁸⁴ In fact, knowledge of the context is necessary in order to be able to decide, to which line the words on the margin belong.

Thus, some graphemes, e.g. *d* (د), are never spelled as connected, and hence the decision to type the following word/character separately is arbitrary. Here, intuition and/or logic were relied upon, since one has certain expectations of what could be spelled together, and what not.

Once the text of the MS was typed in the Arabic script, the next step was to transliterate it into the Latin alphabet. The following section outlines the principles of transliteration relied upon for this task.

4.3. Latin transliteration

In this section, the transliteration system used to transliterate the manuscript into the Latin script is explained.⁸⁵

Transliteration differs from transcription in that it corresponds to the text of the MS as represented by the Arabic script more faithfully, and it involves no (or, at least the minimum amount of) interpretation. In other words, its goal is to represent the *characters* of one script (Arabic) in another (Latin), and not the *sounds* of the language, which is the goal of Transcription (see below).⁸⁶ Hence, in the transliteration, each Arabic grapheme corresponds to a separate Latin grapheme. Since some of the Arabic characters/sounds do not have a counterpart in the usual Latin alphabet, a few additional letters were necessary, which will be explained below.

First treated are the graphemes used to represent consonants, then those used to represent the vowels or semivowels, and finally diacritics, which can be used to mark vowels or consonant length.

4.3.1. Consonants

Table 7 presents the Arabic graphemes that are used to represent consonants, and their Latin counterparts. The Table is divided into three sections. First, Table 7 (a) shows graphemes that pose no problems for transliteration, since they represent similar sounds in Arabic and Latin scripts. These are:

b (ب), *t* (ت), *d* (د), *r* (ر), *z* (ز), *s* (س), *f* (ف), *k* (ك), *l* (ل), *m* (م), *n* (ن), *h* (ه).

The remaining graphemes need an explanation. Some of them are transliterated with existing (usual) Latin characters, but are pronounced differently in Arabic (b), while others are transliterated with special (modified versions of the) Latin characters (c).

⁸⁵ By 'Transliteration', I mean a systematic way of converting a text from one script into another. In this case, S1 (the original script) is Arabic, and S2 (the goal script) is Latin, or Roman. This type of Transliteration is also called Romanisation. Transliteration is also called graphemic conversion, as opposed to transcription, or phonemic conversion.

⁸⁶ Some characteristics of the Arabic script were already treated above (Section 3). See also Appendix 5 for the explanation of the technical terms.

Table 7. Arabic consonantal graphemes

a. Graphemes unproblematic for transliteration	b. Different pronunciation
<i>bā' tā' dāl rā' zāy sīn fā' kāf lām mīm nūn hā'</i>	<i>qāf ḥā'</i>
ب ت د ر ز س ف ك ل م ن ه	ق خ
b t d r z s f k l m n h	q x

c. Graphemes transliterated with modified Latin letters
<i>tā' dāl ṭā' dād ṣād (ẓ/dā') ḥā' šīn 'ayn ḡayn ġīm</i>
ث ذ ط ض ص (ظ) ح ش ع غ ج
ṭ ḍ ṭ̣ ḍ̣ ṣ̣ (ẓ̣/ḍ̣) ḥ̣ ṣ̌ ʕ̣ ɣ̣ ġ̣

Regarding the graphemes in Table 7 (b), namely the letters *qāf* (ق) and *ḥā'* (ح), these are transliterated as <x> and <q> respectively; <q> is pronounced as the IPA [q] (uvular stop), while <x> is pronounced as the IPA [x] or [χ]. In other transliteration systems, *ḥā'* is transliterated as <h> or <kh>.

Finally, Table 7 (c) shows consonants that are transliterated with special (modified) Latin symbols. The principles here are as follows:

1) Consonants with an underscore indicate fricatives/ fricativisation (spirantisation): *ṭ* (ث) = IPA [θ], *ḍ* (ذ) = IPA [ð]. In other transliteration system, these letters are written as <th> and <dh>, respectively.

2) Consonants with an under-dot indicate pharyngealisation: *ṭ* (ط), *ḍ* (ض), *ṣ* (ص), *ẓ/ḍ̣* (ظ), and *ḥ* (ح).⁸⁷ In the IPA, pharyngealised consonants are written with a superscript <ˤ> (a reversed glottal stop), so that e.g. *ṭ* is indicated as [tˤ]. The grapheme *ḥ* (ح) corresponds to the IPA [ħ] (pharyngeal fricative), and this symbol is sometimes encountered in other transliteration systems.

⁸⁷ It should be noted, however, that the grapheme *ẓā'/ḍ̣ā'* (ظ) is not encountered in the studied MS. This can be explained by the fact that Classical Arabic ظ has merged in dialects with ض. Further, /ḍ̣/, characteristic of G.K., corresponds to /ṭ/ (ط) in P.K.

3) The remaining special symbols are as follows:

- š (ش) = IPA [ʃ]; written as <sh> in some transliteration systems;
- ʕ (ع) = IPA [ʕ] (voiced pharyngeal fricative); usually transliterated as <ʕ> or <ʔ> in other transliteration systems;⁸⁸
- ɣ (غ) = IPA [ɣ] (voiced velar fricative); usually transliterated as <ğ> (and sometimes <gh> in literature on Arabic;
- ġ (ج) = IPA [dʒ] (voiced palato-alveolar affricate).⁸⁹

4.3.2. Vowels and approximants

In addition to the 25 consonant graphemes treated above, the Arabic alphabet contains three graphemes that may represent vowels or semivowels, depending on the context. These graphemes are represented by the letters 'alif (ا), wāw (و), and yā' (ي).

Letters wāw (و) and yā' (ي) can be pronounced in three different ways:

- as approximants (semivowels) /w/ and /j/, respectively;
- as long vowels /u:/ and /i:/; and
- as diphthongs: /aw/ and /aj/.

Hence, و is transliterated as <w>, <ū>, or <aw>, and ي as <y>, <ī>, or <ay>, depending on the context. The decision is not arbitrary, but depends on the vocalisation of the word. When the letter wāw follows a consonant vocalised with a *ḍamma*, it represents the vowel [ū]; when it follows a consonant with another vocalisation (*fatha*, *kasra*, or *sukūn*) it represents the semivowel [w]. Thus, in the word that appears in 1-3 as أَلْوُجُودٌ, the first wāw (following the Arabic article *al-* vocalised with a *sukūn*) represents a [w], while the second wāw (following the *ġīm* vocalised with a *ḍamma*) represents [ū]. Hence, the word is transliterated as <alwuğūd>.

The same principles apply to the letter yā', which represents the vowel [ī] when it follows a consonant vocalised with a *kasra*, as e.g. in (1-3) عَشْرِينَ, transliterated as <eašrīn>. When wāw or yā' are vocalised with a *sukūn*, they certainly represent consonants, as e.g. in (1-3) عَيْنُ <eynu>.

⁸⁸ The Arabic letter 'ayn (ع) is usually transliterated as <ʕ> in literature on Arabic, and as <ε> in Berberological literature. I chose to use the latter symbol in my transliteration and transcription, regardless of whether the word in question is Arabic, Berber, or Berberized.

⁸⁹ This sound is also transliterated as <j> in other transcription systems. I chose to represent it with <ğ>, while in the transcription line, either [ğ] or [j] is written, depending on the word.

Finally, the letter 'alif (ا) can be variously transliterated as <ā> (representing a long vowel /a:/) or as <'> (representing the glottal stop, IPA /ʔ/).⁹⁰ It represents a vowel in the middle of the word, following a consonant vocalised with a *fatḥa*, as e.g. in (2-11) الْوَاجِبُ <'lwāğab>. It is transliterated as <'> in the beginning of the word, as e.g., in (1-14) الطُّعْمُ <'t̤t̤ueūm>. Note that it is transliterated as <a> (short /a/) in the beginning of the word when it is vocalised with a *fatḥa*, including the Arabic article, as e.g., in (1-16) الْقِيَامُ <alqiyāmu>, since here it does not represent a long vowel.

Note that *hamza* (ء), which is not considered to be a full letter of the Arabic alphabet, likewise indicates the glottal stop, and hence is transliterated as <'>. This sign is encountered rare in the studied MS, and occurs only in Arabic words, as e.g. in (2-8) الْأَفْعَالُ <'l'afēāl>.

Now, all the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet (and the additional *hamza*) have been treated. The complete transliteration table for all the graphemes, representing both consonants and vowels, is given in Table 8. The sequence of letters follows the *hiğā'ī* (or 'alifbā'ī) order that groups letters by similarity of shape. The first row gives the names of Arabic characters, the second: the graphemes themselves, the third: transliteration symbols, and the fourth: the IPA symbols.

Table 8. Transliteration table

'alif	bā'	tā'	tā'	ğīm	ḥā'	ḥā'	dāl	dāl	rā'	zāy	sīn	šīn	ṣād	dād
ا	ب	ت	ث	ج	ح	خ	د	ذ	ر	ز	س	ش	ص	ض
ā/a/ '	b	t	t̤	ğ	ḥ	x	d	d̤	r	z	s	š	ṣ	ḍ
a:/a/ʔ	b	t	θ	dʒ	ħ	x/χ	d	ð	r	z	s	ʃ	sˤ	dˤ

tā' (zā')	'ayn	ğayn	fā'	qāf	kāf	lām	mīm	nūn	ḥā'	wāw	yā'	hamza
ط (ظ)	ع	غ	ف	ق	ك	ل	م	ن	ه	و	ي	ء
t̤ (z̤/d̤)	ɛ	ɣ	f	q	k	l	m	n	h	w, ū, aw	y, ī, ay	'
tˤ	zˤ/ðˤ	ɣ	f	q	k	l	m	n	h	w/u:/a w	j/i:/aj	ʔ

⁹⁰ In other transliteration systems, *alif* and *hamza* representing a glottal stop are transliterated either as an apostrophe <'>, or as <ʔ>. This symbol should not be confused with <ʿ>, used for the letter 'ayn (ع).

4.3.3. Diacritics (*taškīl*)

In addition to the use of separate graphemes, the Arabic writing system also makes use of the special diacritic signs, known as collectively as the *taškīl*. The diacritics can be used: 1) for marking (short) vowels, and 2) for marking gemination of the consonants.

Vocalisation (*ḥarakāt*) includes: *fatha*, *kasra*, and *damma*, that are transliterated as <a>, <i>, and <u>, respectively. If the consonant is not vocalised, it is indicated with a dot, e.g., in the catchword at the bottom of p. 2: اسشلسس <'s.ṭ.s.l.n.s>.

The *tašdīd* involves the use of *šadda* to mark geminated (long) consonants, that are doubled in the transliteration. The words رَبِّ <rabbi> in 2-16 and اَنَّكَ <annakki> in 3-7 illustrate both kinds of the *taškīl*.

4.3.4. Additional conventions

There are a few other conventions that are used in the transliteration:

- <â> is used for 'alif maqṣūra, or 'broken alif' that is used to represent a long /a:/ and appears only at the end of a word;
- Superscript <^{un}>, <ⁱⁿ>, <^{an}> (in the studied MS, only <ⁱⁿ>) indicate that the ending of the word is written by means of *tanwīn*, or nunation.

Example that illustrates both phenomena: (3-12) إِلَى نَقْصٍ <'ilâ naqṣⁱⁿ>.

- Superscript <^h> is used to represent a (regular) *tā' marbūṭa*, while superscript <^t> is used for *tā' marbūṭa* vocalised with a *sukūn*.

Example: (2-6) الْوَحْدَانِيَّة <alwaḥḍāniya^h> vs. (7-11) الْحَيَاة <alḥayawa^t>.

In the transcription, unvocalised *tā' marbūṭa* is omitted, since it was probably not pronounced, while the presence of *sukūn* most likely indicates that it was pronounced as [t]. Hence, the above examples are transcribed as (e)lweḥḍaniya and (e)lḥayat, respectively. The principles of transcription, and how one arrives from spelling (transliteration) to pronunciation, are outlined in the following section.

4.4. A note on transcription

Transcription, unlike transliteration, represents the *sounds* of a language rather than the characters of the script. While transliteration attempts to be systematic and to use a one-to-one correspondence, in transcription, this correspondence is not so strict. Thus, a given Arabic grapheme is usually transliterated by the same Latin grapheme, while it can be transcribed differently, depending on the context. Transcription thus involves more interpretation. One needs to be familiar with the characteristics of the language (its phonology and phonetics) in order to arrive at an accurate transcription.⁹¹

The sound inventories of Arabic and (Kabyle) Berber are not identical. Since the Arabic script was designed to represent the sounds of Arabic, it is not ideally suitable to represent all the sounds of Berber. In cases when a given Berber sound does not have a corresponding sound and a separate grapheme in Arabic, its nearest equivalent was chosen.

Regarding the **consonants**, most important is that Kabyle /g/ has no counterpart in Arabic and is under-represented in the script. Hence, *g* is not found in the transliteration, but it is found in the transcription of words that are pronounced with that sound, e.g. the preposition *g*.⁹² In the studied manuscript, this phoneme is written with the Arabic letter *kāf* (ك), which is normally (as in Arabic) used to represent /k/.

The same grapheme is also employed to represent the fricativised counterparts of the above consonants, viz. /ḳ/ and /g̣/.⁹³ Since fricativisation is usually predictable in Berber, it can easily be supplied in transcription.⁹⁴ On the other hand, because the fricativisation is predictable, one could also decide to *not* indicate it in the transcription. Other minor distinctions that are lost in Arabic script involve:

- the pharyngealised consonant [ṛ] (e.g. *Ṛebbi*, *dduṛ*, *lkaraha*);
- the distinction between [dʒ] and [ʒ] (e.g. *lǧerm* vs. *wejǧent*); and
- the affricates /č/ and /ṭ/ (*aḱeččum*, *iṭṭilin*).

In general, however, the Arabic script lends itself quite well to writing the distinctive Berber consonants.

⁹¹ For the sound inventory of Kabyle, see Appendix 2. On how Arabic script is used to represent Berber phonemes, see also Section 3.4.

⁹² Examples: (1-3) *g lḥeq* <ka'lḥaq> (كَالْحَقِّ), (1-7) *g lfiray* <ka'lfiṛāy> (كَالْفِرَاغِ). This sound is also encountered in the assimilated form of the PTC of the verb 'to be' (*iʿgella*, spelled <ikallān>).

⁹³ Examples: (1-8) *aḱeččum* <akaššūm> (اَكَشُّوم); (1-7) *i dǧes* <iḱkas> (اِدْكَس).

⁹⁴ Another possible example of fricativisation not noted in the script includes [ḅ] <[b]>.

Regarding the **vowels**, there are some significant differences between transliteration and transcription. First, the Berber vowel system does not have the opposition between long and short vowels that exists in Arabic. Hence, the macron sign above the “long” vowels (i.e., those written with letters of lengthening) is omitted in the transcription of Berber and Berberized words, and kept only in “pure Arabic” words and phrases. Thus, simply *a*, *u*, *i* and not *ā*, *ū*, *ī* are used.

Second, in the addition to the plain vowels (/i/, /a/, and /u/), Berber has a central vowel [e]. There is no special letter or vocalisation sign for schwa in the Arabic script. Hence, this vowel is not found in the transliteration, but is introduced in the transcription (written as *e*). As noted above, schwa is (most probably) not a phonemic vowel in Berber. It was kept in the transcription in order to represent phonetics rather than phonology, and to show the syllabification of the word. However, initial schwa is omitted from the ‘transcription with added punctuation’.

4.5. Transcription with added punctuation

As noted above, punctuation is very scarce in the studied MS. This lack of punctuation is rather typical for Islamic MSS. The “phrase divider” is found only in (1-3) and in (6-14); in one instance (3-13), the end of a paragraph is marked by an abbreviation (ⵉⵏⵏⵓⵏ). Hence, in order to make better sense of the text, the missing punctuation marks had to be supplied.

As there are no markers of phrase boundaries, there are also no question marks, and hence one has to determine which sentence is affirmative as opposed to interrogative. This is clear when we deal with specialised questions (where the sentence starts with a question word), but not so obvious in the case of yes/no-questions.⁹⁵ Similarly, there are no quotation marks to mark the reported speech. The reported speech is recognised by the introduction *inna-k* “he said (to you)”.⁹⁶

In some cases, it was quite simple to determine where a sentence ended and the next one started. Thus, the formula *wa-huwa al-maṭlūb* clearly marks the end of the sentence (and, in fact, of the entire paragraph). Sometimes, however, the end of the phrase or a sentence is not so apparent. Obviously, both the knowledge of syntax and the understanding of the text were necessary in order to determine where, and which punctuation mark to insert. This is impossible without interpreting (or translating) the text.

⁹⁵ Examples of specialised question include: 1) *Ḍ ašū i ḍ lǧerm?*; 2) *Annešt n leqsam i ḍǧes?*; 3) *Ḍ ašū i ḍ leered?*; 4) *Ašū lmeena lwaǧeb lwuǧud?*; 5) *Ašū ḍ ddalil fell-as?* Examples of ambiguous cases include: 1) *teelleqent s lmumkina?*; 2) *ilzem ttaḥšil lḥašel?*

⁹⁶ Example: (3-7/3-8): *inna-k: “Ḍ nekki⁸ i kn-ixelqen, iixelqen leemal nnwen ama ḍ lxir ama ḍ ššer.”*

4.6. A note on translation

It is necessary to stress that, while some passages were very clear and easy to understand, others required more research, thinking, and in fact sometimes educated guessing, or conjecture (both on my part and on the part of my informant). For words whose meaning was not immediately clear, Arabic and Kabyle Berber dictionaries were used (see Section 1.1). However, looking up a word in a dictionary rarely gave a positive result. This is due to the fact that most commonly, such cases involved strangely composed (Berberised) words, blended Arabic and Berber forms, or obscure, technical, or theological vocabulary.⁹⁷

Since the studied MS presents the Kabyle version of the *Sanusi creed*, the translation has profited from consulting the original.⁹⁸ Additionally, secondary literature on Sanusi, his theology, and the twenty attributes of Allah were studied. By comparing the Berber and the Arabic versions, it was possible to establish parallels, and to translate the text more accurately.⁹⁹ Those lines that have no correspondences in the Arabic version remain the most problematic (e.g., sentence 1-11 mentioning *lǧerm lmuḍerres*, and the entire passage in 2-13/15). Further research in the Arabic versions of the *Sanusi creed* can shed light on the obscure passages of the studied manuscript.

Most of the religious concepts are explained in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. The technical vocabulary used by Sanusi is also explained in the Arabic text known as *al-Haqaiq* (*al-Ḥaqā'iq*), or alternatively '*ilm al-kalam*, '(scholastic) theology'. The complete title of this work is: *al-ḥaqā'iq fī ta'rifāt muṣṭalaḥāt eulamā' al-kalām* (الحَقَائِقُ فِي تَعْرِيفَاتِ مُصْطَلَحَاتِ عُلَمَاءِ الْكَلَامِ), which can be translated as 'Facts in the definitions of conventional or technical terms of scholastic theology'. Thus, the passage describing different kinds of *lǧerm* ('matter, substance') could be understood and translated only upon consulting this text.

The Arabic version of the *Sanusi creed* is generally easier to understand than the studied MS, due not so much to the fact that it is written in "clear" Arabic as opposed to "obscure" Berber, but rather due to the fact that it is more elaborate, while the Berber text is laconic. Hence, even the translation of the MS presented in Section 5.2 (b) is not entirely clear or easy to understand. This is why another, literary translation follows it in the next section (5.3).

⁹⁷ On the question, why there is so much Arabic technical vocabulary in the studied MS, see Section 3.8.

⁹⁸ See Appendix 3 for the Arabic text of *Umm al-Barāhīn*.

⁹⁹ See Appendix 4 for the comparison of different versions.

The literary translation can further be expanded by inserting additional explanations, commentaries, and parallels from the Arabic sources, but this task falls outside the scope of the present study, which instead concentrates on the linguistic content of the MS.

4.7. Linguistic content

After the literary translation, in Section 5.4, the interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses are presented, as customary in linguistic literature.¹⁰⁰ The purpose of this section is to show the underlying structure of the Berber forms. Thus, although assimilation and elision is noted in the MS, the non-assimilated and non-elided forms are given in the glosses.¹⁰¹

The following table (Table 9) illustrates the theory outlined above, put into practice. Here, for a (randomly chosen) line from the MS (7-9), presented together are: 1) the typed Arabic; 2) transliteration; 3) transcription; 4) transcription with added punctuation; 5) literal translation; 6) literary translation; and finally, 7) interlinear glosses.

Table 9. From script to meaning

1	أَلَشْتُ لَكِنْ أَتَنَكَّرْتُ كَالصَّنْعَةِ أَمْبَعْدَ مَطْلَيْغٍ أَرْكَسَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ
2	ulaššit lakin ayyiṭankart ka'ššanə ^h ambaəd miṭṭallayay azkas dā 'lmuḥāl
3	ulašš-iṭṭ lakin a yyi-ṭenkerṭ g eššanə embeəd mi ṭṭallayey ezzg̃-es d elmuḥāl
4	ulašš-iṭṭ. Lakin a yyi-ṭenkerṭ g eššanə. Mbeəd mi ṭṭallayey zzg̃-es, d lmuḥāl.
5	(...) But you will deny me in creation. Later, when I am looking in it, it is impossible.
6	(...) However, you will argue against me regarding the creation. Later, when I am examining this matter, it is impossible.
7	ulašš-iṭṭ lakin a yyi= ṭe-nker-ṭ g eššanə NEG.COP-3F.SG.DO but AD 1SG.DO= 2SG-deny.A-2SG in work mbeəd mi ṭṭallay-ey zzg̃-es d lmuḥāl later when see.I-1SG in-3SG PRED impossible

¹⁰⁰ See 'Leipzig Glossing Rules' for the conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, which the author tried to follow in this work.

¹⁰¹ Examples of assimilation written in the MS: *ig^hgellan* < *i yellan*; *ṭṭinna* < *d ṭinna*, *r^hRebbi* < *n Rebbi*. Examples of elision: *ur illara* < *ur illi ara*. See also Chapter 6.

As can be seen from the table, there are sometimes significant changes when one proceeds from one stage to another. To summarise the main differences:

In the transliteration line, words are written separately only when there is a space between them in the manuscript. The Arabic article, prepositions, conjunctions, or Berber clitics are not separated by a hyphen, e.g. <alwuğūd>, <bi'nnafs>, <wanafyu>, <aṭidissufay>. Berber prepositions, conjunctions, and particles are spelled together with the content word, if there is no space between them in the original MS (e.g. <fa'lmaḥal>, <mayalla>, <uṭitlaḥaqāra>).

In the transcription line, Arabic article is separated by a hyphen only in pure Arabic phrases (e.g., *al-wuğūd huwa ʿaynu d-dat*, *wa-huwa l-maṭlūb*). Arabic prepositions and conjunctions are always separated by a hyphen (*bi-nnafs*, *wanafyu*). Berber clitics are also written with a hyphen (e.g., *et-id-issufey*). Berber prepositions, conjunctions, and particles are spelled separately (e.g., *f elmaḥal*, *ma yella*, *u t-iṭṭlaḥaq ara*).

Line-by-line transcription differs from transcription with added punctuation (and from glosses) in that:

- it keeps the initial schwa, e.g., *elwağeb* vs. *lwağeb*;
- it keeps assimilation (indicated by ^), e.g., *el^leqsam*, *i^gella*, *t^ṭinna* vs. *n leqsam*, *i yella*, *d ṭinna*;
- the underlying elided vowels are given in parentheses, e.g., *u tell(i) ara* vs. *u telli ara*.

Further, transcription with added punctuation contains punctuation marks, such as full stops and commas to indicate the end of the phrase.¹⁰²

Finally, in the interlinear glosses, the underlying forms are given; bound morphemes are separated by a hyphen (*i-ssen*, *wejd-ent*), and clitics by the equal sign “=” (*t=id=i-ssufey*). In word-by-word glosses and comments (following the literary translation), forms are identical to those found in transcription with added punctuation. As mentioned earlier (Section 4.1), the word-by-word glosses present the material in order of appearance (i.e., as encountered in the MS).

The following chapter presents the results of this study and the principles outlined above put into practice.

¹⁰² Punctuation is included in the transliteration line only if there is a punctuation mark found in the MS, e.g. in 1-3.

5. Kabyle MS: Text

5.1. (a) Transliteration and transcription

Page 1

- 1-1. bsm 'llh 'rrḥmn 'rrḥym wṣlâ 'llh elâ sydnâ mḥmd
bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm(i) wa-ṣallā llāhu ealā sayyidinā
Muḥammadin
- 1-2. dā 'lwāḡab fa'lmukallaf aḍissan alwāḡab dā almuḥāl dā 'lḡāyaz
d elwaḡeb f elmukellef aḍ issen elwaḡeb d elmuḥal d elḡayez
- 1-3. ka'lḥaq arrabbi alwāḡab eašrīn nnaṣṣifaṭ, alwuḡūd huwa eaynu
g elḥeq eṛ^Ṛebbi elwaḡeb eēšrin n eṣṣifaṭ, al-wuḡūd huwa eaynu
- 1-4. 'dḍāt alqidam usizwarara 'laedam albaqā uṭitlaḥaqāra 'laedam
d-dāt elqidem u s-izwar ara leedem elbaqa u t-itṭlaḥaq ara leedem
- 1-5. almuxālaf^h dāmxfāf ka'dḍāt addātis uṭallara dā 'lḡarm
elmuxalafa d amxalef g dḍaṭṭ dḍaṭṭ-is u tell(i) ara d elḡerm
- 1-6. dāšū 'da 'lḡarm dayanni itzayyiḥan alyirīs iy.ttāy alqadrīs
d ašū i d elḡerm d ayenni ittzeyyiḥen lyir-is i yetṭay lqedr-is
- 1-7. ka'lfirāy annašt allāqsām idkas rabea alḡarm aššaffāf
g elfiray annešt el^leqsam i dḡes ṛebea elḡerm eššeffaf
- 1-8. uṭnimniεara isnīn urimniε akaššūm urimniε asakkūd alḡarm
u ṭn-imniε ara isnin ur imniε aḡeččum ur imniε asekkud elḡerm
- 1-9. alkaṭīf amma 'lhīt imnaε akaššūm imnaε asakkūd
lkaṭīf am(m) elhīt imneε aḡeččum imneε asekkud
- 1-10. [alḡarm ... imnaε asakkūd urimniεara akaššūm al-ḡarm]
lḡerm ... imneε asekkud ur imniε ara aḡeččum lḡerm
- 1-11. almuḍarras imnaε akaššūm urimniεara asakkūd dāmxfāf
lmuḍerres imneε aḡeččum ur imniε ara asekkud d amxalef

5. Kabyle MS: Text

5.1. (b) Text in the Arabic script

Page 1

1- بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ

2- ذَا الْوَاجِبِ فَالْمُكَلَّفِ أَذْسَنَ الْوَاجِبِ ذَا الْمُحَالِ ذَا الْجَائِزِ

3- كَالْحَقِّ أَرَبُّ الْوَاجِبِ عَشْرِينَ نَصْفَتِ الْوُجُودِ هُوَ عَيْنُ

4- الذَّاتِ الْقَدَمِ أُسْزَوَّرَ الْعَدَمُ الْبَقَا أُتْلَحَقَ أَرِ الْعَدَمِ

5- الْمُخَالَفَةِ ذَا مُخَالَفٍ كَالذَّاتِ الذَّاتِ أُتْلَرُ ذَا الْجَرَمِ

6- ذَا شُو إِذَا الْجَرَمِ ذَيْنِ أُتْرِيحَنَ الْغَرِيسِ إِيْتَاغَ الْقَدْرِيسِ

7- كَالْفِرَاغِ أَنْشَتْ الْأَقْسَامُ إِذْ كَسَ رُبْعَ الْجَرَمِ الشَّفَافِ

8- أُتْمَنِعَرِ اسْنِينَ أَرْمَنِعَ أَكْشُومَ أَرْمَنِعَ أَكْشُودَ الْجَرَمِ

9- الْكَثِيفِ أَمَّ الْحِيطِ أَمْنِعَ أَكْشُومَ أَمْنِعَ أَكْشُودَ

10- [الْجَرَمِ ... أَمْنِعَ أَكْشُودَ أَرْمَنِعَرِ أَكْشُومَ الْجَرَمِ]

11- الْمُضَرَّسِ أَمْنِعَ أَكْشُومَ أَرْمَنِعَرِ أَكْشُودَ ذَا مُخَالَفِ

1-12.ka'şşifāt urallintara dā 'learaḍ dāšu idā alēaraḍ ay ḍayanni
g eşşifāt ur llint ara ḍ elēereḍ ḍ ašu i ḍ elēereḍ ay ḍ ayenni

1-13.ittilīn ga'lğarm 'annašt allāqsām idkas xamsa 'lāerāḍ
iṭṭilin g elğerm annešt el[^]leqsam i ḍḡes xemsa [l[^]] leeraḍ

1-14.aḍ 'lālwan aḍ 'lākwān dā 'ṭṭueūm dā 'rrawāyah dā 'lmaēānī
eḍ lelwan eḍ lekwan ḍ eṭṭueum ḍ errewayeh ḍ elmeēani

1-15.ḍamxālaf ak'lāfeāl urittaḥḍiğ yar 'lāsbāb urisei 'lyarḍ
ḍ amxalef eg lefeal ur iṭṭeḥḍiğ yer lesbab ur isei lyerḍ

1-16.alqiyāmu bi'nnafs iṣṭaynā fa'lmaḥal dā 'lmuxaşşıṣ iṣṭaynā
elqiyamu bi-nnafs iṣṭeyna f elmaḥal ḍ elmuxaşşıṣ iṣṭeyna

1-17.fa'lmaḥal imi dā 'ḍḍāt ikallā iṣṭaynā fa'lmuxaşşıṣ imi āḍ wāğab
f elmaḥal imi ḍ eḍḍaṭṭ i[^]gella iṣṭeyna f elmuxaşşıṣ imi eḍ wağeb

1-18.alwuğūd ikallā ašu almaēnā alwāğab alwuğūd usizwarara 'laēdam
elwuğud i[^]gella ašu elmeēna elwağeb elwuğud u s-izwar ara leēdem

12- كَالصِّفَاتِ أُرْلَتَرِذَا الْعَرَضُ دَاشُ إِذَا الْعَرَضُ أَيِ ذَيْنِ

13- اِتْلِينَ لَكَ الْجَرْمَ أَنْشَتْ الْأَقْسَامُ إِذْ كَسَ خَمْسَ الْأَعْرَاضِ

14- أَذِ اللَّوَانِ أَذِ الْأَكْوَانِ إِذَا الطُّعُومُ ذَا الرِّوَايَحِ ذَا الْمَعَانِي

15- ذَ مَنْخَالَفَ أَكَالَفَعَالٌ أُرْتَحْدِيحُ غَرَّ الْأَسْبَابُ أُرْسَعِ الْعَرَضُ

16- الْقِيَامُ بِالنَّفْسِ اسْتَعْنَى فَاَلْمَحَلِّ ذَا الْمُخَصِّصِ اسْتَعْنَى

17- فَاَلْمَحَلِّ إِمِذَا الذَّاتِ أَكَلًا اسْتَعْنَى فَاَلْمُخَصِّصِ إِمِذَا وَاجِبُ

18- الْوُجُودِ أَكَلًا أَشْ الْمَعْنَى الْوَاجِبُ الْوُجُودِ أُسْزَوَّرَ الْعَدَمُ

- 2-1. adwinna ida 'lqidam uṭitlaḥaqara 'laɛdam 'ttinna ida 'lbaqā addāt arrabbi
taṣṭaynâ
ed winna i d elqidem u t-iṭṭlaḥaq ara leɛdem eṭʿinna i d elbaqa eddaṭṭ
erʿRebbi teṣṭeyna
- 2-2. fa'lmaḥal dā 'lmuxaṣṣiṣ aṣṣifāt arrabbi waḡdant ka'lmaḥal aṣṭaynānt
f elmaḥal d elmuxaṣṣiṣ eṣṣifaṭ erʿRebbi wejdent g elmaḥal eṣṭeynant
- 2-3. fa'lmuxaṣṣiṣ alḡarm iṣṭaynâ fa'lmaḥal itfatqir ayra 'lmuxaṣṣiṣ alɛaraḍ
f elmuxaṣṣiṣ elḡerm iṣṭeyna f elmaḥal iṭṭfetqir eyr elmuxaṣṣiṣ elɛered
- 2-4. itfatqir ayra lmaḥal dā 'lmuxaṣṣiṣ itfatqir ayra 'lmaḥal ayra addāt id
iṭṭfetqir eyr elmaḥal d elmuxaṣṣiṣ iṭṭfetqir eyr elmaḥal eyr eddaṭṭ i
- 2-5. karayili itfatqir ayra almuxaṣṣiṣ aṭidissufaṭ ak'laɛdam ayra alwuḡud
dḡ ara yili iṭṭfetqir eyr elmuxaṣṣiṣ eṭ-id-issufey eg leɛdem eyr elwuḡud
- 2-6. alwaḥdāniya^h d dawḥid ka'ddāt nafyu alkam almuttaṣil wa'lmunfaṣil
elweḥdaniya d awḥid g eddaṭṭ nafyu elkem elmuttaṣil wa-lmunfaṣil
- 2-7. fī addāt dawḥid ka'ṣṣifāt nafyu alkam almuttaṣil wa'lmunfaṣil
fī ddaṭṭ d awḥid g eṣṣifaṭ nafyu lkem elmuttaṣil wa-lmunfaṣil
- 2-8. fī aṣṣifāt dawḥid ak'lāfeāl nafyu aššarīk fī l'afeāl
fī ṣṣifaṭ d awḥid eg lefeal nafyu š-šarīk fī l-'afeāl
- 2-9. wanafyu attātīri bi'lquwwa^{ti} wa'lqudra^{ti} alḥādītā^{ti} wanafyu attātīri
wa-nafyu t-ta'tīri bi-l-quwwati wa-l-qudrati l-ḥādītati wa-nafyu t-ta'tīri
- 2-10. bi'tṭabīɛa^{ti} wa'leilla^{ti} alqudra^h ad 'lirāda^h ayas ɛallaqant aṭɛallaqant
bi-ṭ-ṭabīɛati wa-l-eillati lqudra ed lirada eyess (t)ɛelleqent tɛelleqent
- 2-11. sâ 'lmumkināt awwah imi uṭɛallaqantara sa'lwāḡab aṭidaswaḡda
s elmumkināt awwah imi u tɛelleqent ara s elwaḡeb a t-id-esswejde[nt]

1- اذُونِ اِذِ الْقِدَمِ اِثْلَحَقَرَ الْعَدَمِ اِنَّ اِذَ الْبَقَا الذَّاتِ اَرَبُّ تَشْتَعْنِي

2- فَاَلْمَحَلُّ ذَا الْمُخَصَّصِ الصِّفَاتِ اَرَبُّ وَجَدَنْتُ كَالْمَحَلِّ اسْتَعْنَانْتُ

3- فَاَلْمُخَصَّصُ الْجَرْمِ اسْتَعْنِي فَاَلْمَحَلُّ اِثْتَقَرَّ اَغَرَ الْمُخَصَّصُ الْعَرَضُ

4- اِثْتَقَرَّ اَغَرَ الْمَحَلُّ ذَا الْمُخَصَّصِ اِثْتَقَرَّ اَغَرَ الْمَحَلِّ اَغَرَ الذَّاتِ اِذْ

5- كَرِيْلٍ اِثْتَقَرَّ اَغَرَ الْمُخَصَّصِ اِثْدُسْفَوْغٍ اَكَالْعَدَمِ اَغَرَ الْوُجُوْدُ

6- اَلْوَحْدَانِيَّةُ ذَوْحِيْدٌ كَالذَّاتِ نَفِيْ اَلْكَمِ اَلْمُتَّصِلِ وَالْمُنْفَصِلِ

7- فِيْ الذَّاتِ ذَوْحِيْدٌ كَالصِّفَاتِ نَفِيْ اَلْكَمِ اَلْمُتَّصِلِ وَالْمُنْفَصِلِ

8- فِيْ الصِّفَاتِ ذَوْحِيْدٌ اَكَالْفَعَالِ نَفِيْ الشَّرِيْكِ فِيْ الْاَفْعَالِ

9- وَنَفِيْ التَّاَثِيْرِ بِالْقُوَّةِ وَالْقُدْرَةِ الْحَادِثَةِ وَنَفِيْ التَّاَثِيْرِ

10- بِالطَّبِيْعَةِ وَالْعِلَّةِ الْقُدْرَةُ اِذْ اِلَارَادَةُ اَيْسُ عَلَّقَنْتُ اَثْعَلَّقَنْتُ

11- سَا اَلْمُمْكِنَاتِ اَوَّهٍ اِمِ اَثْعَلَّقَنْتَرِ سَااَلْوَاَجَبِ اِثْدَسُوْجَذَ

- 2-12.ilzam attahšil alḥāṣal awwah imi uṭeallaqantara sa'lmuḥāl
[aṭidaswağda]
ilzem ettaḥšil elḥašel awwah imi u ṭelleqent ara s elmuḥal [a ṭ-id-
esswejdent]
- 2-13.ṭannaqlabaḡ alḥaqīqa^h amak naḡra almuḥāl ḡayanni unattili ḡašrīk
ṭenneqleb-ay lḥaqiqa amek neḡra lmuḥal ḡ ayenni u neṭṭili ḡ ašrik
- 2-14.ḡā 'nnaqāyaš aṭeadmant uli eadmant akkulaš ilzam attahšil
ḡ ennaqayaš a ṭ-eedment ul(a) i eedment akk ulaš ilzem ettaḥšil
- 2-15.alḥāṣal lā yanbaḡī 'laelam ayas iṭeallaq iṭeallaq ayyassant iṭlāṭa
elḥašel lā yanbaḡī leelem eyess iṭelleq iṭelleq eyyessent i-ṭlāṭa
- 2-16.iṭeallaq sa'lwāğab ielam rabbi sa'dḡātīs ḡa'ššifātīs
iṭelleq s elwağeb ielem Rebbi s eḡdaṭṭ-is ḡ eššifat-is
- 2-17.utnaeḡdamantara iṭeallaq sa'lmuḥāl ielam rabbi sušrik urillara
u ṭṭnneḡdament ara iṭelleq s elmuḥal ielem Rebbi s ušrik ur ill(i) ara
- 2-18.uddittilara iṭeallaq sa'lğāyaz ielam rabbi aswayanni ikallān aswayanni
u dd-iṭṭil(i) ara iṭelleq s elğayez ielem Rebbi es wayenni i^gellan es
wayenni
- 2-19.aradyilin aswayan udnattilara alḥayaw^t uṭateallaqara ḡā 'ššarṭ
ara d-yilin es wayen u d-neṭṭil(i) ara lḥayat u ṭetelleq ara ḡ eššerṭ
- 2-20.ka'lğamīe assamae ḡā 'lbašar ayas iṭeallaqan aṭeallaqan sā
g elğamīe essemee ḡ lbašar eyess iṭelleqen eṭelleqen s
- 2-21.almawğūdāt ammarra aṭeallaqan sa'lwāğab isla rabbi iṭaslinas ('s.ṭ.s.l.n.s)
elmewğudaṭ emmeṛra eṭelleqen s elwağeb isla Rebbi i ṭesl(i) ines
(es ṭesl(i) ines)

12- الزَّمِ التَّحْصِيلَ الْحَاصِلَ أَوْهَ إِمِ ائْتَلَقْتَر سَالْمُحَالَ (ائِدَسَوْجَذَ)

13- تَتَقْلَبُ الْحَقِيقَةُ أَمَكُ نَعَرَ الْمُحَالَ ذَيْنِ ائْتَلِ دَشْرِيكَ

14- ذَا النَّقَائِصِ ائْعَذَمْتُ أَلِ عَذَمْتُ اَكْلَشِ الزَّمِ التَّحْصِيلِ

15- اَلْحَاصِلُ لَا يَنْبَغِي الْعَلَمُ اَيْسِ ائْعَلَقُ ائْعَلَقُ اَيْسَنْتِ اِثْلَاثَ

16- ائْعَلَقُ سَالُوَاجِبِ اِعْلَمُ رَبِّ سَالذَّاتِيسِ ذَالصِّفَاتِيسِ

17- اُئْنَعَذَمْتَر ائْعَلَقُ سَالْمُحَالَ اِعْلَمُ رَبِّ سُشْرِكِ اُرْلَرِ

18- اُدْتَلَرِ ائْعَلَقُ سَالجَايزِ اِعْلَمُ رَبِّ اَسْوَيْنِ اِكْلَانِ اَسْوَيْنِ

19- اَرْدِيلِنِ اَسْوَيْنِ اُدْتَلَرِ الْحَيَوَةُ اُئْتَعْلَقَرِ ذَا الشَّرْطِ

20- كَالْجَمِيعِ السَّمْعِ ذَا الْبَصَرِ اَيْسِ ائْعَلَقْنِ ائْعَلَقْنِ سَا

21- اَلْمَوْجُودَاتِ اَمَرَّ ائْعَلَقْنِ سَالُوَاجِبِ اِسْلَ رَبِّ اِئْسَلِنَسِ

(اسْئْسَلِنَسِ)

- 3-1. aṣṭaslinas iskaḍ rabbi asakkudīs susakkudis isla rabbi
es ṭesl(i) ines iskeḍ Ṛebbi asekkud-is s usekkud-is isla Ṛebbi
- 3-2. i'dḍatis iskaḍ addā(l)tis isla rabbi i'ṣṣifātis iskaḍ aṣṣifātis
i dḍaṭṭ-is iskeḍ dḍaṭṭ-is isla Ṛebbi i ṣṣifat-is iskeḍ ṣṣifat-is
- 3-3. iṭeallaq sa'lḡāyaz dā 'lwuḡūd akra iddiwaḡḍan kurta aleālam
iṭeelleq s elḡayez d elwuḡud ekra i dd-iwejḍen kurta elealem
- 3-4. mmarra biḡamīeih islayas isakḍīt alkalām ayas iṭeallaq
mmeṛra bi-ḡamīeih isla-yas isekḍ-iṭ elkalam eyes-s iṭeelleq
- 3-5. iṭeallaq ayyassant iṭlāṭa iṭeallaq sa'lwāḡab issawal rabbi
iṭeelleq e(y)yes-sent i-ṭlāṭa iṭeelleq s elwaḡeb issawel Ṛebbi
- 3-6. fa'dḍātis da 'ṣṣifātis utnaeḍamantarā iṭeallaq sa'lmuḡāl issawal
f dḍaṭṭ-is d eṣṣifat-is u ṭṭnneeḍament ara iṭeelleq s elmuḡal issawel
- 3-7. rabbi affaṣṛīk urillara uddittilara iṭeallaq sa'lḡāyaz innak annakki
Ṛebbi ef[^]feṣṛik ur ill(i) ara u dd-iṭṭil(i) ara iṭeelleq s elḡayez inna-k
en[^]nekki
- 3-8. iknixelqan ikxalqan 'lāemāl annawan ama dā 'lxīr ama dā 'ššar
i kn-ixelqen i[^]gxelqen leemal ennwen ama d elxir ama d eššar
- 3-9. aṭlāṭa ka'lḡaq narrusul 'lwāḡab dā 'lmuḡāl dā 'lḡāyaz alwāḡab (ka'lḡaq
annasan)
eṭlāṭa g elḡeq n errusul lwaḡeb d elmuḡal d elḡayez elwaḡeb g elḡeq
nnsen
- 3-10. dā aṣṣadq aḍ' 'lāmāna^h dā 'ṭṭablīy ḍaṣu ida 'lmuḡāl ka'lḡaq annasan
(ḍ) eṣṣedq eḍ lamana d eṭṭablīy d aṣu i d elmuḡal g elḡeq ennsen
- 3-11. 'lakḍab dā 'lx.yāna^h dā 'lkitmān alḡāyaz ka'l-lḡaq annasan ḡawāzu
lekḍeb d elxiyana d elkitman elḡayez g elḡeq ennsen ḡawāzu

- 1- اسْتَسْلِنَسْ اسْكُذْ رَبَّ اسْكُذِيسْ سُسْكُذِسْ اسْلَ رَبَّ
- 2- الذَّتِسْ اسْكُذْ اذَّالْتِسْ اسْلَ رَبَّ الصَّفَّاسْ اسْكُذْ الصَّفَّاسْ
- 3- اِثْعَلَقْ سَالْجَايَزْ ذَا الْوُجُودْ اَكْرَ اِدْوَجْدَنْ كُرْتَ الْعَالَمْ
- 4- مَرَّ بِجَمِيعِهِ اسْلَيْسْ اسْكُذِثْ الْكَلَامْ اَيْسْ اِثْعَلَقْ
- 5- اِثْعَلَقْ اَيْسَنْتْ اِثْلَاثْ اِثْعَلَقْ سَالْوَاَجَبْ اسْوَلْ رَبَّ
- 6- فَالذَّاتِسْ ذَا الصَّفَّاسْ اُتْعَذَمَنْتَرَا اِثْعَلَقْ سَالْمُحَالْ اسْوَلْ
- 7- رَبَّ افْشَرِيكَ ارْلَرْ اُدْتَلَرْ اِثْعَلَقْ سَالْجَايَزْ اِنَّكَ اَنْكَ
- 8- اِكْنِخْلَقْنْ اِكْنِخْلَقْنْ الْاَعْمَالْ اَتُونْ اَمْ ذَا الْخَيْرْ اَمْ ذَا الشَّرْ
- 9- اَثْلَاثْ كَالْحَقْ نَرْسُلْ الْوَاَجَبْ ذَا الْمُحَالْ ذَا الْجَايَزْ الْوَاَجَبْ (كَالْحَقْ اَنْسَنْ)
- 10- ذَا الصَّدَقْ اِذَا الْاَمَانَةُ ذَا التَّبْلِيغْ ذَشْ اِذَا الْمُحَالْ كَالْحَقْ اَنْسَنْ
- 11- الْكُذْبْ ذَا الْخِيَانَةُ ذَا الْكُتْمَانْ الْجَايَزْ كَالْحَقْ اَنْسَنْ جَوَازْ

- 3-12. 'lāērāḍi 'lbašriyya^h 'llatī lā tuwaddī 'ilâ naqṣⁱⁿ fī marātibihim al-ʿaliyya^{ti}
l-'aērāḍi l-bašriyya^h l-latī lā tu'addī 'ilā naqṣin fī marātibi-him al-ʿaliyyati
- 3-13. ka'l-maraḍi wanaḥwihi 'h 'h 'lwuḡūd iwḡab irabbi 'laedam fallas dā
ka l-maraḍi wa-naḥwihi ('intahā 'intahā) elwuḡud iwḡeb i Ṛebbi leedem
fellas d
- 3-14. almuḥāl addalīl fallas dā 'ṣṣaneā imi dā 'ṣṣaneā ulaššit taqqal
elmuḥāl eddalil fellas d eṣṣeneā imi d eṣṣeneā ulašš-iṭṭ teqqel
- 3-15. taḥalla adwinna idā 'ddalīl yafrabbi yalla alawkān iṭmakkan attili aṣṣaneā^h
taḥella ed winna i d eddalil yeḥ Ṛebbi ye-lla elewkan iṭmekken aṭ[^]ṭili eṣṣeneā
- 3-16. mabla aṣṣānāe ilaq ilzam adamsāwan sin 'lu'mūr ilaq irḡaḥ
mebla ṣṣaneē ilaq ilzem ad emsawan sin elumur ilaq irḡeḥ
- 3-17. yiwan mabla assabba^h ilaq iṭwadda ayra aṣṣaneā^h ulaššit lakin ayyiṭankarṭ
(ka'ṣṣaneā)
yiwen mebla ssebba ilaq iṭwedda eyr eṣṣeneā ulašš-iṭṭ lakin a yyi-ṭenkerṭ
(g eṣṣeneā)
- 3-18. ambaed miṭṭalayay azkas dā 'l-muḥāl adamsawan (sin) 'lu'mūr adirḡaḥ yiwan
embeed mi ṭṭallayey ezzg̃-es d elmuḥāl ad emsawan (sin) lumur ad irḡeḥ
yiwen
- 3-19. mablā assabba^h dā 'lmuḥāl attili aṣṣaneā^h mablā aṣṣānāe dā 'lmuḥāl
mebla ssebba d elmuḥāl aṭ[^]ṭili ṣṣeneā mebla ṣṣaneē d elmuḥāl
- 3-20. isiwaḡban irabbi dā 'lwuḡūd 'laedam fallas dā 'lmuḥāl wahuwa almaṭlūb
i s-iweḡben i Ṛebbi d elwuḡud leedem fellas d elmuḥāl wa-huwa l-maṭlūb

- 12- الاعراض البشرية التي لا تؤدي إلى نقص في مراتبهم العلية
- 13- كالمريض ونحوه اه اه الوجود اوجب ارب العدم فليس ذا
- 14- المحال الدليل فليس ذا الصنع ام ذا الصنع الشئت ثقل
- 15- ثل اذون اذا الدليل غفرب يل لوكان امكن اثل الصنعة
- 16- مبل الصانع الق الزم اذمساون سن الامور الق ارجح
- 17- يون مبل السبب الق ائود اغر الصنعة الشئت لكن ايشكرط (كالصنع)
- 18- امبعد مطلق اركس ذ المحال اذمساون (سن) الامور اذرجح يون
- 19- مبل السبب ذ المحال اثل الصنعة مبل الصانع ذا المحال
- 20- اسوجبن ارب ذا الوجود العدم فليس ذ المحال وهو المطلوب

- 4-1. alqidam iwğab irabbi alhudūt fallas dā 'lmuḥāl addalīl fallas dā 'ššanēa^h
elqidem iwğeb i Ṛebbi elhudūt fell-as d elmuḥal eddalil fell-as d eššanēa
- 4-2. imi dā 'ššanēa ṭalla adwinna idā 'ddalīl yafrabbi daqdīm ikallā alawkān
urillara
imi d eššanēa ṭella ed winna i d eddalil yef Ṛebbi d aqdim i^gella elewkan
ur ill(i) ara
- 4-3. daqdīm ilaq da'lḥadat ikallā mayalla dā 'lḥadat ikallā adyili
d aqdim ilaq d elḥadet i^gella ma yella d elḥadet i^gella ad yili
- 4-4. dağdīd mayalla dağdīd adiḥdīg aywara atidiswağdan
d ajdid ma yella d ajdid ad iḥdiğ eḡ-w(i) ara t-id-isswejden
- 4-5. mayahdaj aywara atidiswajdana adi 'lzam addūr anniy attasalsul
ma yehdağ eḡ-w(i) ara t-id-isswejden ad ilzem eddur nniy ettasalsul
- 4-6. mayalzam addūr anniy attasalsul adiṭwaddi ayra aššanēa^h ulaššit
ma yelzem eddur enniy ettasalsul ad itweddi ḡr eššanēa ulašš-itṭ
- 4-7. lakin ayyitankarṭ ka'sšanēa^h ambaed miṭṭallayay azzaks dā 'lmuḥāl
lakin a yyi-tenkerṭ g eššanēa mbeed mi ṭṭallayey ezzeḡ-s d elmuḥal
- 4-8. adi 'lzam addūr anniy attasalsul dā 'lmuḥāl adiḥdīg aywara atidiswağdan
ad ilzem eddur enniy ettasalsul d elmuḥal ad iḥdiğ eḡ-w(i) ara t-id-isswejden
- 4-9. dā 'lmuḥāl adyili dağdīd dā 'lmuḥāl isiwağban irabbi da'lqidam alhudūt
d elmuḥal ad yili d ajdid d elmuḥal i s-iweğben i Ṛebbi d elqidem elhudūt
- 4-10. fallas dā 'lmuḥāl wahuwa almaṭlūb albaqā ṭawğab irabbi alfanā fallas dā
fell-as d elmuḥal wa-huwa l-maṭlūb elbaqa ṭewğeb i Ṛebbi elfana fell-as d
- 4-11. almuḥāl addalīl fallas dā 'ššanēa imi da's-šanēa ṭalla adwinna idā 'ddalīl
yafrabbi
elmuḥal eddalil fell-as d eššanēa imi d eššanēa ṭella ed winna i d eddalil
yef Ṛebbi

- 1- الْقَدَمُ اَوْجَبُ اَرَبٍ الْحُدُوثُ فَلَسَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسَ ذَا الصَّنْعَةِ
- 2- اِمِ ذَا الصَّنْعَةِ ثَلَّ اَذُونٌ اِذَا الدَّلِيلُ غَفَرَبٍ ذَقْدِيمٍ اِكَلَّا اَلْوَكَا اُرْلَرُ
- 3- ذَقْدِيمٍ اَلْقُ ذَا الْحَادَثِ اِكَلَّا مَيْلٌ ذَا الْحَادَثِ اِكَلَّا اَذِيلُ
- 4- ذَجْدِيدُ مَيْلٌ ذَجْدِيدُ اَذَحْدِيحٍ اَغُورَ اَثِدِسُوجَذَنُ
- 5- مِيَحْدَجُ اَغُورَ اَثِدِسُوجَذَنُ اَذَالزَمَ الدُّورُ اَنَغُ التَّسْلُسُلُ
- 6- مَيْلَزَمَ الدُّورُ اَنَغُ التَّسْلُسُلُ اَذَنُودٌ اَغَرَ الصَّنْعَةُ اَلشَّتُ
- 7- لَكِنْ اَيْشَنَكُرُطُ كَالصَّنْعَةِ اَمْبَعْدُ مَطْلِيغٍ اَزَكْسُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ
- 8- اَذَالزَمَ الدُّورُ اَنَغُ التَّسْلُسُلُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ اَذَحْدِيحٍ اَغُورَ اَثِدِسُوجَذَنُ
- 9- ذَا الْمُحَالِ اَذِيلُ ذَجْدِيدُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ اِسُوجَبِنُ اَرَبٍ ذَا الْقَدَمِ الْحُدُوثُ
- 10- فَلَسَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ وَهُوَ الْمَطْلُوبُ اَلْبَقَا ثَوْجَبُ اَرَبٍ اَلْفَنَا فَلَسَ ذَا
- 11- الْمُحَالِ الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسَ ذَا الصَّنْعَةِ اِمِ ذَا الصَّنْعَةِ ثَلَّ اَذُونٌ اِذَا الدَّلِيلُ غَفَرَبٍ

- 4-12. dā 'lbāqī ikallā alawkān aṭilḥaq 'laedam ilaq ittanfa fallas alqidam
mayatanfa
d lbaqi i^gella elewkan a t-ilḥeq leedem ilaq iṭṭanfa fell-as elqidem ma
yeṭṭanfa
- 4-13. fallas alqidam aḍyili daḡdīd mayalla daḡdīd aḍiḥdīḡ aywara aṭidiswaḡdan
fell-as elqidem aḍ yili d ajdīd ma yella d ajdīd aḍ iḥdīḡ ey-w(i) ara t-id-
isswejden
- 4-14. mayahdaḡ aywara aṭidiswaḡdan aḍi'izam addūr anniy attasalsul mayalla
ma yehdaḡ ey-w(i) ara t-id-isswejden aḍ ilzem eddūr enniy ttasalsul ma yella
- 4-15. mayalla ilzam [addūr] anniy attasalsul aḍiṭwaddi ayra aṣṣaneā ulaṣṣit
lakin ayyiṭankarṭ
ma yella ilzem [edduṛ] enniy ettasalsul aḍ iṭweddi eyr eṣṣeneā ulaṣṣ-iṭṭ
lakin a yyi-ṭenkerṭ
- 4-16. ka'ṣṣaneā ambaed miṭṭallayay azkas da'lmuḥāl aḍi'izam addūr anniy
attasalsul
g eṣṣeneā embeed mi ṭṭallayey ezzḡ-es d elmuḥal aḍ ilzem edduṛ enniy
ettasalsul
- 4-17. dā 'lmuḥāl aḍiḥdīḡ aywara aṭidiswaḡdan dā 'lmuḥāl aḍyili daḡdīd
d elmuḥal aḍ iḥdīḡ ey-w(i) ara t-id-isswejden d elmuḥal aḍ yili d ajdīd
- 4-18. dā 'lmuḥāl aḍittanfu fallas alqidam dā 'lmuḥāl isiwaḡban irabbi albaqā alfanā
d elmuḥal aḍ iṭṭanfu fell-as elqidem d elmuḥal i s-iweḡben i Ṛebbi [d] elbaqa
elfana
- 4-19. fallas da'lmuḥāl wahuwa almaṭlūb almuxālafa^h ṭawḡab iRabbi
almumāṭala^h fallas
fell-as d elmuḥal wa-huwa l-maṭlūb elmuxalafa ṭewḡeb i Ṛebbi
elmumaṭala fell-as
- 4-20. dā 'lmuḥāl addalīl fallas dā 'ṣṣaneā imi dā 'ṣṣaneā ṭalla aḍwinna idā 'ddalīl
yafrabbi (d mxālf 'kl')
d elmuḥal eddalil fell-as d eṣṣeneā imi d eṣṣeneā ṭella eḍ winna i d eddalil
yef Ṛebbi (d amxalef i^gella)

- 12- ذَا الْبَاقِيِ اِكْلًا اَلْوَكَاْنُ اَتْلَحَقَ الْعَدَمُ اَلْقَ اَتْنَفَ فَلَسَ الْقَدَمُ مَيْتَنَفَ
- 13- فَلَسَ الْقَدَمُ اَذِيْلٍ ذَجْدِيْذٍ مَيْلٍ ذَجْدِيْذٍ اَذَحْدِيْجٍ اَغُوْرَ اَتْدِسُوْجَذَنُ
- 14- مَيَحْدَجُ اَغُوْرَ اَتْدِسُوْجَذَنُ اَذَالِزَمُ الدُّوْرُ اَنِّغَ التَّسْلَسُلُ مَيْلٍ
- 15- مَيْلٍ اَلِزَمُ اَنِّغَ التَّسْلَسُلُ اَذِثُوْدَّ اَغَرَ الصَّنْعَ اَلشَّتْ لَكِنْ اَيَشْنَكْرُطُ
- 16- كَالصَّنْعِ اَمْبَعْدَ مَطْلِيْغٍ اَزْكَسُ ذَالْمُحَالِ اَذَالِزَمُ الدُّوْرُ اَنِّغَ التَّسْلَسُلُ
- 17- ذَا الْمُحَالِ اَذَحْدِيْجٍ اَغُوْرَ اَتْدِسُوْجَذَنُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ اَذِيْلٍ ذَجْدِيْذٍ
- 18- ذَا الْمُحَالِ اَذْتَنَفُ فَلَسَ الْقَدَمُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ اِسُوْجَبْنِ اِرَبُّ الْبَقَا اَلْفَنَا
- 19- فَلَسُ ذَالْمُحَالِ وَهُوَ الْمَطْلُوْبُ الْمُخَالَفَةُ ثَوَجَبُ اِرَبُّ الْمُمَائِلَةِ فَلَسُ
- 20- ذَا الْمُحَالِ الدَّلِيْلُ فَلَسُ ذَا الصَّنْعِ اِمِ ذَا الصَّنْعِ ثَلَّ اَذُوْنٌ اِذَا الدَّلِيْلُ غَفَرَبُ

(ذ مخالف اكلا)

- 5-1. damxālaf ikallā alawkān urillara damxālaf ilaq dammaṭal mayalla
dammaṭal adyili
d amxalef i[^]gella elewkan ur ill(i) ara d amxalef ilaq d ammetel ma yella d
ammetel ad yili
- 5-2. dā 'lğarm anniy dā 'leāraḍ mayalla dā 'lğarm anniy dā 'leāraḍ adyili dağdīd
d elğerm enniy d elēereḍ ma yella d elğerm enniy d elēereḍ ad yili d ajdīd
- 5-3. mayalla dağdīd adiḥdīğ aywara aṭidiswağdan mayahdağ aywara
aṭidiswağdan
ma yella d ajdīd ad iḥdīğ ey-w(i) ara t-id-isswejdēn ma yehdağ ey-w(i) ara
t-id-isswejdēn
- 5-4. adi'lzam addūr dā 'ttasalsul mayalzam addūr adā 'ttasalsul adiṭwaddi
ad ilzem edduṛ d ettasalsul ma yelzem edduṛ d ettasalsul ad iṭweddi
- 5-5. ayra aṣṣane^h ulaššit lakin ayyiṭankarṭ ka'ṣṣane^h ambaed miṭṭallayay
eyr eṣṣene^h ulašš-iṭṭ lakin a yyi-ṭenkerṭ g eṣṣene^h embeed mi ṭṭallayey
- 5-6. azzaks dā 'lmuḥāl adi'lzam addūr dā 'ttasalsul dā 'lmuḥāl adiḥdīğ
ezzeğ-s d elmuḥāl ad ilzem edduṛ d ettasalsul d elmuḥāl ad iḥdīğ
- 5-7. aywara aṭidiswağdan dā 'lmuḥāl adyili dağdīd dā 'lmuḥāl adyili
ey-w(i) ara t-id-isswejdēn d elmuḥāl ad yili d ajdīd d elmuḥāl ad yili
- 5-8. dā 'lğarm anniy dā 'leāraḍ dā 'lmuḥāl isiwağban irabbi dā 'lmuxālafa^h
d elğerm enniy d elēereḍ d elmuḥāl i s-iweğben i Ṛebbi d elmuxalafa
- 5-9. almumātala^h fallas dā 'lmuḥāl wahuwa almaṭlūb alqiyāmu bi'nnafs
elmumātala fell-as d elmuḥāl wa-huwa l-maṭlūb elqiyamu bi'nnafs
- 5-10. iwğab irabbi 'lāftiqār fallas dā 'lmuḥāl addalīl fallas dā 'ṣṣane^h imi dā
iwğeb i Ṛebbi leftiqar fell-as d elmuḥāl eddalil fell-as d eṣṣene^h imi d
- 5-11. dā aṣ-ṣane^h ṭalla adwinna idā ad-dalīl yafrabbi dā 'l-yāni ikallā alawkān
(d) eṣṣene^h ṭella ed winna i d eddalil yef Ṛebbi d elyani i[^]gella elewkan

- 1- ذَمَخَالَفٍ اِكْلًا اَلْوَكَاَنُ اُرْلَرَ ذَمَخَالَفٍ اِلَقْ ذَمَثَلْ مَيْلْ ذَمَثَلْ اَذِيلْ
- 2- ذَا الْجَرْمِ اَنَغْ ذَا الْعَارِضِ مَيْلْ ذَا الْجَرْمِ اَنَغْ ذَا الْعَرَضِ اَذِيلْ ذَجْدِيدْ
- 3- مَيْلْ ذَجْدِيدْ اَذَحْدِيحْ اَغُورْ اَثِدِسُوجَذَنْ مِيَحْدَجْ اَغُورْ اَثِدِسُوجَذَنْ
- 4- اَذِالْزَمْ اَلْدُّورْ ذَا التَّسْلُسْلُ مَيْلْزَمْ اَلْدُّورْ اِذَا التَّسْلُسْلُ اَذِثُودْ
- 5- اَغَرَ الصَّنَعَةَ اُلْشَّتْ لَكِنْ اَيَّشَكَرْطُ كَالصَّنَعَةِ اَمْبَعْدْ مَطْلِيغْ
- 6- اَزْكَسْ ذَا الْمُحَالِ اَذِالْزَمْ اَلْدُّورْ ذَا التَّسْلُسْلُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ اَذَحْدِيحْ
- 7- اَغُورْ اَثِدِسُوجَذَنْ ذَا الْمُحَالِ اَذِيلْ ذَجْدِيدْ ذَا الْمُحَالِ اَذِيلْ
- 8- ذَا الْجَرْمِ اَنَغْ ذَا الْعَرَضِ ذَا الْمُحَالِ اِسُوجِبِنْ اِرَبْ ذَا الْمُخَالَفَةِ
- 9- اَلْمُمَاثَلَةُ فَلَسْ ذَا الْمُحَالِ وَهُوَ اَلْمَطْلُوبُ اَلْقِيَامُ بِالنَّفْسِ
- 10- اَوْجِبْ اِرَبْ اَلْاِفْتِقَارُ فَلَسْ ذَا الْمُحَالِ اَلدَّلِيلُ فَلَسْ ذَا الصَّنَعَةِ اِمْ ذَا
- 11- ذَا الصَّنَعَةِ ثَلْ اَذُونْ اِذَا اَلدَّلِيلُ غَفَرَبْ ذَا اَلْعَانَ اِكْلًا اَلْوَكَاَنُ

- 5-12. urillara dā 'lyānī tīlaq iffatqir mayaffatqar axtir adihdīg ayra almaḥal
 anniy
 ur ill(i) ara d elyani tīlaq iffetqir ma yeffetqer extir ad ihdīg eyr elmaḥal
 enniy
- 5-13. dā 'lmuxaššiš mayaffatqar ayra 'lmaḥal ādyili dā 'ššifa^h mayalla dā 'ššifa^h
 d elmuxaššiš ma yeffetqer eyr elmaḥal ad yili d eššifa ma yella d eššifa
- 5-14. uswağğabantara sabēa almaēānī dā 'lmaēnāwiyyāt musawğğabantara
 almaēānī
 u s-weğğebent ara sebēa lmeēani d elmeēnawiyāt m(a) u s-ewğğibent ara
 lmeēani
- 5-15. dā 'lmaēnāwiyyāt atattanfu fallas aššanēa mayaffatqar ayra almuxaššiš
 d elmeēnawiyāt a teṭṭanfu fell-as eššenēa ma yeffetqer eyr elmuxaššiš
- 5-16. ādyili adğāyaz alwuğūd mayalla adğāyaz alwuğūd ādyili dağdīd
 ad yili d ğayez elwuğud ma yella d ğayez elwuğud ad yili d ajdīd
- 5-17. mayalla dağdīd ilaq ittanfa fallas alqidam dā 'lbaqā lakin adittanfu fallas
 ma yella d ajdīd ilaq iṭṭanfa fell-as elqidem d elbaqa lakin ad iṭṭanfu fell-as
- 5-18. alqidam dā 'lbaqā dā 'lmuḥāl ādyili dağdīd dā 'lmuḥāl ādyili adğāyaz
 elqidem d elbaqa d elmuḥal ad yili d ajdīd d elmuḥal ad yili d ğayez
- 5-19. alwuğūd dā 'lmuḥāl atattanfa fallas dā 'lmuḥāl uswağğabantara
 almaēānī
 elwuğud d elmuḥal a teṭṭanfa fell-as d elmuḥal u s-weğğebent ara lmeēani

12- أُرْلَرَ ذَا الْغَانِي ثَلَقَ افْتَقَرُ مَيِّتَقَرُ أَخْثَرُ أَذْهَبَ أَغْرَ الْمَحَلُ أَنْغُ

13- ذَا الْمُخَصَّصُ مَيِّتَقَرُ أَغْرَ الْمَحَلُ أَذِيلُ ذَا الصِّفَةِ مَيَّلُ ذَا الصِّفَةِ

14- أُسَوِّجِبَتَرَ سَبَعَ الْمَعَانِي ذَا الْمَعْنَائِيَّاتِ مُسَوِّجِبَتَرَ الْمَعَانِي

15- ذَا الْمَعْنَائِيَّاتِ أَتَنَّفُ فَلَسَ الصَّنْعُ مَيِّتَقَرُ أَغْرَ الْمُخَصَّصُ

16- أَذِيلُ أَذْجَايَزُ الْوُجُودُ مَيَّلُ أَذْجَايَزُ الْوُجُودُ أَذِيلُ ذَجْدِيدُ

17- مَيَّلُ ذَجْدِيدُ الْقِ آتَنَّفُ فَلَسَ الْقَدَمُ ذَا الْبَقَا لَكِنْ أَذْتَنَّفُ فَلَسَ

18- الْقَدَمُ ذَا الْبَقَا ذَا الْمُحَالِ أَذِيلُ ذَجْدِيدُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ أَذِيلُ أَذْجَايَزُ

19- الْوُجُودُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ أَتَنَّفُ فَلَسَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ أُسَوِّجِبَتَرَ الْمَعَانِي

- 6-1. dā 'lmaēnāwiyāt dā 'lmuḥāl adyili dā 'ṣṣifa^h dā 'lmuḥāl adiffatqar ayra
'lmaḥal (anniy) dā 'lmuxaṣṣiṣ
d elmeēnawiyat d elmuḥal ad yili d eṣṣifa d elmuḥal ad iffetqer eyr
elmaḥal enniy d elmuxaṣṣiṣ
- 6-2. dā 'lmuḥāl isiwağban irabbi dā 'lyinā almuṭlaq 'lāftiqār fallas dā 'lmuḥāl
wahuwa
d elmuḥal i s-iweğben i Ṛebbi d elyina lmuṭlaq leftiqar fell-as d elmuḥal
wa-huwa
- 6-3. almaṭlūb alwaḥdāniya^h ṭawğab irabbi attaeaddud fallas dā 'lmuḥāl addalīl
fallas dā
al-maṭlūb elweḥdaniyya ṭewğeb i Ṛebbi ttaeaddud fell-as d elmuḥāl
eddalil fell-as d
- 6-4. aṣṣane^h imi dā 'ṣṣane^h ṭalla adwinna ida 'ddalīl yafrabbi dawḥīd ikallā alaw
eṣṣene^h imi d eṣṣene^h ṭella d winna i d eddalil yef Ṛebbi d awḥīd i[^]gella elew-
- 6-5. kān urillara dawḥīd ṭilaq aksin ayyaḍsan mayalla aksin ayyaḍsan axṭir aḍa
-kan ur ill(i) ara d awḥīd ṭilaq g sin yyed-sen ma yella g sin yyed-sen extir ad
- 6-6. mwafaqan anniy aḍamxālafan mā mwafaqan axṭir adwattaran isnīn axṭir
uratwattirnaza
mwafaqan enniy ad mxalafen ma mwafaqan extir ad wetteren isnin extir
ur ṭṭwettirn ara
- 6-7. isnīn axṭir adi wattar yiwan ~~y.w.n~~ (wwin.ṭnin) uritwattirara mā mxālafan
axṭir adwattaran isnīn
isnin extir ad iwetter yiwen (yiwen) wwineṭnin ur iṭṭwettir ara ma
mxalafen extir ad wetteren isnin
- 6-8. axṭir uratwattirnara isnīn axṭir adi wattar yiwan wayaṭ uratwattirara
lakin adi wattar yiwan
extir ur ṭṭwettirn ara isnin extir ad iwetter yiwen wayeṭ ur iṭṭwettir ara
lakin ad iwetter yiwen

1- ذَا الْمَعْنَاوِيَاثُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ أَذِيلُ ذَا الصِّفَةِ ذَا الْمُحَالِ أَذِفْتَقَرُ أَغْرَ الْمُحَلِّ (أَنْغ) ذَا الْمُخَصَّصُ

2- ذَا الْمُحَالِ إِسْوَجِبِنْ إِرَبُّ ذَا الْغِنَا الْمَطْلَقُ الْإِفْتِقَارُ فَلَسُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ وَهُوَ

3- الْمَطْلُوبُ الْوَحْدَانِيَّةُ ثَوَجَبُ إِرَبُّ التَّعَدُّدُ فَلَسُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسُ ذَا

4- الصَّنَعَةُ إِمِ ذَا الصَّنَعَةِ ثَلَّ أَذُونٌ إِذَا الدَّلِيلُ غَفَرَبُّ ذَوْحِيذُ أَكَلَّا أَلَوْ

5- كَانَ أُرْلَرُ ذَوْحِيذُ ثَلَقَ أَكْسِنْ أَيْدَسَنْ مَيْلَ أَكْسِنْ أَيْدَسَنْ أَخْتِرُ أَذْ

6- مُوَفَّقَنْ أَنْغَ أَدْمَخَالَفَنْ مَا مُوَفَّقَنْ أَخْتِرُ أَذَوْتَرَنْ إِسْنِينَ أَخْتِرُ أُرْتَوْتَرَنْزَ

7- إِسْنِينَ أَخْتِرُ أَذَوْتَرُ يُونُ يُونُ (وَنَطْنِنْ) أُرْتَوْتَرَرَّ مَا مَخَالَفَنْ أَخْتِرُ أَذَوْتَرَنْ إِسْنِينَ

8- أَخْتِرُ أُرْتَوْتَرَنْزَ إِسْنِينَ أَخْتِرُ أَذَوْتَرُ يُونُ وَيَطُ أُرْتَوْتَرَرَّ لَكِنْ أَذَوْتَرُ يُونُ

- 6-9. wayeṭ ur iṭṭwettir ara ama g elwifaq ama g elxilaf ilzem leēgez d elmuḥāl
wayeṭ ur iṭṭwettir ara ama g elwifaq ama g elxilaf ilzem leēgez d elmuḥāl
- 6-10. uratwettirnara isnīn amā ka'lwifāq amā ka'lxilāf ilzam 'laēgaz dā 'lmuḥāl
ur iṭṭwettirn ara isnin ama g elwifaq ama g elxilaf ilzem leēgez d elmuḥāl
- 6-11. adwattaran isnīn ka'lwifāq ilzam attahṣīl alḥāṣal adwattaran isnīn
ad wetteren isnin g elwifaq ilzem ettaḥṣil elḥaṣel ad wetteren isnin
- 6-12. ka'lxilāf ilzam adannağmaean 'lāddād dā 'ttaḥṣīl alḥāṣal dā 'lmuḥāl
g elxilaf ilzem ad nnejmaean leḍdad d ettaḥṣil elḥaṣel d elmuḥāl
- 6-13. adannağmaean 'lāddād dā 'lmuḥāl adateaddadan dā 'lmuḥāl isiwağban
ad nnejmaean leḍdad d elmuḥāl ad tēdedden d elmuḥāl i s-iweğben
- 6-14. irabbi dā 'lwaḥdāniya^h attaeaddud fallas dā 'lmuḥāl wahuwa almaṭlūb,
i Ṛebbi d elweḥdaniya ttaeaddud fell-as d elmuḥāl wa-huwa l-maṭlūb,
- 6-15. alqudra^h ṭawğab irabbi 'lāēgaz fallas dā 'lmuḥāl addalīl fallas dā 'ṣṣanea^h
elqudra ṭewğeb i Ṛebbi leēgez fell-as d elmuḥāl eddalil fell-as d eṣṣenea
- 6-16. imi dā 'ṣṣanea^h ṭalla adwinna idā 'ddalīl yafrabbi da 'lqādar ikallā alawkān
urillara
imi d eṣṣenea ṭella d winna i d eddalil yef Ṛebbi d elqader i^gella elewkan
ur ill(i) ara
- 6-17. dā 'lqādar ilaq da 'leāgaz ikallā mayalla dā 'leāgaz ilaq ṭatwadda aṣṣanea^h
d elqader ilaq d eleağez i^gella ma yella d eleağez ilaq ṭetwedda ṣṣenea
- 6-18. ulaššit lakin ayyitankarṭ ka'ṣṣanea^h ambaed miṭṭallayay azzakas dā 'lmuḥāl
ulašš-iṭṭ lakin a yyi-tenkert g eṣṣenea embeed mi ṭṭallayey ezzg-es d elmuḥāl
- 6-19. isiwağban irabbi dā 'lqudra^h 'laēgaz fallas dā 'lmuḥāl wahuwa almaṭlūb
i s-iweğben i Ṛebbi d elqudra leēgez fell-as d elmuḥāl wa-huwa l-maṭlūb
- 6-20. 'l'irāda^h ṭawğab irabbi alkarāha^h fallas dā 'lmuḥāl addalīl fallas dā 'ṣṣanea^h
(m d 'ṣṣ.n.ε.a^h)
lirada ṭewğeb i Ṛebbi elkarāha fell-as d elmuḥāl eddalil fell-as d eṣṣenea
(imi d eṣṣenea)

- 9- وَيُطْ أُرْتُوْتَرَرَّ أَمَّا كَالْوِفَاقِ أَمَّا كَالْخِلَافِ الزَّمِ الْعَجَزُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ
- 10- أُرْتُوْتَرَرَّ اسْنِينِ أَمَّا كَالْوِفَاقِ أَمَّا كَالْخِلَافِ الزَّمِ الْعَجَزُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ
- 11- أَذُوْتَرَنَ اسْنِينِ كَالْوِفَاقِ الزَّمِ التَّحْصِيلِ الْحَاصِلِ أَذُوْتَرَنَ اسْنِينِ
- 12- كَالْخِلَافِ الزَّمِ أَذْجَمَعَنَ الْاضْدَادَ ذَا التَّحْصِيلِ الْحَاصِلِ ذَا الْمُحَالِ
- 13- أَذْجَمَعَنَ الْاضْدَادَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ أَذْجَمَعَنَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ اسْوَجَبِنَ
- 14- إَرْبٌ ذَا الْوَحْدَانِيَةِ التَّعَدُّدِ فَلَسَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ وَهُوَ الْمَطْلُوبُ .
- 15- الْقُدْرَةُ تَوْجَبُ إَرْبٌ الْعَجَزُ فَلَسَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسَ ذَا الصَّنْعَةِ
- 16- إِمِ ذَا الصَّنْعَةِ ثَلَّ أَذُونٌ إِذَا الدَّلِيلُ غَفَرَبٌ ذَا الْقَادَرِ أَكَلَّا الْوَكَانُ أَرْلَرُ
- 17- ذَا الْقَادَرِ الْقُ ذَا الْعَاجِزِ أَكَلَّا مَيْلٌ ذَا الْعَاجِزِ الْقُ تَتَوَدَّ الصَّنْعَةُ
- 18- أُلْشِتْ لَكِنْ أَيشْكَرُطُ كَالصَّنْعَةِ أَمْبَعْدُ مَطْلِيغٍ أَزَكَسُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ
- 19- اسْوَجَبِنَ إَرْبٌ ذَا الْقُدْرَةِ الْعَجَزُ فَلَسَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ وَهُوَ الْمَطْلُوبُ
- 20- الْإِرَادَةُ تَوْجَبُ إَرْبٌ الْكَرَاهَةُ فَلَسَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسَ ذَا الصَّنْعَةِ

(ام ذ الصنعة)

- 7-1. imi 'dā 'ṣṣanēa^h ṭalla adwinna idā 'ddalīl yafrabbi dā 'lmurīd ikallā alawkān urillara dā
imi d eṣṣenēa ṭella d winna i d eddalil yef Ṛebbi d elmurid i[^]gella elewkan ur ill(i) ara d
- 7-2. almurīd ilaq dā 'lkārih ikallā mayalla dā 'lkārih ikallā ilaq uttawḡidara aṣṣanēa^h
elmurid ilaq d elkarīh i[^]gella ma yella d elkarīh i[^]gella ilaq u ṭewjid ara eṣṣenēa
- 7-3. afyiwan waṭrīq ilaq itwadda ḡra 'ṣṣanēa^h ulaṣṣit lakin ayyitankart ka'ṣṣanēa^h
f yiwen weṭriq ilaq itwedda ḡr eṣṣenēa ulaṣṣ-itṭ lakin a yyi-ṭenkerṭ g eṣṣenēa
- 7-4. ambaed miṭṭallayay 'zzakas dā 'lmuḡāl atannawḡad aṣṣanēa^h afyiwan waṭrīq embeed mi ṭṭallayey ezzḡ-es d elmuḡal aṭ[^]ṭennewjed eṣṣenēa f yiwen weṭriq
- 7-5. isiwaḡban irabbi dā 'l'irāda^h alkarāha^h fallas dā 'lmuḡāl wahuwa almaṭlūb i s-iweḡben i Ṛebbi d lirada lkarāha fell-as d elmuḡal wa-huwa l-maṭlūb
- 7-6. laelam iwḡab irabbi alḡahl fallas dā 'lmuḡāl addalīl fallas dā 'ṣṣanēa^h imi dā leelem iwḡeb i Ṛebbi lḡahl fell-as d elmuḡal eddalil fell-as d eṣṣenēa imi d
- 7-7. aṣṣanēa^h ṭalla adwinna idā 'ddalīl yafrabbi dā 'leālam ikallā alawkān urillara dā
eṣṣenēa ṭella d winna i d eddalil yef Ṛebbi d elealem i[^]gella elewkan ur ill(i) ara d
- 7-8. aleālam ilaq dā 'lḡāhal ikallā mayalla dā 'lḡāhal ikallā ilaq ṭatwadda aṣṣanēa^h
elealem ilaq d elḡahel i[^]gella ma yella d elḡahel i[^]gella ilaq ṭetwedda ṣṣenēa
- 7-9. ulaṣṣit lakin ayyitankart ka'ṣṣanēa^h ambaed miṭṭallayay azkas dā 'lmuḡāl ulaṣṣ-itṭ lakin a yyi-ṭenkerṭ g eṣṣenēa embeed mi ṭṭallayey ezzḡ-es d elmuḡāl
- 7-10. isiwaḡban irabbi d 'laelam alḡahl fallas dā 'lmuḡāl wahuwa almaṭlūb i s-iweḡben i Ṛebbi d leelem elḡahl fell-as d elmuḡal wa-huwa l-maṭlūb

1- إِمِ إِذَا الصَّنْعَةُ ثَلَّ أَذُونٌ إِذَا الدَّلِيلُ غَفَرَبٌ ذَا الْمُرِيدِ أَكَلًا الْوَكَانَ أُرْلَرَ ذَا

2- الْمُرِيدِ الْقُ ذَا الْكَارِهِ أَكَلًا مَيْلٌ ذَا الْكَارِهِ أَكَلًا الْقُ أَتَوَجِدَرِ الصَّنْعَةُ

3- أَفِيُونَ وَطَرِيقُ الْقُ أَتَوَدَّ غَرِ الصَّنْعَةُ الشَّتْ لَكِنْ أَيشْكَرُطُ كَالصَّنْعَةِ

4- أَمْبَعْدُ مَطْلَيْغُ أَرْكَسُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ أَتَوَجَدُ الصَّنْعَةُ أَفِيُونَ وَطَرِيقُ

5- إِسَوَجَبْنِ أَرْبٌ ذَا الْإِرَادَةِ الْكَرَاهَةِ فَلَسْ ذَا الْمُحَالِ وَهُوَ الْمَطْلُوبُ

6- لَعَلَّمِ أَوْجَبِ أَرْبٌ الْجَهْلُ فَلَسْ ذَا الْمُحَالِ الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسْ ذَا الصَّنْعَةِ إِمِ ذَا

7- الصَّنْعَةُ ثَلَّ أَذُونٌ إِذَا الدَّلِيلُ غَفَرَبٌ ذَا الْعَالَمِ أَكَلًا الْوَكَانَ أُرْلَرَ ذَا

8- الْعَالَمِ الْقُ ذَا الْجَاهِلِ أَكَلًا مَيْلٌ ذَا الْجَاهِلِ أَكَلًا الْقُ أَتَوَدَّ الصَّنْعَةُ

9- الشَّتْ لَكِنْ أَيشْكَرُطُ كَالصَّنْعَةِ أَمْبَعْدُ مَطْلَيْغُ أَرْكَسُ ذَا الْمُحَالِ

10- إِسَوَجَبْنِ أَرْبٌ ذَا الْعَلَمِ الْجَهْلُ فَلَسْ ذَا الْمُحَالِ وَهُوَ الْمَطْلُوبُ

- 7-11. alḥayawa^t ṭawḡab irabbi almamāt fallas dā 'lmuḥāl addalīl fallas dā 'ṣṣaneā^h
elḥayat ṭewḡeb i Ṛebbi lmat fallas d elmuḥal eddalil fell-as d eṣṣeneā
- 7-12. [imi dā 'ṣṣaneā^h] ṭalla adwinna idā 'ddalīl yafrabbi dā 'lḥay ikallā alawkān
imi d eṣṣeneā ṭella d winna i d eddalil yef Ṛebbi d elḥay i[^]gella elewkan
- 7-13. urillara dā 'lḥay ilaq dā 'lmayyat ikallā mayalla dā 'lmayyat ikallā ilaq
ṭatwadda
ur ill(i) ara d elḥay ilaq d elmeyyet i[^]gella ma yella d elmeyyet i[^]gella ilaq
ṭetwedda
- 7-14. aṣṣaneā^h ulaṣṣit lakin ayyitankarṭ ka'ṣṣaneā^h ambaed miṭṭallayay
ṣṣeneā ulaṣṣ-iṭṭ lakin a yyi-ṭenkerṭ g eṣṣeneā embeed mi ṭṭallayey
- 7-15. azzaks dā 'lmuḥāl isiwaḡban irabbi dā 'lḥayawa^t almamāt fallas dā 'lmuḥāl
ezzeḡ-s d elmuḥal i s-iweḡben i Ṛebbi d elḥayat elmamat fell-as d elmuḥal
- 7-16. wahuwa almaṭlūb assamae dā 'lbaṣar dā 'lkalām waḡban irabbi aṣṣamam
wa-huwa l-maṭlūb essemee d elbaṣar d elkalām weḡben i Ṛebbi eṣṣamam
- 7-17. dā 'leamā dā 'lbakam fallas dā 'lmuḥāl aṣu dā 'ddalīl fallas dā 'lkitāb dā
'ssunna^h
d eleama d elbakam fell-as d elmuḥal aṣu d eddalil fell-as d elkitab d
essunna
- 7-18. dā 'liḡmāe alkitub dawāl arrabbi assunna dawāl nannabiy ṣallā allāhu
ealayhi wasallam
d eliḡmāe elkitub d awal n Ṛebbi essunna d awal n ennabi ṣallā Allāhu
ealayhi wa-sallam
- 7-19. 'li'ḡmāe annaḡmaean aleulamā 'rrabbi yassawal bilā ḥarfⁱⁿ walā ṣawtⁱⁿ bilā
ḡarīḥa^{tin}
liḡmae nnejmaean eleulama ṛ[^]Ṛebbi yessawel bilā ḥarfin wa-lā ṣawtin bilā
ḡarīḥatin
- 7-20. bilā sirⁱⁿ walā ḡahrⁱⁿ idal aṣfakra yallan 'lakdab dā 'lxiyāna^h dā 'lkitmān
bilā sirrin wa-lā ḡahrin idal yf ekra yellan lekdeb d elxiyana d elkitman

11- الْحَيَوَةُ تُوجِبُ اِرَبَّ اَلْمَمَاتُ فَلَسُ ذَا الْمُحَالَ الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسُ ذَا الصَّنْعَةِ

12- (اِمِ ذَا الصَّنْعَةِ) ثَلَّ اَذُوْنٌ اِذَا الدَّلِيلُ غَفَرَبَّ ذَا الْحَيِّ اِكَلًا اَلْوَكَاْنُ

13- اُرْلَرَّ ذَا الْحَيِّ اَلْقُ ذَا اَلْمَيِّثُ اِكَلًا مَيَّلَ ذَا اَلْمَيِّثُ اِكَلًا اَلْقُ تَتَوَدُ

14- اَلصَّنْعَةُ اُلْشَّتْ لَكِنْ اَيُّشَكَرَطُ كَالصَّنْعَةِ اَمْبَعْدُ مَطْلِيغُ

15- اَزْكُسُ ذَا الْمُحَالَ اِسُوْجِبُنْ اِرَبَّ ذَا الْحَيَوَةُ اَلْمَمَاتُ فَلَسُ ذَا الْمُحَالَ

16- وَهُوَ اَلْمَطْلُوْبُ اَلسَّمْعُ ذَا اَلْبَصَرُ ذَا اَلْكَلَامُ وَجِبْنُ اِرَبَّ اَلصَّمَمُ

17- ذَا اَلْعَمَى ذَا اَلْبَكْمُ فَلَسُ ذَا الْمُحَالَ اَشُ ذَا الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسُ ذَا اَلْكِتَابُ ذَا السُّنَّةُ

18- ذَا اَلْاِجْمَاعُ اَلْكُتُبُ ذَوُلُ اَلرَّبِّ اَلسُّنَّ ذَوَالُ نَّبِيٍّ صَلَّى اَللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

19- اَلْاِجْمَاعُ اَنْجَمَعْنَ اَلْعُلَمَاءُ اَلرَّبِّ يَسْوُلُ بِلَا حَرْفٍ وَلَا صَوْتٍ بِلَا جَرِيحَةٍ

20- بِلَا سِرٍّ وَلَا جَهْرٍ اَدَلْ اَغْفَكَرَ يَلْنُ اَلْكَذْبُ ذَا اَلْخِيَاَنَةُ ذَا اَلْكِتْمَانُ

- 8-1. εadamu ġawāz. al'aerāḍi albašariyya^{ti} alkufru bisā'iri al'anbiyā'i
wa'l-mala'ika^{ti}
εadamu ġawāzi al-'aerāḍi l-bašariyyati l-kufri bi-sā'iri l-'anbiyā'i
(wa-l-malā'ikati)
- 8-2. wa'l-mala'ika^{ti} wa'l-kutubi 'ssamawiyya^{ti} wa'lyawmi 'laxiri aṣṣadq iwġab
irrusul
wa-l-malā'ikati wa-l-kutubi s-samāwiyyati wa-l-yawmi l-'axiri ṣṣedq
iwġeb i rrusul
- 8-3. 'lakḍab fallasan dā 'lmuḥāl ašū' dā 'ddalīl fallasan dā 'lmuεġiza^h ašū'
lekḍeb fell-asen d elmuḥal ašu d eddalil fell-asen d elmuεġiza ašu
- 8-4. dā 'lmuεġiza^h dā 'ttaxrīq alēāda^h ašu dā 'ttaxrīq alēāda^h sa'l-qudra^h
d elmuεġiza d ettaxriq elēada ašu d ettaxriq elēada s elqudra
- 8-5. aḍ 'lirāda^h 'lāmāna^h tawġab irrusul alxiyāna^h fallasan dā 'lmuḥāl ašu dā
d lirada lamana tawġeb i rrusul elxiyana fell-asen d elmuḥal ašu d
- 8-6. 'ddalīl fallasan ieṣam rabbi alġawāriḥ annasan ak'lāḥrām dā 'lmakrūh
eddalil fell-asen ieṣem Rēbbi lġawariḥ nn-sen g leḥram d elmekruh
- 8-7. alawkān xadman 'lāḥrām dā 'lmakrūh ilaq iqqal dā 'tṭāεa^h lammi xadman
elewkan xedmen leḥram d elmekruh ilaq iqqel d eṭṭāεa lemmi xedmen
- 8-8. alwāġab dā 'lmandūb aḍwinna ikaqqalan dā 'tṭāεa^h dayanni xadman
elwaġeb d elmandub d winna i[^]geqqelen d eṭṭāεa d ayenni xedmen
- 8-9. 'lāwliyā attablīy iwġab i'rrusul alkatmān fallasan dā 'lmuḥāl
lawliya ttabliy iwġeb i rrusul elkitman fell-asen d elmuḥal
- 8-10. ašu dā 'ddalīl fallasan dā 'leulamā alawkān katmān 'lānbiyā ilaq katman
ašu d eddalil fell-asen d eleulama elewkan ketmen lanbiya ilaq ketmen
- 8-11. al-εulamā ayanni iddiballay rabbi ilānbiyā ballayantid alεulamā
alεulamā ballayantid
eleulama ayenni i dd-ibelley Rēbbi i lanbiya bellyen-t-id eleulama
leulama bellyen-t-id
- 8-12. inakni azziyāda ulaš anniqsān ulaš bismi allāhi (i)rraḥmāni (i)rraḥīmi
i nekni zziyada ulaš enniqsān ulaš bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm(i)

- 1- عَدَمُ جَوَازِ الْأَعْرَاضِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ الْكُفْرِ بِسَائِرِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ
- 2- وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالْكِتَابِ السَّمَوِيِّ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ الصَّدَقِ أَوْجَبِ الرُّسُلِ
- 3- الْكَذِبِ فَلَسَنَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ أَشْوَا ذَا الدَّلِيلِ فَلَسَنَ ذَا الْمُعْجَزَةِ أَشْوَا
- 4- ذَا الْمُعْجَزَةِ ذَا التَّخْرِيقِ الْعَادَةِ أَشْ ذَا التَّخْرِيقِ الْعَادَةِ سَالِقُ الدَّرَةِ
- 5- أَذْ الْإِرَادَةِ الْأَمَانَةِ تَوْجَبِ الرُّسُلِ الْخِيَانَةِ فَلَسَنَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ أَشْ ذَا
- 6- الدَّلِيلِ فَلَسَنَ اعْصَمَ رَبِّ الْجَوَارِحِ أَتَسَنَ أَكَالَا حَرَامَ ذَا الْمَكْرُوهِ
- 7- أَلَوْ كَانَ خَدَمَ الْإِحْرَامِ ذَا الْمَكْرُوهِ الْقَى أَقْلَ ذَا الطَّاعَةِ لَمْ خَدَمَ
- 8- أَلَوْ جَبَّ ذَا الْمُنْدُوبِ أَذُونَ إِكْفَلَنَ ذَا الطَّاعَةِ ذِينَ خَدَمَ
- 9- أَلَوْ لِيَ التَّبْلِيغِ أَوْجَبِ الرُّسُلِ الْكَتْمَانَ فَلَسَنَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ
- 10- أَشْ ذَا الدَّلِيلِ فَلَسَنَ ذَا الْعُلَمَاءِ أَلَوْ كَانَ كَتَمَانَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ الْقَى كَتَمَ
- 11- أَلَوْ لِيَ أَيْنَ ادْبَلَّغَ رَبِّ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ بَلَّغَتِ الْعُلَمَاءُ الْعُلَمَاءُ بَلَّغَتِ
- 12- إِنْ كُنَ الزِّيَادُ الشُّ النَّقْصَانُ الشُّ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

5.2. (a) Transcription with added punctuation

[p. 1] ¹ Bi-smi Llāhi r-Raḥmāni r-Raḥīm(i), wa-ṣallā Llāhu ʿalā Sayyidinā Muḥammadin.

² D lwaḡeb f lmukellef aḍ issen lwaḡeb d lmuḡal d lḡayez ³ g lḡeq n Ṛebbi. Lwaḡeb ʿešrin n ššifaṭ. *Al-wuḡūd huwa ʿaynu* ⁴ d-dāt. Lqidem u s-izwar ara leedem, lbaqa u t-iṭṭlaḡaq ara leedem.

⁵ Lmuxalafa: d amxalef g ddaṭṭ, ddaṭṭ-is u telli ara d lḡerm. ⁶ D ašu i d lḡerm? D ayenni iṭṭzeyyiḡen lyir-is i yeṭṭay lqedr-is ⁷ g lfiray. Annešt n leqsam i dḡes? Ṛebḡa. Lḡerm ššeffaf, ⁸ u tn-imniʿ ara isnin: ur imniʿ aḡeččum, ur imniʿ asekkud. Lḡerm ⁹ lkaṭif am lḡiṭ, imneʿ aḡeččum, imneʿ asekkud. ¹⁰ Lḡerm ..., imneʿ asekkud, ur imniʿ ara aḡeččum. Lḡerm ¹¹ lmuḡerres, imneʿ aḡeččum, ur imniʿ ara asekkud.

D amxalef ¹² g ššifaṭ, ur llint ara d lʿered. D ašu i d lʿered? Ay d ayenni ¹³ iṭṭilin g lḡerm. Annešt n leqsam i dḡes? Xemsa n leeraḍ: ¹⁴ d lelwan d lekwan d ṭṭueum d rrwayeḡ d lmeʿani. ¹⁵ D amxalef g lefʿal, ur iṭṭeḡdiḡ ḡer lesbab, ur isʿi lyerḍ.

¹⁶ *Al-qiyāmu bi-n-nafs*: išteḡna f lmaḡal d lmuḡaššiš, išteḡna ¹⁷ f lmaḡal imi d ddaṭṭ i yella. Išteḡna f lmuḡaššiš imi d waḡeb ¹⁸ lwuḡud i yella.

Ašu lmeʿna lwaḡeb lwuḡud? U s-izwar ara leedem: [p. 2] ¹ d winna i d lqidem. U t-iṭṭlaḡaq ara leedem: d ṭinna i d lbaqa. Ddaṭṭ n Ṛebbi tešteḡna ² f lmaḡal d lmuḡaššiš. Ššifaṭ n Ṛebbi wejḍent g lmaḡal steḡnant ³ f lmuḡaššiš, lḡerm išteḡna f lmaḡal, iṭṭfetqir ḡr lmuḡaššiš; lʿered ⁴ iṭṭfetqir ḡr lmaḡal d lmuḡaššiš, iṭṭfetqir ḡr lmaḡal ḡr ddaṭṭ i ⁵ dḡ ara yili, iṭṭfetqir ḡr lmuḡaššiš, t-id-issufey g leedem ḡr lwuḡud.

5.2. (b) Literal translation into English

[p. 1] ¹ In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful, and may Allah bless our Master Muḥammad.

² It is obligatory for an adult to know the obligatory (*lwaḡeb*), the impossible (*lmuḡal*), and possible (*lḡayez*) ³ with regard to the Lord. The obligatory [consists of] twenty attributes. Existence (*lwuḡud*) is [an attribute] ⁴ of essence. Eternity without beginning (*lqidem*): non-existence (*leēdem*) does not precede it. Eternity without end (*lbaqa*): non-existence does not overtake it.

⁵ Difference (*lmuxalafa*): He is different in His essence; His essence is not matter (*lḡerm*). ⁶ What is matter? It is something that removes [excludes] its other, which is taking its place ⁷ in the emptiness. How many divisions are in it? Four. Transparent [and not solid] matter (*lḡerm ššeffaf*): ⁸ it does not stop either (of these): it does not stop entering and it does not stop seeing through. Solid [and opaque] ⁹ matter (*lḡerm lkatiḡ*), like a wall: it stops entering and it stops seeing through. ¹⁰ [Opaque and not solid] matter: it stops seeing through and it does not stop entering. Solid [and transparent] ¹¹ matter (*lḡerm lmuḡderres*): it stops entering and it does not stop seeing through.

He (God) is different ¹² in attributes: they are not accidental properties (*leēred*). What is an accidental property? It is something that ¹³ is in matter (*lḡerm*). How many divisions are in it? Five accidental properties: ¹⁴ colours, beings, tastes, odours, and realities/things (*lmeēani*). ¹⁵ He (God) is different in actions; He does not need causes, and He does not have a purpose.

¹⁶ Self-sufficiency (*al-qiyāmu bi-n-naḡs*): He (God) does not need a place and specification. He does not need ¹⁷ a place because He is essence. He does not need a specification because ¹⁸ existence is obligatory for Him.

What is the meaning of the obligation of existence? Non-existence (*leēdem*) does not precede Him (God): [p. 2] ¹ that is what eternity without beginning (*lqidem*) is. [That] non-existence does not precede Him: that is what eternity without end (*lbaqa*) is. God's essence does not need ² a place and specification. God's attributes do not exist in place and do not need ³ specification; matter (*lḡerm*) does not lack a place and specification. An accidental property (*leēred*) ⁴ lacks place and specification, it lacks a place and self, ⁵ where it will be; it lacks specification which will make it exit from non-existence into existence.

⁶ Lweḥdaniya: d awḥid g ddaṭṭ, nafyu lkem lmuttaṣil wa-lmunfaṣil ⁷ fi ddaṭṭ. D awḥid g ṣṣifaṭ nafyu lkem lmuttaṣil wa-lmunfaṣil ⁸ fi ṣṣifaṭ. D awḥid g leḥal nafyu ṣṣar īk fī l-'aḥal ⁹ wa-nafyu t-ta'tīri bi-l-quwwati wa-l-qudrati l-ḥādīṭati, wa-nafyu t-ta'tīri ¹⁰ bi-ṭ-ṭabī'ati wa-l-ḥillati.

Lqudra d lirada yes-s (t)elleqent; telleqent ¹¹ s lmumkinaṭ, awwah, imi u telleqent ara s lwaḡeb a t-id-sswejdent; ¹² ilzem ttaḥṣil lḥaṣel, awwah, imi u telleqent ara s lmuḥal a t-id-sswejdent.

¹³ Tenneqleb-ay lḥaqiqa amek neyṛa lmuḥal d ayenni u neṭṭili d ašrik. ¹⁴ D nnaqayaṣ a t-ḥedment, ula i ḥedment akk ulaš ilzem ttaḥṣil ¹⁵ lḥaṣel lā yanbayī.

Leelem yes-s itelleq, itelleq yes-sent i-tlaṭa. ¹⁶ Itelleq s lwaḡeb: ielem Ṛebbi s ddaṭṭ-is d ṣṣifaṭ-is, ¹⁷ u ṭṭnneḥdament ara. Itelleq s lmuḥal: ielem Ṛebbi s ušrik ur illi ara ¹⁸ u dd-iṭṭili ara. Itelleq s lḡayez: ielem Ṛebbi s wayenni i yellan, s wayenni ¹⁹ ara d-yilin, s wayen u d-neṭṭili ara.

Lḥayat u tetelleq ara; d ššet ²⁰ g lḡamiḥ.

Ssemeḥ d lbaṣar yes-s itelleqen; telleqen s ²¹ lmewḡudaṭ mmeṛṛa; telleqen s lwaḡeb; isla Ṛebbi i tesli ines [p. 3] ¹ s tesli ines, isked Ṛebbi asekkud-is s usekkud-is; isla Ṛebbi ² i ddaṭṭ-is, isked ddaṭṭ-is, isla Ṛebbi i ṣṣifaṭ-is, isked ṣṣifaṭ-is. ³ Itelleq s lḡayez d lwuḡud: kra i dd-iwejdēn kurta lealem ⁴ mmeṛṛa bi-ḡamīḥ, isla-yas, isekd-it.

Lkalam yes-s itelleq; ⁵ itelleq yes-sent i-tlaṭa. Itelleq s lwaḡeb: issawel Ṛebbi ⁶ f ddaṭṭ-is d ṣṣifaṭ-is, u ṭṭnneḥdament ara. Itelleq s lmuḥal: issawel ⁷ Ṛebbi f wešrik ur illi ara, u dd-iṭṭili ara. Itelleq s lḡayez, inna-k: “D nekki ⁸ i kn-ixelqen, i ixelqen leemal nnwen ama d lxir ama d ššet.”

⁶ Oneness (*lweḥdaniya*): He is one in Himself, denying linked and separated amount ⁷ in Himself. He is unique in attributes, denying linked and separated amount ⁸ in attributes. He is one in actions, denying a partner in actions, ⁹ and denying influence of strength and contingent power (power that came into being), and denying influence ¹⁰ of nature and (external) causality (*εilla^h*)

Power (*lqudra*) and will (*lirada*) are related to Him. They are related ¹¹ to the possible, since they are not related to the obligatory ¹² [for which existence is obligatory], and since they are not related to the impossible [for which existence is impossible].

¹³ The truth has reversed for us as we learned that it is impossible that there is no partner [for Him]. ¹⁴ Faults (lacunae) will dispatch him; they will (not?) dispatch all emptiness. ¹⁵ The conclusion must be: it cannot be the case.

Knowledge (*leʿlem*) is related to Him. It is related to all three [of them]. ¹⁶ It is related to the obligatory: God knows His essence and His attributes; ¹⁷ they will not disappear. It is related to the impossible: God knows there is no ¹⁸ and there will not be a partner for Him. It is related to the possible: God knows (of) what everything was, (of) what ¹⁹ it will be, and (of) what it will not be.

Life (*lḥayat*) is not related; it is the condition ²⁰ for all [the attributes].

Hearing (*ssemee*) and seeing (*lbaṣar*) are related to Him. They are related to ²¹ all at once. They are related to the obligatory: God hears His hearing [p. 3] ¹ by [virtue of] His hearing; God sees His seeing by His seeing; God hears ² Himself, he sees Himself; God hears His attributes, He sees His attributes. ³ It is related to the possible and existence: anything which exists in the world ⁴ in its completeness, He hears it and He sees it.

Speech (*lkalam*) is related to Him; ⁵ it is related to all three [of them]. It is related to the obligatory: God speaks ⁶ about Himself and His attributes; they will not disappear. It is related to the impossible: God says ⁷ (that) He is without a partner and He will be without a partner. It is related to the possible. He (God) said (to you): “It is I ⁸ who created you, who created your deeds, either goodness or evil.”

⁹ Tlata g lḥeq n rrusul: lwaḡeb d lmuḥal d lḡayez. Lwaḡeb g lḥeq nnsen: ¹⁰ ṣṣedq d lamana d ttabliḡ. D aṣu i d lmuḥal g lḥeq nnsen? ¹¹ Lekdeb d lxiyana d lkitman. Lḡayez g lḥeq nnsen: ḡawāzu ¹² l-'aerādi l-bašriyya^h l-latī lā tu'addī 'ilā naqṣin fī marātibi-him al-ʿaliyyati ¹³ ka l-maraḡi wa-naḡwihi ('intahā 'intahā).

Lwuḡud iwḡeb i Ṛebbi; leedem fell-as d ¹⁴ lmuḥal. Ddalil fell-as d ṣṣenēa, imi d ṣṣenēa ulašš-iṭṭ, teqqel ¹⁵ tella; d winna i d ddalil yef Ṛebbi yella. Lewkan itmekken ad tili ṣṣenēa ¹⁶ mebla ṣṣaneē, ilaq ilzem ad msawan sin lumur; ilaq irḡeḡ ¹⁷ yiwen mebla ssebba; ilaq itwedda yr ṣṣenēa ulašš-iṭṭ. Lakin a yyi-tenkert g ṣṣenēa. ¹⁸ Mbeed mi ṭṭallayey zzḡ-es, d lmuḥal. Ad msawan sin lumur, ad irḡeḡ yiwen ¹⁹ mebla ssebba, d lmuḥal. Ad tili ṣṣenēa mebla ṣṣaneē, d lmuḥal. ²⁰ I s-iweḡben i Ṛebbi d lwuḡud; leedem fellas d lmuḥal, wa-huwa l-maṭlūb.

[p. 4] ¹ **Lqidem** iwḡeb i Ṛebbi, lhudut fell-as d lmuḥal. Ddalil fell-as d ṣṣenēa, ² imi d ṣṣenēa tella; d winna i d ddalil yef Ṛebbi d aqdim i yella. Lewkan ur illi ara ³ d aqdim, ilaq d lḡadet i yella. Ma yella d lḡadet i yella, ad yili ⁴ d ajdid. Ma yella d ajdid, ad iḡdiḡ ḡ-wi ara t-id-issweḡden. ⁵ Ma yehdaḡ eḡ-wi ara t-id-issweḡden, ad ilzem dduṛ nniḡ ttasalsul. ⁶ Ma yelzem dduṛ nniḡ ttasalsul, ad itweddi yr ṣṣenēa ulašš-iṭṭ. ⁷ Lakin a yyi-tenkert g ṣṣenēa. Mbeed mi ṭṭallayey zzeḡ-s, d lmuḥal. ⁸ Ad ilzem dduṛ nniḡ ttasalsul, d lmuḥal. Ad iḡdiḡ ḡ-wi ara t-id-issweḡden, ⁹ d lmuḥal. Ad yili d ajdid, d lmuḥal. I s-iweḡben i Ṛebbi d lqidem; lhudut ¹⁰ fell-as d lmuḥal, wa-huwa l-maṭlūb.

⁹ Three things with regard to the messengers: the obligatory, the impossible, and the possible. The obligatory with regard to them [is]: ¹⁰ truthfulness (*şşedq*), honesty (*lamana*), and conveying (*ttabliy*). What is impossible with regard to them? ¹¹ Lying (*lekdeḥ*), betrayal (*lxiyana*), and concealment (*lkitman*). The possible with regard to them [is]: allowed (natural) ¹² human properties that do not lead to any lessening of their stature, ¹³ such as disease and the like.

Existence is [an] obligatory [attribute] for God; non-existence is ¹⁴ impossible for Him. The proof of this is creation (createdness of the world), since previously there was no creation, and it then ¹⁵ became reality; it is that which proves that God exists. If it were possible that creation existed ¹⁶ without a Creator, then it would be necessary that two states be equal. Then it would be necessary that one must prevail over (occur to) the other ¹⁷ without any (external) cause. This would lead to the non-existence of the creation (to the conclusion that creation does not exist). But you will deny me [this claim] of creation. ¹⁸ Later, when I am looking in it, it is impossible. It is impossible that two states be equal (and that) one will prevail [over the other] ¹⁹ without an (external) cause. It is impossible that the creation exists without a Creator. ²⁰ What is obligatory for God is existence; non-existence is impossible for Him, and that is what was to be proven: Q.E.D. (*wa-huwa al-maṭlūb*).

[p. 4] ¹ **Eternity without beginning** (*lqidem*) is obligatory for God; newness (*lhudut*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is creation ² since creation exists; it is that which proves that God is indeed old. If He were not ³ old, then He would be newly created. If He were indeed newly created, He would be ⁴ new. If He were new, He would be in need of that which brought Him into existence. ⁵ If He were in need of that which would have brought Him into existence, He would necessitate [continuous] circularity (*ddur*) or an infinite regress of causes (*ttasalsul*). ⁶ Were He to necessitate circularity or regress of causes, it would lead to the non-existence of the creation. ⁷ But you will deny me in creation. Later, when I am looking in it, it is impossible. ⁸ It is impossible that He will necessitate circularity or regress of causes. It is impossible that He will be in need of that which brought Him into existence. ⁹ It is impossible that He is new. What is obligatory for God is eternity without beginning; newness ¹⁰ (*lhudut*) is impossible for Him, and that is what was to be proven: Q.E.D.

Lbaqa tewaḡeb i Rēbbi, lfana fell-as d ¹¹ lmuḥal. Ddalil fell-as d ṣṣenēa, imi d ṣṣenēa tella; d winna i d ddalil yef Rēbbi ¹² d lbaqi i yella. Lewkan a t-ilḥeq leedem, ilaq iṭṭanfa fell-as lqidem. Ma yetṭanfa ¹³ fell-as lqidem, ad yili d ajdid. Ma yella d ajdid, ad iḥdiḡ ey-wi ara t-id-isswejdēn. ¹⁴ Ma yehdaḡ ey-wi ara t-id-isswejdēn, ad ilzem ddūr nniḡ ttasalsul. ¹⁵ Ma yella ilzem ddūr nniḡ ttasalsul, ad iṭweddi yr ṣṣenēa ulašš-iṭṭ. Lakin a yyi-tenkert ¹⁶ g ṣṣenēa. Mbeed mi ṭṭallayey zzē-es, d lmuḥal. Ad ilzem ddūr nniḡ ttasalsul, ¹⁷ d lmuḥal. Ad iḥdiḡ ey-wi ara t-id-isswejdēn. d lmuḥal. Ad yili d ajdid, ¹⁸ d lmuḥal. Ad iṭṭanfu fell-as lqidem, d lmuḥal. I s-iweḡben i Rēbbi [d] lbaqa; lfana ¹⁹ fell-as d lmuḥal, *wa-huwa l-maṭlūb*.

Lmuxalafa tewaḡeb i Rēbbi, lmumataḷa fell-as ²⁰ d lmuḥal. Ddalil fell-as d ṣṣenēa, imi d ṣṣenēa tella; d winna i d ddalil yef Rēbbi [p. 5] ¹ d amxalef i yella. Lewkan ur illi ara d amxalef, ilaq d ammetel. Ma yella d ammetel, ad yili ² d lḡerm nniḡ d leered. Ma yella d lḡerm nniḡ d leered, ad yili d ajdid. ³ Ma yella d ajdid, ad iḥdiḡ ey-wi ara t-id-isswejdēn; ma yehdaḡ ey-wi ara t-id-isswejdēn ⁴ ad ilzem ddūr d ttasalsul. Ma yelzem ddūr d ttasalsul, ad iṭweddi ⁵ yr ṣṣenēa ulašš-iṭṭ. Lakin a yyi-tenkert g ṣṣenēa. Mbeed mi ṭṭallayey ⁶ zzeḡ-s, d lmuḥal. Ad ilzem ddūr d ttasalsul, d lmuḥal. Ad iḥdiḡ ⁷ ey-wi ara t-id-isswejdēn, d lmuḥal. Ad yili d ajdid, d lmuḥal. Ad yili ⁸ d lḡerm nniḡ d leered, d lmuḥal. I s-iweḡben i Rēbbi d lmuxalafa; ⁹ lmumataḷa fell-as d lmuḥal, *wa-huwa l-maṭlūb*.

Eternity without end (*lbaqa*) is obligatory for God; evanescence (*lfana*) is ¹¹ impossible for Him. The proof of this is creation, since creation exists; it is that which proves that God ¹² is eternal. If non-existence (*leedem*) overtook God, then eternity without beginning (*lqidem*) would be denied (for) Him. If it were denied ¹³ (for) Him, then He would be new. If He were new, He would be in need of that which brought Him into existence. ¹⁴ If He were in need of that which brought Him into existence, He would necessitate circularity or regress of causes. ¹⁵ If He necessitated circularity or regress of causes, it would lead to the non-existence of the creation. But you will deny me ¹⁶ in creation. Later when I am looking in it, it is impossible. It is impossible that He necessitates circularity or regress of causes. ¹⁷ It is impossible that He is in need of that which brought Him into existence. It is impossible that He is new. ¹⁸ It is impossible that oldness is denied for Him. What is obligatory for God is eternity without end; evanescence ¹⁹ is impossible for Him, and that is what was to be proven: Q.E.D.

Difference (*lmuxalafa*) is obligatory for God; similarity (*lmumaṭala*) ²⁰ is impossible for Him. The proof of this is creation, since creation exists; it is that which proves that God [p. 5] ¹ is different. If He were not different, then He would be similar. If He were similar, He would be ² matter (*lǧerm*) or an accidental property (*leered*). If He were matter or an accidental property, He would be new. ³ If He were new, He would be in need of that which brought Him into existence. If He were in need of that which brought Him into existence, ⁴ He would necessitate circularity and regress of causes. Were he to necessitate circularity and regress of causes, this would lead ⁵ to the non-existence of the creation. But you will deny me in creation. Later, when I am looking ⁶ in it, it is impossible. It is impossible that He necessitates circularity and regress of causes. It is impossible that He is in need ⁷ of that which brought Him into existence. It is impossible that He is new. It is impossible that He is ⁸ matter (*lǧerm*) or an accidental property (*leered*). What is obligatory for God is difference (*lmuxalafa*); ⁹ similarity (*lmumaṭala*) is impossible for Him, and that is what was to be proven: Q.E.D.

*Al-qiyāmu bi-n-nafs*¹⁰ iwğeb i Rēbbi, leftiqar fell-as d lmuḥal. Ddalil fell-as d ššenēa imi d¹¹ ššenēa tella; d winna i d ddalil yef Rēbbi d lyani i yella. Lewkan¹² ur illi ara d lyani, tīlaq iffetqir. Ma yeffetqer extir ad iḥdiğ yr lmaḥal nniy¹³ d lmuḥaššiš. Ma yeffetqer yr lmaḥal, ad yili d ššifa. Ma yella d ššifa,¹⁴ u s-weğgebent ara sebea lmeani d lmeenawiyat. Ma u s-wğibent ara lmeani¹⁵ d lmeenawiyat, a tetṭanfu fell-as ššenēa. Ma yeffetqer yr lmuḥaššiš,¹⁶ ad yili d ġayez lwuğud. Ma yella d ġayez lwuğud, ad yili d ajdid.¹⁷ Ma yella d ajdid, ilaq iṭṭanfa fell-as lqidem d lbaqa. Lakin ad iṭṭanfu fell-as¹⁸ lqidem d lbaqa, d lmuḥal. Ad yili d ajdid, d lmuḥal. Ad yili d ġayez¹⁹ lwuğud, d lmuḥal. A tetṭanfa fell-as, d lmuḥal. U s-weğgebent ara lmeani [p. 6]¹ d lmeenawiyat, d lmuḥal. Ad yili d ššifa, d lmuḥal. Ad iffetqer yr lmaḥal enniy d lmuḥaššiš,² d lmuḥal. I s-iweğben i Rēbbi d lyina lmuṭlaq; leftiqar fell-as d lmuḥal, wa-huwa³ al-maṭlūb.

Lweḥdaniyya tewğeb i Rēbbi, ttaɛaddud fell-as d lmuḥāl. Ddalil fell-as d⁴ ššenēa, imi d ššenēa tella; d winna i d ddalil yef Rēbbi d awḥid i yella. Lew⁵kan ur illi ara d awḥid, tīlaq g sin yyed-sen. Ma yella g sin yyed-sen, extir ad⁶ mwafaqen nniy ad mxalafen. Ma mwafaqen, extir ad wetteren isnin, extir ur tṭwettirn ara⁷ isnin; extir ad iwetter yiwen wwineṭnin (wayet ???) ur iṭṭwettir ara. Ma mxalafen, extir ad wetteren isnin,⁸ extir ur tṭwettirn ara isnin; extir ad iwetter yiwen, wayet ur iṭṭwettir ara. Lakin ad iwetter yiwen,⁹ wayet ur iṭṭwettir ara ama g lwifaq ama g lxilaf, ilzem leēgez, d lmuḥal.¹⁰ Ur tṭwettirn ara isnin ama g lwifaq ama g lxilaf, ilzem leēgez, d lmuḥāl.¹¹ Ad wetteren isnin g lwifaq, ilzem ttaḥšil lḥašel, ad wetteren isnin¹² g lxilaf, ilzem ad nnejmaēn leḍdad, d ttaḥšil lḥašel, d lmuḥal.¹³ Ad nnejmaēn leḍdad, d lmuḥal. Ad tēdedden, d lmuḥal. I s-iweğben¹⁴ i Rēbbi d lweḥdaniya, ttaɛaddud fell-as d lmuḥal, wa-huwa l-maṭlūb.

Self-sufficiency (*lqiyamu bi-nnafs*)¹⁰ is obligatory for God; need (*leftiqar*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is creation, since¹¹ creation exists; it is that which proves that God is rich. If¹² He were not rich, He would be in need. If He were in need, He would need either a place or¹³ specification. If He needed a place, He would be an attribute or an entity (*şşifa*). If he were an entity,¹⁴ seven [attributes of] meanings and morals would not be obligatory for Him. If meanings and morals were not obligatory for Him,¹⁵ then creation would be denied for Him. If He lacked specification,¹⁶ existence would be possible for Him. If existence were possible for Him, He would be new.¹⁷ If He were new, then eternity without beginning and without end would be denied for Him. But it is impossible that eternity without beginning and without end should be denied for Him. Hence, it is impossible that He should be new. It is impossible that existence¹⁹ is possible for Him. It is impossible that it will be denied for Him. It is impossible that meanings and morals are not obligatory for Him. [p. 6] ¹ It is impossible that He is an entity. It is impossible that He lacks a place or specification. ² What is obligatory for God is absolute richness; any need is impossible for Him, and that is ³ what was to be proven: Q.E.D.

Oneness (*lwehdaniyya*) is obligatory for God; plurality (*ttaεaddud*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is ⁴ creation, since creation exists; it is that which proves that God is the only one. If⁵ He were not the only one, then there would be two (of them). If there were two,⁶ they would either agree or disagree. If they were to agree, either both would be the only one, or both would not be the only one;⁷ either one would be the only one, or the other would not be the only one. If they were to disagree, either both would be one,⁸ or both of them would not be the only one; either one would be the only one, or the other would not be the only one. But it is impossible that one would be the only one (and)⁹ the other would not be the only one whether in agreement or in disagreement, inability (*leεğez*) would be obligatory for Him.¹⁰ It is impossible that both would not be the only one whether in agreement or in disagreement; inability would be obligatory for Him.¹¹ It then follows that it is impossible that both would be the only one in agreement (and) both would be the only one¹² in disagreement [since] the opponents must gather together.¹³ It is impossible that the opponents would gather together. It is impossible that they would be multiple. What is obligatory¹⁴ for God is oneness; plurality is impossible for Him, and that is what was to be proven: Q.E.D.

¹⁵ **Lqudra** ṭewğeb i Ṛebbi, leğgez fell-as ḍ lmuḥal. Ddalil fell-as ḍ ṣṣen̄a ¹⁶ imi ḍ ṣṣen̄a ṭella; ḍ winna i ḍ ddalil yef Ṛebbi ḍ lqader i yella. Lewkan ur illi ara ¹⁷ ḍ lqader, ilaq ḍ leğgez i yella. Ma yella ḍ leğgez, ilaq ṭetwedda ṣṣen̄a ¹⁸ ulašš-iṭṭ. Lakin a yyi-ṭenkerṭ g ṣṣen̄a. Mbeed mi ṭṭallayey zz̄g-es, ḍ lmuḥal. ¹⁹ I s-iweğben i Ṛebbi ḍ lqudra, leğgez fell-as ḍ lmuḥal, *wa-huwa l-maṭlūb*.

²⁰ **Lirada** ṭewğeb i Ṛebbi, lkaṛaha fell-as ḍ lmuḥal; ddalil fell-as ḍ ṣṣen̄a [p. 7] ¹ imi ḍ ṣṣen̄a ṭella; ḍ winna i ḍ ddalil yef Ṛebbi ḍ lmurid i yella. Lewkan ur illi ara ḍ ² lmurid, ilaq ḍ lkaṛih i yella. Ma yella ḍ lkaṛih i yella, ilaq u ṭewjiḍ ara ṣṣen̄a ³ f yiwen weṭriq; ilaq iṭwedda yṛ ṣṣen̄a ulašš-iṭṭ. Lakin a yyi-ṭenkerṭ g ṣṣen̄a. ⁴ Mbeed mi ṭṭallayey zz̄g-es, ḍ lmuḥal aḍ ṭennewjeḍ ṣṣen̄a f yiwen weṭriq. ⁵ I s-iweğben i Ṛebbi ḍ lirada, lkaṛaha fell-as ḍ lmuḥal, *wa-huwa l-maṭlūb*.

⁶ **Leelem** iwğeb i Ṛebbi, lğahl fell-as ḍ lmuḥal. Ddalil fell-as ḍ ṣṣen̄a, imi ḍ ⁷ ṣṣen̄a ṭella; ḍ winna i ḍ ddalil yef Ṛebbi ḍ lealem i yella. Lewkan ur illi ara ḍ ⁸ lealem, ilaq ḍ lğahel i yella. Ma yella ḍ lğahel i yella, ilaq ṭetwedda ṣṣen̄a ⁹ ulašš-iṭṭ. Lakin a yyi-ṭenkerṭ g ṣṣen̄a. Mbeed mi ṭṭallayey zz̄g-es, ḍ lmuḥal. ¹⁰ I s-iweğben i Ṛebbi ḍ leelem, lğahl fell-as ḍ lmuḥal, *wa-huwa l-maṭlūb*.

¹¹ **Lḥayat** ṭewğeb i Ṛebbi, lmamat fell-as ḍ lmuḥal. Ddalil fell-as ḍ ṣṣen̄a, ¹² imi ḍ ṣṣen̄a ṭella; ḍ winna i ḍ ddalil yef Ṛebbi ḍ lḥay i yella. Lewkan ¹³ ur illi ara ḍ lḥay, ilaq ḍ lmeyyeṭ i yella. Ma yella ḍ lmeyyeṭ i yella, ilaq ṭetwedda ¹⁴ ṣṣen̄a ulašš-iṭṭ. Lakin a yyi-ṭenkerṭ g ṣṣen̄a. Mbeed mi ṭṭallayey ¹⁵ zzeğ-s, ḍ lmuḥal. I s-iweğben i Ṛebbi ḍ lḥayat, lmamat fell-as ḍ lmuḥal, ¹⁶ *wa-huwa l-maṭlūb*.

¹⁵ **Power** (*lqudra*) is obligatory for God; inability (*leeğez*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is creation, ¹⁶ since creation exists; it is that which proves that God is powerful. If He were not ¹⁷ powerful, then he would be unable. If He were unable, it would lead to the non-existence of the creation. ¹⁸ But you will deny me in creation. Later, when I am looking in it, it is impossible. ¹⁹ What is obligatory for God is power; inability is impossible for Him, and that is what was to be proven: Q.E.D.

²⁰ **Will** (*lirada*) is obligatory for God; unwill (*lkaraha*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is creation [p. 7] ¹ since creation exists; it is that which proves that God is willing (*lmurid*). If He were not ² willing, then He would be compelled (*lkarih*). If he were compelled, then creation would not have existed ³ in the same way. This would in turn lead to the non-existence of the creation. But you will deny me in creation. ⁴ Later, when I am looking in it, it is impossible that creation would come into existence on its own in the same way. ⁵ What is obligatory for God is will; unwill is impossible for Him, and that is what was to be proven: Q.E.D.

⁶ **Knowledge** (*leelem*) is obligatory for God; ignorance (*lğahl*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is creation since ⁷ creation exists; it is that which proves that God is knowing. If He were not ⁸ knowing, then He would be ignorant. If He were ignorant, then this would lead to the non-existence of the creation. ⁹ But you will deny me in creation. Later, when I am looking in it, it is impossible. ¹⁰ What is obligatory for God is knowledge; ignorance is impossible for Him, and that is what was to be proven: Q.E.D.

¹¹ **Life** (*lhayat*) is obligatory for God; death (*lmamat*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is creation, ¹² since creation exists; it is that which proves that God is living (*lhay*). If ¹³ He were not living, then he would be dead (*lmeyyet*). If He were dead, then this would lead to ¹⁴ the non-existence of the creation. But you will deny me in creation. Later, when I am looking in ¹⁵ it, it is impossible. What is obligatory for God is Life; death is impossible for Him, ¹⁶ and that is what was to be proven: Q.E.D.

Ssemeε d lbařar d lkalam weġben i Rebbi; řřamam ¹⁷ d leama d lbakam fell-as d lmuħal. Ařu d ddalil fell-as? D lkitab d ssunna ¹⁸ d liġmaε. Lkutub d awal n Rebbi, ssunna d awal n nnabi, řallā Allāhu εalayhi wa-sallam. ¹⁹ Liġmaε: nnejmaεen leulama n Rebbi. Yessawel bilā ħarfin wa-lā řawtin, bilā ġāriħatin, ²⁰ bilā sirrin wa-lā ġahrin. Idal yf kra yellan, lekdeb d lxiyana d lkitman.

[p. 8] ¹ *Ġadamu ġawāzi al-'aerāđi l-bařariyyati: l-kufri bi-sā'iri l-'anbiyā'i* ² *wa-l-malā'ikati wa-l-kutubi s-samāwiyyati wa-l-yawmi l-'axiri.*

Řředq iwġeb i rrusul, ³ lekdeb fell-asen d lmuħal. Ařu d ddalil fell-asen? D lmuεġiza. Ařu ⁴ d lmuεġiza? D ttaxriq leada. Ařu d ttaxriq leada? S lqudra ⁵ d lirada.

Lamana tewġeb i rrusul, lxiyana fell-asen d lmuħal. Ařu d ⁶ ddalil fell-asen? Ieřem Rebbi lġawariħ nnsen g leħram d lmekruh. ⁷ Lewkan xedmen leħram d lmekruh, ilaq iqql d ttaεa lemmi xedmen ⁸ lwaġeb d lmandub. D winna i yeqqelen d ttaεa, d ayenni xedmen ⁹ lawliya.

Ttabliq iwġeb i rrusul; lkitman fell-asen d lmuħal. ¹⁰ Ařu d ddalil fell-asen? D leulama. Lewkan keťmen lanbiya, ilaq keťmen ¹¹ leulama ayenni i dd-ibelley Rebbi i lanbiya. Bellyen-t-id leulama, leulama bellyen-t-id ¹² i nekni.

Zziyada ulař, nniqřan ulař.

Bi-smi Llāhi r-Raħmāni r-Raħīm(i).

Hearing (*ssemeε*), **sight** (*lbařar*), and **speech** (*lkalam*) are obligatory for God; deafness (*řřamam*), ¹⁷ blindness (*leama*), and speechlessness (*lbakam*) are impossible for Him. What is the proof of this? – It is the book, the sunnah, ¹⁸ and the *Ijma* (the consensus of Islamic scholars). The books are the word of God; sunnah is the word of the prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him salvation. ¹⁹ *Ijma* (consensus) [implies]: the scholars of God consent. He speaks without a word (*lřarf*) and sound (*řřawt*), without a bodily organ (mouth or tongue), ²⁰ without secrecy or revealing. He indicates all that there is: lying, betrayal, and concealment.

[p. 8] ¹ The unpermitted human properties [are]: disbelief in all [of the] Prophets, ² the Angels, the Holy Books, and the Last Day.

Truthfulness (*řředq*) is obligatory for messengers; ³ lying (*lekdeř*) is impossible for them. What is the proof of this (lit. ‘for them’)? – [It is] a miracle. What ⁴ is a miracle? – It is the breaking of the usual. What is the breaking of the usual? – [It is something that happens] by power ⁵ and will.

Honesty (*lamana*) is obligatory for messengers; betrayal (*lxiyana*) is impossible for them. What is ⁶ the proof of this? – [It is that] God protects their bodies from the forbidden (*lřaram*) and offensive (*lmakřuh*). ⁷ If they (messengers) did the forbidden and the undesired/ offensive, then this would become [an act of] obedience, since they do ⁸ the obligatory (*lwařeb*) and the recommended (*lmandub*). It is that which has become [an act of] obedience; it is what the saints ⁹ do.

Conveying (*ttabliř*) is obligatory for messengers; concealment (*lkitman*) is impossible for them. ¹⁰ What is the proof of this? – [It is] the scholars. If the prophets conceal [the message], then the scholars ¹¹ would conceal what God conveyed to the prophets. They conveyed it to the scholars, and the scholars conveyed it ¹² to us.

There is no addition and no reduction [of the message].

In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

5.3. Literary translation into English

[p. 1] ¹ In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
May Allah bless our Master Mohamed.

² It is required for an adult to know the necessary (*lwağeb*), the impossible (*lmuħal*), and the conceivable (*lğayez*) ³ with regard to the Lord. The necessary consists of twenty attributes. Existence (*lwuğud*) is an attribute of ⁴ God's essence. Eternity without beginning (Preternity) (*lqidem*): non-existence (*leēdem*) does not precede it. Eternity without end (Sempiternity) (*lbaqa*): non-existence does not overtake it.

⁵ Difference (*lmuxalafa*): He is different in His essence; His essence is not matter (*lğerm*). ⁶ What is matter? It is something that excludes that which is other, which takes its place ⁷ in the void. How many kinds of it are there? – There are four. 1) One is transparent (ethereal) and not solid (gaseous) matter (*lğerm ššeffaf*): ⁸ it does not prevent either of these: it does not prevent entering and it does not prevent seeing through [e.g. air, wind]. 2) The second one is tangible ⁹ (corporeal) and opaque matter (*lğerm lkaṭif*), such as a wall; it cannot be entered nor be seen through [e.g. wall, mountain.] ¹⁰ 3) The third is opaque and not solid (gaseous) matter: it prevents seeing through and it does not prevent entering [e.g. smoke, fog]. 4) The fourth is solid ¹¹ and transparent matter (*lğerm lmuderes*): it prevents entering, and it can be seen through [e.g. glass]. God is different ¹² in His attributes: they are not accidental properties (*leered*). What is an accidental property? It is something that ¹³ is in matter (*lğerm*). How many kinds of it are there? There are five accidental properties: ¹⁴ colours, beings, tastes, odours, and realities/things (*lmeēani*). ¹⁵ God is different in actions; He does not need causes, and He does not have a purpose.

¹⁶ Self-sufficiency (*al-qiyaṃu bi-n-nafs*): God does not need a place and specification [of form]. He does not need ¹⁷ a place because He exists in himself. He does not need a specification because ¹⁸ existence is required of Him (i.e., He necessarily exists).

What is the meaning of God's necessary existence? It is that: non-existence (*leēdem*) does not precede God - [p. 2] ¹ that is what eternity without beginning (*lqidem*) is. That non-existence does not precede Him – that is what eternity without end (*lbaqa*) is. God's essence does not need ² a place and specification. God's attributes do not need a place or ³ specification or definition. By contrast, matter (*lğerm*) needs a place and specification. Finally, an accidental property (*leered*) ⁴ lacks place and definition, it lacks a place and self, ⁵ where it will be; it lacks definition which will make it depart from non-existence into existence (i.e. become existent).

⁶ Oneness (*lwehdaniya*): He is one (unique) in Himself, precluding anything linked to ⁷ Himself. He is unique in attributes, precluding anything linked to Him ⁸ in attributes. He is unique in actions, precluding a partner in actions, ⁹ and immune to any influence of strength or other power that came into being, and also immune to any influence ¹⁰ from nature and external causes.

Power (*lqudra*) and will (*lirada*) are related to God. They are related ¹¹ to the conceivable (possible), since they are not related to the required, ¹² for which existence is necessary, and since they are not related to the impossible, for which existence is impossible.

¹³ As we have learned, the undistorted truth is that it is impossible that God has a partner. ¹⁴ Privation of what ought to be there would dispatch him. ¹⁵ The conclusion must be: it cannot be so.

Knowledge (*leelem*) is related to God. It is related to all three. First, it is related to the ¹⁶ necessary: God knows Himself and His attributes; ¹⁷ they will not disappear. Second, it is related to the impossible: God knows there is no partner to Himself ¹⁸ and there will not be a partner to Himself. And third, it is related to the conceivable: God knows what everything was, what ¹⁹ it will be, and what it will not be.

Life (*lḥayat*) is not related [to anything]; it is a pre-condition ²⁰ for all these attributes.

Hearing (*ssemeε*) and seeing (*lbaṣar*) are related to God. They are related to ²¹ all at once. They are related to the necessary: God hears His hearing by virtue of [p. 3] ¹ His hearing; God sees His seeing by virtue of His seeing; God hears ² Himself, he sees Himself; God hears His attributes, He sees His attributes. ³ It is related to the conceivable and existence: anything which exists in the world ⁴ in its completeness, God hears it and He sees it.

Speech (*lkalam*) is related to God. ⁵ Speech is related to all three. First, it is related to the necessary: God speaks ⁶ about Himself and His attributes; they will not disappear. Second, speech is related to the impossible: God says ⁷ that He is without a partner and He will be without a partner. Third, it is related to the conceivable. God said: "It is I ⁸ who created you, who created your deeds, either good or evil."

⁹ Likewise, there are three things to know with regard to the messengers: the necessary, the impossible, and the conceivable. The necessary with regard to the messengers is: ¹⁰ truthfulness (*ṣṣedq*), honesty (*lemanā*), and conveying to the creation that which has been commanded (*ttabliy*).

What is impossible with regard to them? – ¹¹ That is lying (*lekdeḇ*), betrayal (*lxiyana*), and concealment of the truth (*lkitman*).

The conceivable with regard to them is: allowed ¹² human properties that do not lead to any lessening of the messengers' stature, ¹³ such as disease and the like.

Existence is a necessary attribute for God; non-existence is ¹⁴ impossible for Him. The proof of this is the creation of the world, since previously there was no creation, and the world then ¹⁵ became reality; this is what proves that God exists. If it were possible that creation existed ¹⁶ without a Creator, then it would be necessary that two states (i.e., either existence or non-existence) be equal. Then it would be necessary that one must prevail over the other ¹⁷ without any external cause. This would lead to the non-existence of the creation. However, you will argue against me regarding the creation (i.e., one will refuse to accept the non-existence of the creation). ¹⁸ Later, when I am examining this matter, it is impossible. It is impossible that two states can be equal and that one will prevail over the other ¹⁹ without an external cause. It is impossible that the creation exists without a Creator. ²⁰ Existence is thus a necessary attribute for God; non-existence is impossible for Him, and that is what was to be proved: Q.E.D. (*quod erat demonstrandum*; *wa-huwa al-maṭlūb*).

[p. 4] ¹ **Eternity without beginning** (*lqidem*) is a necessary attribute for God; newness or emergence (*lhudut*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is the creation, ² since the creation exists; this is what proves that God is indeed old. If He were not ³ old, then He would be newly created. If He were indeed newly created, He would be ⁴ new. If He were new, He would need that which brought Him into existence. ⁵ If He needed that which brought Him into existence, He would require continuous circularity (*ddur*) or an infinite regress of causes (*ttasalsul*). ⁶ If He were to necessitate circularity or regress of causes, it would lead to the non-existence of the creation. ⁷ However, you argue against me regarding the creation. Later when I am examining this matter, it is impossible. ⁸ It is impossible that He will require circularity or regress of causes. It is impossible that He will need that which made Him exist. ⁹ It is impossible that He is new. Eternity without beginning is thus a necessary attribute for God; newness ¹⁰ is impossible for Him: Q.E.D.

Eternity (without end) (*lbaqa*) is a necessary attribute for God; evanescence or annihilation (*lfana*) is ¹¹ impossible for Him. The proof of this is the creation, since the creation exists; this is what proves that God ¹² is eternal. If non-existence (*leedem*) overtook God, then eternity without beginning (*lqidem*) would be denied to Him. If it were denied ¹³ to Him, then He would be new. If He were new, He would need that which brought Him into existence. ¹⁴ If He needed that which brought Him into existence, He would necessitate circularity or regress of causes. ¹⁵ If He necessitated circularity or regress of causes, it would lead to the non-existence of the creation. However, you will argue against me ¹⁶ regarding the creation. Later, when I am examining this matter, it is impossible. It is impossible that God necessitates circularity or regress of causes. ¹⁷ It is impossible that God needs that which brought Him into existence. It is impossible that He is new. ¹⁸ It is impossible that old age is denied to Him. Eternity without end is thus a necessary attribute for God; evanescence or transience ¹⁹ is impossible for Him: Q.E.D.

Difference or uniqueness (*lmuxalafa*) is a necessary attribute for God; resemblance or similarity [to anything that exists] (*lmumatala*)²⁰ is impossible for Him. The proof of this is the creation, since the creation exists; this is what proves that God [p. 5]¹ is different. If He were not different, then He would be similar. If He were similar, He would be² matter (*lğerm*) or a some kind of property (*lėered*). If He were matter or some kind of property, He would be new.³ If He were new, He would need that which brought Him into existence. If He needed that which brought Him into existence.⁴ He would require circularity and regress of causes. Were he to require circularity and regress of causes, this would lead⁵ to the non-existence of the creation. However, you will argue against me regarding the creation. Later, when I am examining⁶ this matter, it is impossible. It is impossible that God requires circularity and regress of causes. It is impossible that He needs⁷ that which brought Him into existence. It is impossible that He is new. It is impossible that He is⁸ matter (*lğerm*) or an accidental entity (*lėered*). Difference is thus a necessary attribute for God;⁹ similarity is impossible for Him: Q.E.D.

Self-sufficiency (*lqiyamu bi-nnafs*)¹⁰ is a necessary attribute God; need or poverty (*leftiqar*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is creation, since¹¹ the creation exists; this is what proves that God is rich (The Self-Subsisting by Whom all Subsist). If¹² He were not rich, then He would be in need. If He were in need, then He would need either a place or¹³ specification or definition. If He needed a place, then He would be an attribute (*şşifa*). If he were an attribute,¹⁴ seven qualities of morality (*sebēa lmeēani*) [expressed by nouns] and (corresponding) moral qualities (*lmeēnawiyat*) [expressed by adjectives] would not be required of Him. If these qualities were not required of Him,¹⁵ then the creation would be denied to Him. If He lacked specification or definition (*lmuxaşşış*),¹⁶ existence would only be conceivable for Him and not required. If existence were only conceivable for Him, He would be new.¹⁷ If He were new, then eternity without beginning and without end would be denied to Him. But it is impossible that eternity without beginning or end should be denied to Him. Hence, it is impossible that He should be new. It is impossible that existence¹⁹ is only conceivable (and not necessary) for Him. It is impossible that it will be denied to Him. It is impossible that attributes of morality and moral attributes are not required of Him [p. 6].¹ It is impossible that He is synonymous with His attribute (*şşifa*). It is impossible that He lacks a place or specification.² Self-sufficiency is thus a necessary attribute for God; any need is impossible for Him:³Q.E.D.

Oneness (uniqueness) (*lweḥdaniyya*) is a necessary attribute for God; plurality is impossible for Him. The proof of this is⁴ the creation, since the creation exists; this is what proves that God is the only one and unique. If⁵ He were not the only one, then there would be two Gods. If there were two Gods,

⁶ they would either agree or disagree. If they were to agree, either both Gods would be the only God, or both Gods would not be the only one; ⁷ either one would be the only one, or the other would not be the only one. If they were to disagree, either both would be one, ⁸ or both would not be the only one; either one would be the only one, or the other would not be the only one. But it is impossible that one would be the only one and that ⁹ the other would not be the only one, whether in agreement or in disagreement, since then inability or ineptitude (*leēgez*) would be required of Him. ¹⁰ It is impossible that both Gods would not be the only one, whether in agreement or in disagreement, since then inability would be necessary for God. ¹¹ So, it then follows that it is impossible that both would be the only one in agreement and that both would be the only one ¹² in disagreement, since then the opponents must gather together (unite). It is impossible ¹³ that the opponents would gather together. It is impossible that there would be multiple Gods. Oneness is thus a necessary attribute ¹⁴ for God; plurality is impossible for Him: Q.E.D.

¹⁵ **Power** (*lqudra*) is a necessary attribute for God; inability or powerlessness (*leēgez*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is the creation, ¹⁶ since the creation exists; this is what proves that God is all-powerful (Omnipotent, and the Almighty One). If He were not ¹⁷ All-powerful, then he would be unable. If He were unable, it would lead to the non-existence of the creation. ¹⁸ However, you will argue against me regarding the creation. Later, when I am examining this matter, it is impossible. ¹⁹ Power is thus a necessary attribute for God; inability is impossible for Him: Q.E.D.

²⁰ **Absolute Will** (*lirada*) is a necessary attribute for God; unwill [the lack of Absolute Will] (*lkaraha*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is the creation [p. 7] ¹ since the creation exists; this is what proves that God has absolute will (*lmurid*). If He were not ² Willing, then He would be compelled (*lkarih*). If he were compelled, then the creation would not have existed ³ in the same way. This would in turn lead to the non-existence of the creation. However, you will argue against me regarding the creation. ⁴ Later, when I am examining this matter, it is impossible that creation would come into existence on its own in the same way. ⁵ Absolute Will is thus a necessary attribute for God; unwill is impossible for Him: Q.E.D.

⁶ **Knowledge** or omniscience (*leelem*) is a necessary attribute for God; ignorance (*lğahl*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is the creation, since ⁷ the creation exists; this is what proves that God is the all-knowing one (Omniscient). If He were not ⁸ all-knowing, then He would be ignorant. If He were ignorant, this would lead to the non-existence of the creation. ⁹ However, you will argue against me regarding the creation. Later, when I am examining this matter, it is impossible. ¹⁰ Knowledge is thus a necessary attribute for God; ignorance is impossible for Him: Q.E.D.

¹¹ **Life** (*lḥayat*) is a necessary attribute for God; death (*lmamat*) is impossible for Him. The proof of this is the creation, ¹² since the creation exists; this is what proves that God is always Alive or the Living One (*lḥay*). If ¹³ He were not living, then he would be dead. If He were dead, this would lead to ¹⁴ the non-existence of the creation. However, you will argue against me regarding the creation. Later, when I am examining ¹⁵ this matter, it is impossible. Life is thus a necessary attribute for God; death is impossible for Him: ¹⁶ Q.E.D.

Hearing (*ssemee*), **sight** (*lbaṣar*), and **speech** (*lkalam*) are necessary attributes for God; deafness (*ṣṣamam*), ¹⁷ blindness (*leama*), and being mute (*lbakam*) are impossible for Him. What is the proof of this? It is the book (the Quran), the *sunnah*, ¹⁸ and the *Ijma* (the consensus of Islamic scholars). The books (the Torah, the Bible, and the Quran) are the word of God; *sunnah* is the word of the prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him salvation. ¹⁹ *Ijma* (consensus) implies that the scholars of God agree. God speaks without a word or sound, without a bodily organ (mouth or tongue), ²⁰ not in subdued voice nor out loud. God indicates all that there is: lying, betrayal, and concealment.

[p. 8] ¹ The unpermitted human properties are: disbelief in all of the Prophets, ² the Angels, the Holy Books, and the Last Day.

Truthfulness (*ṣṣedq*) is a necessary attribute for messengers; ³ lying (*lekḍeb*) is impossible for them. What is the proof of it? It is a miracle. What ⁴ is a miracle? It is an exception from the usual. What is an exception from the usual? It is something that happens by power ⁵ and will.

Honesty (*lemanā*) is a necessary attribute for messengers; betrayal (*lxiyana*) is impossible for them. What is ⁶ the proof of it? It is the fact that God protects them from the forbidden (*lḥaram*) and undesirable (*lmakruh*). ⁷ If messengers did the forbidden and the undesirable, this would become an act of obedience, since messengers always do ⁸ the required (*lwağeb*) and the recommended (*lmandub*). It is that which has become an act of obedience; it is what the saints ⁹ do.

Transmission of the message (conveying to the creation that which they have been commanded) (*ttabliyy*) is a necessary attribute for messengers; concealment (*lkitman*) is impossible for them. ¹⁰ What is the proof of it? It is the scholars. If the prophets conceal the message, then the scholars ¹¹ would conceal what God conveyed to the prophets. They conveyed it to the scholars, and the scholars conveyed it ¹² to us.

There is no addition and no reduction of the message.
In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

5.4. Interlinear glosses

Page 1

1-1

bi	ism-i	Llāh-i	r-raḥmān-i	r-raḥīm-i
with	name-GEN	Allah-GEN	compassionate-GEN	merciful-GEN
wa	ṣallā	Llāh-u	ʿalā sayyidi-nā	Muḥammad-in
and	3M.SG.prayed	Allah-NOM	on master-1PL.POSS	Mohammed-GEN

1-2

d̥	lwaḡeb	f	lmukellef	aḍ	i-ssen	lwaḡeb
PRED	obligatory	on	adult	AD	3M.SG-know.A	obligatory
d̥	lmuḡal	d̥	lḡayez			
with	impossible	with	allowed			

1-3

g	lḡeq	n	Ṛebbi	lwaḡeb	ʿešrin	n	ṣṣifat
in	duty	of	God	obligatory	twenty	of	qualities
al-wuḡūd	huwa	ʿaynu					
existence	3M.SG	source					

1-4

aḍ-dāt	lqidem	u	s=	i-zwar	ara	leedem
self	oldness	NEG1	3M.SG.IO=	3M.SG-be.first.PN	NEG2	non.existence
lbaqa	u	t̥=	i-ṭṭ.laḡaq	ara	leedem	
remaining	NEG1	3M.SG.DO=	3M.SG-IMPF.catch	NEG2	non.existence	

1-5

lmuxalafa	d̥	amxalef	g	d̥daṭṭ	d̥daṭṭ=	is
difference	PRED	different	in	self	self=	3SG.POSS
u	t̥e-lli	ara	d̥	lḡerm		
NEG1	3F.SG-be.PN	NEG2	PRED	matter		

1-6

d̥	ašu	i	d̥	lḡerm	d̥	ay=	nni
PRED	what	SPT1	PRED	matter	PRED	SPT2=	AN
i-ṭṭ-zeyyiḡ-en		lyir=	is	i	ye-ṭṭ-ay		
PTC-IMPF-remove-PTC		other=	3SG.POSS	SPT1	3M.SG-IMPF-take		
lqedr=	is						
amount=	3SG.POSS						

1-7

g lfiray annešṭ n leqsam i ḍġ-es ɾeβea
 in emptiness how.many of parts SPT1 in-3SG four
 lġerm ššeffaf
 matter transparent

1-8

u tn= i-mniε ara i.snin ur
 NEG1 3M.PL.DO= 3M.SG-stop.PN NEG2 all.two.M NEG1
 i-mniε akeččum ur i-mniε asekkud lġerm
 3M.SG=stop.PN entering NEG1 3M.SG=stop.PN seeing matter

1-9

lkaṭif am(m) lhiṭ i-mneε akeččum i-mneε asekkud
 thick like wall 3M.SG-stop.P entering 3M.SG-stop.P seeing

1-10

lġerm ... i-mneε asekkud ur i-mniε ara
 matter ... 3M.SG-stop.P seeing NEG1 3M.SG-stop.P NEG2
 akeččum lġerm
 entering matter

1-11

lmuḍerres i-mneε akeččum ur i-mniε ara
 hard 3M.SG-stop.P entering NEG 3M.SG-stop.PN NEG2
 asekkud ḍ amxalef
 seeing PRED different

1-12

g ššifat ur lli-nt ara ḍ lēereḍ
 in qualities NEG1 be.PN-3F.PL NEG2 PRED sign
 ḍ ašu i ḍ lēereḍ ay ḍ ay= nni
 PRED what SPT1 PRED sign SPT2 PRED SPT2= AN

1-13

i-ṭṭ-ili-n g lġerm annešṭ n leqsam i ḍġ-es
 PTC-IMPF-be-PTC in matter how.many of parts SPT1 in-3SG
 xemsa [n] leeraḍ
 five of signs

1-14

\bar{d} lelwan \bar{d} lekwan \bar{d} $\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{u}\bar{e}\bar{u}\bar{m}$ \bar{d} rrwayeḥ
 PRED colours with worlds with tastes with odours
 \bar{d} lmeɛani
 with meanings

1-15

\bar{d} amxalef g lefɛal ur i- $\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ -ḥ $\bar{d}\bar{i}\bar{g}$
 PRED different in deeds NEG1 3M.SG-IMPF-need
 yer lesbab ur i-sɛi l $\bar{y}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{d}$
 to reasons NEG1 3M.SG-have.PN purpose

1-16

lqiyamu bi nnafs i- $\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ f lmaḥel
 standing with soul 3M.SG-dispense.P on place
 \bar{d} lmu $\bar{x}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{s}$ i- $\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{a}$
 with specification 3M.SG-dispense.P

1-17

f lmaḥel imi \bar{d} $\bar{d}\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{t}$ i ye-lla
 on place since PRED self SPT1 3M.SG-be.P
 i- $\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ f lmu $\bar{x}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{s}$ imi \bar{d} waḡeb
 3M.SG-dispense on specification since PRED obligatory

1-18

lwuḡud i ye-lla aṣu lmeɛna lwaḡeb lwuḡud
 existence SPT1 3M.SG-be.P what meaning obligatory existence
 u s= i-zwar ara leɛdem
 NEG1 3SG.IO= 3M.SG-be.first.P NEG2 non.existence

Page 2

2-1

\bar{d} winna i \bar{d} lqidem u \bar{t} =
 PRED M.SG.AN SPT1 PRED oldness NEG1 3M.SG.DO=
 i- \bar{t} \bar{t} .laḥaq ara leedem \bar{d} \bar{t} inna
 3M.SG-IMPF.catch NEG2 non.existence PRED F.SG.AN
 i \bar{d} lbaqa \bar{d} \bar{d} a \bar{t} n Ṛebbi \bar{t} e- \bar{s} teyna
 SPT1 PRED remaining self of God 3F.SG-dispense.P

2-2

f lmaḥel \bar{d} lmuxaššiš ššifat n Ṛebbi wejd-ent
 on place with specification qualities of God exist.P-3F.PL
 g lmaḥel \bar{s} teyna-nt
 in place dispense.P-3F.PL

2-3

f lmuxaššiš lḡerm i- \bar{s} teyna f lmaḥel i- \bar{t} \bar{t} -fetqir
 on specification matter 3M.SG-dispense.P on place 3M.SG-IMPF-miss
 yr lmuxaššiš leered
 to specification sign

2-4

i- \bar{t} \bar{t} -fetqir yr lmaḥel \bar{d} lmuxaššiš
 3M.SG-IMPF-miss to place with specification
 i- \bar{t} \bar{t} -fetqir yr lmaḥel yr \bar{d} \bar{d} a \bar{t} i
 3M.SG-IMPF-miss to place to self SPT1

2-5

\bar{d} g ara y-ili i- \bar{t} \bar{t} -fetqir yr lmuxaššiš \bar{t} =
 in AD 3M.SG-be.A 3M.SG-IMPF-miss to specification 3M.SG.DO=
 id= i-ss.ufey g leedem yr lwuḡud
 VENT= 3M.SG-CAUS.exit from non.existence to existence

2-6

lweḥdaniya \bar{d} awhid g \bar{d} \bar{d} a \bar{t} nafyu lkem
 oneness PRED one in self denial amount
 lmuttašil wa lmunfašil
 linked and separated

2-7

fi \bar{d} \bar{d} a \bar{t} \bar{d} awhid g ššifat nafyu lkem
 in self PRED one in qualities denial amount

lmuttaşil wa lmunfaşil
linked and separated

2-8

fi şşifat d awḥid g lefʕal nafyu š-šarīk fī l-'afēāl
in qualities PRED one in deeds denial partner in deeds

2-9

wa nafyu at-ta'tīri bi l-quwwati wa al-qudrati
and denial influence.GEN with strength.GEN and ability.GEN
al-ḥādītati wa nafyu at-ta'tīri
new.F.SG.GEN and denial influence.GEN

2-10

bi t-ṭabīʕati wa al-ʕillati lqudra d lirada
with nature.GEN and cause.GEN ability with will
yes-s (t)ʕelleq-ent tʕelleq-ent
by-3SG link.P-3F.PL link.P-3F.PL

2-11

s lmumkinat awwah imi u tʕelleq-ent ara
by possibilities oh.no since NEG1 link.PN-3F.PL NEG2
s lwağeb a t= id= ss-wejde-[nt]
by obligatory AD 3M.SG.DO= VENT= CAUS-exist.P-[3F.PL]

2-12

i-lzem ttaḥşil lḥaşel awwah imi u tʕelleq-ent
3M.SG-must collection collector oh.no since NEG1 link.PN-3F.PL
ara s lmuḥal [a t= id= ss-wejde-nt]
NEG2 by impossible [AD 3M.SG.DO= VENT= CAUS-exist-3F.PL]

2-13

te-nne-qleḃ= ay lḥaqiqa amek ne-γra lmuḥal
3F.SG-MID-turn= 1PL.IO truth how 1PL-learn.P impossible
d ay= nni u ne-ṭṭ-ili d ašrik
PRED SPT2= AN NEG1 PTC-IMPf-be PRED partner.EL

2-14

d nnaqayaş a t= ʕeḍm-ent ula
with faults AD 3M.SG.DO= despatch-3F.PL NEG.COP
i ʕeḍm-ent akk ulaş i-lzem ttaḥşil
SPT1 despatch-3F.PL all NEG.COP 3M.SG-must collection

2-15

lḥašel lā ya-nbayī leelem yes-s i-t̤elleq
 collector NEG 3M.SG-should knowledge by-3SG 3M.SG-link.P
 i-t̤elleq yes-sent i-t̤laṭa
 3M.SG-link.P by-3F.PL all-three

2-16

i-t̤elleq s lwaḡeb i-εlem Ṛebbi s d̤daṭṭ= is
 3M.SG-link.P by obligatory 3M.SG-know.P God by self= 3SG.POSS
 d̤ ṣṣifaṭ= is
 with qualities= 3SG.POSS

2-17

u ṭṭ-nne.εdam-ent ara i-t̤elleq s lmuḥal
 NEG1 IMPF-MID.despatch-3F.PL NEG2 3M.SG-link.P by impossible
 i-εlem Ṛebbi s ušrik ur i-lli ara
 3M.SG-know.P God by partner.EA NEG1 3M.SG-be.PN NEG2

2-18

u dd= i-ṭṭ-ili ara i-t̤elleq s lḡayez
 NEG1 VENT= 3M.SG-IMPF-be NEG2 3M.SG-link.P by allowed
 i-εlem Ṛebbi s waye= nni i ye-lla-n
 3M.SG-know.P God by SPT2.EA= AN SPT1 PTC-be.P-PTC
 s waye= nni
 by SPT2.EA= AN

2-19

ara d= y-ili-n s wayen u d= ne-ṭṭ-ili ara
 AD VENT= PTC-be.A-PTC by SPT2.EA NEG1 VENT PTC-IMPF-be NEG2
 lḥayat u t̤e-t̤elleq ara d̤ šṣeṛṭ
 life NEG1 3F.SG-link.P NEG2 PRED condition

2-20

g lḡamiε ssemeε d̤ lbašar yes-s i-t̤elleq-en
 in everyone hearing with seeing by-3SG PTC-link.P-PTC
 t̤elleq-en s
 link.P-3M.PL by

2-21

lmewḡudaṭ mmerr̥a t̤elleq-en s lwaḡeb i-sla
 creatures all link.P-3M.PL by obligatory 3M.SG-hear.P
 Ṛebbi i ṭesli i-n-es
 God to hearing SPT1-of-3SG

Page 3

3-1

s	tesli	i-n-es	i-sked	Rebbi	asekkud= is
by	hearing	SPT1-of-3SG	3M.SG-see.P	God	seeing= 3SG.POSS
s	usekkud=	is	i-sla	Rebbi	
by	seeing.EA=	3SG.POSS	3M.SG-hear.P	God	

3-2

i	ddaṭṭ=	is	i-sked	ddaṭṭ=	is	i-sla
to	self=	3SG.POSS	3M.SG-see.P	self=	3SG.POSS	3M.SG-hear.P
Rebbi	i	ṣṣifaṭ=	is	i-sked	ṣṣifaṭ=	is
God	to	qualities=	3SG.POSS	3M.SG-see.P	qualities=	3SG.POSS

3-3

i-tēlleq	s	lḡayez	d	lwuḡud	kra
3M.SG-link.P	by	allowed	with	existence	anything
i	dd=	i-wejd-en	kurta	lealem	
SPT1	VENT=	PTC-exist-PTC	ball	world	

3-4

meṛra	bi	ḡamīε-ih	i-sla=	yas
all	with	everyone-3M.SG.POSS	3M.SG-hear.P=	3SG.IO
i-sekd=	iṭ	lkalam	yes-s	i-tēlleq
3M.SG-see.P=	3M.SG.DO	speech	by-3SG	3M.SG-link.P

3-5

i-tēlleq	yes-sent	i-tlaṭa	i-tēlleq	s	lwaḡeb
3M.SG-link.P	by-3F.PL	all-three	3M.SG-link.P	by	obligatory
i-ssawel	Rebbi				
3M.SG-speak.P	God				

3-6

f	ddaṭṭ=	is	d	ṣṣifaṭ=	is	u
on	self=	3SG.POSS	with	qualities=	3SG.POSS	NEG1
ṭṭ-nne.εdam-ent			ara	i-tēlleq	s	lmuḡal
IMPF-MID.despatch-3F.PL		NEG2	3M.SG-link.P	by		impossible
i-ssawel						
3M.SG-speak.P						

3-7

Rebbi	f	wešrik	ur	i-lli	ara	u
God	on	partner.EA	NEG1	3M.SG-be.PN	NEG2	NEG1

dd= i-tt-ili ara i-tēlleq s lğayez
 VENT= 3M.SG-IMPF-be NEG2 3M.SG-link.P by allowed
 i-nna= k d nekki
 3M.SG-say.P= 2M.SG.IO PRED 1SG.PRON

3-8

i kn= i-xelq-en i i-xelq-en leɛmal
 SPT1 2M.PL.DO= PTC-create-PTC SPT1 PTC-create-PTC deeds
 nn-wen ama d lxir ama d ššar
 of-2M.PL whether PRED goodness whether PRED evil

3-9

tlaṭa g lḥeq n rrusul lwağeb d lmuḥal
 three in duty of messengers obligatory with impossible
 d lğayez lwağeb g lḥeq nn-sen
 with allowed obligatory in duty of-3M.PL

3-10

(d) šsedq d lamana d ttabliḡ d ašu
 (PRED) truth with honesty with conveying PRED what
 i d lmuḥal g lḥeq nn-sen
 SPT1 PRED impossible in duty of-3M.PL

3-11

lekdeb d lxiyana d lkitman lğayez g lḥeq
 lie with treason with concealment allowed in duty
 nn-sen ġawāzu
 of-3M.PL permission.NOM

3-12

al-'aerāḍi al-bašriyya^h al-latī lā tu'addī 'ilā naqšin
 signs.GEN human which.F NEG lead.F to shortage
 fī marātibi-him al-ʿaliyyati
 in degrees-3M.PL.POSS high

3-13

ka al-maraḍi wa naḥwi-hi 'h 'h
 like disease.GEN and others-3M.SG.POSS end end
 lwuğud i-wğeb i Ṛebbi leɛdem fell-as d
 existence 3M.SG-be.obligatory for God non.existence on-3SG PRED

3-14

lmuḥal ddalil fell-as d ṣṣenəa imi d ṣṣenəa
impossible proof on-3SG PRED work since PRED work

ulašš-iṭṭ te-qqel
NEG.COP-3F.SG.DO 3F.SG-become.P

3-15

te-lla d winna i d ddalil yef Ṛebbi
3F.SG-be.P PRED M.SG.AN SPT1 PRED proof on God
ye-lla lewkan i-tmekken ad t-ili ṣṣenəa
3M.SG-be.P if 3M.SG-be.able AD 3F.SG-be.A work

3-16

mebla ṣṣanəe ilaq i-lzem ad m-sawa-n
without worker it.must 3M.SG-must AD MID-equalise.P-3M.PL
sin lumur ilaq i-rḡeḥ
two things it.must 3M.SG-outweight

3-17

yiwen mebla ssebba ilaq i-twedda yr ṣṣenəa
one.M without reason it.must 3M.SG-lead.P to work
ulašš-iṭṭ lakin a yyi= te-nker-ṭ g ṣṣenəa
NEG.COP-3F.SG.DO but AD 1SG.DO= 2SG-deny.A-2SG in work

3-18

mbeəd mi ṭṭallay-ey zzḡ-es d lmuḥal ad
later when see.I-1SG in-3SG PRED impossible AD
msaw-en sin lumur ad i-rḡeḥ yiwen
equalise-3M.PL two things AD 3M.SG-outweight one.M

3-19

mebla ssebba d lmuḥal ad t-ili ṣṣenəa
without reason PRED impossible AD 3F.SG-be.A work
mebla ṣṣanəe d lmuḥal
without worker PRED impossible

3-20

i s= i-weḡb-en i Ṛebbi d lwuḡud
SPT1 3SG.IO PTC-be.obligatory-PTC for God PRED existence
leədem fell-as d lmuḥal wa huwa al-maṭlūb
non.existence on-3SG PRED impossible and 3M.SG the.asked

Page 4

4-1

lqidem i-wğeb i Rēbbi lhudut fell-as
oldness 3M.SG-be.obligatory for God newness on-3SG
d lmuħal ddalil fell-as d ššenēa
PRED impossible proof on-3SG PRED work

4-2

imi d ššenēa te-lla d winna i d
since PRED work 3F.SG-be.P PRED M.SG.AN SPT1 PRED
ddalil yef Rēbbi d aqdim i ye-lla lewkan
proof on God PRED old SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if
ur i-lli ara
NEG1 3M.SG-be.PN NEG2

4-3

d aqdim ilaq d lhadet i ye-lla ma
PRED old it.must PRED new SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if
ye-lla d lhadet i ye-lla ad y-ili
3M.SG-be.P PRED new SPT1 3M.SG-be.P AD 3M.SG-be.A

4-4

d ajdid ma ye-lla d ajdid ad i-ħdiğ
PRED new if 3M.SG-be.P PRED new AD 3M.SG-need.A
γ-wi ara t= id= i-ss-wejd-en
to-DEF:M AD 3M.SG.DO= VENT= PTC-CAUS-exist-PTC

4-5

ma ye-ħdağ γ-wi ara t= id= i-ss-wejd-en
if 3M.SG-need.P to-DEF:M AD 3M.SG.DO=VENT=PTC-CAUS-exist-PTC
ad i-lzem dduṛ nniy ttasalsul
AD 3M.SG-must turning or sequence

4-6

ma ye-lzem dduṛ nniy ttasalsul ad i-tweddi
if 3M.SG-must turning or sequence AD 3M.SG-lead.A
yr ššenēa ulašš-iṭṭ
to work NEG.COP-3F.SG.DO

4-7

lakin a yyi= te-nker-ṭ g ššenēa mbeed mi
but AD 1SG.DO= 2SG-deny.A-2SG in work later when

t̤allay-ey zzeḡ-s d̤ lmuḥal
 see.I-1SG in-3SG PRED impossible

4-8

ad̤ i-lzem dduṛ nniy ttasalsul d̤ lmuḥal
 AD 3M.SG-must turning or sequence PRED impossible
 ad̤ i-ḥdiḡ y-wi ara t̤= id= i-ss-wejd-en
 AD 3M.SG-need.A to-DEF:M AD 3M.SG.DO= VENT= PTC-CAUS-exist-PTC

4-9

d̤ lmuḥal ad̤ y-ili d̤ ajdid̤ d̤ lmuḥal
 PRED impossible AD 3M.SG-be.A PRED new PRED impossible
 i s= i-weḡb-en i Ṛebbi d̤ lqidem lḥudut̤
 SPT1 3SG.IO=PTC-be.obligatory-PTC for God PRED oldness newness

4-10

fell-as d̤ lmuḥal wa huwa al-maṭlūb lbaqa
 on-3SG PRED impossible and 3M.SG the.asked remaining
 t̤e-wḡeb i Ṛebbi lfana fell-as d̤
 3F.SG-be.obligatory for God end on-3SG PRED

4-11

lmuḥal ddalil fell-as d̤ ṣṣen̤ea imi d̤ ṣṣen̤ea
 impossible proof on-3SG PRED work since PRED work
 t̤e-lla d̤ winna i d̤ ddalil yef Ṛebbi
 3F.SG-be.P PRED M.SG.AN SPT1 PRED proof on God

4-12

d̤ lbaqi i ye-lla lewkan a t̤= i-lḥeq
 PRED eternal SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if AD 3M.SG.DO= 3M.SG-catch.A
 leḍdem ilaq i-t̤tanfa fell-as lqidem
 non.existence it.must 3M.SG-PASS.deny.P on-3SG oldness
 ma ye-t̤tanfa
 if 3M.SG-PASS-.deny.P

4-13

fell-as lqidem ad̤ y-ili d̤ ajdid̤ ma ye-lla
 on-3SG oldness AD 3M.SG-be.A PRED new if 3M.SG-be.P
 d̤ ajdid̤ ad̤ i-ḥdiḡ y-wi ara t̤= id=
 PRED new AD 3M.SG-need.A to-DEF:M AD 3M.SG.DO= VENT=
 i-ss-wejd-en
 PTC-CAUS-exist-PTC

4-14

ma ye-ḥdağ y-wi ara t= id= i-ss-wejd-en
 if 3M.SG-need.P to-DEF:M AD 3M.SG.DO= VENT= PTC-CAUS-exist-PTC
 aḍ i-lzem dduṛ nniy ttasalsul ma ye-lla
 AD 3M.SG-must turning or sequence if 3M.SG-be.P

4-15

ma ye-lla i-lzem dduṛ nniy ttasalsul aḍ i-ṭweddi
 if 3M.SG-be.P 3M.SG-must turning or sequence AD 3M.SG-lead.A
 yr ṣṣenəa ulašš-iṭṭ lakin a yyi= ṭe-nker-ṭ
 to work NEG.COP-3F.SG.DO but AD 1SG.DO= 2SG-deny.A-2SG

4-16

g ṣṣenəa mbeed mi ṭṭallay-ey zzg-es d lmuḥal
 in work later when see.I-1SG in-3SG PRED impossible
 aḍ i-lzem dduṛ nniy ttasalsul
 AD 3M.SG-must turning or sequence

4-17

d lmuḥal aḍ i-ḥdiğ y-wi ara t= id=
 PRED impossible AD 3M.SG-need.A to-DEF:M AD 3M.SG.DO= VENT=
 i-ss-wejd-en d lmuḥal aḍ y-ili d ajdid
 PTC-CAUS-exist-PTC PRED impossible AD 3M.SG-be.A PRED new

4-18

d lmuḥal aḍ i-ṭṭanfu fell-as lqidem d lmuḥal
 PRED impossible AD 3M.SG-PASS.deny.A on-3SG oldness PRED impossible
 i s= i-weğb-en i Ṛebbi [d] lbaqa lfana
 SPT1 3SG.IO= PTC-be.obligatory-PTC for God [PRED] remaining end

4-19

fell-as d lmuḥal wa huwa al-maṭlūb
 on-3SG PRED impossible and 3M.SG the.asked
 lmuḥalafa ṭe-wğeb i Ṛebbi lmumaṭala fell-as
 difference 3F.SG-be.obligatory for God similarity on-3SG

4-20

d lmuḥal ddalil fell-as d ṣṣenəa imi d
 PRED impossible proof on-3SG PRED work since PRED
 ṣṣenəa ṭe-lla d winna i d ddalil yef
 work 3F.SG-be.P PRED M.SG.AN SPT1 PRED proof on
 Ṛebbi d amxalef i ye-lla
 God PRED different SPT1 3M.SG-be.P

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5-1

\bar{d} amxalef i ye-lla lewkan ur i-lli ara
 PRED different SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if NEG1 3M.SG-be.PN NEG2
 \bar{d} amxalef ilaq \bar{d} ammetel ma ye-lla \bar{d}
 PRED different it.must PRED similar if 3M.SG-be.P PRED
 ammetel $\bar{a}\bar{d}$ y-ili
 similar AD 3M.SG-be.A

5-2

\bar{d} lğerm nniy \bar{d} læereḍ ma ye-lla \bar{d} lğerm
 PRED matter or PRED sign if 3M.SG-be.P PRED matter
 nniy \bar{d} læereḍ $\bar{a}\bar{d}$ y-ili \bar{d} ajḍiḍ
 or PRED sign AD 3M.SG-be.A PRED new

5-3

ma ye-lla \bar{d} ajḍiḍ $\bar{a}\bar{d}$ i-ḥḍiğ y-wi
 if 3M.SG-be.P PRED new AD 3M.SG-need.A to-DEF:M
 ara t= id= i-ss-wejḍ-en ma ye-ḥḍağ
 AD 3M.SG.DO= VENT= PTC-CAUS-exist-PTC if 3M.SG-need.P
 y-wi ara t= id= i-ss-wejḍ-en
 to-DEF:M AD 3M.SG.DO= VENT= PTC-CAUS-exist-PTC

5-4

$\bar{a}\bar{d}$ i-lzem dduṛ \bar{d} ttasalsul ma ye-lzem
 AD 3M.SG-must turning with sequence if 3M.SG-must
 dduṛ \bar{d} ttasalsul $\bar{a}\bar{d}$ i-tweddi
 turning with sequence AD 3M.SG-lead.A

5-5

yr ššenəa ulašš-iṭṭ lakin a yyi= tē-nker-t
 to work NEG.COP-3F.SG.DO but AD 1SG.DO= 2SG-deny.A-2SG
 g ššenəa mbeed mi tṭallay-ey
 in work later when see.I-1SG

5-6

zzeḡ-s \bar{d} lmuḥal $\bar{a}\bar{d}$ i-lzem dduṛ
 in-3SG PRED impossible AD 3M.SG-must turning
 \bar{d} ttasalsul \bar{d} lmuḥal $\bar{a}\bar{d}$ i-ḥḍiğ
 with sequence PRED impossible AD 3M.SG-need.A

5-7

y-wi ara t= id= i-ss-wejd-en d lmuḥal
 to-DEF:M AD 3M.SG.DO= VENT= PTC-CAUS-exist-PTC PRED impossible
 ad y-ili d ajdid d lmuḥal ad y-ili
 AD 3M.SG-be.A PRED new PRED impossible AD 3M.SG-be.A

5-8

d lḡerm nniy d læered d lmuḥal i
 PRED matter or PRED sign PRED impossible SPT1
 s= i-weḡb-en i Rebbi d lmulaxalafa
 3SG.IO= PTC-be.obligatory-PTC for God PRED difference

5-9

lmumatala fell-as d lmuḥal wa huwa al-maṭlūb
 similarity on-3SG PRED impossible and 3M.SG the.needed
 lqiyamu bi nnaḥs
 standing with soul

5-10

i-wḡeb i Rebbi leftiqar fell-as d lmuḥal
 3M.SG-be.obligatory for God need on-3SG PRED impossible
 ddalil fell-as d ṣṣenʿa imi d
 proof on-3SG PRED work since PRED

5-11

d ṣṣenʿa te-lla d winna i d ddalil
 PRED work 3F.SG-be.P PRED M.SG.AN SPT1 PRED proof
 yef Rebbi d lyani i ye-lla lewkan
 on God PRED rich SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if

5-12

ur i-lli ara d lyani ṭilaq i-ffetqir
 NEG1 3M.SG-be.P NEG2 PRED rich then 3M.SG-miss.A
 ma ye-ffetqer extir ad i-ḥdiḡ yr lmaḥal nniy
 if 3M.SG-miss.P choose.IMP AD 3M.SG-need.A to place or

5-13

d lmulaxṣiṣ ma ye-ffetqer yr lmaḥal ad y-ili
 PRED specification if 3M.SG-miss.P to place AD 3M.SG-be.A
 d ṣṣifa ma ye-lla d ṣṣifa
 PRED quality if 3M.SG-be.P PRED quality

5-14

u s= weğğeb-ent ara sebəa lmeəani d
 NEG1 3SG.IO= be.obligatory.I-3F.PL NEG2 seven meanings with
 lmeənawiyat ma u s= wğib-ent ara lmeəani
 morals if NEG1 3SG.IO=be.obligatory.PN-3F.PL NEG2 meanings

5-15

d lmeənawiyat a te-ttānfu fell-as şşenəa ma
 with morals AD 3F.SG-PASS.deny.A on-3SG work if
 ye-ffetqer yr lmuxaşış
 3M.SG-miss.P to specification

5-16

ad y-ili d ğayez lwuğud ma ye-lla
 AD 3M.SG-be.A PRED allowed existence if 3M.SG-be.P
 d ğayez lwuğud ad y-ili d ajdid
 PRED allowed existence AD 3M.SG-be.A PRED new

5-17

ma ye-lla d ajdid ilaq i-ttānfa fell-as
 if 3M.SG-be.P PRED new it.must 3M.SG-PASS.deny.P on-3SG
 lqidem d lbaqa lakin ad i-ttānfu fell-as
 oldness with remaining but AD 3M.SG-PASS.deny.A on-3SG

5-18

lqidem d lbaqa d lmuḥal ad y-ili d
 oldness with remaining PRED impossible AD 3M.SG-be.A PRED
 ajdid d lmuḥal ad y-ili d ğayez
 new PRED impossible AD 3M.SG-be.A PRED allowed

5-19

lwuğud d lmuḥal a te-ttānfa fell-as d
 existence PRED impossible AD 3F.SG-PASS.deny.P on-3SG PRED
 lmuḥal u s= weğğeb-ent ara lmeəani
 impossible NEG1 3SG.IO= be.obligatory.I-3F.PL NEG2 meanings

6-1

\bar{d} lmeɛnawiyat \bar{d} lmuħal ad y-ili \bar{d} şşifa
 with morals PRED impossible AD 3M.SG-be.A PRED quality
 \bar{d} lmuħal ad i-ffetqer yr lmaħal nniy \bar{d} lmuħaşşiş
 PRED impossible AD 3M.SG-miss.P to place or PRED specification

6-2

\bar{d} lmuħal i s= i-weğb-en i Rēbbi \bar{d}
 PRED impossible SPT1 3SG.IO=PTC-be.obligatory-PTC for God PRED
 lyina lmuṭlaq leftiqar fell-as \bar{d} lmuħal wa huwa
 richness absolute need on-3SG PRED impossible and 3M.SG

6-3

al-maṭlūb lweħdāniyya te-wğeb i Rēbbi ttaεaddud
 the.asked oneness 3F.SG-be.obligatory for God plurality
 fell-as \bar{d} lmuħal ddalil fell-as \bar{d}
 on-3SG PRED impossible proof on-3SG PRED

6-4

şşenεa imi \bar{d} şşenεa te-lla \bar{d} winna i \bar{d}
 work since PRED work 3F.SG-be.P PRED M.SG.AN SPT1 PRED
 ddalil yef Rēbbi \bar{d} awhid i ye-lla lew-
 proof on God PRED one SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if-

6-5

-kan ur i-lli ara \bar{d} awhid tılaq g sin
 (if) NEG1 3M.SG-be.PN NEG2 PRED one then in two
 yyed-sen ma ye-lla g sin yyed-sen extir ad
 with-3M.PL if 3M.SG-be.P in two with-3M.PL choose.IMP AD

6-6

m.wafaq-en nniy ad m.xalaf-en ma m.wafaq-en
 MID.agree.A-3M.PL or AD MID.oppose.A-3M.PL if MID.agree.P-3M.PL
 extir ad wetter-en i.snin extir ur
 choose.IMP AD be.one.A-3M.PL all.two.M choose.IMP NEG1
 ṭṭ-wettir-n ara
 IMPF-be.one-3M.PL NEG2

6-7

i.snin extir ad i-wetter yiwen wwineṭnin
 all.two.M choose.IMP AD 3M.SG-be.one.A-3M.PL one.M others

ur i-t̤t̤-wettir ara ma m.xalaf-en
 NEG1 3M.SG-IMPF-be.one NEG2 if MID.oppose.P-3M.PL
 extir ad wetter-en i.snin
 choose.IMP AD be.one-3M.PL all.two.M

6-8

extir ur t̤t̤-wettir-n ara i.snin extir ad
 choose.IMP NEG1 IMPF-be.one-3M.PL NEG2 all.two.M choose.IMP AD
 i-wetter yiwen wayet̤ ur i-t̤t̤-wettir ara
 3M.SG-be.one.A one.M other NEG1 3M.SG-IMPF-be.one NEG2
 lakin ad i-wetter yiwen
 but AD 3M.SG-be.one.A one.M

6-9

wayet̤ ur i-t̤t̤-wettir ara ama g lwifaq
 other NEG1 3M.SG-IMPF-be.one NEG2 whether in agreement
 ama g lxilaf i-lzem leḡez d̤ lmuḥal
 whether in disagreement 3M.SG-must incapacity PRED impossible

6-10

ur t̤t̤-wettir-n ara i.snin ama g lwifaq
 NEG1 IMPF-be.one-3M.PL NEG2 all.two.M whether in agreement
 ama g lxilaf i-lzem leḡez d̤ lmuḥal
 whether in disagreement 3M.SG-must incapacity PRED impossible

6-11

ad wetter-en i.snin g lwifaq i-lzem
 AD be.one.A-3M.PL all.two.M in agreement 3M.SG-must
 ttaḥṣil lḥaṣel ad wetter-en i.snin
 collection collector AD be.one.A-3M.PL all.two.M

6-12

g lxilaf i-lzem ad nne.jmaε-en leḡdad
 in disagreement 3M.SG-must AD MID.gather.A-3M.PL opponents
d̤ ttaḥṣil lḥaṣel d̤ lmuḥal
 PRED collection collector PRED impossible

6-13

ad nne.jmaε-en leḡdad d̤ lmuḥal ad
 AD MID.gather-3M.PL opponents PRED impossible AD
 tεedded̤-en d̤ lmuḥal i s= i-weḡb-en
 be.multiple.A-3M.PL PRED impossible SPT1 3SG.IO=PTC-be.obligatory-PTC

6-14

i Ṛebbi d lweḥdaniya ttaεaddud fell-as d lmuḥal
for God PRED oneness plurality on-3SG PRED impossible
wa huwa al-maṭlūb
and 3M.SG the.asked

6-15

lqudra te-wḡeb i Ṛebbi leεḡez fell-as d
ability 3F.SG-be.obligatory for God incapacity on-3SG PRED
lmuḥal ddalil fell-as d ṣṣenεa
impossible proof on-3SG PRED work

6-16

imi d ṣṣenεa te-lla d winna i d
since PRED work 3F.SG-be.P PRED M.SG.AN SPT1 PRED
ddalil yef Ṛebbi d lqader i ye-lla lewkan
proof on God PRED able SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if
ur i-lli ara
NEG1 3M.SG-be.PN NEG2

6-17

d lqader ilaq d leajez i ye-lla
PRED able it.must PRED unable SPT1 3M.SG-be.P
ma ye-lla d leajez ilaq te-tweddā ṣṣenεa
if 3M.SG-be.P PRED unable it.must 3F.SG-lead.P work

6-18

ulašš-iṭṭ lakin a yyi= te-nker-ṭ g ṣṣenεa
NEG.COP-3F.SG.DO but AD 1SG.DO= 2SG-deny.A-2SG in work
mbeəd mi ṭṭallay-ey zzḡ-es d lmuḥal
later when see.I-1SG in-3SG PRED impossible

6-19

i s= i-weḡb-en i Ṛebbi d lqudra leεḡez
SPT1 3SG.IO= PTC-be.obligatory-PTC for God PRED ability inability
fell-as d lmuḥal wa huwa al-maṭlūb
on-3SG PRED impossible and 3M.SG the.asked

6-20

lirada te-wḡeb i Ṛebbi lkaraha fell-as
will 3F.SG-be.obligatory for God unwill on-3SG
d lmuḥal ddalil fell-as d ṣṣenεa
PRED impossible proof on-3SG PRED work

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7-1

imi d şşenəa te-lla d winna i d
 since PRED work 3F.SG-be.P PRED M.SG.AN SPT1 PRED
 ddalil yef Rəbbi d lmurid i ye-lla lewkan
 proof on God PRED willer SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if
 ur i-lli ara d
 NEG1 3M.SG-be.PN NEG2 PRED

7-2

lmurid ilaq d lkarih i ye-lla ma ye-lla d
 willer it.must PRED unwiller SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if 3M.SG-be.P PRED
 lkarih i ye-lla ilaq u te-wjid ara şşenəa
 unwiller SPT1 3M.SG-be.P it.must NEG1 3F.SG-exist.PN NEG2 work

7-3

f yiwen weṭriq ilaq i-twedda yr şşenəa ulašš-iṭṭ
 on one.M road.EA it.must 3M.SG-lead.P to work NEG.COP-3F.SG.DO
 lakin a yyi= te-nker-ṭ g şşenəa
 but AD 1SG.DO= 2SG-deny.A-2SG in work

7-4

mbeəd mi tṭallay-ey zzg-es d lmuḥal
 later when see.I-1SG in-3SG PRED impossible
 ad te-nne-wjed şşenəa f yiwen weṭriq
 AD 3F.SG-MID-exist work on one.M road.EA

7-5

i s= i-weḡb-en i Rəbbi d lirada
 SPT1 3SG.IO=PTC-be.obligatory-PTC for God PRED will
 lkaraḥa fell-as d lmuḥal wa huwa al-maṭlūb
 unwill on-3SG PRED impossible and 3M.SG the.asked

7-6

leelem i-wḡeb i Rəbbi lḡahl fell-as d
 knowledge 3M.SG-be.obligatory for God ignorance on-3SG PRED
 lmuḥal ddalil fell-as d şşenəa imi d
 impossible proof on-3SG PRED work since PRED

7-7

şşenəa te-lla d winna i d ddalil yef Rəbbi d
 work 3F.SG-be.P PRED M.SG.AN SPT1 PRED proof on God PRED

lealem i ye-lla lewkan ur i-lli ara d
 knowing SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if NEG1 3M.SG-be.PN NEG2 PRED

7-8

lealem ilaq d lğahel i ye-lla ma ye-lla d
 knowing it.must PRED ignorant SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if 3M.SG-be.P PRED
 lğahel i ye-lla ilaq te-twedda şşenəa
 ignorant SPT1 3M.SG-be.P it.must 3F.SG-lead.P work

7-9

ulašš-iṭṭ lakin a yyi= te-nker-ṭ g şşenəa
 NEG.COP-3F.SG.DO but AD 1SG.DO= 2SG-deny.A-2SG in work
 mbeəd mi ṭṭallay-ey zzġ-es d lmuḥal
 later when see.I-1SG in-3SG PRED impossible

7-10

i s= i-weġb-en i ʔebbi d lealem
 SPT1 3SG.IO=PTC-be.obligatory-PTC for God PRED knowledge
 lğahl fell-as d lmuḥal wa huwa al-maṭlūb
 ignorance on-3SG PRED impossible and 3M.SG the.asked

7-11

lḥayat te-wġeb i ʔebbi lmatat fell-as
 life 3F.SG-be.obligatory for God death on-3SG
 d lmuḥal ddalil fell-as d şşenəa
 PRED impossible proof on-3SG PRED work

7-12

imi d şşenəa te-lla d winna i d
 since PRED work 3F.SG-be.P PRED M.SG.AN SPT1 PRED
 ddalil yef ʔebbi d lḥay i ye-lla lewkan
 proof on God PRED living SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if

7-13

ur i-lli ara d lḥay ilaq d
 NEG1 3M.SG-be.PN NEG2 PRED living it.must PRED
 lmeyyet i ye-lla ma ye-lla d lmeyyet
 dead SPT1 3M.SG-be.P if 3M.SG-be.P PRED dead
 i ye-lla ilaq te-twedda
 SPT1 3M.SG-be.P it.must 3F.SG-lead.P

7-14

ṣṣenəa ulašš-iṭṭ lakin a yyi= ṭe-nker-ṭ
 work NEG.COP-3F.SG.DO but AD 1SG.DO= 2SG-deny.A-2SG
 g ṣṣenəa mbeəd mi ṭṭallay-ey
 in work later when see.I-1SG

7-15

zzeḡ-s d̲ lmuḥal i s= i-weḡb-en
 in-3SG PRED impossible SPT1 3SG.IO= PTC-be.obligatory-PTC
 i Ṛebbi d̲ lḥayat lmatat fell-as d̲ lmuḥal
 for God PRED life death on-3SG PRED impossible

7-16

wa huwa al-maṭlūb ssemec̲ d̲ lbaṣar d̲ lkalam
 and 3M.SG the.asked hearing with sight with speech
 weḡb-en i Ṛebbi ṣṣamam
 be.obligatory-3M.PL for God deafness

7-17

d̲ ləama d̲ lbakam fell-as d̲ lmuḥal ašu
 with blindness with dumbness on-3SG PRED impossible what
 d̲ ddalil fell-as d̲ lkitab d̲ ssunna
 PRED proof on-3SG PRED book with sunnah

7-18

d̲ liḡmaε̲ lkutub d̲ awal n Ṛebbi ssunna
 with ijma books PRED word of God sunnah
 d̲ awal n nnabi ṣallā Allāhu εalay-hi
 PRED word of prophet 3M.SG.prayed Allah upon-3M.SG.DO
 wa sallam
 and 3M.SG.made.peace

7-19

liḡmaε̲ nne.jmaε̲-en ləulama n Ṛebbi ye-ssawel
 ijma MID.gather.P-3M.PL scholars of God 3M.SG-speak.P
 bi lā ḥarf-in wa lā ṣawt-in bilā ḡāriḥat-in
 with NEG letter-GEN and NEG voice-GEN without organ-GEN

7-20

bi lā sirr-in wa lā ḡahr-in i-dal yf kra
 with NEG secret-GEN and NEG revealed-GEN 3M.SG-indicate on anything
 ye-lla-n lekdeḡ d̲ lxiyana d̲ lkitman
 PTC-be.P-PTC lie with treason with concealment

8-1

εadamu ġawāzi al-'aerāḍi l-bašariyyati
non.existence.NOM permission.GEN signs.GEN human.GEN
l-kufri bi sā'iri l-'anbiyā'i
unbelieving.NOM with whole.GEN prophets.GEN

8-2

wa l-malā'ikati wa l-kutubi s-samāwiyyati
and angels.GEN and books.GEN heavenly.PL.GEN
wa l-yawmi l-'axiri šsedq i-wġeb i rrusul
and day.GEN last.GEN truth 3M.SG-be.obligatory for messengers

8-3

lekdeḅ fell-asen ḍ lmuḥal ašu ḍ ddalil
lie on-3M.PL PRED impossible what PRED proof
fell-asen ḍ lmuēġiza ašu
on-3M.PL PRED miracle what

8-4

ḍ lmuēġiza ḍ ttaxriq leada ašu ḍ
PRED miracle PRED breaking the.usual what PRED
ttaxriq leada s lqudra
breaking the.usual by ability

8-5

ḍ lirada lamana te-wġeb i rrusul
with will honesty 3F.SG-be.obligatory for messengers
lxiyana fell-asen ḍ lmuḥal ašu ḍ
treason on-3M.PL PRED impossible what PRED

8-6

ddalil fell-asen i-eṣem Rebbi lġawariḥ
proof on-3M.PL 3M.SG-protect God organs
nn-sen g leḥram ḍ lmekruh
of-3M.PL in forbidden with undesired

8-7

lewkan xeḍm-en leḥram ḍ lmekruh ilaq
if work.P-3M.PL forbidden with undesired it.must
i-qqel ḍ ttaea lem̄mi xeḍm-en
3M.SG-become.P PRED obedience since work.P-3M.PL

8-8

lwaḡeb ḍ lmandub ḍ winna i ye-qqel-en
obligatory with recommended PRED M.SG.AN SPT1 PTC-become.P-PTC
ḍ ṭtaεa ḍ ay= nni xeddm-en
PRED obedience PRED SPT2= AN work.I-3M.PL

8-9

lawliya ttabliy i-wḡeb i rrusul
saints conveying 3M.SG-be.obligatory for messengers
lkitman fell-asen ḍ lmuḡal
concealment on-3M.PL PRED impossible

8-10

ašu ḍ ddalil fell-asen ḍ ḷulama
what PRED proof on-3M.PL PRED scholars
lewkan keṭm-en lanbiya ilaq keṭm-en
if conceal.P-3M.PL prophets it.must conceal.P-3M.PL

8-11

ḷulama aye= nni i dd= i-belley Ṛebbi
scholars SPT2= AN SPT1 VENT= 3M.SG-convey God
i lanbiya belly-en= t= id ḷulama
for prophets convey-3M.PL= 3M.SG.DO= VENT scholars
ḷulama belly-en= t= id
scholars convey-3M.PL= 3M.SG.DO= VENT

8-12

i nekni zziyada ulaš nniqšan ulaš
for 1M.PL addition NEG.COP reduction NEG.COP
bi ism-i Llāh-i r-raḡmān-i r-raḡīm-i
with name-GEN Allah-GEN compassionate-GEN merciful-GEN

5.5. Word-by-word glosses and comments

Page 1

1-1

bi: Ar. PREP ‘with’ (INSTR); in this MS only in combination with Ar. nouns.

ism: Ar. N ‘name’.

(*a*)*llāh*: Ar. proper name ‘God, Allah’.

ar-raḥmān: Ar. N ‘the compassionate’; usually written with a *dagger alif*, but here the vocalisation is omitted; cf. 8-12.

ar-raḥīm: Ar. N ‘the merciful’.

wa-: Ar. CONJ ‘and’ (spelled together with the following word).

ṣallā: Ar. V 3M.SG (perfective) ‘to pray’, with optative meaning: ‘may he pray’.

ʿalā: Ar. PREP ‘on, upon’.

sayyid: Ar. N. ‘master’.

-nā: Ar. PRON.POSS 1PL ‘our’.

1-2

ḍ: B. PTCL predicative particle (glossed PRED) ‘is, are’, homonym and homograph of PREP *ḍ* ‘with, and’.

lwaḡeb: B(z) N from Ar. active participle (اسم الفاعل) *al-wāḡib* (الواجب) ‘the obligatory (thing), obligation, duty’, cf. V *waḡaba* (Bz. *ewḡeb* in 3-13) ‘to be obligatory’.

Cf. *Ṣuyrā šarḥ*: *yaḡib*; *aṣ-Ṣuyrā*: *al-wuḡūb* (verbal noun).

f: B. PREP ‘on’ (var. *af*, *yef* in 4-2); the Arabic preposition in this context would be *ʿalā*: *al-wāḡibu ʿalā l-mukallaḡ*; written together with the noun.

lmukelleḡ < Ar. N *al-mukallaḡ* ‘adult’.

aḍ: B. preverbal prospective particle ‘non-realised, future, irrealis’ (glossed AD); written with the verb; var. *a* used when AD is separated from the verb by pron. affix or by NEG *u(r)*.

issen: B. V 3M.SG A. of *ssen* ‘to know’; variant of *issin*, *essen* (*essin*), *eṭṭissin*, cf. B&P: 217; the form *ssen* (instead of *ssin*) is attested in different Berber dialects, and apparently the language of the MS is one of them.

ḍ: B. PREP ‘with’ (comitative), usually translates as ‘and’; homonym and homograph of PRED *ḍ*; the following noun must be in EA.

lmuḡal < Ar. N *al-muḡāl* ‘the impossible’, V *ḡāla* ‘to be impossible’. Cf. *ṣuyrā šarḥ*: *yastahīlu*, *aṣ-Ṣuyrā*: *al-istiḡāla*^h.

lḡayez: Bz. N from Ar. *al-ḡāʿiz* PTC.ACT ‘allowed, permitted’, (here) ‘conceivable’, cf. V *ḡāza* ‘to be allowed’. Cf. *Ṣuyrā šarḥ*: *yaḡūzu*, *aṣ-Ṣuyrā*: *al-ḡawāz* (verbal noun, ‘permission’); cf. *ḡayez* in 5-16 (without an article); *ḡawāzu* in 3-11, *ḡawāzi* in 8-1.

1-3

g: B. PREP 'in' (var. of *deg/deḡ*); spelled together with the noun.

lḥeq < Ar. N *al-ḥaqq* 'duty, right', 'truth' (Kenny 1970); there is a *sukūn* on *q* and no *šadda* (cf. *ššer* from *aš-šarr* in 3-8).

n: B. PREP 'of' (GEN); followed by a noun in EA; often assimilates to the following consonant: *ṛ[^]Rebbi* < *n Rebbi*. In *n eṣṣifaṭ*, *n* does not assimilate since the following consonant is tense; here it is written with a *šadda*, because it follows *-n* of *eešrin*.

Rebbi: B(z) proper name 'Lord, God' from Ar. *rabb-ī* 'my Lord', Algerian Ar. *ṛabbi* (*r* > *ṛ* is regular in Algerian Arabic except in the neighbourhood of *r*); 1SG suffix lost its meaning.

--> *lḥeq n Rebbi* 'duty of (for) God', *g lḥeq n Rebbi* 'with regards to/ concerning God', cf. *ṣuyrā šarḥ* version: *fī ḥaqqi mawlā-nā*.

eešrin: B(z) NUM from Ar. *eišrūn* (GEN *eišrīn*) 'twenty'; constructed with the PREP *n* 'of'.

ṣṣifaṭ: B(z) N F.PL from Ar. PL *aṣ-ṣifāt* < SG *aṣ-ṣifa^h* (Bz. *ṣṣifa*, see 5-13) 'quality, attribute; entity, reality, existent thing, hypostasis' [theological term]. Here written without an article (vs. 1-12). In 1-12, this word is spelled with an *alif* after /f/ (الصِّفَاتُ), hence I transcribe it as *ṣṣifaṭ* and not as *ṣṣifet*.

--> *eešrin n ṣṣifaṭ*: 'twenty attributes'. In Arabic, after this numeral (as generally with numerals after eleven), a singular form of the noun is used, but here it is plural; correct form in Arabic (as it is found e.g. in *aṣ-ṣuyrā*) is: *eašrūn ṣifa^h* (عشرون صفة), the spelling <*eašrīn nnaṣṣifaṭ*>, with *tašdīd* on the second *nūn*, is classical Quranic orthography: when two identical consonants come together in context, this is seen by the Arabic linguists as a case of full assimilation; the first consonant is then written without *sukūn*, the second with *šadda* to show the resulting gemination.

lwuḡud < Ar. N *al-wuḡūd* 'existence, presence, being'; first attribute of Allah; here part of the Arabic phrase; cf. B(z) V *wjed* 'to exist' in 2-2.

huwa: Ar. PRON 3M.SG 'he'.

εaynu: Ar. N 'source, fountain' (also: 'eye').

1-4

aḏ-dāt: Ar. N 'self, essence' (also used as REFL); theological term; syn. *an-nafs*; Bz. *ḏdaṭṭ*; belongs to the previous line (Arabic phrase).

--> *al-wuḡūd huwa εaynu aḏ-dāt* (Ar. phrase) 'existence is [an attribute] of essence'.

lqidem < Ar. N *al-qidam* 'oldness, antiquity'; in theology and philosophy: 'eternity (without beginning), uncausedness, primordality'; second attribute of Allah; cf. B(z) ADJ *aqḏim* 'old' in 4-2; here fronted since it is a technical term (as *lbaqa* in the same line) being defined by the clause that follows (see Chapter 6).

u: B. negative preverbal ptcl, var. of *ur* used when a verb starts on a pron. affix or orientation ptcl; often co-occurs with *ara*; spelled together with the verb.
ara: B. negative particle following the verb (sometimes can be omitted), always co-occurs with *u(r)*; can be spelled together with the verb or separately starting with *alif*.
u s-izwar ara: B. V 3M.SG PN of *zwar* ‘to be first, precede’. PN form according to modern dictionaries: *zwir*. In Imperative, both *zwir* and *zwar* are possible.
leedem: Bz. N from Ar. *al-ʿadam* ‘non-existence’, cf. related verb (*ʿedem*) in 2-14.
lbaqa < Ar. N *al-baqā* ‘staying, remaining’, as a theological term: ‘foreverness, eternity (without end)’; third attribute of Allah; fronted (see Chapter 6).
u t-ittlaḥaq ara: B(z) V 3M.SG IMPF of *laḥeq, luḥeq, tṭlaḥaq*, from Ar. *laḥiqa* ‘to catch, reach’; *t* after *u* NEG1 is a clitic 3M.SG.DO, fronted due to *u* (negation); cf. *ilḥeq* in 4-12.

1-5

lmuxalafa < Ar. N *al-muxālafah* ‘difference, otherness’, fourth attribute of Allah; Bz. form is *lemxalfa*, but there is a *sukūn* on the article in the MS (hence a pure Arabic word); from Ar. V *xālaḥa* (Bz. *xaleḥ*) ‘to oppose’, B(z) MID derivation *mxalaf* (see 6-6); cf. ADJ *amxalef* in this line; cf. related N *lxilaf/ al-xilāf* ‘disagreement’ in 6-9.
amxalef: B(z) ADJ from Ar. *muxāli* ‘different’, cf. N *al-muxālafah* above; cf. V *mxalaf* in 6-6 (*aḍ mxalafen*).
-is: B. PRON.POSS 3SG ‘his, her, its’; a “long” form is *ines*, also used in the MS, see e.g. 3-1; both forms are spelled together with the noun.
u telli ara: B. V 3F.SG PN of *ili, elli/lla (lli), eṭṭili* ‘to be’. When the Perfective form *lla* is negated, both *u(r) te-lli (y)ara* and *u(r) te-ll(a) ara* are possible. The latter form can be regarded as elision; cf. 1-12 <*urallintara*> *ur(e) lli-nt ara*.
lḡerm: Bz. N from Ar. *al-ḡirm* ‘mass, body, volume (of a body)’; as a theological/philosophical term: ‘matter, substance’, synonym of *al-ḡism*; phrases: *lḡerm ššeffaf* (see 1-7), *lḡerm lkatif* (1-9), *lḡerm lmuderes* (1-11).

1-6

* This sentence is problematic and can be analysed differently: ‘What is *lḡerm*?’
 1) ‘It is something that is removing its other which is taking its place...’; or:
 2) ‘It is something that is removing its other whose place it takes...’
ašu: B. INT ‘what’; can be written with a final *wāw* <*āšū*> (as here) or without it <*āšu*> (as e.g. in 1-12); cf. 8-3 where it is spelled <*ašū*> (أشوا) with a “profilactic *alif*” (*ʿalif al-wiqāya*) at the end.
i: B. PRON, non-definite, glossed SPT1 (“support”), cf. *a(y)*, SPT2.
a(y): B. PRON, non-definite, glossed SPT2; EA: way (see 2-18). Both *i* and *a(y)* can be used in relative clauses, but are not restricted to them.
-nni: DEM anaphoric clitic (glossed AN).

--> (d) *ayenni* etymologically from (d) + *ay* + *nni*, but can be regarded as one word (non-definite anaphoric pronoun).

iṭṭzeyyiḥen: Bz. PTC IMPF from Ar. *'azāḥa* 'to remove'; here perhaps 'to exclude'.

lyir: Bz. N from Ar. *al-yair* 'other'.

yeṭṭay: B. V 3M.SG IMPF of *aḡ, uy, eṭṭay* 'to take'.

lqedr < Ar. N *al-qadr* 'amount, size' (here used fig. 'place').

1-7

lfiray: Bz. N from Ar. *al-farāy* 'emptiness, space'. Vocalisation with *i* is probably a scribal error, possibly resulting from confusion with Ar. *firāy* 'bowl, vase'.

annešt: B. INT 'how much/ many'; constructed with the preposition *n* 'of'; here *n* is assimilated to the following consonant: *annešt n leqsam* > *annešt l[^]leqsam*.

leqsam: Bz. N PL from Ar. PL *al-'aqsām*, SG *al-qism* 'part, division'; here 'type, class, kind' (referring to *lǧerm* 'matter'). The word is spelled without a *hamza*, and there is a *fatha* on the *lām* of the article.

dǧ-: B. PREP 'in', var. of *g* used with pronouns (although it can be used with nouns as well). A different syllabification is also possible (*deg-s*), but not found in this MS. In this preposition, /g/ can be pronounced as [ǧ] and [g]

rebea: B(z) NUM from Ar. *arbaea* 'four' (Bz. pronunciation: *rebea*).

ššeffaf < Ar. ADJ *aš-šaffāf* 'transparent'; phrase: *lǧerm ššeffaf* 'transparent matter, ethereal substance' [a technical philosophical or theological term].

1-8

u ṭn-imniε ara: B(z) V 3M.SG PN (cf. P *mneε* in the next line) of *mneε*, (*mnιε*), *menneε* from Ar. *manaεa* 'to stop, prevent, not let to'; *ṭn-* is 3M.PL.DO, cf. *u ṭ-imniε ara* 'it did not let him'; *u ṭṭ-imniε ara* 'it did not let her'.

isnin: B(z) NUM 'both, (all) two', a blended form from B. *sin* 'two' and Ar. *iṭnain* (Algerian Arabic: *tnin*), see Basset 1946; cf. *i-ṭlaṭa* in 2-15.

aķeččum: B. verbal N 'entering, passing', derived from V *ekšem* 'enter'; more known in P.K; the change *šš* > *čč* is rather common.

asekkud: B. verbal N 'vision'; cf. V *sked* 'to see' (cf. 3-1); more known in P.K.

1-9

lkaṭif < Ar. ADJ *al-kaṭīf* 'thick'; phrase *lǧerm lkaṭif* can be translated as 'corporal or tangible body, entity, matter, substance' [a technical philosophical or theological term].

am: B. PREP 'like, as'; spelled <amma>, i.e. with a *šadda* and *fatha* on *m*; the tension (gemination) is probably due to the fact that the following word (*elḥit*) starts on a vowel, i.e. *am* > *amm* in intervocalic position. Another possible explanation is that the following word is in the annexed state, hence assimilation *am welḥit* > *am[^]melḥit*.

lḥit: B(z) N from Ar. *al-ḥā'it* 'wall'.

1-11

lmuḍerres: Bz. ADJ from Ar. *al-muḍarras* (المُضَرَّرَس) ‘hard, solid, rough’; the phrase *lǧerm lmuḍerres* is a technical term. The word is found in *Lisān al-‘arab* (root *ḍrs*): ‘a *muḍarras* arrow-shaft: one that is not smooth because it contains teeth-like things’; ‘a *muḍarras* garment: one embellished with pleat-marks’; *ḍars*: ‘a heap that is rough and thick, as if *muḍarras*’. In this context, it refers to a substance that is both solid and transparent, e.g. glass. Interestingly, the equivalent of *lǧerm lmuḍerres* is not found in Arabic sources. Can it be a later addition, in order to fill a gap in the possibility table? See Chapter 6.

1-12

lēered < Ar. N *al-‘arad* ‘symptom, sign, display, appearance, specification, accident’; as a theological term: ‘a thing that is not permanent; an accident property or quality’ (Lane); PL *al-‘aerād*, see 8-2; expected Bz. form is: *lēered*; cf. *leedem* < *al-‘adam*; cf. PL *al-‘aerād*, Bz. *leeraḍ* in the next line; cf. 5-2.

1-13

xemsa < Ar. NUM *xamsa* ‘five’.

leeraḍ: Bz. PL N from Ar. PL *al-‘aerād*, SG *al-‘arad* ‘sympton’ (see the previous line); spelled without a *hamza* and with a *fatha* on the *lām* of the article --> *xemsa* [n] *leeraḍ* ‘five specifications’; this phrase should consist the preposition *n* ‘of’, but we do not find traces of *n* in the MS.

1-14

lelwan: B(z) N PL from Ar. PL *al-‘alwān* < SG *al-lawn* ‘colour’. Spelled without a *hamza* and with a *fatha* on the *lām* of the article; this word is used in Berber

lekwan: Bz. N PL from Ar. PL *al-‘akwān* < SG *al-kawn* ‘universe, world; existence, being, occurrence’ (Bz. SG *elkun*).

ṭṭueum < Ar. N PL *aṭ-ṭueūm* < SG *aṭ-ṭa‘am* ‘taste’.

rrewayeh: B(z) N PL from Ar. PL *al-rawā‘ih* < SG *rā‘ihah* ‘odour’ (Bz. SG *rriha*).

lmeəani < Ar. N PL *al-ma‘ānī* < SG *al-ma‘nā* ‘meaning, sense, signification, value, moral’ (Bz. *lmeəna*; see 1-18); expected Bz. PL form is *lmeəani*, but there is a *sukūn* on the article in the MS; also in 5-14.

1-15

g: B. PREP ‘in’, here spelled as <ak> (with *sukūn*) instead of a more usual <ka> because the following word starts with a CV-sequence (cf. the spelling of PRED and PREP *ḍ*), cf. 2-8.

lefeal: B(z) PL N from Ar. PL *al-‘afeāl* < SG *al-fi‘el* ‘deed’; cf. 2-8; syn. of *al-‘aemāl*/*leemal* in 3-8.

ur iṭṭehḍiğ: B(z) V 3M.SG IMPF of *hḍiğ*, *hḍağ*, *ṭṭehḍiğ* from Ar. *'iḥtāğa* ‘to need, miss, lack’ (syn. of *'iftaqara*, see 2-3); followed by PREP *yer*. The form is negated here, but *ara* NEG2 is not present, although its inclusion is grammatical. There are variants of this verb with *w* and *ṭ* instead of *ḍ* (*eḥwiğ*, *eḥtiğ*). A similar variation is found in Tarifiyt (cf. Lafkioui 2007); cf. 4-4 for Aorist (*aḍ iḥḍiğ*) and 4-5 (also 4-14, 5-3) for Perfective (*yeḥḍağ*).

y(e)r: B. PREP ‘to’; elsewhere in the manuscript spelled as <(a)ḡra> (see e.g. 2-3); difference in vocalisation depends on the phonetic environment: *sukūn* when followed by CV, *fatha* when followed by CC-sequence (cf. the spelling of other prepositions).

lesbab: Bz. PL N from Ar. PL *al-'asbāb* < SG *as-sabab* ‘reason; cause’.

ur isei: B. V 3M.SG PN of *seu*, *sei/seā* (*sei*), *seēeu* ‘to have’.

lyerḍ: Bz. N from Ar. *al-ḡaraḍ* ‘purpose’.

1-16

al-qiyāmu: Ar. N ‘standing (up)’; if Bz: *lqiyamu*, cf. V *qāma* ‘to stand’; usually followed by preposition *bi* ‘with’; here part of the phrase (see below)

an-nafs: Ar. N ‘soul, body, self’ [theological term]; also used as REFL; syn. of *aḍ-dat*; if Bz: *nnefs*.

--> *al-qiyāmu bi-n-nafs*: Ar. phrase ‘doing (things) by (one)self, taking care of oneself, upholding oneself’, a theological term: ‘self-sustenance, self-subsistence, self-sufficiency’; fifth attribute of Allah.

iṣṭeyna: Bz. V 3M.SG from Ar. *'istaynā* ‘not to need, dispense, leave, let go, be independent of’; followed by PREP *f*; in Arabic, this verb takes PREP *ʿan*; opposite of the verbs *'iḥtāğa* (1-15) and *'iftaqara* (2-3).

lmaḥel < Ar. N *al-maḥall* ‘place, space’.

lmuxaṣṣiṣ < Ar. N *al-muxaṣṣiṣ* ‘specification’.

1-17

imi: B. CONJ ‘since, because’.

i yella: B. *i* SPT1 + 3M.SG P form of *ili*, *elli/a* (*lli*), *eṭṭili* ‘to be’; underlying form *i ye-lla* results in *i^gella*.

1-18

lmeēna: B(z) N from Ar. *al-maēnā* ‘meaning, sense, value’; ‘underlying reality, actual meaning, form, something, entity’; ‘substantive attribute’ (Kenny 1970); ‘hypostatic quality’, ‘entitative attribute’ [theological term]; cf. 1-14 for PL *lmeēani* (Ar. *al-maēānī*).

lwağeb lwuğud (phrase), lit. ‘obligation of existence’, ‘obligatory existence’.

When it is said that God is *lwağeb lwuğud*, this means that He necessarily exists, that He must exist, that existence is an obligatory attribute for Him.

2-1

winna: B. PRON.DEM anaphoric M.SG, var. of *win*, ‘that in question’; probably composed as *win* + *nnā* (DEM of *nni*), see KNZ: 52, B&P: 191.

tinna: B. PRON.DEM anaphoric F.SG, var. of *tin*, ‘that in question’ (feminine counterpart of *winna*); *d tinna* results in *tʰtinna*.

testeyna: Bz. V 3F.SG from Ar. *ʾistaynā* ‘to not need’ (cf. 1-16), verbal form agrees with *ḏḏat* ‘self’ (F.SG).

2-2

ṣṣifat: Bz. N PL ‘qualities’: here written with *alif* (vs. 1-3).

wejdent: B(z) V 3F.PL P of *ewjed*, (*ewjid*), *wejjed* from Ar. *wuǧida* ‘to exist, to be found’ (passive derived from the 1st stem *waǧada* ‘to find’), cf. N *al-wuǧūd*/*lwuǧud* ‘existence’ (1-3). The word is spelled with <ǧ> but pronounced with /j/; F.PL form since the verb agrees with *ṣṣifat* ‘qualities’ (F.PL); cf. 2-11 for a CAUS (*ssewjed*), and 4-4 for a PTC of CAUS; cf. 7-4 for a MID (*nnewjed*); cf. 7-2.

2-3

iṭṭfetqir: Bz. V 3M.SG IMPF of (forms found in the MS) *ffetqir*, *ffetqer*, *ṭṭfetqir* (the tension disappears after the IMPF prefix *ṭṭ*); forms according to Dallet are: *feqqer* (A=P), *eṭṭfeqqir*; the form in the MS is a blend of Berber and Ar. *ʾiftaqara* (8th stem, which is formed with the infix *-ta-* after *R₁*, the first consonant of the root) ‘to miss, lack, need’ (syn. of *ʾiḥtāǧa*); my informant prefers the form *iṭṭefteqir* (with a different syllabification). Cf. *iffetqir* and *iffetqer* in 5-12.

Followed by PREP *yer* (spelled <ayra>); in Arabic, this verb takes PREP *ʾilā*.
yr (<ayra>): B. PREP ‘to’; the same preposition as in 1-15 (spelled <yar> when followed by CV-sequence: *lesbab*). The beginning *alif* is just a schwa (*eyr*).

2-5

dḡ (???): B. PREP ‘in’ (cf. *deg*/*deḡ* in 1-7); uncertain whether it is this word in this context; if so, then it is written on two lines: *d* in line 4 and *g* <k> in 5; writing a single word, let alone a preposition, on two lines, is rather strange and is not found anywhere else in the MS, with the exception of *lewkan* in 6-4/5. Alternatively, <karayili> can be analysed as *k* + *ara* + *y-ili*, where *k* is a short form of *kra* INDF ‘some’, see 3-3 and 7-20. Both explanations are problematic. In any case, the grapheme *k* is probably not representing the sound /k/ in this line, and hence it leads to ambiguity.

ara: B. PTCL, preverbal particle, allomorph of AD (*aḏ*) used in relative clauses with the PTC form if the subject is the same as antecedent, and with the conjugated form of the verb if it is different, see KNZ: 86 and 110; cf. 2-19.

id: B. ventive clitic ‘hither’ (direction towards the speaker), var. of *d* when it follows PRON, here *ṭ* 3SG.DO; counterpart of (i)*n* ‘thither’ that occurs rarely and is not found in the MS; another allomorph of (i)*d* is *dd* (between vowels).
ṭ-id-issufey: B. V 3M.SG CAUS *ssufey* from *effey*, (*effiy*), *eṭṭeffey* ‘to exit, go out’.
 Apophony: causative suffix *ss-* + *effey* > *ssufey*; see KNZ: 93; DO *ṭ* and VENT *id* are fronted. When the place is specified, my informant prefers the PREP *si* or *seg* ‘from’ (but *g* is also attested).
g: B. PREP ‘from’ (var: *si*, *seg*); homonym and homograph of PREP *g* ‘in’; here spelled as <ak> because the following word starts on a CV-sequence; my informant prefers *si* in this context. These forms are etymologically related: the original preposition *seg* was reduced either to *si* or to *g*, thus becoming a homonym of *g* ‘in’. Preposition *g* ‘in’ had a similar development path: the original preposition *deg* was reduced to *di* or to *g*. Thus, in the dialect of the manuscript, prepositions *seg* ‘from’ and *deg* ‘in’ have merged in *g*.

2-6

lweḥdaniya: Bz. N from Ar. *al-waḥdāniyya*^h ‘oneness’; sixth attribute of Allah; cf.

ADJ *al-waḥīd*/ B(z) *awḥīd* ‘one, unique’ (same line), NUM *waḥed* ‘one’.

awḥīd: B(z) ADJ from Ar. *al-waḥīd* ‘one, unique’.

nafyu: Ar. N ‘denial, negation, rejection’ (see also related verb in 4-12).

lkem < Ar. N *al-kam* ‘amount, quantity’.

al-muttaṣil: Ar. ADJ ‘linked, connected’ (opposite of *al-munfaṣil*) < V *ittaṣala* ‘to link, connect’.

al-munfaṣil: Ar. ADJ ‘separated’ (opposite of *al-muttaṣil*) < V *infaṣala* ‘to separate’.

2-7

fi: Ar. PREP ‘in’ (cf. 1-5 for the Berber equivalent: *g ddaṭṭ*).

2-8

leḥal: Bz. N PL from Ar. PL *al-'afeāl* (cf. 1-15); occurs further in this line in unBerberized form. In the first instance, the word is Berberized (there is a *fatha* on the *lām* of the article, and no *hamza*). In the second instance, it is in a pure Arabic form, since the whole phrase is Arabic.

aš-šarīk: Ar. N ‘partner, associate’. In *aš-Ṣuyrā* we find a synonym: *tāniya*; cf. 2-13, where the word is Berberized (*ašrik*), and 2-17, where it occurs in EA: *ušrik*.

2-9

at-ta'tīri < Ar. N *at-ta'tīru* ‘influence’, ‘effectivity’ (Kenny 1970).

l-quwwati < Ar. N *al-quwwa*^h ‘strength, force’.

al-qudrati < Ar. N *al-qudra*^h (Bz. *lq^wedra*) ‘ability, power, omnipotence’, seventh attribute of Allah (the first one in the second group of attributes); cf. ADJ *lqader* in 6-16.

al-ḥādītati < Ar. PTC.ACT F.SG *ḥādīṭa^h*, M *al-ḥādīt* ‘happening, occurring’ from *ḥadaṭa* ‘to happen, occur, take place’; in this context: ‘having been created with a beginning in time’ (Kenny 1970).

--> *al-quḍra^h al-ḥādīṭa^h* (القدرة الحادثة) is a theological term. It means ‘the contingent power’. See the following entries in Enc.Islam: *Ikhtiyār*; *Kasb*; *al-Ḳaḍā wa 'l-ḳadar*; *Illa* (last section). According to Kenny (1970), it means ‘power that has been created with a beginning in time’.

2-10

t-ṭabīʿati < *aṭ-ṭabīʿa^h*: Ar. N ‘nature’.

al-ʿilla^h: Ar. N ‘cause, reason’ (a philosophical/theological term).

lirada: Bz. N from Ar. *al-'irāda^h* ‘will’.

yes-s: B. PREP (var. of *s* before PRON) ‘by, with’ + *s* 3SG; my informant prefers *dġ-es* ‘in it’ (cf. 2-15 and 2-20) or *ukud-es* ‘with it’, but *yis/yes-s* is also possible. See KNZ: 53-54, B&P: 58.

(*t*)*elleqent*: B(z) V 3F.PL P of (*t*)*elleq* (A = P) from Ar. *ʿallaqa* (2nd stem) ‘to hang, link’, or with *t* as part of the extended form of the verb, as in Ar. *taʿallaqa* (5th stem, with the prefix *ta-* preceding the root) ‘to be connected, dependent, related’ (root *ʿlq*). Cf. 2-19. This verb takes PREP *s* (see 2-11 and 2-16), or *yes-* + PRON; it is possible that *yes-s telleq-ent* results in *yes[^]elleq-ent*.

2-11

s: B. PREP ‘by, with’ (INSTR), counterpart of *yes-* (see 2-10) when followed by N; can be spelled together or separately from the noun.

lmumkinat: Bz. N PL from Ar. PL *al-mumkināt* < SG *al-mumkina^h* ‘possibility’.

awwah: B. INTERJ ‘oh no’; according to KNZ (p.c.), normally, (*a*)*wah* or *awwah* has the meaning of ‘*si vraiment*’ (‘whether or not’) in P.K. dialect. However, it can also mean ‘oh no!’ when it is used in isolation (as here).

a t-id-esswejdent <*aṭidaswağda*>: B(z) V *ssewjed* ‘to cause to exist, bring into existence, to create’, CAUS of *ewjed* from Ar. *wuğida* ‘to exist’ (see 2-2); *t-* is 3M.SG.DO, *id* is VENT. Clitics are fronted due to the presence of *a*. This verbal form is problematic. The word finishes on *d* vocalised with *fatha*, although grammatically there must follow a personal ending (e.g. 3F.PL -*nt* as in the preceding verb). The reconstructed form is then: *a t-id-esswejdent* ‘they (F) will create it/him’ (where *a* is an allomorph of *aḍ*). Alternatively, it can be a PTC form: *a t-id-isswejden* ‘which created it’ (as we find e.g. in 4-4), where *a* is SPT2. However, in the PTC form, one would expect a *kasra* under *dāl* (i.e. a PTC prefix *i-* after VENT *id*), while the MS has a *fatha*. In both cases, some morpheme lacks after the verbal stem. Another analysis does not require a morpheme after the verbal stem, but involves a different vocalisation. Thus, the form could be *a t-id-issewjed* (3M.SG) or *a t-id[^]essewjed* (3F.SG, underlying *a t-id-tessewjed*).

2-12

ilzem: B(z) V 3M.SG of *elzem*, (*elzim*), *elizzem* from Ar. *lazima* ‘to be obligatory’; ‘would consequently, would have to, would’. The verb expresses obligation and is used in 3M.SG (‘it is obligatory that’); cf. *ewğeb* (3-13) and *ilaq* (3-16).
ttaḥṣil < Ar. N. *at-taḥṣīl*, lit. ‘collection’, from the verb *ḥaṣṣala* ‘to collect; create’ (etymologically related to *ḥaṣala* ‘to get, receive’).
lḥašel: Bz. N from Ar. *al-ḥāṣil*, lit. ‘collector’ (agent noun related to the noun above).

--> *ttaḥṣil lḥašel* (Ar. *taḥṣīl al-ḥāṣil* or *al-ḥāṣil taḥṣīl*) is a term of logic (in philosophy or mathematics) meaning ‘the collection of results; the result follows; conclusion’; ‘achieve what has been achieved’ (Kenny 1970). A common conjunction in Algerian Arabic is *lḥaṣul* ‘therefore’, presumably borrowed from such usages. Ar. *taḥṣīl al-ḥāṣil* can also mean ‘it is indeed/truly so, it is clear that it is so’. In Arabic, the noun (*taḥṣīl*) can be used without an article. This expression is a tautology since both words are derived from the same root.

2-13

tenneqleb-ay: B(z) V 3F.SG of *nneqleb*, MID of *eqleb*, (*eqlib*), *eqelleb*/*eṭṭeqlab* from Ar. *qalaba* ‘to turn, overthrow, reverse, alter, change’; cf. Ar. PASS *inqalaba* ‘to be (over)turn’. MID derivation is most probably formed within Berber (regular *mm-* > *nn-* when root contains a bilabial; gemination is not explicable within Arabic).

lḥaqiqa: B(z) N from Ar. N *al-ḥaqīqa*^h ‘truth’; ‘reality’ (Kenny 1970).

amek: B. CONJ ‘how’ (also INT, e.g. in *amek tellid* ‘How are you?’).

neyra: B. V 1PL P of *yər*, *eyri/a* (*eyri*), *eqqar* ‘to learn’; might be a derivation or back-formation from Ar. *qara’a* ‘to read, learn’.

u neṭṭili: B. PTC IMPF in the context of negation from the verb *ili* ‘to be’. Aorist is not found in the context of negation, hence we do not have particle *ad/ara* here, and the form is IMPF.

ašrik: Bz. N from Arabic *aš-šarīk* ‘partner’ (cf. 2-8, where the word is not Bz, and 2-17, where it occurs in EA: *ušrik*). Here it follows PRED *d* and occurs in EL (with a prefix *a-*).

2-14

d: it is not certain whether the first word is PREP ‘with’ or PRED here. If it is PRED, then we would deal with a focus construction, but the form of the verb is not PTC, as expected; *nnaqayaš* could be interpreted as the OBJ of the verb, but then it is not clear what the SUBJ of the verb should be, and what *t* DO refers to. Alternatively, the first word can be read as *da* ‘here’ (adverb of proximity).

nnaqayaš: Bz. N PL from Ar. *an-naqā’iṣ* < SG *an-naqīṣa* ‘fault’ (Lane); or from *an-naqāyiṣ* < SG *an-nāqīṣ* ‘lacuna’, cf. V *naqaša* ‘to lack, miss’.

εdement: Bz. V 3F.PL of *εēdem*, (*εēdim*), *εēddem*/*eṭṭeēdam* from Ar. 'aēdama 'to cause to miss or lack, annihilate, make disappear, execute, dispatch, put to death, negate' (4th stem, CAUS) from Ar. *εadama* 'to not exist, disappear'; cf. N *al-εadam* (Bz. *leēdem*) 'non-existence'; see also 2-17 for a MID form (*nneēdam*) with *e > a*. In the form *a t-εēdment*, *a* is an allomorph of preverbal particle AD, and *t* is 3M.SG.DO.

uli < ula NEG.COP (negative copula, predicative element) translated in English as "there is no" and in French as "il n'y a pas", see KNZ: 131 and 148; cf. *ulašš* in 3-14 + *i* SPT1.

<akkulaš>: there are two possible analyses:

- 1) *akkulaš* resulting from *akk ulaš* 'all emptiness' (*akk*^w 'all' + *ulaš* = NEG.COP);
- 2) *kkuleš*: B(z) INDF (quantifier) 'all, everything', also used in Algerian Ar., cf. Classical Ar. *kullu* and *kullu šay*'; problem of this analysis: the word is spelled with a *šadda* on *k*, although I would rather expect a *šadda* on *l* (*kulleš*). Further, this word does not really fit the context; instead, the word *ilkul* (from Ar. *al-kkul*) 'all, everyone' is expected.

2-15

yanbayī: Ar. V 3M.SG 'it should/ must (be)' of *inbayā* (7th stem verb which is only used impersonally, 1st stem *bayā*, root *byy*) 'to be obliged' (cf. *lazima*).

leelem: B(z) N from Ar. *al-ēilm* 'knowledge, science' (ninth attribute of Allah), cf. related verb *elem* in the next line, from Ar. *εalima* 'to know'.

yes-sent: B. PREP *yes* 'with' + 3F.PL ('with them'); cf. *yes-s* in the same line and in 2-10. Here, there is a *šadda* on *s*, because it is also vocalised with a *fatha*.

i-tlaṭa: *i-* 'all' + B(z) NUM *tlaṭa* from Ar. *ṭalāṭa* 'three' (cf. *isnin* in 1-8).

2-16

ielem: B(z) V 3M.SG P of *eēlem*, (*eēlim*), *eēllem*/*eṭṭeēlam* from Ar. *εalima* 'to know' (cf. Bz. N *leelem* in 2-15).

2-17

u ṭṭnneēdamant ara: Bz. V 3 F.PL I; problematic form, can be analysed differently. My analysis is: NEG1 IMPF-MID-despatch-3F.PL NEG2 'they (F) will not disappear'; the base verb is *ēdem* (cf. 2-14; but with a MID prefix it becomes *nneēdam* with a change *e > a*, see KNZ: 94) from Ar. 'aēdama (4th stem, CAUS) 'to despatch'; *nne-* is a MID prefix; cf. *nneqleḥ* in 2-13. It is not possible to combine the MID prefix with a DO: **u t-nneēdement ara*.

ušrik: Bz. N EA (cf. EL *ašrik* in 2-13) from Ar. *aš-šarīk* 'partner'; in this MS, we find both *u-* and *we-* for EA, cf. *wešrik* in 3-7 and *weṭriq* in 7-3.

2-18

u dd-iṭṭili ara: NEG1 VENT=3M.SG-IMPF-be.I NEG2; VENT here has a more abstract meaning. It is geminated between two vowels.

wayenni: B. PRON EA from *aye=nni* (SPT2=AN); cf. *wayen* in the next line.
i yellan (assimilation results in: *i^gellan*): *i* SPT1 + PTC form of *ili* ‘to be’.

2-19

ara: B. PTCL, allomorph of AD (*aḍ*) (cf. *ara y-ili* in 2-5); here used with the PTC form since the subject of the verb is the same as antecedent.

wayen: B. PRON EA from *ayen* SPT2.

u d-neṭṭili ara: B. PTC IMPF in context of negation; cf. *u ne-ṭṭ-ili* in 2-13 (without *d* VENT and *ara* NEG2); cf. the previous line: *u dd-iṭṭili ara*.

lhayat: B(z) N from Ar. *al-ḥayāʿ* ‘life’; tenth attribute of Allah; there is a *sukūn* on *tāʾ marbūṭa* which probably indicates that it is pronounced as *t*; other possible forms in Berber: *lhayaṭ*, *lheyya*; note archaic spelling with <w> for *ā*; modern spelling is: الحياة; also in 7-11.

u teteḷleq ara (<uṭateallaqara>): B. V 3F.SG, probably P of *teteḷleq* ‘to link’ (see 2-10) with dissimilation: underlying *u teteḷleq ara* results in *u teteḷleq ara* since the prefix *te* + *t* is difficult to pronounce (or the form is a blend of Berber and Arabic *taḷallaqa*). Alternatively, the form is to be read as *teteḷleq* 3F.SG IMPF of *elleq*; according to Dallet, IMPF of this verb is *teḷliq* (with a *kasra*), but in the MS there is a v-shaped *šadda* with a *fatḥa* on *l*. This verb usually takes PREP *s/* yes- + PRON, but here it is followed by *d* (‘with?’); cf. a similar dilemma with <ṭatwadda> (*teṭ/ṭwedda*) in 6-17.

ššetṛ: B(z) N from Ar. *aš-šarṭ* ‘condition’ (here: ‘pre-condition’).

2-20

lḡamiε < Ar. INDF *al-ḡamīε* ‘everyone, all’ (equivalent to B. *meṛṛa*).

ssemeε: Bz. N from Ar. *as-sameε* ‘hearing’, cf. V *samiεa* (Bz. *esmeε*) ‘to hear’; cf. B. N *tesli* in the next line.

lbašar < Ar. N *al-bašar* ‘seeing, sight’, twelfth attribute of Allah; cf. V *bašara* ‘to see’ (also in 7-16).

iṭeḷleqen: Bz. PTC ‘linked’ from the verb *teteḷleq* ‘to link’.

s: B. PREP ‘by’; written as <sā> because the following word (see next line) starts on a CC-sequence; it is interesting that *sandhi* is also noted in this case.

2-21

lmewḡudat: Bz. N PL from Ar. PL *al-mawḡūdāt* < SG *al-mawḡūd* ‘existing thing, creature, creation’; cf. *al-wuḡūd* ‘existence’.

mmēṛṛa: B. INDF ‘all; at once’; in Dallet: *meṛṛa*, but *m* is written with a *šadda*.

isla: B. V 3M.SG P of *sel*, *sli/sla* (*sli*), *sell* ‘to hear’, followed by DAT PREP *i*.

i: B. PREP ‘to, for’ (DAT); homonym and homograph of *i* SPT1.

tesli: B. N ‘hearing’ (related to the above verb); var. *ṭisli(n)*.

ines: B. PRON.POSS 3SG, “long” counterpart of (*i*)s; probably composed of SPT1 *i* + PREP *n* + 3SG *es*. See KNZ: 45 and B&P: 178; both *ines* and *is* occur in this MS.

3-1

isked: B. V 3M.SG P ‘to see’ of *sked*, (*skid*), *sked*, takes DO; cf. N *asekkud* in 1-8. This word is more known in P.K. Synonyms include: *zer*, *zri/zra* (*zri*), *ezer*; *wali*, *wala*, *ttwali*; P.K. *till* = G.K. *dill*, *dall*, *ettḏilli/ettilli*; *muqel* (A=P), *ettmuqul*.

3-2

ddat: the word is spelled <'ddat> in this line, i.e. without *alif* after *d* (cf. <'ddāt> in 1-4, 1-5, 1-17, 2-1, 2-4, 2-6 etc.). This may indicate that the scribe did not feel the difference between short and long vowels in Arabic words. Elsewhere, the word is spelled with *alif* because it has *alif* in Arabic (etymological spelling).

<*ad-dāltis*>: the occurrence of *l* in the middle of this word is probably a scribal error; the fact that *l* appears in this word might be due to the Arabic article *al-*, but it should come at the beginning of the word and not after *d*.

3-3

kra: B. INDF ‘some(thing), anything’ (here can be translated as ‘everything, all’), cf. 7-20.

kurta: probably Bz. from Ar. *al-kura*^h ‘ball’, *al-kura*^h *al-'ardiya*^h ‘Earth-ball, globe’
lealem < Ar. N *al-ēālam* ‘world’; homograph of *lealem* from Ar. *al-ēālim* ‘knowing’ in 7-7.

dd: B. ventive particle, allomorph of *d* between two vowels.

3-4

bi-ḡamīih < *al-ḡamīē* Ar. N ‘everyone, all’.

yas: B. PRON 3SG.IO, allomorph of *as* found after the verbal form ending on a vowel (*rupture de hiatus*); spelled together with the verb. Note that the word is spelled <*islayas*>, so the phoneme /a/ is represented twice with a *fatha* alone here, which can cause a confusion since *fatha* alone often stands for a schwa. Contrast with <*ayas*> for (e)yes-s further in this line.

it: B. PRON 3M.SG.DO, allomorph of *t* found with verbal forms that end on a consonant in 3SG and 1PL (1SG, 2SG and PL and 3PL forms all have personal suffixes and thus end on a C, but this rule does not apply to these forms, e.g. *sekdey=t* ‘I see it’). This rule can be generalised to other DO PRON: (*i*)*yi*, (*i*)*k*, (*i*)*kem*, (*i*)*tt*, (*i*)*ken*, (*i*)*kent*, (*i*)*ten* and (*i*)*tent*.

lkalām < Ar. N *al-kalām* ‘speech’ (thirteenth attribute of Allah). Berberized version would be: *leklam*. The possible Berber equivalent is *awal*, but in this context, the author preferred to keep the original Arabic word.

3-5

issawel: B. V 3M.SG P of *s(s)iwel*, *s(s)awel*, *s(s)awal* ‘to speak’, originally derived from N *awal* ‘word’ by means of CAUS prefix *s(s)-*. Causatives made from nominals are sometimes called factitives. In G.K, this verb is used primarily in the sense ‘to call’, e.g. to call someone by phone. In other regions, it has a more general meaning ‘to speak’, syn. to G.K. *ehder*. As the verb *ini* ‘to say’, it can be followed by the PREP *i* ‘to’, but also *ukud* ‘with’; to express ‘to speak about something’, it takes the PREP *f* ‘on’ (see the next line).

3-6

f: B. PREP (var. of *yef*, *af*) ‘on’. The spelling with *fatḥa* can be explained by the fact that the next word starts on a CC-sequence. See the next line where it is spelled with a preceding *alif* <af> when followed by a CV-sequence.
u ṭṭnneḍament ara: same form as in 2-17 (spelled there as <utnaḍamantara>).

3-7

f wešrik: *f* PREP + *wešrik* (EA of *ašrik*) results in *f^ʰfešrik*.
inna-k: B. V 3M.SG P of *ini*, *nni/nnā* (*nni*), *ṭṭini* ‘to say’ + *k* 2M.SG.IO, “short” form of (y)*aḵ*. Sometimes a distinction: *inna-yak* ‘he said to you’ (lit.) vs. *inna-k* ‘they say’, ‘it is told’, but here, *inna-k* is used in the literal sense.
-k: B. PRON 2M.SG.IO, “short form” of (y)*aḵ*.
nekki: B. PRON.PERS 1 SG ‘I’; *ḍ nekki* results in *en^ʰnekki*; focus-construction.

3-8

kn-: B. PRON 2M.PL.DO; fronted in a relative clause.
ixelqen: B(z) PTC of *xleq*, (*xliq*), *xelleq/ṭṭexlaq* from Ar. *xalaqa* ‘to create’; further in the line in assimilated form: *i i-xelq-en* > *i^ʰg-xelq-en*.
leemal: Bz. N PL from Ar. PL *al-ʿaemāl* < SG *al-ʿamal* ‘deed, action, work’; syn. of Ar. *al-fiʿl* ‘deed’ (see 1-15 and 2-8).
nnwen: B. PRON.POSS 2 M.PL ‘your (M)’; composed of PREP *n* ‘of’ + *wen* 2M.PL; *n* is geminated when followed by pron. affixes; cf. *nnsen* in the next line.
lxir: Bz. N from Ar. *al-xayr* ‘goodness, good’.
ama: B. CONJ of coordination (*ama... ama...*) ‘either... or’.
ššer < Ar. N *aš-šarr* ‘evil’ (written with a *sukūn* on *r* in the manuscript); cf. *lḥeq* from *al-ḥaqq* in 1-3; opposite of Ar. *al-xayr*/ Bz. *lxir* ‘goodness’.

3-9

rrusul: from Ar. N.PL *ar-rusul* < SG *ar-rasūl* ‘messenger’; written without article.
nnsen: B. PRON.POSS 3M.PL ‘their (M)’; *n* is geminated; cf. *nnwen* in the preceding line.

3-10

ṣṣedq: Bz. N from Ar. *aṣ-ṣidq* ‘truth(fulness), sincerity, honesty’; this word also occurs in the same (Berberized) form in 8-2.

lamana: Bz. N from Ar. *al-‘amāna*^h ‘honesty, trustworthiness, faithfulness, fidelity’; spelled <lāmāna> without a *hamza*; also in 8-10.

ttabliṣ: from Ar. N *at-tablīṣ* ‘conveying, transmitting (the message)’, from the verb ‘*ablaya, ballaya* ‘to convey’, cf. also Bz. V *belley* in 8-11.

3-11

lekdeb: B(z) N from Ar. *al-kaḍib* ‘lie, lying’; also in 7-20.

lxiyana < Ar. N *al-xiyāna*^h ‘treason, infidelity, disloyalty’ (in Berber: *lexyana*); opposite of *lamana*/ *al-‘amāna*^h; also in 7-20.

lkitman < Ar. N *al-kitmān* ‘concealment, hiding, keeping secret’; also in 7-20; cf. 8-9 where it is spelled as <alkatmān> (i.e. with a *fatha* instead of *kasra* on *kāf*); I transcribe it as *lkitman* in all three cases for the sake of consistency.

ḡawāzu: Ar. N ‘permission (ADJ ‘allowed, permitted’); cf. 8-1; cf. *lḡayez* (from Ar. *al-ḡā‘iz* ‘the allowed, permission’) in 1-2.

3-12

(a)l-*bašriyya*^h: Ar. N ‘human(ity), mankind’.

al-lati: Ar. PRON (F) ‘which/ whom/ whose’, cf. M *al-laḍī*.

tu‘addī: Ar. V F.SG from ‘*addā* ‘to lead’; written without *hamza*; might be connected to the forms *iṭweddi* (4-6), *iṭwadda* (3-17) and further.

‘ilā: Ar. PREP ‘to’.

an-naqṣu: Ar. N ‘shortage, deficiency, reduction, lack, missing’.

al-marātib: Ar. N PL < SG *al-martaba* ‘rank, status, grade, degree’.

al-‘aliyya^h: Ar. N/ADJ ‘high/ height’.

3-13

‘intahā <‘h> (ه): abbreviation used to mark the end of a paragraph; here written twice (ه ه). The abbreviation is composed of two letters (*alif* and *hā*), which stands for *‘intahā* (انتهى) ‘finished’ (cf. N *an-nihāya*^h ‘end’). See Mechehed 2007: 137. See vdB 1989: 34 for another form of this abbreviation (هي). See also the last line of the first page of the Soummam MS which reads (in Arabic): “When I finish [copying] from it [the original], I will say ه (end).”

ka: Ar. PREP ‘like’.

al-maraḍu: Ar. N ‘disease, illness, sickness’.

naḥwi-hi: Ar. PRON ‘others like him’.

iwḡeb: B(z) V 3M.SG of *ewḡeb* from Ar. *waḡaba* ‘to be obligatory’, cf. Bz. N *lwaḡeb* from Ar. *al-wāḡib* ‘obligation’ (1-2 and further); cf. 3-20 for a PTC form.

fell(a)-: B. PREP ‘on’ used in combination with suffix pron., its counterpart in combination with nouns is *f*, *af*, *yef*. This preposition is combined not with a usual set of pronominal affixes (SG *i*, *k*, *m*, *s*, etc.), but with a “special” set (SG *i*, *ak*, *am*, *as*, etc.). This “special set” corresponds to the forms used as IO affixes with verbs (except 1 person, which is *fell-i* for SG, and *fell-aney* for PL). An alternative analysis segments *fellas* as *fella-s*, where *-s* is a usual form of 3SG affix used with prepositions, and *-a* belongs to the stem of the preposition. *Fell(a)-* is not the only preposition that poses this problem. Cf. *ġar* ‘between’ that is also combined with a special set of pronouns. I chose to segment *fellas* as *fell-as*, following KNZ (47 and 53) and B&P (60), keeping in mind that a different analyses is possible.

3-14

ṣṣeneā: B(z) N from Ar. *aṣ-ṣaneā* ‘work(manshift), craft’, also fig. ‘work of God’, i.e. ‘creation’; here spelled without *tā’ marbūṭa* (vs. next line and 4-1, with *tā’ marbūṭa*), cf. agent N *ṣṣaneē* ‘worker’ in 3-16.

ddalil < Ar. N *ad-dalīl* ‘proof, evidence, argument’; the same word is used in *al-Ḥaqā’iq*; in *aṣ-Ṣuyrā*, a synonym, *al-burhān*, is used.

ulašš(-iṭṭ): B. negative copula ‘not to exist; there is no’. In Dallet: *ulaš*, but in the MS consistently spelled with a *šadda* on *š* when followed by a pron. suffix (but without a *šadda* in 8-12 when used separately). *Ulašš* with a geminated *š* is attested in some dialects. This word can be used as a “pseudo-verb”, i.e. with DO clitic pronouns, as here: *ulašš-iṭṭ* ‘she/it (F) is/was not’. In the MS, *t* has a *sukūn*, but it is probably to be read as *ṭṭ* (3F.SG.DO), since *šadda* and *sukūn* are not written on the same consonant. See KNZ: 151 and B&P: 79.

teqqel: B. V 3F.SG P of *qqel*, *qqal* (*qqil*), *ṭteqqel*, a P.K. variant of G.K. *uṣal* (A = P) or *qq^wel* (A = P) (PN *qqil*), *eṭṭuyal* ‘to become’; ‘come back’ (when used without a secondary predication); here used as AUX with the verb ‘to be’ (see next line): lit. ‘it became it exists’ = ‘it came into existence’; cf. 8-7 for a M.SG form and 8-8 for a PTC form.

3-15

lewkan: B(z) CONJ ‘if’ (var. *lukan*) from Cl. Ar. *law* ‘if’ + *kān* ‘it was’; in Algerian Ar. and in Berber used as one word (grammaticalised). A similar (but not identical) conjunction is *ma* (see 4-3): *lewkan* introduces “irreal” conditional, and *ma* (usually) real; *lewkan* can occur in different constructions (see KNZ: 146-147). In this MS it is always followed by *ilaq*. *Ilaq*, however, is not exclusively found with *lewkan*, but can be preceded by *ma*. *Lewkan* introduces a protasis (subordinate “if-clause”), while *ilaq* introduces the apodosis (the main clause).

itmekken: Bz. V 3M.SG from Ar. *tamakkana* ‘to be able, possible’ (5th stem with the prefix *ta-* preceding the root *mkn*), cf. N *at-tamakkun* ‘ability’.

3-16

mebla (var. *bla*): B(z) PREP from Ar. *bilā* ‘without’.

şşane: B(z) N from Ar. *aş-şāniē* ‘worker’ (here ‘creator’), cf. *şşeneā* in 3-14.

ilaq: B(z), originally a verbal form (3M.SG) of *laq*, from Ar. *lāqa* ‘to be.

appropriate, be suitable’; grammaticalised form: expresses irreality in a conditional sentence. Here it is followed by *ilzem* that is synonymous to *ilaq* and is used for emphasis. This word is often (but not exclusively) used in combination with *lewkan* in the MS (3-17, 4-3, 4-12, 5-1, 5-17, 6-17, 7-2, 7-8, 8-10): *lewkan* introduces a protasis, while *ilaq* introduces the apodosis. It is also found with *ma* (e.g. in 6-17, 7-2, 7-8, 7-13). See also *tilaq* (5-12, 6-5), which is probably of the same origin and is characteristic of P.K.

msawan: B(z) V 3M.PL P of *msawi*, MID of *sawi*, *suwa*, *ssawi/ssaway* from Ar. *sāwā* (root *swy*) ‘to equalise’, cf. N *al-musāwā^h* ‘equality, evenness’; *m-* is MID; the Arabic text reads *musāwiyan* ‘equal’ in a parallel sentence.

lumur: Bz. N PL from Ar. PL *al-'umūr* < SG *al-'amr* ‘thing’.

irğeh: Bz. V 3M.SG from Ar. *rağāḥa* ‘outbalance, outweigh’. The corresponding word in *aş-Şuyrā* is expressed by an ADJ: *rāğihān* ‘preponderant’.

3-17

yiwen: B. NUM M.SG (also PRON.INDF) M ‘one’.

ssebba: Bz. N from Ar. *as-sabab* ‘reason, cause, purpose’.

itwedda: probably Bz. V 3M.SG P from Ar. F.SG *tu'addī* (see 3-12) < 'addā ‘to lead’; also in 7-3; followed by PREP *yr* ‘to’; cf. F *teṭwedda* (*teṭwedda*???) in 6-17, 7-8, 7-13 (where it is not followed by *yr*); Aorist *aḍ itweddi* in 4-6, 4-15, 5-4.

lakin: probably Ar. CONJ *lakin* ‘but’.

a yyi-tenkert: B(z) V 2SG A of *nker* from Ar. *nakara* (lit. ‘to be unknown; be ignorant of’ or *'ankara* (4th stem) ‘to deny’; my informant prefers a different vocalisation, namely *a yyi-tnekret*; *y* in *yyi* is geminated; final *ṭ* is characteristic of P.K. dialect (corresponds to G.K. *ḍ*).

3-18

* *sin*: this word appears above the line after *أَدْمَسُونْ* and was most probably added by the scribe later.

mbeəd: B(z) ADV ‘later’ (in Dallet: *mbeəeid/mebeid*) from Algerian Ar. *umbaəd* and Cl. Arabic *min baəd*.

mi: B. CONJ ‘when’.

ṭṭallayey: B(z) (originally from Ar. root *ṭll*) V 1SG IMPF of *ṭ(ṭ)ill*, *ṭ(ṭ)all*, *ṭṭallay* ‘to see, look’; cf. G.K. *ḍill*, *ṭḍilli/ṭṭilli*, *ḍall* (G.K. *ḍ* corresponds to P.K. *ṭ*). In this context, my informant would use another verb, *mi ṭṭwaliy*, IMPF of the verb *wali*. I transcribe <miṭṭalayay> as *mi ṭṭallayey* with double <l> because elsewhere in the manuscript, there is a *šadda* on *l* (see e.g. 4-7, 4-16, 5-5).

zzġ-es <azkas>: B. PREP 'in' (var. zzeġ, zzeġ, s(s)eg, g, ġ, si, s) + 3SG; my informant prefers a different PREP: dġ-es or deġ-s. We find dġ-es in 1-7 and 1-13. Same word (in the same context) appears in 4-16, and with a different *taškīl* in 4-7 (<azzaks>) and 6-18 (<azzakas>). Variation in syllabification of this preposition is not predictable. The difference in spelling of the gemination can be caused by the fact that *sukūn* and *šadda* cannot appear together on the same consonant, and therefore the scribe sometimes chose to write only a *sukūn* (as here) on z, and sometimes a *šadda* with a *fatha* (in 4-7 and 6-18).

3-20

s-iweġben: Bz. PTC of *ewġeb* from Ar. *waġaba* 'to be obligatory' (see 3-13); s- is 3SG.IO, cf. *i sn-iweġben* 'what is obligatory for them (M)'.

al-maṭlūb: Ar. PTC.PASS 'asked' from V *ṭalaba* 'to ask, require'.

--> *wa-huwa l-maṭlūb* is an Ar. phrase meaning '[that is] what was asked/ sought/ required'; the complete formula in Arabic is *wa-huwa l-maṭlūbu iṭbātuhu* (وهو المطلوب إثباته) 'what was required to be proven/demonstrated', with *iṭbātuhu* 'its proving', equivalent of Latin *quod erat demonstrandum*, Q.E.D. The Arabic phrase, just as its Latin equivalent, is traditionally placed at the end of a philosophical argument (or a mathematical proof) when what was specified in the enunciation (in the setting-out) is restated as the conclusion. This phrase thus signals the completion of the proof.

Page 4

4-1

lhudut < Ar. N *al-ḥudūt* ‘something new, newness, emergence’, opposite of *al-qidam* ‘oldness’; cf. Bz. ADJ *lhadeṭ* from Ar. *ḥadīt* ‘new’ in 4-3.

4-2

yef: B. PREP ‘on’; var. *af*, *f* (see 1-1); when followed by suffix pronoun: *fell*- (see 3-13); see KNZ: 53.

aqdim: B(z) ADJ from Ar. *qadīm* ‘old’, cf. N *al-qidam*/ *lqidem* ‘oldness’ in 1-4.

4-3

lhadeṭ: Bz. ADJ from Ar. *ḥadīt* ‘new, recent, created’, cf. *ḥādītan* ‘new(ly emergent)’ in *aṣ-Ṣuyrā*; opposite of Bz. *aqdim*/ Ar. *qadīm* ‘old’.

ma: B. CONJ ‘if’. This conjunction is different from *lewkan* (cf. 3-15) in that it can also introduce “indicative” (possible, realisable) vs. “counterfactual” (unrealisable) conditional; here, however, it introduces an irreal condition, and hence can be substituted with *lewkan* (unlike in other instances).

4-4

ajdid: B(z) ADJ from Ar. *jadīd* ‘new’ (compare *ḥādītan* in the Arabic version).

iḥdiḡ: B(z) V 3M.SG A of *ḥdiḡ*; cf. 1-15 (IMPF *iṭṭeḥdiḡ*). In a parallel sentence in *aṣ-Ṣuyrā*, there is a synonymous verb *yaftaqiru*, from *'iftaqara* (cf. 2-3).

γ-wi ara <*aḡwara*>: I analyse it as *γ* ‘to’ (var. of *γer* when followed by PRON) + *wi* PRON DEF:M + *ara* (allomorph of *aḡ* in dependency contexts such as a relative clause).

t-id-isswejden: B(z) PTC of *ssewjed* CAUS of *wjed* (see 2-2) from Ar. *wuḡida* ‘to exist’; cf. <*aṭidaswaḡda*> *a t-id-esswejde[nt?]* in 2-11, but the forms are not identical; here there is a *kasra* under *d* and the final consonant is *n*. Same word in same spelling in 4-8; *t* 3M.SG.DO and *id* (VENT, var. of *d* after DO PRON) are fronted; the form *isswejden* corresponds to *muḥdit* (مُحْدِث)

‘someone who makes new, creator’ in the Arabic version.

4-5

ddur: Bz. N from Ar. *ad-dawr* (الدَّوْر) ‘turning, circularity’, from *dāra* (دار) ‘to turn’.

nny: B. PREP ‘or’ (var. *ney*); in the manuscript written with a *šadda* and *kasra* *ttasalsul* < Ar. N. *at-tasalsul* ‘sequence; chain; infinite/ continuous regress of causes’ (a theological/philosophical term).

4-6

itweddi: probably Bz. V 3M.SG A from Ar. *tu'addī* (see 3-12) < *'addā* ‘to lead’, cf. *itwedda* (P) in 3-17; cf. 6-17.

4-10

lfana < Ar. N *al-fanā* 'end, death, disappearance, vanishing, mortality, temporality, evanescence', opposite of Bz. *lbaqa*/ Ar. *al-baqā* 'foreverness, eternity'. According to *aṣ-Ṣuyrā*, the opposite of *al-baqā* is *ṭuru'u l-ʿadami* 'becoming of non-existence'.

lbaqa tewğeb...: note that in Arabic, *al-baqā* is a masculine noun, but here the form of the verb (*tewğeb*) is feminine. Expected (grammatically correct) form would be *al-baqā yewğeb*, but for Kabyle speakers the noun *lbaqa* (without *hamza*) looks feminine because it ends on -a as many Arabic feminine nouns. Consequently, it sounds better to say *lbaqa tewğeb*.

4-12

lbaqi < Ar. N *al-bāqī* 'the one who is remaining, the eternal'; cf. Bz. *lbaqa*/ Ar. *al-baqā* 'foreverness, eternity'.

ilħeq: B(z) V 3M.SG A of *elħeq*, (*elħiq*), *leħħeq*/ *eṭṭelħaq* 'to catch' (cf. *ṭṭlaħaq* in 1-4).

iṭṭanfa: B(z) V 3M.SG (PASS) P of *ṭṭanfu*/*ṭwanfu*, *ṭṭanfa*, *ṭṭanfay*, PASS of *nfu*, *nfi*/*nfa* (*nfi*), *neffu* from Ar. *naḥā* 'to deny, reject', cf. related noun *naḥyū* in 2-6; *ṭṭ*- here is a PASS prefix (var. *ṭṭw*-), written in the manuscript as *t* with a *šadda*, just as the IMPF prefix. Cf. *iṭṭanfu* in 4-18 (PASS Aorist).

4-13

* For the structure of the sentence, cf. 4-6/7. In 4-6, the MS has *ma yelzem* ('if he necessitated'), and here *ma yella ilzem* ('if he had necessitated'). Here, the verb *ili* 'to be' is used not as a copula, but as an auxiliary of tense. It is possible to say, for example, *ma yella yečča* 'If he had eaten'.

* *ddur*: the word is omitted by the scribe. Also, *ma yella* in the beginning of the line is redundant, since it appears at the end of the preceding line.

4-18

* *ḍ* PRED is missing here. Compare the structure of this sentence with that of 4-9, where *s-iweğben i Rebbi* is followed by *ḍ* PRED.

4-19

lmumātala < Ar. N *al-mumātala*^h 'similarity', opposite of *al-muxālafa*^h 'difference', cf. ADJ *mmeṭel* in 5-1, Bz. from Ar. *mumāṭil* 'similar'.

4-20

* The phrase *ḍ amxalefi yella* in an unvocalised script (ذ مخالف اكلا) appears at the bottom of the page, and corresponds to the beginning of page 5 (it thus functions as a catchword, also called *custos* in philology).

5-1

ammetel: B(z) ADJ from Ar. *mumātil* ‘similar’, cf. N. *lmumātala/ al-mumātala^h* ‘similarity’ in 4-19; opposite of Bz. *amxalef* ‘different’.

5-2

lēred (from Ar. N ‘sign’). In the first instance, the word is spelled <'lēāraḍ>, with *alif* after ε, but further in the line it appears without it; cf. 1-12.

5-4

<adi'lzam> (اذلزم): an extra *alif* after *ḍ* (ذ) is crossed out by the scribe.

5-10

leftiqar: Bz. N from Ar. *al-'iftiqar* (الافتقار) ‘need, missing, poverty’ (*alif* after *l* is a writing convention in Arabic; it is omitted in the Soummam MS), opposite of *al-yinā*. Cf. related verb *'iftaqara* ‘to miss, lack, need’. Here it is treated as attribute opposite of *lqiyamu bi-nnafs*. In the *aṣ-Ṣuyrā* version, we do not find this word. Instead, there is an explanation mentioning the verb *iḥtāḡa* (syn. of *'iftaqara*) ‘to need, miss’.

5-11

ḍ <ḍā> (ذا) PRED in the beginning of the line appears to be crossed out.

lyani: B(z) ADJ from Ar. *al-yanīy*, lit. ‘rich’ (here: ‘self-sufficient’, ‘un-needy’), cf. N *al-yinā* ‘richness’; spelled with a final *yā* in the next line: <'lyānī> (الغاني).

5-12

extir: originally B(z) V IMP from Ar. *ixtāra* ‘to choose’; here used as CONJ introducing an option: ‘either’ (in combination with *nniy* ‘or’), cf. 6-5; in 6-6, *extir* is followed by another *extir* and not by *nniy*.

tilaq: B CONJ, characteristic of P.K, corresponds to G.K. *tili*; grammaticalised from 3F.SG verbal form (3F.SG-must, cf. *ilaq* in 3-16) or from a phrase *t-ili* (3F.SG-be.A) *i-laq* (3M.SG-must) (univerbation). As *ilaq*, it introduces apodosis in a conditional sentence, but has a different meaning; *ilaq* in this context yields a grammatical, but not a felicitous sentence. Compare: (with *ilaq*) ‘If he were not rich, then he must be poor’ vs. (with *tilaq*) ‘If he were not rich, then he would have been poor’; also in 6-5.

iffetqir: Bz. V 3M.SG A from Ar. *'iftaqara* ‘to miss, need’, see *iṭṭfetqir* in 2-3 for IMPF and *yeffetqer* further in this line and in 5-13 for Perfective; cf. the N *leftiqar* ‘need’ as an attribute oppose to *al-qiyāmu bi-n-nafs* ‘self- subsistence’.

5-13

* My informant prefers to omit PRED *ḍ* (in the beginning of the line), but it is grammatical (cf. 6-1).

ṣṣifa: B(z) N from Ar. *aṣ-ṣifa*^h ‘quality, attribute, character’, cf. B(z) PL *ṣṣifaṭ* from Ar. *aṣ-ṣifāt* ‘qualities’ in 1-3.

5-14

sebea (in Berber pronounced as *sebea*) < Ar. NUM *sabea* ‘seven’ (in Ar. written with *tā' marbūṭa*).

lmeani < Ar. N PL *al-maʿānī* < SG *al-maʿnā* ‘meaning’ (see 1-14).

--> the phrase *sebea lmeani* is Berberized even though both words exist in Arabic. In Arabic it should be either *sabeatu l-maʿānī* (سَبْعَةُ الْمَعَانِي, determined) or *sabeatu maʿānin* (سَبْعَةُ مَعَانٍ, undetermined).

lmeenawiyat: Bz. N from Ar. PL *al-maʿnawīyāt* from SG *al-maʿnawī* (F *al-maʿnawīya*) ‘moral, spirit’, cf. the name of the group of attributes of Allah, *ṣifāt maʿnawīyya*^h ‘moral qualities/ attributes’ (‘adjectival attributes’ in Kenny 1970). In this line, the word is spelled with a *šadda* on *y*, but in the next line (and in 6-1) without.

5-16

ḡayez: Bz. ADJ from Ar. *ḡāʾiz* ‘allowed’; here written without an article (vs. 1-2 and elsewhere in the MS), probably because it is used here as an adjective, and not as a noun.

5-17

* The form of the verb (*iṭṭanfa*) is 3M.SG, although the SUBJ (in English translation) is PL (‘oldness and remaining’). This is common since *ḍ* literally means ‘with’ rather than ‘and’. Hence, *lqidem ḍ lbaqa* ‘oldness with remaining’. Note that this is common only if the verb precedes the SUBJ. If the verb follows the SUBJ, then its form is PL: *lqidem ḍ lbaqa ṭṭanfan* and not **lqidem ḍ lbaqa iṭṭanfa*; cf. 2-10.

6-1

* *nniy*: this word is written above the line; the scribe must have added it later.

6-2

lyina < Ar. N *al-yinā* ‘richness, wealth’. In Arabic spelled with *alif maqṣūra*, but here with a usual *alif* as the last character.

lmuṭlaq < Ar. ADJ *al-muṭlaq* ‘absolute’.

6-3

ttaεaddud < Ar. N *at-taεaddud* (5th stem) ‘plurality, multitude, multiplicity’, cf. *tεeddeden* from Ar. V *taεaddada* ‘to be multiple’ in 6-13; opposite attribute of *lweḥdaniya/ al-waḥdāniyya^h* (this word is not found in *aş-Şuyrā*).

6-5

g sin (<aksin>): B. *g*- PREP ‘in’ + *sin* NUM ‘two’ (can be translated as ‘both’).

yyed-sen: B. PREP *yyed* (var. *yid*) + *sen* (suffix pronoun) ‘with them’; *yyed* is a variant of PREP *d* before pronominal suffixes, see B&P: 57.

6-6

* The last letter of the last word in the line <*uratwattirnaza*> (أُرْتُورِنَزَا) is a clear *z*, but it must be a mistake for *r* (negative particle *ara*).

extir... extir: in lines 5-12 and in 6-5, *extir* ‘either’ was followed by *nniy* ‘or’, but here *extir* occurs twice.

mwafaqen: B(z) V 3M.PL of *mwafaq*, MID of *wafeq*, *wufeq*, *ṭṭwafaq* from Ar. *wāfaqa* (3rd stem) ‘to agree’; cf. N *lwifaq* from Ar. *al-wifāq* ‘agreement’ in 6-9.

mxalafen: B(z) V 3M.PL of *mxalaf* ‘to differ’, MID of *xalef* from Ar. *xālaḥa* ‘to oppose, disagree’, opposite of *mwafaq* ‘to agree’; cf. N *al-muxālaḥa^h* (Bz. *lmuxalafa*) ‘difference’ in 1-5 and *al-xilāf* (*lxilaf*) ‘disagreement’ in 6-9, opposite of *lwifaq* ‘agreement’; cf. Bz. ADJ *amxalef* ‘different’ in 1-5.

wetteren: Bz. V 3M.PL, probably from Ar. *watara* or *'awtara* (intrans.) ‘to be uneven (unique, single); not to have a counterpart’, and (trans.) ‘to make (a number, the people) sole/one/ an odd number’; IMPF form *ṭṭwettir* in the same line; cf. Ar. N *al-witr*, B(z) *lewṭer/luṭer* ‘an odd/ uneven number’, also as the name of the last prayer of the day that consists of a single prostration. Another (less likely) possibility that the verb comes from Arabic *wtr* > *watara* ‘to harm, cheat; hate, persecute’.

6-7

* *yiwen yiwen* (*wwineṭnin*) <*yiwan y.w.n* (*wwin.ṭnin*)>: the scribe repeated the word *yiwen*; the second one (not vocalised) is crossed out and replaced with a word on the right-hand margin: *wwineṭnin*.

wwineṭnin: PRON.INDF, an (erroneously?) PL form (or it is invariable in number); composed of *wi* (DEF:M) + *n(n)eṭnin* ‘other’ > ‘that which is (are) other’; cf. P.K. *wiyaṭ(nin)*, SG *wayeṭ(nin)* (see 6-8), corresponding to G.K. *wiyaḍ(nin)*, SG *wayeḍ(nin)*.

6-8

* *ur iṭṭwettir ara* is spelled <*uratwattirara*> (أُرْتُوْتِرَرَا), i.e. with a *fatḥa* instead of *kasra* on *r*. It should read *ur iṭṭwettir ara* as in the previous line, because the form of the verb must be 3M.SG. See also the following line (6-9), where *r* has both *fatḥa* and *kasra*. Since the *taškīl* is added after the main consonantal text is completed, it is easy to imagine that the scribe made mistakes (and in line 6-9 realised it and corrected it). The mistake probably came under the influence of a related form <*uratwattirnara*> with a *fatḥa* on *r* for 3M.PL (e.g. in 6-6 and 6-10).

wayeṭ: B. PRON INDF, SG counterpart of *wiyaṭ*; cf. *wwineṭnin* in 6-7; spelled <*wayaṭ*>, so the first *fatḥa* represents /a/, and the second a schwa; same spelling in 6-9; final *ṭ* is characteristic of P.K. (cf. G.K. *wayeḍ*, PL. *wiyaḍ*).

6-9

ama... ama: B. CONJ giving alternative, ‘whether... or’.

lwifaq < Ar. verbal N *al-wifāq* (3rd stem) ‘agreement’, cf. the verbal form *mwafaqen* in 6-6 from Ar. *wāfaqa* ‘to agree’.

lxilaf < Ar. N *al-xilāf* ‘disagreement’, related to N *lmuxalafa/ al-muxālafa*^h ‘difference’ (see 1-5); opposite of *lwifaq/ al-wifāq* ‘agreement’. Cf. the verbal form *mxalafen* in 6-6 from Ar. *xālafa*.

leəğez: Bz. N from Ar. *al-εağz* ‘incapacity, inability’ (in Soummam MS written without *alif* of the article); opposite of *lqudra/ al-qudra*^h ‘ability’; cf. ADJ *leəğez* in 6-17 from Ar. *al-εāğiz* ‘incapable, unable’. This word is spelled differently in 6-15: <‘lāεğaz’>.

6-12

nnejmaεen: B(z) V 3M.PL A of *nnejmaε* (A = P), *ṭṭnejmaε* ‘to gather (together), agree, consent’, MID of *jmeε*, (*jmiε*), *jemmeε* from Ar. *ğamaεa* ‘to gather, collect’; same form in 7-19; cf. N *liğmaε* < Ar. *al-‘iğmāε* ‘consensus’ in 7-18.

leḍḍad: Bz. PL N from Ar. PL *al-‘aḍḍād*, SG *al-ḍidd* ‘counteract, opposition; antibody; opponent’.

6-13

tēddeden: Bz. V 3M.PL A of *tēdded* (forms according to Dallet: *tēddi*, *tēdda*, *tēdday*) from Ar. *taēaddada* (5th stem in which the prefix *ta-* precedes the root, 1st stem *ēadda*, root *ēdd*) ‘to be multiple’, cf. N *ttāēaddud/ at-tāēaddud* ‘plurality, multiplicity, multitude’ in 6-3 (also in 6-14).

6-14

* There are three dots above the last letter of the last word in the line (ب).

6-15

leēgez: here, the word is spelled differently than in 6-9 and 6-10 <‘*laēğaz*’, namely it contains an additional *alif* after *lām* <‘*lāēğaz*’ (الَاعْجَز). I assume that the pronunciation is the same, hence the word is transcribed as *leēgez*.

6-16

lqader: Bz. from Ar. PTC.ACT *al-qādir* ‘able, capable, (all-)powerful, omnipotent’, (fourteenth) attribute of Allah related to *lqudra/ al-qudra^h* ‘ability, power’ (seventh attribute).

6-17

leağez: Bz. ADJ from Ar. *al-ēāğiz* ‘incapable, unable’, opposite of *lqader*; cf. N *leēgez* in 6-9 from Ar. *al-ēāğz* ‘incapacity, inability’, opposite of *lqudra/ al-qudra^h* ‘ability’.

tetwedda (<*tātawadda*>): B. V 3F.SG, probably P of *tweddi* (see 4-6), *twedda* (3-17) ‘to lead’ with dissimilation: underlying *tetwedda* results in *tetwedda*.

Alternatively, the form is to be read as *tetwedda* 3F.SG IMPF. This verb was previously followed by PREP *yr* ‘to’, but here it is followed directly by the N *şşenēa*; see also 7-8 and 7-13; cf. a similar dilemma with <*uṭateallaqara*> (*u tetēelleq ara*) in 2-19.

6-20

lirada < Ar. N *al-‘irāda^h* ‘(divine) will’, eighth attribute of Allah. In the manuscript, it is not clear whether *kasra* is placed under *lām* or *alif*. In Arabic, *alif* has *hamza* and *kasra*; Bz. form according to Dallet: *lirad*; cf. *lmurid* (Ar. *al-murīd*) ‘willing, willer’ in 7-1.

lkaraha < Ar. N *al-karāha^h* ‘unwill’, opposite of *lirada/ al-‘irāda^h* ‘will’ (same line); Bz. form according to Dallet: *lkerh* (cf. related verb *ekreh* ‘to hate, dislike, detest’); cf. *lkarīh/ al-kārih* ‘unwilling, unwiller; compelled’ in 7-2 and *lmekruh/ al-makrūh* ‘hated’ in 8-6.

7-1

lmurid < Ar. PTC.ACT *al-murīd*: ‘willing, willer’, (fifteenth) attribute of Allah related to *lirada/ al-‘irāda^h* ‘will’ (see 6-20), eighth attribute.

7-2

lkarīh < Ar. PTC.ACT *al-kāriḥ* ‘unwilling, unwilling; compelled’, opposite of *lmurid/ al-murīd* in the preceding line; cf. N *lkaraha/ al-karāha^h* ‘unwill’ in 6-20 and *lmekruh/ al-makrūh* ‘hated’ in 8-6.

u tewjid ara (<uttawğidara>): Bz. V 3F.SG, probably PN from Ar. *wuğida* ‘to exist’; cf. *ewjed* in 2-2; cf. positive form: *tewjed ššenεa*; alternatively, the form is to be read as *u ttewjid ara*.

7-3

wetṛiq: Bz. N EA of EL *aṭṛiq* (Dallet: *tṭariqa*) from Ar. *aṭ-ṭarīq* ‘way, road’. The usual Kabyle word for ‘road’ is *abrid*, so my informant prefers *fyiwen webrid*. However, in the manuscript, a Berberized Arabic word is used. This has two possible explanations: 1) this Arabic word is more in use in P.K. rather than in G.K; and 2) the Arabic word is chosen because of the (religious) nature of the text. In this context, it has a more specific meaning: ‘spiritual path’.

7-4

aṭ^htennewjed <atannawğad> (اَتَنَوَّجَدْ); probably the underlying form is *aḍ tennewjed*, Bz. V 3F.SG MID of *ewjed* ‘to exist’ (see 2-2); assimilation of *aḍ* + *t* results in *tṭ*.

7-6

leelem: B(z) N from Ar. *al-‘ilm* ‘knowledge’, ninth attribute of Allah; cf. *lealem* (Ar. *al-‘ālim*) ‘knowing, knower’ in 7-7. The word contains *l* of Arabic article *al-*, but *alif* is not written, which is unusual, but proves that the word is Berberized (in the addition to the difference in vocalisation); cf.

Berberization of *leedem*. It is written with *alif* in 7-10.

lğahl < Ar. N *al-ğahl* ‘ignorance’, opposite of *leelem/ al-‘ilm* ‘knowledge’ in the same line; cf. *lğahel/ al-ğāhil* ‘ignorant person’ in 7-8.

7-7

lealem: B(z) from Ar. PTC.ACT *al-‘ālim* ‘knowing, knowledgeable person, scholar, scientist (someone who has knowledge)’, (sixteenth) attribute of Allah related to *leelem/ al-‘ilm* ‘knowledge’ in 7-6 (ninth attribute); cf. PL *leulama/ al-‘ulamā* in 7-19. The word is clearly Berberized; the word in this spelling (اَلْعَالَم) <*al-‘ālam*> in Arabic means ‘world’ (cf. 3-3).

7-8

* Cf. 6-17 for the same structure, but without *i yella* in the subordinate conditional clause, which seems superfluous (but is grammatical).

* *lealem*: here, the word is spelled <alēālam> (الْعَالَمُ), i.e. *alif* of the article has a *fatha*, unlike in the preceding line.

lǧahel: Bz. from Ar. PTC.ACT *al-ǧāhil* ‘ignorant person’ (cf. Berberization of its antonym *lealem* ‘knowing’); cf. N *lǧahl/ al-ǧahl* ‘ignorance’ in 7-6.

7-9

* Cf. 6-18 for the same sentence in the same spelling; the only difference is the spelling of the preposition: <azkas> vs. <azzakas>.

7-10

* *leelem*: the scribe first put a *fatha* on PRED *l*, but then corrected it into *sukūn*. If the following word were Arabic and started with *al-*, or started on a CC-sequence, then *fatha* would be expected. However, the word *leelem* is Berberized and starts on *le-* (CV-); hence, *sukūn* is expected. Cf. 6-19 where PRED is spelled <dā> when followed by a CC-sequence (*lqudra*).

7-11

* *lḥayat* (from Ar. *al-ḥayāh* ‘life’, tenth attribute of Allah): as in 2-19, the word is spelled <al-ḥayawa^t> with a *sukūn* on *tā’ marbūṭa*, hence I transcribe it as *lḥayat*.

lmamat < Ar. N *al-mamāt* ‘death’; var. *al-mawt* (Bz. *lmamaṭ*, *lmuṭ*, *lmuṭ*), attribute opposite of *lḥayat/ al-ḥayāh* ‘life’. In *aṣ-Ṣuyrā*: *al-mawt*.

7-12

* The beginning of the line is not legible since the paper is creased, but the content can be reconstructed, since there was a similar passage before (e.g. 6-4, 7-1 and so on): *imi d ṣṣenεa*.

lḥay: Bz. from Ar. ADJ (the Arabic term is الصفة المشبهة باسماء الفاعل والمفعول, an adjective that works like a participle) *al-ḥayy* ‘living, alive’ (with a gemination), (seventeenth) attribute of Allah, cf. N *lḥayat/ al-ḥayāh* ‘life’ (tenth attribute).

7-13

lmeyyeṭ: Bz. from Ar. ADJ *al-mayyit* ‘dead’ (assimilated form would be *lmeggeṭ*), opposite of *lḥay/ al-ḥay* ‘living’; cf. *lmamat/ al-mamāt* ‘death’.

7-16

ssemeε: B(z) N from Ar. *as-same* ‘hearing’, eleventh attribute of Allah (in Dallet: *essmeε*; probably another instance of a “dummy” *fatha*).

lbaṣar < Ar. N *al-baṣar* ‘sight, seeing’, twelfth attribute of Allah (also in 2-20).

lkalam < Ar. N *al-kalām* ‘speech, speaking’, thirteenth attribute of Allah.
ṣṣamam < Ar. N *aṣ-ṣamam* ‘deafness’; opposite of *ssemee/as-same* ‘hearing’; in Soummam MS this word is explained in Berber. It reads: *aṣu i d ṣṣamam? tteezzugt* (< *d t teezzugt*) ‘What is *ṣṣamam*? It is *teezzugt* (deafness).’

7-17

leama < Ar. N *al-ʿamā* ‘blindness’, opposite of *lbaṣar/al-baṣar* ‘sight, seeing’; in Soummam MS, a Berber equivalent is given: *aṣu i d leama? tidderyelt* (< *d tidderyelt*) ‘What is *leama*? It is *tidderyelt* (blindness).’

lbakam < Ar. N *al-bakam* ‘dumbness, muteness’, opposite of *lkalam/al-kalām* ‘speech, speaking’. In Soummam MS, a Berber equivalent is given: *aṣu i d lbakam? ttikukemt* (*d ttikukemt*), but my informant does not know this word (he uses *tiεugent* instead).

lkitab < Ar. N *al-kitāb* ‘book’ (here: ‘the Quran’), PL *lkutub/al-kutub* in the next line; the usual Berber word for ‘book’ is *taktabt*.

ssunna < Ar. N *as-sunna*^h ‘sunnah’ (‘habit, custom, usual practice, (religious) tradition, norm’). In the following line written without *tā’ marbūṭa*. In Islam, *sunnah* refers to the sayings (*ḥadīṭ*) and habits of Mohammed and his companions. See Enc.Islam.

7-18

liğmaε < Ar. N *al-ʿiğmāε* ‘ijma, assemble of the nobles, delegation’: an Arabic term referring to the consensus of the Islamic scholars. One of the few instances of *hamza* written in the manuscript. The same word in the next line is written without a *hamza*, and there it is probably Berberized (also since *kasra* seems to be under the *lām* or the article rather than under *alif*); I transcribe it as *liğmaε* in both cases for the sake of consistency; in Dallet: *leğmeε*; related to the verb *ejmeε* ‘to gather’ (MID *nnejmaε* in 6-12).

awal: B. N ‘word’; in this line written first as <awal>, then as <awāl> with an *alif*; cf. a factitive derivation *issawel* in 3-5.

nnabi < Ar. N *an-nabīy* ‘prophet’; cf. 8-10; here written without *alif* of the article; Bz. form according to Dallet: *ennbi*.

7-19

nnejmaεen: B(z) V 3M.PL P of *nnejmaε* ‘to gather (together), agree, consent’ (see 6-12), MID of *ejmeε* ‘to gather’, cf. *liğmaε/al-ʿiğmāε* ‘consensus’ in 7-18.

leulama < Ar. N PL *al-ʿulamā*, SG *al-ʿālim* ‘scholar’ (cf. Bz. *lealem* in 7-7); in Arabic should be spelled with a *hamza*.

bilā: Ar. PREP ‘without’.

ḥarfin < Ar. N *al-ḥarf* ‘letter’ (in B: *lḥerf*). In <ḥar^{fin}>, the superscript *-in* indicates that the ending is written with *tanwīn*, cf. <ḡarīḥa^{tin}>; also in the following examples transliterated with superscript .

ṣawtin < Ar. N *aṣ-ṣawt* ‘voice’.

ğāriḥatin or *ğariḥatin*; spelled <ğārīḥa^{tin}>, i.e. with *tā' marbūṭa* and *tanwīn*.

Option 1: *ğāriḥatin* < Ar. N *al-ğāriḥa^h* 'limb, bodily organ' (i.e., in this context, a mouth or a tongue); cf. PL *lğawariḥ/ al-ğawāriḥ* in 8-6. This reading suits the context better, but implies that the scribe made an error as the expected spelling would be <ğārīḥa^{tin}> (with a long /ā/ and a short /i/, not vice versa). However, it might be the case that in the pronunciation of the scribe short and long vowels have collapsed.

Option 2: *ğariḥatin* < Ar. N *al-ğariḥa^h*; the meaning of this term is uncertain; the root *ğrḥ* generally means 'wound, injury', which does not fit the context; *ğariḥa* can also mean 'that which is acquired'. According to *Lisān al-‘arab*, a newer (post-classical) meaning is *u‘jūba* 'miracle, oddity, wondrous thing'. This reading corresponds better to the spelling, but the meaning of the term is uncertain in the given context.

7-20

sirrin < Ar. N *as-sirr* 'secret, mystery' (in Berber: *sserr*), opposite of *al-ğahr* (see next).

ğahrin < Ar. *al-ğahr* N 'unconcealed, revealed, open, public', opposite of *as-sirr* 'secret'.

--> *bi-lā sirrin wa-lā ġahrin*, literally 'without secret and without revealing', 'without covertness and without overtness', is a formulaic language: *as-sirr* and *al-ğahr* are opposites in meaning, so the expression is a general mode, and can be also translated as 'in all ways', 'in all respects'. It is "parallelism by opposites". English literal translation is heavier than Arabic, because the formulaic aspect is absent in English.

idal: probably Bz. V 3M.SG from Ar. *dalla* 'to indicate, show', but it can also be another verb; the *taškīl* on *d* of *idal* is not very clear: there is probably a *fathā* or a *šadda* (with *fathā*).

8-1

εadamu ġawāzi: ‘impermissibility’, consisting of:

εadamu < Ar. N *al-εadam* ‘non-existence, negation’ (cf. Bz. *leεdem* in 1-4), NOM and construct state; here used as a negation marker +

ġawāzi < *ġawāzu* Ar. N ‘permission’, here GEN construct state (followed by *al-’aērādi* in GEN); also in 3-11; cf. *lġayez/ al-ġā’iz* in 1-2.

al-’aērādi < *al-’aērād*: Ar. N PL from SG *al-εaraḍ* ‘sign, symptom’ (in Berberized from: PL *leεraḍ* in 1-13, SG *leεreḍ* in 1-12); here, the word is not Berberized, since the entire sentence is Arabic.

l-bašariyyati < *al-bašariyya^h*: Ar. ADJ ‘human’, cf. N (pl. tant.) *al-bašar* ‘human beings, people’.

l-kufri < *al-kufri*: Ar. N ‘unbelieving, denying’.

sā’iri < *sā’ir*: Ar. ‘the rest of, whole, all’; written with *yā’ hamza* (a *hamza* below the dots of the *yā’*) and *kasra*; *hamza* itself looks like a dot, but bigger than the diacritical dots; cf. the *hamza* in last word in the line (*l-malā’ikati*) and the final *hamza* in the following word (*al-’anbiyā’i*).

l-’anbiyā’i < *al-’anbiyā’*: Ar. N PL from SG *an-nabiy* ‘prophet’; written with a chairless *hamza* (and *kasra*) in the end; *hamza* looks like a big dot; cf. 8-10 for a slightly Berberized version.

l-malā’ikati < *al-malā’ika^h*: Ar. N PL from SG *al-malāk* ‘angel’; written with *yā’ hamza* (as in *sā’iri*); in Arabic usually written with a *dagger alif* above *l*, hence I transcribe it with a long *ā*; the word is crossed out by the scribe and it also appears in the beginning of the next line.

8-2

s-samāwiyyati < *as-samāwiyya^h*: Ar. ADJ ‘heavenly, holy’ from *as-samā’* ‘heaven, sky’; usually written with a *dagger alif*.

l-yawmi < *al-yawm*: Ar. N ‘day’.

l-’axiri < *al-’axir*: Ar. ADJ ‘last’.

8-3

* *ašu* here is written as <*ašū*> (أَشُو) with a “profilactic *alif*” (*’alif al-wiqāya*) at the end of the word (vs. 1-6 <*ašū*> and <*ašu*> in 1-12).

lmuεġiza < Ar. N *al-muεġiza^h* ‘miracle’. Parallel in *aṣ-ṣuyrā* has the same word.

8-4

ttaxriq < Ar. N *at-taxrīq* ‘breaking, violation’, cf. V *xaraqa* ‘to break’ (Berber *xerreq*, CAUS of *exreq*, (*exriq*), *xerreq* ‘be broken’).

leada < Ar. N *al-εāda^h* ‘the usual; a common thing’.

8-6

iēšem: Bz. V 3M.SG from Ar. *eašama* ‘to defend, protect, (safe)guard’.

lǧawariḥ < *al-ǧawāriḥ*: Ar. N PL from SG *al-ǧāriḥa*^h (cf. line 7-19) ‘bodily organ, limb’ (Lane).

leḥram: Bz. N from Ar. *al-ḥarām* (الْحَرَامُ) ‘haram, forbidden’, opposite of *ḥalāl*; a juridical term in Islamic (cf. *lmekruh* below); spelled <lāḥrām> with ʾ instead of lām with a *fatha*, and with a *sukūn* on ḥ; same spelling in 8-7.

lmekruh < Ar. *al-makrūh* ‘the hated, undesired, unwanted, offensive’, cf. V *karaha* (B. *kreh*) ‘to hate, dislike’; opposite of *al-mandūb* ‘recommended’ in 8-8; cf. *lkarāha*/ *al-karāha* ‘unwill’ in 6-20 and *lkarīh*/ *al-kāriḥ* ‘unwilling’ in 7-2; together with *leḥram*, *lmekruh* is a juridical term in Islamic law.

8-7

* This sentence is difficult to analyse, and there are several possible readings.

The most plausible is (lit.) ‘it became obedience’, ‘obedience became’. Note that the word *ṭṭaēa*/ *aṭ-ṭāēa*^h is feminine, but the form of the verb is 3M.SG.

xedmen: B(z) V 3M.PL of *xdem*, (*xdim*), *xeddem*/ṭṭexdam ‘to do, work’ from Ar. *xadama* ‘to work, serve’; in the next line written as <xadman>, probably for *xeddmēn* IMPF.

iqqel: B. V 3M.SG P of *qqel*, (*qqil*), *ṭṭeqqel*, cf. *teqqel* in 3-14 (where it was followed by the verb ‘to be’); here followed by PRED *d* (obligatory after *qqel* in the sense ‘to become’ before a nominal); see the next line for the PTC form <ikaqqalan> for *i^ʿgeqqelen* (*iyeqqelen*).

ṭṭaēa < *aṭ-ṭāēa*^h: Ar. N (F) ‘obedience’.

lemmi: B. CONJ ‘since, because’ (cf. *imi*).

8-8

lmandub < Ar. *al-mandūb* PTC.PASS ‘recommended’ (in this context); close in meaning to *al-mustaḥab* (المستحب) and opposite of *al-makrūh* (8-6); it is an Islamic term referring to recommended, favoured, virtuous deeds. In Islamic law, the status of the *mandūb* (or *mustaḥab*) actions falls between neutral (*mubāḥ*) and obligatory (*wāḡib*, or *fard*). According to Levy (1971: 202), these actions are “recommended, but not essential”; their fulfilment is “rewarded, though they may be neglected without punishment”. See Enc.Islam.

xeddmēn: B. V 3M.PL IMPF of *xdem* ‘to work’ (8-7); spelled <xadman> with a *sukūn* and no *šadda* on *d*; probably due to the fact that both *sukūn* and *šadda* are not found on the same consonant.

8-9

lawliya < Ar. N PL *al-ʿawliyāʿ* (الأولياء), SG *al-walīy* (الولي) lit. ‘crown’; ‘wali, saint, holy person, mystic’; ‘protector, custodian, sponsor, authority’; ‘friend’; Berber: SG *lewli*/ *alewli*, PL *lawleyya*. An Islamic religious concept similar to *marabout*,

coming in the hierarchy after prophets and messengers. In the Quran, *al-'awliyā'* are described as “friends of God who have no fear nor are they sad.” *Wali* is someone who has *walāya*^h (authority or guardianship) over somebody else. The phrase *walīyu 'llāh* (ولي الله) can be variously translated as ‘authority of God’ or ‘friend of God’. See Enc.Islam.

lkitman: from Ar. *al-kitmān* ‘concealment’ (see 3-11); the word is spelled <alkatmān>, so the logical transcription would be *lketman*. However, in 3-11 and 7-20 it is spelled as <alkitmān>. I transcribe it as *lkitman* for the sake of consistency. In this line, *fatḥa* on *kāf* can either indicate that the word is Berberized, or it is a mistake of the scribe.

8-10

ketmen: Bz. V 3M.PL from Ar. *katama* ‘to hide, to conceal’, cf. *lkitman/ al-kitmān* ‘concealment’ (3-11, 7-20, 8-9); in this line it is spelled differently, first as <kaṭmān> (with an *alif* after *m*) and then as <kaṭman> with a *fatḥa* on *m*, but the form of the verb should probably be the same (*ketmen*), with a schwa. The spelling with *alif* can be due to the influence of the noun *lkitman/ al-kitmān* (الكتمان) that has *alif* (see the previous line).

lanbiya < Ar. N PL *al-'anbiyā'* (الأنبياء), SG *an-nabīy* ‘prophet’ (cf. 7-18). Berber: SG *ennbi*, PL *lambeyya*; cf. *al-'anbiyā'* (unberberized) in 8-1; see also <ilānbiyā> in the next line, where *i* is a Berber PREP ‘for’.

8-11

bellyen-t-id: Bz. V 3M.PL (with a DO 3M.SG and VENT) from Ar. V *ballaya* (2nd stem, 1st stem *balaya*) ‘to convey, transmit’, cf. N *ttabliy/ at-tablīy* ‘conveying’ (3-10). The word is spelled <ballayantid> (with a *fatḥa* on the *lām*), while my informant prefers a different vocalisation, namely *bellyen-t-id*, with a *sukūn*. Probably it is another instance of a “dummy *fatḥa*”, i.e. *fatḥa* written because of the *šadda*.

8-12

* Vocalisation in this line is not very clear because it is on the fold of the page
z ziyada < *az-ziyāda*^h: Ar. N ‘increase, addition, rise’; in Ar. written with *tā'* *marbūṭa*.

nniqṣan < *an-nuqṣān*: Ar. N ‘decrease, reduction’, opposite of *az-ziyāda*^h ‘increase’
ulaš: B. negative copula (existential) ‘there is no’; most probably the same as in *ulašš-iṭṭ* (where it is spelled with a *šadda* on *š*).

r-rahmāni: the word is written with a *dagger alif* (unlike in 1-1), and the final *n* is vocalised with a *kasra*, although it is usually not pronounced at the end of a line (in a pausal form).

6. Problems, findings, and ideas for further research

Now that both the background information and the content of the MS have been treated, it is time to draw some conclusions and to summarise the findings. The present chapter does this, and presents ideas for further research.

Generally, the goals of this study as outlined in the Introduction (see Section 1.1) were achieved. Thus, the MS in question was analysed and translated, with a special attention paid to its language and script. This is not to say that the analysis is perfect or complete. However, even this limited investigation has yielded some significant results, which are summarised below.

6.1. Writing system

A lot has been said about the writing system of the studied MS (Chapter 3). Thus, its main characteristics are: its consistency (which implies that Berber was not only an oral language, since consistent writing is impossible without a literary tradition), and its use of *ḥarakāt* or *ḥurūf al-madd* to mark vowels (which contrasts with the Arabic system, from which the Berber *ajami* stems). Attention has been paid to how the Arabic script is used in order to represent the Berber sounds that lack in Arabic, such as /g/, /ḡ/, /k/, /j/, /t/, and /č/. Here, the usual solution was to give an existing Arabic grapheme (the nearest equivalent of the sound in question) a new reading, which leads to polyvalence, as the same grapheme is also employed for its original reading. Hence, a single grapheme <ك> can be used to represent /k/, as in Arabic, but also Berber /g/, /ḡ/, and /k/.

Such solutions are common for other *ajami* writing systems. Further research could concentrate on comparisons of the system employed in the studied MS with those encountered elsewhere (first of all, in other Berber MSS from the same period and area, but also beyond (i.e., in other *ajami* scripts).

Further, the orthography of the studied MS could be compared with the contemporary practice (as encountered in the linguistic literature). The major question here is: how did the scribe deal with difficult issues, such as assimilation, elision, syllabification, or word boundaries? This MS shows how such issues were treated in the “pre-modern” situation (when the language presumably was not taught formally at school). The solutions often differ from what is customary now.

Thus, assimilation is notated in the MS. Preposition *n* often assimilates to the following consonant, and thus is represented in script only by means of a *šadda*, e.g., <arrabbi> *rʾRebbi* < *n Rebbi* (1-3), <allāqsām> *elʿleqsam* < *n leqsam* (1-7). A combination of *d* (PRED) + *t* (typically, a feminine word) results in /tʃ/, which is written as *t* with a *šadda*, e.g., <'ttinna> *tʃtinna* < *d tinna* (2-1). Other instances of full assimilation include <affašrīk> *fʿfešrik* < *f wešrik* (3-7), and <annakki> *enʿnekki* < *d nekki* (3-7). A combination of *i* + *i/y* results in /g/, e.g., <ikallān> *iʿgellan* < *i yellan* (2-18), <ikxalqan> *iʿgxelqen* < *i ixelqen* (3-8).

Elision is also notated in the MS. Examples include: <uṭallara> *u tell=ara* < *u telli ara* (1-5), <udnattilara> *u d-netṭil=ara* < *u d-netṭili ara* (2-19), <iṭaslinas> *i tesl=ines* < *i tesli ines* (2-21), <aywara> *ey-w=ara* < *ey-wi ara* (4-4), and <musawḡibantara> *m=u s-ewḡibent ara* < *ma u s-ewḡibent ara* (5-14).

Further, the MS in question notates syllabification by means of the schwa, which is often omitted in contemporary orthography. This syllabification or schwa-insertion is sometimes predictable, and sometimes not. It is predictable with monoliteral particles and prepositions (*d*, *g*, *s*, *f*), that are vocalised with a *fathā* (or followed by an *alif*) when the following word starts on a CC- sequence, but preceded with an *alif* and vocalised with a *sukūn* when followed by a CV-. Compare, e.g., <dā almuḡāl> for *d(e) lmuḡal* in 1-2, and <aḡ 'lālwan> *eḡ lelwan* in 1-14.¹⁰³ In contemporary orthography, these function words are always spelled with one letter (without a schwa).

Unpredictable syllabification was encountered in the case of the preposition *zzḡ-es/ zzeḡ-s* ('in it'), spelled <azkas> in 3-18, <azzaks> in 4-7, and <azzakas> in 6-18 (in the same phonetic environment). Note that, besides the difference in syllabification, the use of *tašdīd* also differs.

In fact, the sometimes unexpected use or omission of *tašdīd* (i.e. gemination) is yet another interesting feature of the studied MS (see Section 3.4.2). Thus, *šadda* is sometimes missing where it should be notated in contemporary orthography. This might have to do with writing conventions in the Arabic script, where *šadda* and *sukūn* can never occur together on the same consonant. Alternatively, it can be a matter of phonetics, but this cannot be proved definitively.

¹⁰³ This example of *de lmuḡal/ dʿelmuḡal* could have been also analysed as *sandhi*, or fusion of sounds across word boundaries (cf. assimilation treated above). In any case, such examples show that the scribe of the MS did not think in terms of word boundaries, which are observed in modern orthography, but which are, in fact, often hard to establish in terms of phonology. See also the Section on word boundaries (3.4.1). As it was noted, the studied MS often writes monosyllabic grammatical words together with lexical words, which is not customary in present orthography.

It is clear by now, that orthographic decisions taken by the scribe of the studied MS differ from those taken by orthography planners now with regard to difficult orthographic issues, such as spelling of the words together or separately, notation of assimilation, elision, syllabification, and fricativisation. In most cases, in contemporary orthography, attention is paid to the underlying form rather than to the surface form (as in the MS).

Since surface forms can be different, while the underlying form is the same, this leads to some variation in spelling. This issue is further complicated by the fact, that the MS employs two different writing systems for the Berber and Arabic words. The latter are usually, but not always, spelled etymologically, maintaining the difference between long and short vowels, and with the use of “special characters” such as *hamza* and *tā’ marbūṭa*, which were probably not pronounced. This leads to still further minor inconsistencies.

However, on the whole, the writing system of the studied MS is consistent and logical, which means that it was well thought of, even if it was not taught formally at school. The next question that rises, then, is: where and when did this orthography originate? For Tashelhiyt Berber, this question has been dealt with by Van den Boogert (1997), and even then, it cannot be said to be definitively resolved yet (see Section 3.6). For Kabyle Berber *ajami*, the issue is even more complicated, as it cannot be linked either to the Tashelhiyt ‘old’ or ‘new orthography’. Its origin thus remains unknown at present.

Another line of research could concentrate on the study of the relationship between script, orthography, and language, which, in this author’s opinion, has been largely ignored. After all, since orthography is meant to represent the language (and, in most cases, it strives to do it both accurately and economically), it makes sense that it must be in some way intuitive for the speakers. Thus, if vowels did not constitute a fundamental aspect of a certain language, why would this society use a script that includes them? The writing system must be functional for the language.

The next section contains notes on interesting features pertaining to the language encountered in the MS.

6.2. Notes on interesting features

It is not possible to write a comprehensive grammar of a language on the basis of one text. But neither is it necessary, since grammars for Kabyle Berber already exist (including some material on the Petite Kabyle dialect specifically). The present section is devoted to some interesting features encountered in the MS, without any claim to being comprehensive. These pertain to different levels of the language. Since phonology in its relation to orthography has been treated above, the discussion here includes: dialectology, lexicon, morphology, and syntax.

6.2.1. Dialectal features

The problem with discussing dialectal features in this particular case is that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between: 1) a true dialectal feature (P.K. form vs. G.K. form), and 2) an archaic form that is not encountered in present dictionaries. Archaic vs. dialectal forms are often difficult to decide, especially in the light of our lack of knowledge of Kabyle dialectology – and historical change. Finally, a third possibility is also not excluded. Namely, some forms that “deviate” from the “standard” grammar, might be specific to this manuscript rather than to the P.K. region as a whole. Forms specific to this MS, in turn, can include: strangely composed Berberized forms, scribal errors, or wrong analysis on my part.

Nevertheless, some things can be said with certainty about the dialect as represented in the studied MS. As mentioned in the Introduction (Section 1.3.1), the studied MS comes from the P.K. region. Now there is a linguistic proof of it, as the text can be shown to exhibit some linguistic features characteristic for this area. The strongest linguistic evidence pertains to phonetics. Thus, G.K. /ɖ/ corresponds to P.K. /t/. However, there are also certain lexemes and constructions (morphological and syntactic features) characteristic for P.K.

As regards phonetics, the phoneme /ɖ/ is not attested in the MS, while /t/ is found in forms where G.K. would have /ɖ/. Examples include the 2SG verb ending -t (e.g., *te-nker-t* vs. G.K. *te-nker-ɖ*), and the pronoun *wayet*, PL *wiyat*, corresponding to G.K. *wayɖ*, PL *wiyɖ*.

Regarding the lexical features, the problem here is that they do not necessarily have to do with regional variation. Thus, some lexical items simply might be not included in the dictionary, or be unfamiliar to my informant.

A more difficult case involves lexemes that *are* included in the dictionary and that *are* familiar to my informant, but that have a different meaning in the text of the MS, or that are found in unexpected contexts. Some of these lexemes include: preposition *zzeḵ-s/ zzeḡ-s*, the verbal forms *ṭtallayey* and *issawal*, nouns *akeččum* and *asekkud*, the conjunction *ṭilaq*, and the word *awwah* (that can be an interjection or a conjunction). These words are known to my informant, but he would not use them in the given contexts.

Since the present research was mainly based on the written source, I have not carried out extensive fieldwork with native speakers in order to verify the potential dialectal features. Further research could shed additional light on these issues. The study of different dialects is important for comparative linguistics, which is in turn important for the reconstruction of original forms and for historical linguistics. Hence, knowledge of dialectology can give us information on language change – a topic that has not yet been investigated sufficiently for Berber.

6.2.2. Lexicon and contact linguistics phenomena

One of the topics that does receive quite some attention in Berberology, is the topic of contact linguistics, that includes borrowing and loanword adaptation.

A statistical lexical study of the manuscript in question has been carried out by Mechehed (2007a), and some notes about this subject have been made in Section 3.7. Thus, as was demonstrated, the three-fold distinction among Berber, Berberized, and Arabic is not always easy to make. A further distinction could have been made between an “established loan” vs. a “nonce-borrowing”.¹⁰⁴ The MS in question indeed offers many opportunities for those interested in contact linguistics.

Thus, a close investigation of the MS shows that Berber function words or bound morphemes can be combined with Arabic/Berberized lexical words, but not vice versa, so that e.g., Arabic bound morphemes are combined only with Arabic lexical words (usually in a pure Arabic phrase). Further, one notices that the same word can appear in the MS in both pure Arabic and a Berberized form (e.g., *l-'afeāl* vs. *lefeal*, *aš-šarīk* and *ašrik*). Perhaps it could be argued that in the first instance we deal with a code-switch, and in the latter, with a true loanword.

¹⁰⁴ The term *nonce borrowing* refers to the use of a word from another language than the main language of the utterance, which has not become an established part of this language. See e.g., Poplack *et al.* (1988). Nonce borrowings are more or less equivalent to instances of single-word codeswitching. See Winford 2003 on language contact phenomena in general, and Lafkioui 2008 for contact linguistics in relation to Berber specifically.

This author decided to avoid the discussion of what is to be considered a borrowing, and what a code-switching. This distinction is not only entirely unproblematic, but also often not productive. In my view, it is more interesting to ask such questions as: 1) Where (in which context and in which semantic fields) do we find Arabic words most frequently? and 2) How are Arabic words treated in the text?

Regarding the first question, a note on Arabic terms has been made in Section 3.8. Arabic lexemes are usually found in religious context. Thus, all attributes of Allah are named in Arabic, even though a Berber equivalent could have been provided for some of them. However, Arabic loans are also encountered in other semantic fields, and in all possible word classes. A further research of the MS could be devoted to this.

As regards the second question, the MS under investigation shows different stadia and patterns of “loanword adaptation”. In what follows, I will briefly outline the observed phonetic adaptation and morphological integration processes.

1. Phonetic adaptation typically involves:

- 1) schwa-insertion after the Arabic article (*al*-C > *le*), e.g., *al-εadam* > *leεdem*; *al-εilm* > *leεlem*;
- 2) loss of *hamza* (a glottal stop) and addition of *fathā*,¹⁰⁵ e.g., *leqsam*, *leεrad*, *lelwan*, *lekwan*, *lesbab*, *leεal*, *leεmal*, etc.
- 3) fricativisation, e.g. *t* > *ṭ* as in *ṣṣifat*, *lmumkinat*, *iṣṭeyna*.

It has to be noted here, that only those kinds of phonetic adaptation that are also reflected in writing could be pointed out with certainty. There is of course a possibility that a given word is spelled etymologically as in Arabic, but pronounced differently. Such cases involve the following changes: *a* > *e*, long vowel > short vowel (e.g. *xamsa* vs. *xemsa*).

Similarly, only those fricatives that can be represented by the Arabic script, were notated by the scribe. However, in principle, other stops could have been fricativised in pronunciation, too (e.g., /b/ > /β/). Other possible changes not represented in writing include /ğ/ > /j/, and /t/ > /t̪/ (*aḍ-ḍāt* / *ḍḍaṭṭ*).

¹⁰⁵ In fact, *hamza* is consistently omitted in the MS and appears only in ‘pure Arabic’ words, typically making part of Arabic phrases. While the omission of *hamza* as such is not a strong argument for considering the word “Berberized”, the addition of *fathā* on the article is clearly an indication of a different (Berberized) pronunciation. There are many examples of this kind of Berberization in the MS, and such words follow a clear pattern.

The loss of *tašdīd* (gemination) has been pointed out as a problematic issue both in regard to the native Berber words (cf. above), and also in regard to etymologically Arabic words, such as *al-ḥaqq* and *al-kamm*. Such cases are difficult to decide due to a possible influence of orthographic conventions. Another issue to look at with the Arabic loans, is their morphological integration.

2. Morphological integration

The question here is: how are Arabic words morphologically integrated in Berber language? This involves conjugation for verbs, formation of plural, and EA vs. EL distinction for nouns.

As for the verbs, these typically receive regular Berber PNG-marking. There are a few cases that can be considered as “blends”, e.g., *ittfetqir* in 2-3, and Arabic influence is not excluded on other verbal forms, as well, but this issue remains to be investigated.

Regarding the nouns, the majority of them are unintegrated in that they preserve the original (albeit Berberized in pronunciation) Arabic PL forms and in that do not have a distinction between EL and EA. However, a few loanwords as attested in the MS indeed can be shown to have a distinct EA form. For example, consider the noun *aš-šarik* (that occurs in its “pure Arabic” form in 2-8) that has acquired this distinction: *ašrik* (EL) in 2-13 vs. *ušrik* (EA) in 2-17. Compare also *ef^hfešrik* < *fwešrik* in 3-7. It is interesting to note that both prefixes (*u-* and *we-*) are encountered in the same MS to express the same category (EA). Hence, we do not deal here with a chronological or regional difference, but with variation. Language variation could also receive more attention in the field of Berber studies.

6.2.3. Morphology and syntax

Morphology as represented by the forms of the studied MS is not treated in detail here, since it is not altogether unexpected. Verbs receive usual PNG-marking and derivational prefixes. As it was pointed out, Berber morphemes (such as PNG-affixes) can be attached to originally Arabic (thus: Berberized) lexemes. Further, we find apophony (e.g. causative suffix *ss-* + *ffey* > *ssufey*) and allomorphy. Examples of allomorphs include: preverbal particle *aḍ* and *ara*, ventive *d*, *dd*, and *id*, and 3M.SG.DO *t* and *it*.

It is especially interesting when we encounter different forms to express “the same” grammatical/semantic categories, e.g., *ines* and *is* for 3SG possessive pronoun ‘his’. Apparently, again, we deal with (free?) variation here.

As regards syntax, it must be noted here that before the syntax of the MS can be dealt with, we should first ensure that the segmentation of text into sentences and phrases is correct. This is related to the problem of the lack of punctuation. How does one decide where a phrase starts and ends, especially when the language does not have a fixed word order? Furthermore, how does one decide which sentence is interrogative, especially when one deals with yes/no-questions? It must be stressed here that the ‘transcription with added punctuation’ presented in Section 5.2, is based on the author’s own understanding of the text, and thus is open to debate.

Some syntactic phenomena are less ambiguous, however, and hence the text of the MS as presented here can be used as a corpus for research in syntax. For example, the studied MS offers ample opportunities for research in subordination, and in particular, in conditional clauses. Thus, the text contains many constructions starting with *ma* or *lewkan/lukan* (introducing a protasis, i.e., a subordinate if-clause) and followed by an apodosis (the main clause), typically introduced by *ilaq*, and twice by *tilaq*.

A careful examination of these clauses brings one to the conclusion, that *ma* and *lukan* are not exact equivalents and cannot be always substituted for each other, although both are translated with ‘if’ in English. Thus, *ma* is different from *lewkan* in that it can also introduce an “indicative” (possible, realisable) conditional, as opposed to a “counterfactual” (unrealisable) conditional.

The next syntactic phenomenon that is interesting in Berber and that can be studied on the basis of the presented text, is negation. In fact, a lot has been written on the topic of negation in Berber (see e.g., Chaker & Caubet 1996, and the different studies therein). Some interesting issues pertaining to negation could also be inferred from the studied MS. Thus, in certain cases, we observe the omission of the second (postverbal) negative marker *ara*; and, of course, a regular clitic fronting is observed in context of negation.

Another syntactic context that causes clitic fronting, is relativisation. Some relative clauses contain a special (“relative”) verbal form, traditionally called “participle” in Berberological literature. This form is used exclusively in relative clauses whose subject is the head of the clause (see Kossmann *forthcoming*; and KNZ: 89). It is formed by the circumfix *i/y-...-en* (e.g., *iṭṭzeyyiḥen* in 1-6). As has been mentioned previously, the REL marker *i* followed by the PTC prefix *i-/y-* results in assimilation, that is notated in the script, e.g., <ikallān> for *i^hgellan* < *i yellan*.

In general, the studied MS is rather “well-behaved” in that the participle form is not found where it is not expected, and is used where it is expected.

However, in one instance, we would expect a PTC form, which is not found. This is the sentence in 2-14, that starts as: *ḍ nnaqayaṣ a t-ēdment*, translated as ‘Faults (lacunae) will dispatch him’. The analysis of this sentence (and hence its translation) is not unproblematic. Thus, if the first element *ḍ* is to be taken as PRED, then we deal with a focus construction, and hence the verbal form has to be PTC, which is not the case.¹⁰⁶ The word *nnaqayaṣ* could be interpreted as the OBJ of the verb (and hence the PTC form would be not required), but then it is not clear what the SUBJ of the verb should be, and what *t* DO refers to. Alternatively, the first word *ḍ* can be read as *ḍa* ‘here’ (adverb of proximity). Neither of the solutions is perfect, and this entire passage still requires attention.

Other instances of focalisation are less ambiguous, as e.g. (3-7/8) *ḍ nekki i kn-ixelqen...* ‘It is I who created you...’ (with a DO clitic fronting). There are also a few instances of topicalisation, which is realised in Berber by preposing an element (“left-dislocation”), as e.g. in 1-4: *lqidem: u s-izwar ara leedem; lbaqa, u t-iṭṭlaḥaq ara leedem* ‘Eternity without beginning (*lqidem*): non-existence does not precede it; eternity without end (*lbaqa*): non-existence does not overtake it’.¹⁰⁷ Here, the nouns (*lqidem*, *lbaqa*) are fronted, because they are technical terms defined by the clause that follows.

As was noted in Section 4.6, examining the Arabic versions of the *Sanusi creed* and secondary literature on the Sanusi movement and Al-Ash‘arī’s doctrine of God proved extremely useful in understanding both the language and the meaning of the text. In fact, without understanding theology, a translation of the MS would have been impossible. The next section, then, deals with the content of the manuscript, and the importance of placing it into its historical and religious context.

¹⁰⁶ Focalisation in Berber is realised by means of a cleft, starting with the PRED particle *ḍ*, and followed by REL *i* + PTC form of the verb.

¹⁰⁷ This line could have been also translated using the passive construction in English: ‘Eternity without beginning (*lqidem*): [it is that which] is not preceded by non-existence (*leedem*); eternity without end (*lbaqa*): [it is that which] is not overtaken by non-existence.’ Or, more idiomatically: ‘*qidem* means never to have been non-existent; *baqa* means never to become non-existent’. In the sentence *lqidem u s-izwar ara leedem*, *lqidem* is technically the OBJ of the verb (*s-izwar*), while *leedem* is SUBJ. This sentence could be also rendered as *leedem u(r) i-zwir ara lqidem* (note the omission of the IO PRON -s). The affirmative version of this sentence (‘*leedem* precedes *lqidem*’) would have been: *lqidem izewr-es leedem*, or *leedem i-zwer lqidem*. In this verbal form, the IO PRON can be replaced with a DO PRON. Thus, *lqidem u s-izwir ara leedem* becomes *lqidem u t-izwir ara leedem*, and *lqidem i-zewr-es leedem* becomes *lqidem izewr-iṭ leedem*.

6.3. Content and context

What the present research has demonstrated, among other things, is that the language expressions, written or oral, often acquire meaning only in context, and hence cannot be interpreted when taken out of their contexts. As mentioned in the Introduction (Section 1.3.5), understanding Arabic words in particular is very often dependent on when and where these were spoken.

An example will illustrate this point. Thus, the word *šaffāf/ ššeffaf* on its own means ‘transparent’. However, ‘transparent matter/substance’ is not sufficient as a translation of the technical term *lğerm ššeffaf* (1-7). The passage in question makes it clear, that some substances that are transparent, are not necessarily *ššeffaf*, as, for example, the substance that is *lmuđerres* (lit. ‘hard’) also “does not prevent seeing through”, and hence is transparent. Similarly, both *kaṭīf/ lkāṭif* and *lmuđerres* can be solid, but the words are not synonymous. The following table illustrates the difference between the terms in question.¹⁰⁸

Table 10. Kinds of substance (*lğerm*)

	Transparent	Opaque
Exclusive (solid, corporal, tangible)	<i>muđarras/ lmuđerres</i> ‘hard’, e.g., glass	<i>kaṭīf/ lkāṭif</i> ‘thick’, e.g., stone, wall
Yielding (gaseous, not solid)	<i>šaffāf/ ššeffaf</i> ‘transparent’, e.g., air, wind	(missing) e.g., smoke, fog

The passage in question was hard to interpret, precisely because it did not have a parallel in the Arabic sources. The term *al-muđarras*, for example, is not encountered in the text of *aş-Şuyrā*. This raises the question: could it have been a later elaboration, meant to fill a gap in the possibility table? And, if so, then where and how did it arise?

Additional research is needed in order to answer this question. Further, the examination of Arabic sources can hopefully clarify some other obscure passages of the MS (such as 2-13/14, which likewise lacks a parallel in *aş-Şuyrā*).

In fact, a detailed comparison of the studied MS with Arabic sources could be an interesting topic for further investigation. In this author’s view, a lot of rich material is to be found in comparing this text with the Arabic version of *Umm al-Barāhīn*. It would be particularly interesting to investigate how and where the texts differ, on all possible levels: linguistically, literarily, culturally, and theologically. Such differences are significant as they reflect a Berber expression of religious reform.

¹⁰⁸ Thanks are due to Lameen Souag for his useful comments on the meaning of the theological terms used in the MS.

Needless to say, the same MS could have been examined from many different perspectives, and with a different set of goals. Thus, the theological content of the present MS still leaves a lot of room for examination.

Regarding the theological content of the MS, perhaps it would be fruitful to combine and expand this study with a one devoted to the *Sanusi* movement. Both the linguistic and the theological side of the MS would thus be investigated. Ash‘arī’s work on the *Ṣifāt* is an important and influential work, and nevertheless, it is not widely known, and some work remains to be done.

In fact, these two lines of research are interrelated to such a degree, that they can hardly be separated. Thus, nothing can be said about the content of the MS, if its language and writing conventions are not understood properly. On the other hand, the analysis of the language is not possible without a proper understanding of theology. As a result, it is inevitable that the two lines of research rely on each other and complement each other.

Furthermore, the theological content of the MS can be put in a still wider perspective or context. Thus, it can be compared to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity (see Cumming 2001). However, any further comparisons, e.g., with Christian or Jewish sources, are possible only when the content of the MS in question has been fully understood in terms of its own internal logic (in the context of Ash‘arī’s and Sanusi’s works).

As another example, consider the technical terms *dāt*, *naḥs*, *ṣifa*, and *ma‘nā*, used repeatedly in the MS. These terms are, in fact, crucial to understanding the meaning of the text. However, these terms are rather difficult to translate and to define, first, because they do not have an exact English equivalent, but also because they have different senses of meaning when used by different authors, and different senses of meaning might be intended by the same author depending on the context. Thus, the term *al-ma‘nā/lme‘na*, lit. ‘meaning’, can be also rendered as ‘sense, value’; ‘underlying reality, actual meaning, form, entity’; “something”, “thing”, and (with a reference to Allah’s attributes): ‘substantive attribute’ (Kenny 1970); ‘hypostatic quality’, ‘entitative attribute’ (Cumming 2001).

Here I would like to note that while interlinear (morpheme-by-morpheme) gloss as presented in Section 5.4 might be useful for presenting the morphological structure of the language, it is rather useless or at least ambiguous when trying to convey the *meaning* of the forms, since it does not take account of the context. This brings us to the conclusion that the study of a language must go in tandem with the study of culture, and cannot be taken out of its context. This is the reason why the background information about the MS in question and its historical and religious context were presented before the treatment of the text itself.

Needless to say, this “background information” could have been expanded into a full independent study. Due to time and space constraints, the author could not go deep into many (quite significant) “details” that might have shed additional light on the meaning of the discussed text. Only a few general remarks about the historical context were made. Obviously, readers could wish for more of a contextual frame of reference, and in fact this frame would have been helpful. Besides the mention of Ash‘arī’s doctrine of the *Ṣifāt* and the Sanusi movement, more attention could have been paid to the emergence of Berber manuscript tradition. Historical reference to forerunners like the *Qur’an of Baryawāṭa* is also of interest. However, since this is a linguistic (and not a historical or theological) thesis, all these issues fall outside its scope.

It is clear that a lot more could be said on any of the above-mentioned points. The author would have liked to raise and answer many other questions, but this would require a high level of expertise in various fields. In fact, this research has shown that a project like this is rather suitable for a multi-disciplinary approach and team, involving linguists, grammatologists, codicologists, philologists, historians, theologians, and philosophers.

Let me conclude with these words: there exist in the world millions of manuscripts, in Arabic (about which we know quite a lot, but still not everything), Berber (about which we know little), as well as in other languages (about which we know even less). The present work is not the only one, not the first, and not the last of its kind. As others have done before me, I tried to produce thorough and thought-provoking study, one that asks questions and answers some, and gives ideas to other researchers.

In truth, this work might have been devoted to another manuscript, written in a different script, representing a different language, and a different culture and line of thought. This particular MS happened to be devoted to the *Sanusi creed*, written in Berber ajami. This allowed the author to investigate this particular script, this particular language, and this particular culture.

This investigation can (and, in fact, should) be seen as a part of a larger whole. Perhaps, it will allow some ‘to see a world in a grain of sand’, a grain of sand that reflects and contains within itself a larger system: a writing system, a language system, and, ultimately, human nature, as it is expressed by means of language and script.



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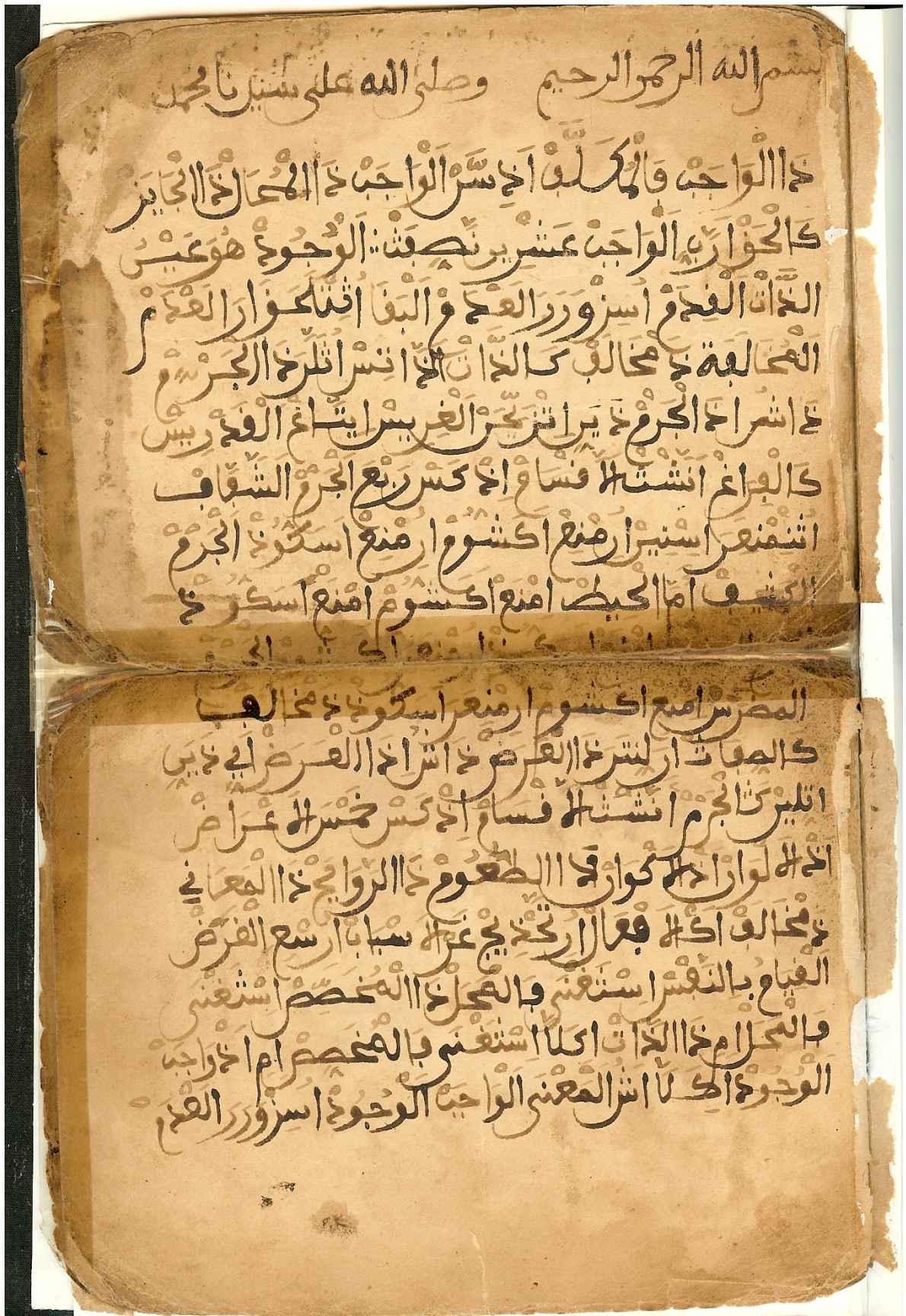
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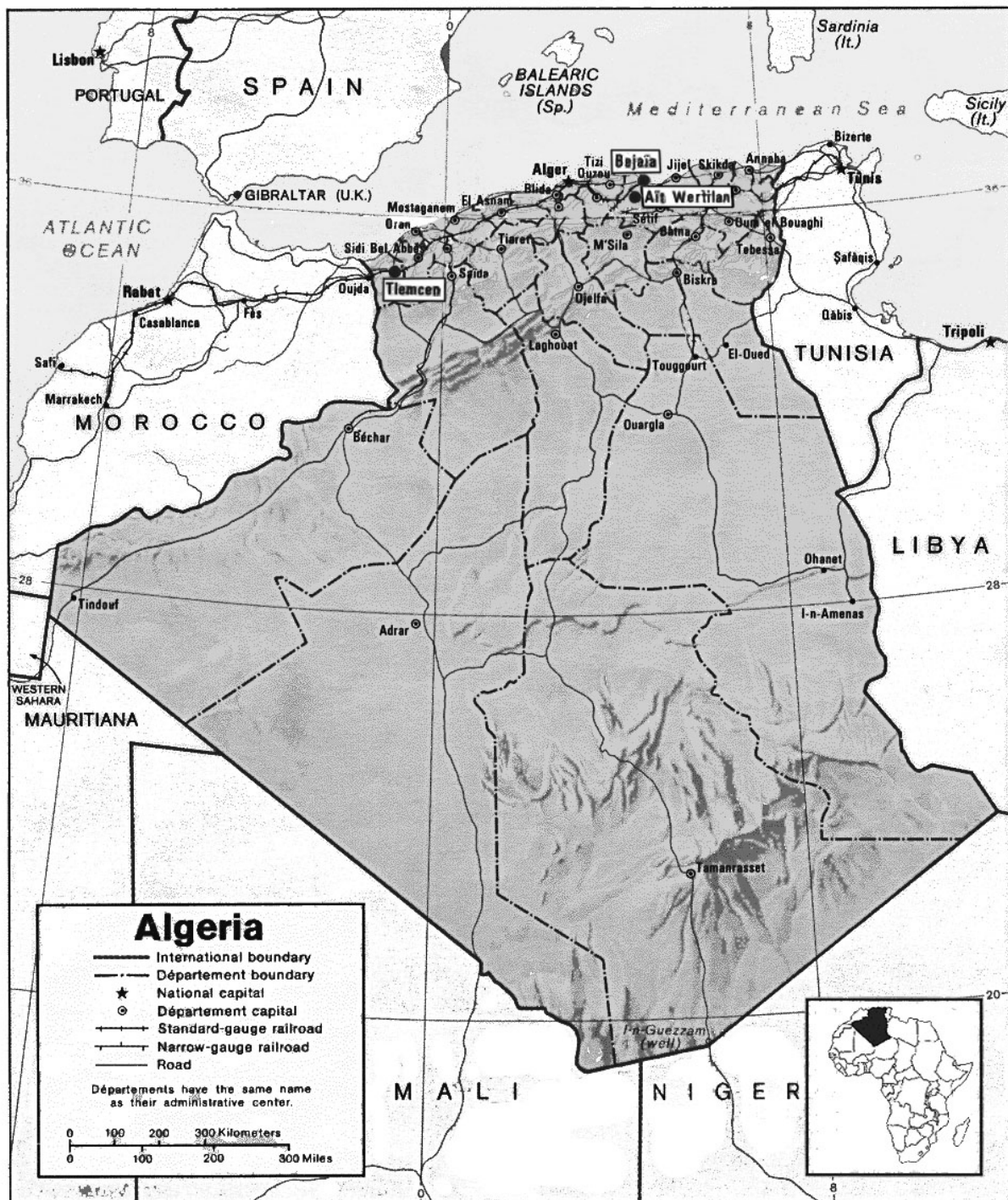
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اذ لو كان الغاية ثلوا فمقتضى اختياره في غير العمل
 في المحض مقتضى غير العمل في الصفة ميل في الصفة
 استوجب شر سبعة الغاية في المعناويات مسوحيات المعاني
 في المعناويات استتب بلس الصنع مقتضى غير المحض
 اذ ميل في الجايز الوجود ميل في الجايز الوجود اذ ميل في الجايز
 ميل في الجايز في الغايات بلس الفهم في البقاء استتب بلس
 الفهم في البقاء المحال اذ ميل في الجايز في المحال اذ ميل في الجايز
 الوجود في المحال استتب بلس في المحال استوجب شر المعاني

أم لا الصنعة ثم لا ورأى الخليل غفيرا هذا المريد أم لا التوارة الرذا
 المريد الوفا الكارة أم لا أم لا الكارة أم لا الوفا توجده الصنعة
 أفيون وحريو الفاثوة غير الصنعة الشيت لكن أيتذكر كذا الصنعة
 أم بعد مطيع أن كسر المحال أتوجد الصنعة أفيون وطريق
 أسوجبارية في الأراية الكرامة فلس في المحال وهو المطلوب
 لقلم أو جبارية الجمل فلس في المحال الخليل فلس في الصنعة أم لا
 الصنعة ثم لا ورأى الخليل غفيرا في العالم أم لا التوارة الرذا
 العالم الوفا المحال الكلاميل في الجاهل أم لا الفثوة الصنعة
 الشيت لكن أيتذكر كذا الصنعة أم بعد مطيع أن كسر المحال
 أسوجبارية في القلم الجمل فلس في المحال وهو المطلوب
 الحيوة توجب أرب المعان فلس في المحال الخليل فلس في الصنعة
 الرذا الجبر الوفا الميت أم لا الميت أم لا الميت أم لا الفثوة
 الصنعة الشيت لكن أيتذكر كذا الصنعة أم بعد مطيع
 أن كسر المحال أسوجبارية في الحيوة المعان فلس في المحال
 وهو المطلوب السمع في البصر في الكلام وجبارية الصمم
 في العمى في البصر في المحال في الخليل فلس في الكتاب في السئلة
 في الإجماع في الميت في الرب في السئلة في الرب في الله عليه وسلم
 الإجماع في القلم في الرب في السئلة في الرب في الله عليه وسلم
 بلا سر ولا جهر في المحال في الرب في السئلة في الرب في الله عليه وسلم

عند جواز الامراض البشرية التي يرساها الانبياء والمليكات
 والمليكات والكتب السموية واليوم الآخر الصمد ووجب الرسل
 الخ في فلسفة الاحمال اشوا في الدليل فلسفة المعجزة اشوا
 في المعجزة في التحريف الفاعلة اشوا في التحريف الفاعلة سالفه
 في الارادة الامانة ثوجب الرسل الخيانة فلسفة الاحمال اشوا
 الدليل فلسفة اعصم في الجوارح اسراك الاحرام في المتروكة
 الوكان خدام الاحرام في المتروكة الوافل في الطاعة لم يخدم
 الواجب في المنع وباشوا في فلان الطاعة في ختم من
 في وليا التبليغ ووجب الرسل التمام فلسفة الاحمال
 اشوا في دليل فلسفة العلم الوكان تمام الانبياء الوكان
 العلم ايراج بل في الانبياء بلغت العلم العلم ابلغت
 انتم الزيادة الشر النقص انتم ليسم اليه الرحمن الرحيم

Appendix 1.2. Map of Algeria



Appendix 2.1. Sound inventory of Kabyle Berber

A) TABLEAU PHONETIQUE

a) selon l'Alphabet Phonétique International		labiales	dentales	sifflantes	chuintantes	palatales	vélaires	uvulaires	pharyngales	laryngales
OCCLUSIVES	non-emphatiques (non-pharyngales)	(p) b	t d	ts dz	tʃ dʒ		k g	q		
	emphatiques (pharyngales)		ɛ							
SPIRANTES	non-emphatiques (non-pharyngales)	β w θ	ð z	s z	ʃ ʒ j jʰ	ç		χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	
	emphatiques (pharyngales)		ʕ ʕ	s z	f ʒ					
nasales		m	n							
latérales et vibrantes			l r ɾ ʀ							

b) notre transcription utilisée dans ce dictionnaire

OCCLUSIVES	non-emphatiques	ɸ	t̄ d̄	t̄ z̄	ç̄ j̄		k̄ ḡ	q		
	emphatiques		t̄ s̄							
SPIRANTES (a)	non-emphatiques	b w d	t d	s z	c j y g	k		x ɣ	ħ ɛ	h
	emphatiques		d̄ z̄	s̄ z̄	ç̄ j̄					
nasales		ṁ	n							
latérales et vibrantes			l r ɾ ʀ							

(1) Les longues (tendues, redoublées, géminées) spirantes, peu fréquentes, sont marquées d'un _ : bb, dd, tt: yebbenben, ifettel.

Source: Dallet 1982: XXVII.

B) TABLEAU PHONOLOGIQUE DU KABYLE

consonnes

		labiales	dentales	sifflantes	alveo-palatales	palato-vélaires	uvulaires	pharyngales	laryngales
Spirantes	non-emphatiques	b	t d	s z	c j	k g	x ɣ	ħ ʕ	h
	emphatiques		ḏ	ṣ ẓ	č ǰ				
	nasales	m	n						
	vibrante latérale			r ṛ	l ḷ				
	sonantes	w				y			
Tendues	non-emphatiques	bb	tt dd	ṭṭ ẓẓ	çç ǰǰ	kk gg	xx qq	ħħ ʕʕ	hh
	emphatiques		ṭṭ	ṭṭ					
	nasales	mm	nn						
	vibrante latérale			rr ṛṛ	ll ḷḷ				
	sonantes	bbʷ				gɣ			
Occlusives	non-emphatiques	(p) ḅ	t ḏ	ṭ ẓ	ç ǰ	k g	q		
	emphatique		ṭ						

voyelles Il n'y a que trois phonèmes; i, voyelle antérieure fermée; u, voyelle postérieure fermée; a, voyelle ouverte.
N.B. le e correspondant au "schwa" ə, sorte de e muet, simple appui vocalique pour constituer une syllabe.

Source: Dallet 1982: XXVIII.

Appendix 2.2. The Kabyle Berber alphabet

A	a, ä	(P)	(p)
B	<u>b</u> , b	Γ	γ
Č	č	Q	q
D	<u>d</u> , d	R, Ṛ	r, ṛ
Ḍ	ḍ	S	s
F	f	Ṣ	ṣ
G	<u>g</u> , g	Š	š
H	h	T	<u>t</u> , t, ṭ
Ḥ	ḥ	Ṭ	ṭ
I	i	U	u
J, Ğ	j, ğ	W	w
K	<u>k</u> , k	X	x
L	l, ḷ	Y	y
M	m	Z, Ṽ	z, ṽ
N	n	Σ	ε

Appendix 3. Arabic text of *Umm al-Barāhīn*

متن أم البراهين

المسمى

بالعقيدة السنوسية الصغرى

للإمام

أبي عبد الله محمد بن يوسف السنوسي الحسني

رحمه الله تعالى ونفعنا به وبعلمه

آمين

ضبطت على نسخة الحلبي ونسخة الأستاذ سعيد فودة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ.

وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ.

أَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْحُكْمَ الْعَقْلِيَّ يَنْحَصِرُ فِي ثَلَاثَةِ أَقْسَامٍ: الْوُجُوبِ، وَالِاسْتِحَالَةِ، وَالْجَوَازِ.

فَالْوَجِبُ: مَا لَا يُتَصَوَّرُ فِي الْعَقْلِ عَدَمُهُ.

وَالْمُسْتَحِيلُ: مَا لَا يُتَصَوَّرُ فِي الْعَقْلِ وُجُودُهُ.

وَالْجَائِزُ: مَا يَصِحُّ فِي الْعَقْلِ وَجُودُهُ وَعَدَمُهُ.

وَيَجِبُ عَلَى كُلِّ مُكَلَّفٍ شَرْعًا أَنْ يَعْرِفَ مَا يَجِبُ فِي حَقِّ مَوْلَانَا جَلَّ وَعَزَّ، وَمَا يَسْتَحِلُّ، وَمَا يَجُوزُ.

وَكَذَا يَجِبُ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَعْرِفَ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ فِي حَقِّ الرُّسُلِ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ.

فَمِمَّا يَجِبُ لِمَوْلَانَا جَلَّ وَعَزَّ عِشْرُونَ صِفَةً، وَهِيَ:

الْوُجُودُ.

وَالْقَدَمُ.

وَالْبَقَاءُ.

وَمُخَالَفَتُهُ تَعَالَى لِلْحَوَادِثِ.

وَقِيَامُهُ تَعَالَى بِنَفْسِهِ: أَيُّ لَا يَفْتَقِرُ إِلَى مَحَلٍّ، وَلَا مُخَصَّصٍ.

وَالْوَحْدَانِيَّةُ: أَيُّ لَا ثَانِي لَهُ فِي ذَاتِهِ، وَلَا فِي صِفَاتِهِ، وَلَا فِي أَعْمَالِهِ.

فَهَذِهِ سِتُّ صِفَاتٍ:

الْأُولَى نَفْسِيَّةٌ، وَهِيَ: الْوُجُودُ.

وَالْخَمْسَةُ بَعْدَهَا سَلْبِيَّةٌ.

ثُمَّ يَجِبُ لَهُ تَعَالَى سَبْعُ صِفَاتٍ، تُسَمَّى صِفَاتِ الْمَعَانِي، وَهِيَ:

الْقُدْرَةُ، وَالْإِرَادَةُ: الْمُتَعَلِّقَانِ بِجَمِيعِ الْمُمْكِنَاتِ.

وَالْعِلْمُ الْمُتَعَلِّقُ بِجَمِيعِ الْوَاجِبَاتِ، وَالْجَائِزَاتِ، وَالْمُسْتَحِيلَاتِ.

وَالْحَيَاةُ، وَهِيَ: لَا تَتَعَلَّقُ بِشَيْءٍ.

وَالسَّمْعُ وَالْبَصَرُ: الْمُتَعَلِّقَانِ بِجَمِيعِ الْمَوْجِدَاتِ.

وَالْكَلَامُ: الَّذِي لَيْسَ بِحَرْفٍ، وَلَا صَوْتٍ، وَيَتَعَلَّقُ بِمَا يَتَعَلَّقُ بِهِ الْعِلْمُ مِنَ الْمُتَعَلِّقَاتِ.

ثُمَّ سَبْعُ صِفَاتٍ، تُسَمَّى صِفَاتِ مَعْنَوِيَّةٍ، وَهِيَ: مُلَازِمَةُ السَّبْعِ الْأُولَى، وَهِيَ:

كَوْنُهُ تَعَالَى: قَادِرًا، وَمُرِيدًا. وَعَالِمًا وَحَيًّا، وَسَمِيعًا، وَبَصِيرًا، وَمُتَكَلِّمًا.

وَمِمَّا يَسْتَحِيلُ فِي حَقِّهِ تَعَالَى عِشْرُونَ صِفَةً، وَهِيَ أَضْدَادُ الْعِشْرِينَ الْأُولَى، وَهِيَ:

الْعَدَمُ.

وَالْحُدُوثُ.

وَطَرُؤُ الْعَدَمِ.

وَالْمُمَاتِلَةُ لِلْحَوَادِثِ: بَأَنْ يَكُونَ جَرَمًا: أَيْ تَأْخُذَ ذَاتُهُ الْعِلِيَّةُ قَدْرًا مِنَ الْفَرَاغِ. أَوْ يَكُونَ عَرَضًا يَقُومُ بِالْجَرَمِ، أَوْ يَكُونَ فِي جِهَةِ الْجَرَمِ، أَوَّلُهُ هُوَ جِهَةٌ، أَوْ يَتَّقِدَ بِمَكَانٍ، أَوْ زَمَانٍ، أَوْ تَتَّصِفَ ذَاتُهُ الْعِلِيَّةُ بِالْحَوَادِثِ، أَوْ يَتَّصِفَ بِالصَّغَرِ، أَوْ الْكِبَرِ، أَوْ يَتَّصِفَ بِالْأَعْرَاضِ فِي الْأَفْعَالِ أَوْ الْأَحْكَامِ. وَكَذَا يَسْتَحِيلُ عَلَيْهِ تَعَالَى أَنْ لَا يَكُونَ قَائِمًا بِنَفْسِهِ، بَأَنْ يَكُونَ صِفَةً يَقُومُ بِمَحَلٍّ، أَوْ يَحْتَاجُ إِلَى مُخَصَّصٍ.

وَكَذَا يَسْتَحِيلُ عَلَيْهِ تَعَالَى أَنْ لَا يَكُونَ وَاحِدًا بَأَنْ يَكُونَ مُرَكَّبًا فِي ذَاتِهِ، أَوْ يَكُونَ لَهُ مُمَاتِلٌ فِي ذَاتِهِ، أَوْ صِفَاتِهِ، أَوْ يَكُونَ مَعَهُ فِي الْوُجُودِ مُؤَثِّرٌ فِي فِعْلٍ مِنَ الْأَفْعَالِ. وَكَذَا يَسْتَحِيلُ عَلَيْهِ تَعَالَى الْعَجْزُ عَنْ مَمَكِنٍ مَّا، وَإِيجَادُ شَيْءٍ مِنَ الْعَالَمِ مَعَ كَرَاهَتِهِ لَوْجُودِهِ. أَيْ عَدَمِ إِرَادَتِهِ لَهُ تَعَالَى أَوْ مَعَ الذُّهُولِ، أَوْ الْعَفْلَةِ، أَوْ بِالتَّعْلِيلِ، أَوْ بِالطَّبْعِ. وَكَذَا يَسْتَحِيلُ عَلَيْهِ تَعَالَى الْجَهْلُ وَمَا فِي مَعْنَاهُ بِمَعْلُومٍ مَّا، وَالْمَوْتُ، وَالصَّمَمُ، وَالْعَمَى وَالْبُكْمُ. وَأَضْدَادُ الصِّفَاتِ الْمَعْنَوِيَّةِ وَاضِحَةٌ مِنْ هَذِهِ.

وَأَمَّا الْجَائِزُ فِي حَقِّهِ تَعَالَى: فَفِعْلٌ كُلٌّ مَمَكِنٍ أَوْ تَرَكُهُ.

أَمَّا بُرْهَانُ وَجُودِهِ تَعَالَى: فَحُدُوثُ الْعَالَمِ، لِأَنَّهُ لَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ مُحْدَثٌ بَلْ حَدَثَ بِنَفْسِهِ لَزِمَ أَنْ يَكُونَ أَحَدُ الْأَمْرَيْنِ الْمُتَسَاوَيْنَيْنِ مُسَاوِيًا لِصَاحِبِهِ رَاجِحًا عَلَيْهِ بِلَا سَبَبٍ وَهُوَ مُحَالٌ. وَدَلِيلُ حُدُوثِ الْعَالَمِ مُلَازِمَتُهُ لِلْأَعْرَاضِ الْحَادِثَةِ مِنْ: حَرَكَةٍ، أَوْ سُكُونٍ أَوْ غَيْرِهِمَا، وَمُلَازِمُ الْحَادِثِ حَدِثٌ. وَدَلِيلُ حُدُوثِ الْأَعْرَاضِ مُشَاهَدَةُ تَغْيِيرِهَا مِنْ عَدَمٍ إِلَى وَجُودٍ، وَمِنْ وَجُودٍ إِلَى عَدَمٍ. وَأَمَّا بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ الْقِدَمِ لَهُ تَعَالَى: فَلِأَنَّهُ لَوْ يَكُنْ قَدِيمًا، لَكَانَ حَادِثًا فَيَقْفِرُ إِلَى مُحْدَثٍ، فَيَلْزِمُ الدَّوْرُ، أَوْ التَّسْلُسُ.

وَأَمَّا بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ الْبَقَاءِ لَهُ تَعَالَى، فَلِأَنَّهُ لَوْ أَمَكَّنَ أَنْ يَلْحَقَهُ الْعَدَمُ، لَأَتَتْفَى عَنْهُ الْقِدَمُ لِكَوْنِ وَجُودِهِ حِينَئِذٍ جَائِزًا لَا وَاجِبًا، وَالْجَائِزُ لَا يَكُونُ وَجُودُهُ إِلَّا حَادِثًا، كَيْفَ! وَقَدْ سَبَقَ قَرِيبًا وَجُوبُ قِدَمِهِ تَعَالَى وَبَقَائِهِ. وَأَمَّا بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ مُخَالَفَتِهِ تَعَالَى لِلْحَوَادِثِ: فَلِأَنَّهُ لَوْ مَاتِلٌ شَيْئًا مِنْهَا، لَكَانَ حَادِثًا مِثْلَهَا، وَذَلِكَ مُحَالٌ لِمَا عَرَفْتَ قَبْلَ مِنْ وَجُوبِ قِدَمِهِ تَعَالَى وَبَقَائِهِ.

وَأَمَّا بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ قِيَامِهِ تَعَالَى بِنَفْسِهِ: فَلِأَنَّهُ تَعَالَى لَوْ احتَاجَ إِلَى مَحَلٍّ لَكَانَ صِفَةً، وَالصِّفَةُ لَا تَتَّصِفُ بِصِفَاتِ الْمَعَانِي، وَلَا الْمَعْنَوِيَّةِ، وَمَوْلَانَا جَلَّ وَعَزَّ يَجِبُ اتِّصَافُهُ بِهِمَا فَلَيْسَ بِصِفَةٍ. وَلَوْ احتَاجَ إِلَى مُخَصَّصٍ لَكَانَ حَادِثًا، كَيْفَ! وَقَدْ قَامَ الْبُرْهَانُ عَلَى وَجُوبِ قِدَمِهِ تَعَالَى وَبَقَائِهِ.

وَأَمَّا بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ الْوَحْدَانِيَّةِ لَهُ تَعَالَى: فَلِأَنَّهُ لَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ وَاحِدًا لَزِمَ أَنْ لَا يُوجَدَ شَيْءٌ مِنَ الْعَالَمِ لِلزُّومِ

عَجَزَهُ حِينَئِذٍ.

وَأَمَّا بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ اتِّصَافِهِ تَعَالَى بِالْقُدْرَةِ وَالْإِرَادَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ وَالْحَيَاةِ: فَلَا تَنْفَى شَيْءٌ مِنْهَا لَمَّا وَجِدَ شَيْءٌ مِنَ الْحَوَادِثِ .

وَأَمَّا بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ السَّمْعِ لَهُ تَعَالَى وَالْبَصَرِ وَالْكَلَامِ: فَالْكِتَابُ وَالسُّنَّةُ وَالْإِجْمَاعُ، وَأَيْضًا لَوْ لَمْ يَتَّصِفَ بِهَا لَزِمَ أَنْ يَتَّصِفَ بِأَضْدَادِهَا، وَهِيَ نَقَائِصُ، وَالتَّقْصُّ عَلَيْهِ تَعَالَى مُحَالٌ.

وَأَمَّا بُرْهَانُ كَوْنِ فِعْلِ الْمُمْكِنَاتِ أَوْ تَرْكِهَا حَائِزًا فِي حَقِّهِ تَعَالَى: فَلَا تَنْفَى لَوْ وَجَبَ عَلَيْهِ تَعَالَى شَيْءٌ مِنْهَا عَقْلًا، أَوْ اسْتِحَالَ عَقْلًا لَا تُقَلِّبُ الْمُمْكِنُ وَاجِبًا أَوْ مُسْتَحِيلًا، وَذَلِكَ لَا يُعْقَلُ.

وَأَمَّا الرُّسُلُ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ:

فَيَجِبُ فِي حَقِّهِمُ: الصَّدَقُ وَالْأَمَانَةُ وَتَبْلِيغُ مَا أُمِرُوا بِتَبْلِيغِهِ لِلخَلْقِ.

وَيَسْتَحِيلُ فِي حَقِّهِمُ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ أَضْدَادُ هَذِهِ الصِّفَاتِ، وَهِيَ: الْكَذِبُ وَالْخِيَانَةُ بِفِعْلِ شَيْءٍ مِمَّا نُهَوْا عَنْهُ تَحْرِيمٌ أَوْ كَرَاهَةٌ، أَوْ كِتْمَانُ شَيْءٍ مِمَّا أُمِرُوا بِتَبْلِيغِهِ لِلخَلْقِ.

وَيَجُوزُ فِي حَقِّهِمُ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ مَا هُوَ مِنَ الْأَعْرَاضِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ الَّتِي لَا تُؤَدِّي إِلَى نَقْصٍ فِي مَرَاتِبِهِمُ الْعَلِيَّةِ ؛ كَالْمَرَضِ وَنَحْوِهِ.

أَمَّا بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ صِدْقِهِمْ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ: فَلَا تَنْفَى لَوْ لَمْ يَصْدُقُوا لَلَزِمَ الْكَذِبُ فِي خَيْرِهِ تَعَالَى لِتَصْدِيقِهِ تَعَالَى لَهُمْ بِالْمُعْجَزَةِ النَّازِلَةِ مَنْزِلَةَ قَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى: صَدَقَ عَبْدِي فِي كُلِّ مَا يُبْلَغُ عَنِّي.

وَأَمَّا بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ الْأَمَانَةِ لَهُمْ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ: فَلَا تَنْفَى لَوْ خَانُوا بِفِعْلِ مُحَرَّمٍ، أَوْ مَكْرُوهٍ، لَا تُقَلِّبُ الْمُحَرَّمُ، أَوْ الْمَكْرُوهُ طَاعَةً فِي حَقِّهِمْ، لِأَنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى أَمَرَنَا بِالْإِقْتِدَاءِ بِهِمْ فِي أَقْوَالِهِمْ وَأَفْعَالِهِمْ، وَلَا يَأْمُرُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِفِعْلِ مُحَرَّمٍ وَلَا مَكْرُوهٍ. وَهَذَا بَعَيْنُهُ هُوَ بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ الثَّالِثِ.

وَأَمَّا دَلِيلُ جَوَازِ الْأَعْرَاضِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ عَلَيْهِمْ: فَمَشَاهِدَةُ وَقُوعِهَا بِهِمْ: إِمَّا لِتَعْظِيمِ أَجُورِهِمْ أَوْ لِلتَّشْرِيعِ أَوْ لِلتَّسْلِي عَنْ الدُّنْيَا، أَوْ لِلتَّنْبِيهِ لِحَسَّةِ قَدْرِهَا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى، وَعَدَمِ رِضَاهُ بِهَا دَارَ جَزَاءٍ لَأَنْبِيَائِهِ وَأَوْلِيَائِهِ بِاعْتِبَارِ أَحْوَالِهِمْ فِيهَا عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ.

وَيَجْمَعُ مَعَانِي هَذِهِ الْعَقَائِدِ كُلِّهَا قَوْلُ:

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

إِذْ مَعْنَى الْأُلُوْهِيَّةِ: اسْتِغْنَاءُ الْإِلَهِ عَنْ كُلِّ مَا سِوَاهُ، وَافْتِقَارُ كُلِّ مَا عَدَاهُ إِلَيْهِ.

فَمَعْنَى لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ: لَا مُسْتَعْنَى عَنْ كُلِّ مَا سِوَاهُ، وَمُفْتَقِرًا إِلَيْهِ كُلُّ مَا عَدَاهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى.

أَمَّا اسْتِغْنَاؤُهُ جَلَّ وَعَزَّ عَنْ كُلِّ مَا سِوَاهُ، فَهُوَ يُوجِبُ لَهُ تَعَالَى: الْوُجُودَ، وَالْقَدَمَ، وَالْبَقَاءَ، وَالْمُخَالَفَةَ لِلْحَوَادِثِ، وَالْقِيَامَ بِالنَّفْسِ، وَالتَّنَزُّهَ عَنِ النَّقَائِصِ.

وَيَدْخُلُ فِي ذَلِكَ وَجُوبُ السَّمْعِ لَهُ تَعَالَى وَالْبَصَرِ وَالْكَلَامِ، إِذْ لَوْ لَمْ تَجِبْ لَهُ هَذِهِ الصِّفَاتُ لَكَانَ مُحْتَاجًا إِلَى الْمُحَدِّثِ، أَوْ الْمَحَلِّ، أَوْ مَنْ يَدْفَعُ عَنْهُ النَّقَائِصَ.

وَيُؤْخَذُ مِنْهُ: تَنَزُّهُهُ تَعَالَى عَنِ الْأَغْرَاضِ فِي أَفْعَالِهِ وَأَحْكَامِهِ، وَإِلَّا لَزِمَ افْتِقَارُهُ إِلَى مَا يُحْصِلُ غَرَضَهُ، كَيْفَ! وَهُوَ جَلَّ وَعَزَّ الْغَنِيِّ عَنْ كُلِّ مَا سِوَاهُ.

وَيُؤْخَذُ مِنْهُ أَيْضًا: أَنَّهُ لَا يَجِبُ عَلَيْهِ تَعَالَى فِعْلُ شَيْءٍ مِنَ الْمُمْكِنَاتِ عَقْلًا وَلَا تَرْكُهُ، إِذْ لَوْ وَجَبَ عَلَيْهِ تَعَالَى شَيْءٌ مِنْهَا عَقْلًا كَالثَّوَابِ مَثَلًا، لَكَانَ جَلَّ وَعَزَّ مُفْتَقِرًا إِلَى ذَلِكَ الشَّيْءِ لِيَتَكَمَّلَ بِهِ غَرَضُهُ، إِذْ لَا يَجِبُ فِي حَقِّهِ تَعَالَى إِلَّا مَا هُوَ كَمَالٌ لَهُ، كَيْفَ وَهُوَ جَلَّ وَعَزَّ الْغَنِيِّ كُلِّ مَا سِوَاهُ.

وَأَمَّا افْتِقَارُ كُلِّ مَا عَدَاهُ إِلَيْهِ جَلَّ وَعَزَّ فَهُوَ يُوجِبُ لَهُ تَعَالَى الْحَيَاةَ، وَعُمُومَ الْقُدْرَةِ وَالْإِرَادَةِ وَالْعِلْمَ، إِذْ لَوْ انْتَهَى شَيْءٌ مِنْهَا لَمَا أَمْكَنَ أَنْ يُوجَدَ شَيْءٌ مِنَ الْحَوَادِثِ فَلَا يَفْتَقِرُ إِلَيْهِ شَيْءٌ، كَيْفَ! وَهُوَ الَّذِي يَفْتَقِرُ إِلَيْهِ كُلُّ مَا سِوَاهُ.

وَيُوجِبُ لَهُ تَعَالَى أَيْضًا: الْوَحْدَانِيَّةَ، إِذْ لَوْ كَانَ مَعَهُ ثَانٍ فِي الْأُلُوْهِيَّةِ لَمَا افْتَقَرَ إِلَيْهِ شَيْءٌ لِلزُّومِ عَجْزِهِمَا حِينَئِذٍ، كَيْفَ! وَهُوَ الَّذِي يَفْتَقِرُ إِلَيْهِ كُلُّ مَا سِوَاهُ.

وَيُؤْخَذُ مِنْهُ أَيْضًا: حَدُوثُ الْعَالَمِ بِأَسْرِهِ، إِذْ كَانَ شَيْءٌ مِنْهُ قَدِيمًا لَكَانَ ذَلِكَ الشَّيْءُ مُسْتَعْنِيًا عَنْهُ تَعَالَى، كَيْفَ! وَهُوَ الَّذِي يَجِبُ أَنْ يَفْتَقِرُ إِلَيْهِ كُلُّ مَا سِوَاهُ.

وَيُؤْخَذُ مِنْهُ أَيْضًا: أَنَّهُ لَا تَأْثِيرَ لَشَيْءٍ مِنَ الْكَائِنَاتِ فِي أَثَرٍ مَا، وَإِلَّا لَزِمَ أَنْ يَسْتَعْنِيَ ذَلِكَ الْأَثَرُ عَنْ مَوْلَانَا جَلَّ وَعَزَّ، كَيْفَ! وَهُوَ الَّذِي يَفْتَقِرُ إِلَيْهِ كُلُّ مَا سِوَاهُ عُمُومًا.

وَعَلَى كُلِّ حَالٍ، هَذَا إِنْ قَدَّرْتَ أَنَّ شَيْئًا مِنَ الْكَائِنَاتِ يُؤَثِّرُ بِطَبْعِهِ، وَأَمَّا إِنْ قَدَّرْتَهُ مُؤَثِّرًا بِقُوَّةٍ جَعَلَهَا اللَّهُ فِيهِ كَمَا يَزْعُمُهُ كَثِيرٌ مِنَ الْجَهْلَةِ فَذَلِكَ مُحَالٌ أَيْضًا، لِأَنَّهُ يَصِيرُ حِينَئِذٍ مَوْلَانَا جَلَّ وَعَزَّ مُفْتَقِرًا فِي إِيجَادِ بَعْضِ الْأَفْعَالِ إِلَى وَاسِطَةٍ، وَذَلِكَ بَاطِلٌ لِمَا عَرَفْتَ مِنْ وَجُوبِ اسْتِغْنَائِهِ جَلَّ وَعَزَّ عَنْ كُلِّ مَا سِوَاهُ.

فَقَدْ بَانَ لَكَ تَضَمُّنُ قَوْلِ: لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ لِلْأَقْسَامِ الثَّلَاثَةِ الَّتِي يَجِبُ عَلَى الْمُكَلَّفِ مَعْرِفَتُهَا فِي حَقِّ مَوْلَانَا جَلَّ وَعَزَّ، وَهِيَ:

مَا يَجِبُ فِي حَقِّهِ تَعَالَى، وَمَا يَسْتَحِيلُ، وَمَا يَجُوزُ.

وَأَمَّا قَوْلُنَا مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَيَدْخُلُ الْإِيمَانُ الْأَنْبِيَاءَ وَالْمَلَائِكَةَ وَالْكِتَابَ السَّمَاوِيَّ
وَالْيَوْمَ الْآخِرَ، لِأَنَّهُ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ جَاءَ بِتَصْدِيقِ جَمِيعِ ذَلِكَ كُلِّهِ.

وَيُؤْخَذُ مِنْهُ: وَجُوبُ صَدَقِ الرِّسَالِ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ. وَاسْتِحَالَةُ الْكَذِبِ عَلَيْهِمْ، وَإِلَّا لَمْ يَكُونُوا
رُسُلًا أَمْنَاءَ لِمَوْلَانَا الْعَالَمِ بِالْخَفِيَّاتِ جَلَّ وَعَزَّ.

وَاسْتِحَالَةُ فِعْلِ الْمُنْهَيَّاتِ كُلِّهَا لِأَنَّهُمْ أُرْسِلُوا لِيُعَلِّمُوا النَّاسَ بِأَقْوَالِهِمْ، وَأَفْعَالِهِمْ وَسُكُوتِهِمْ، فَيَلْزَمُ أَنْ لَا
يَكُونَ فِي جَمِيعِهَا مُخَالَفَةٌ لِأَمْرِ مَوْلَانَا جَلَّ وَعَزَّ الَّذِي اخْتَارَهُمْ عَلَى جَمِيعِ خَلْقِهِ وَأَمْنَهُمْ عَلَى سِرِّ وَحْيِهِ.

وَيُؤْخَذُ مِنْهُ: جَوَازُ الْأَعْرَاضِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ عَلَيْهِمْ، إِذْ ذَاكَ لَا يَقْدَحُ فِي رِسَالَتِهِمْ، وَعُلُوُّ مَنْزِلَتِهِمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى
بَلْ ذَاكَ مِمَّا يَزِيدُ فِيهَا.

فَقَدْ بَانَ لَكَ تَضَمُّنُ كَلِمَتِي الشَّهَادَةِ مَعَ قَلَّةِ حُرُوفِهَا لِجَمِيعِ مَا يَجِبُ عَلَى الْمُكَلَّفِ مَعْرِفَتُهُ مِنْ عَقَائِدِ الْإِيمَانِ
فِي حَقِّهِ تَعَالَى وَفِي حَقِّ رُسُلِهِ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ.

وَلَعَلَّهَا لِاخْتِصَارِهَا مَعَ اشْتِمَالِهَا عَلَى مَا ذَكَرْنَاهُ جَعَلَهَا الشَّرْعُ تَرْجُمَةً عَلَى مَا فِي الْقَلْبِ مِنَ الْإِسْلَامِ، وَلَمْ
يَقْبَلْ مِنْ أَحَدٍ الْإِيمَانُ إِلَّا بِهَا.

فَعَلَى الْعَاقِلِ أَنْ يُكْثِرَ مِنْ ذِكْرِهَا مُسْتَحْضِرًا لِمَا احْتَوَتْ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ عَقَائِدِ الْإِيمَانِ حَتَّى تَمْتَرِجَ مَعَ مَعْنَاهَا
بِلَحْمِهِ وَدَمِهِ، فَإِنَّهُ يَرَى لَهَا مِنْ الْأَسْرَارِ وَالْعَجَائِبِ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى مَا لَا يَدْخُلُ تَحْتَ حَصْرِ، وَبِاللَّهِ التَّوْفِيقُ لَا
رَبَّ غَيْرُهُ، وَلَا مَعْبُودَ سِوَاهُ.

نَسْأَلُهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى أَنْ يَجْعَلَنَا وَأَحِبَّتَنَا عِنْدَ الْمَوْتِ نَاطِقِينَ بِكَلِمَةِ الشَّهَادَةِ عَالِمِينَ بِهَا.

وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ، كُلَّمَا ذَكَرَهُ الذَّاكِرُونَ، وَغَفَلَ عَنْ ذِكْرِهِ الْغَافِلُونَ.

وَرَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْ أَصْحَابِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أَجْمَعِينَ وَالتَّابِعِينَ لَهُمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ إِلَى يَوْمِ الدِّينِ.

وَسَلَامٌ عَلَى الْمُرْسَلِينَ.

وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ.

تم متن السنوسية في علم التوحيد

Appendix 4.1. Manuscript KA 21 and *Umm al-Barāhīn*

(bold = things in common)

Umm al-Barāhīn (aṣ-Ṣuyrā)

Kabyle manuscript KA21

(First group of attributes)

- 1-3. كَالْحَقِّ أَرَبُّ الْوَاجِبِ عَشْرِينَ نَصِّفَتْ
فَمِمَّا يَجِبُ لِمَوْلَانَا جَلٌّ وَعَزٌّ عَشْرُونَ صِفَةً
- 1-3. الْوُجُودُ هُوَ عَيْنُ الذَّاتِ
فَمِمَّا يَجِبُ لِمَوْلَانَا جَلٌّ وَعَزٌّ عَشْرُونَ صِفَةً، وَهِيَ:
الْوُجُودُ وَالْقَدَمُ وَالْبَقَاءُ
- 1-4. الْقَدَمُ أُسْزَوَّرَ الْعَدَمُ
فَمِمَّا يَجِبُ لِمَوْلَانَا جَلٌّ وَعَزٌّ عَشْرُونَ صِفَةً، وَهِيَ:
الْوُجُودُ وَالْقَدَمُ وَالْبَقَاءُ
- 1-4. أَلْبَقَا أَتْلَحَقَ أَرِ الْعَدَمُ
فَمِمَّا يَجِبُ لِمَوْلَانَا جَلٌّ وَعَزٌّ عَشْرُونَ صِفَةً، وَهِيَ:
الْوُجُودُ وَالْقَدَمُ وَالْبَقَاءُ
- 1-5. الْمُخَالَفَةُ ذَا مُخَالَفٍ كَالذَّاتِ
وَمُخَالَفَتُهُ تَعَالَى لِلْحَوَادِثِ
- 1-16. الْقِيَامُ بِالنَّفْسِ اسْتَعْنَى فَالْمَحَلُّ ذَا الْمُخَصَّصِ
وَقِيَامُهُ تَعَالَى بِنَفْسِهِ: أَيُّ لَا يَفْتَقِرُ إِلَى مَحَلٍّ، وَلَا
مُخَصَّصٍ
- 2-6. الْوَحْدَانِيَّةُ ذَوْحِيدٌ كَالذَّاتِ
وَالْوَحْدَانِيَّةُ

(Second group of attributes)

- 3-13. الْوُجُودُ أَوْجِبَ أَرَبُّ الْعَدَمِ فَلَسَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ الدَّلِيلُ
بُرْهَانُ وَجُودِهِ تَعَالَى
فَلَسَ
- 4-1. أَرَبُّ الْحُدُوثِ فَلَسَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسَ
بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ الْقَدَمِ لَهُ تَعَالَى: فَلَأَنَّهُ لَوْ يَكُنْ قَدِيمًا،
لَكَانَ حَادِثًا
- 4-10. أَلْبَقَا تَوْجِبَ أَرَبُّ أَلْفَنَّا فَلَسَ ذَا الْمُحَالِ الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسَ
بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ الْبَقَاءِ لَهُ تَعَالَى، فَلَأَنَّهُ لَوْ أُمْكَنَ أَنْ
يَلْحَقَهُ الْعَدَمُ

- 4-19. الْمُخَالَفَةُ تَوْجِبُ اِرَبَّ الْمُمَثِّلَةِ فَلَسَّ ذَا الْمُحَالَ
الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسَّ
بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ مُخَالَفَتِهِ تَعَالَى لِلْحَوَادِثِ: فَلَا تَنْهَ لَوْ
مَآثِلَ شَيْئًا مِنْهَا
- 5-9. اَلْقِيَامُ بِالنَّفْسِ اَوْجِبُ اِرَبَّ الْاِفْتِقَارِ فَلَسَّ ذَا الْمُحَالَ
الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسَّ
بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ قِيَامِهِ تَعَالَى بِنَفْسِهِ
-
- 6-3. اِسْوَجَبْنِ اِرَبَّ ذَا الْغِنَا الْمَطْلُقِ الْاِفْتِقَارُ فَلَسَّ ذَا
الْمُحَالَ الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسَّ
اَلْوَحْدَانِيَّةُ تَوْجِبُ اِرَبَّ التَّعَدُّدِ فَلَسَّ ذَا الْمُحَالَ
الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسَّ
بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ الْوَحْدَانِيَّةِ
- 6-15. اَلْقُدْرَةُ تَوْجِبُ اِرَبَّ الْاَعْجَزِ فَلَسَّ ذَا الْمُحَالَ الدَّلِيلُ
فَلَسَّ
بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ اِتِّصَافِهِ تَعَالَى بِالْقُدْرَةِ وَالْاِرَادَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ
وَالْحَيَاةِ
- 6-20. الْاِرَادَةُ تَوْجِبُ اِرَبَّ الْكِرَاهَةِ فَلَسَّ ذَا الْمُحَالَ
الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسَّ
بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ اِتِّصَافِهِ تَعَالَى بِالْقُدْرَةِ وَالْاِرَادَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ
وَالْحَيَاةِ
- 7-6. لَعَلَّمْ اَوْجِبُ اِرَبَّ اَلْجَهْلِ فَلَسَّ ذَا الْمُحَالَ الدَّلِيلُ
فَلَسَّ
بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ اِتِّصَافِهِ تَعَالَى بِالْقُدْرَةِ وَالْاِرَادَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ
وَالْحَيَاةِ
- 7-11. اَلْحَيَوَةُ تَوْجِبُ اِرَبَّ اَلْمَمَاتِ فَلَسَّ ذَا الْمُحَالَ
الدَّلِيلُ فَلَسَّ
بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ اِتِّصَافِهِ تَعَالَى بِالْقُدْرَةِ وَالْاِرَادَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ
وَالْحَيَاةِ
- 7-16. اَلسَّمْعُ ذَا الْبَصَرِ ذَا الْكَلَامِ وَجَبْنِ اِرَبَّ الصَّمَمِ ذَا
الْعَمَى ذَا الْبُكْمِ فَلَسَّ ذَا الْمُحَالَ اَشْ ذَا الدَّلِيلِ فَلَسَّ
بُرْهَانُ وَجُوبِ السَّمْعِ لَهُ تَعَالَى وَالْبَصَرِ وَالْكَلَامِ

Appendix 4.2. *Lmuhub Ulahbib* library

1) The Kabyle manuscript and manuscript KA 02

The digital library of manuscripts *Lmuhub Ulahbib* also contains an Arabic document treating the same topic (the *Sanusi creed*). It is Manuscript KA 02.¹⁰⁹ This document, unlike the one under investigation, is written entirely in Arabic. The manuscript dates back to the 17th or 18th century according to the website, and it contains nineteen pages. It is thus substantially longer than the Kabyle manuscript, as it also includes an additional commentary, or *šarḥ*. Thus, it is only on page 5 of the Arabic text that we find lines corresponding to the beginning of the Kabyle manuscript.¹¹⁰

2) Kabyle manuscripts KA 21 and KA 22

Also, the digital *Lmuhub Ulahbib* library contains another Kabyle Berber manuscript discussing the *Sanusi creed*. It is Manuscript KA 22.¹¹¹ According to the website, it dates back to the beginning of the 20th century. The website presents four images of the manuscript, each containing two pages. Thus, the entire document is eight pages long, which is the same as Manuscript KA 21.

We can identify the same words in both Berber texts, e.g. *lǧerm*, *lqidem*, and *leeǧez*. The sentence mentioning the twenty attributes is also found in both manuscripts: see 1-3 in KA 21, and 1-11 in KA 22.

Both Berber manuscripts treat the same topic (the *Sanusi creed*), and they are both written predominantly in Berber, but contain a large number of Arabic and Berberized words. However, there are some differences. First, Manuscript KA 22 is more difficult to read than the Kabyle manuscript discussed in this paper.¹¹² Second, as is evident from the first glance, manuscript KA 22 is written in form of a poem. The “phrase divider”, represented by three dots, is clearly visible (usually in the middle of the line), marking the end of the first half of the verse.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Reference link: <http://www.e-corpus.org/notices/98560/gallery/>. The author (as opposed to the scribe) of this document was probably one of Sanusi’s students known as Al-Mallālī (the name of the author is found on the first page).

¹¹⁰ Page 5 of the Arabic manuscript corresponds to image 7 on the website, since the first two images are not part of the actual manuscript.

¹¹¹ Reference link: http://www.e-corpus.org/eng/ref/69249/ka_22/.

¹¹² This is mainly because most of the words in the manuscript have no *taškīl* (vocalisation), and are thus difficult to decipher. Even though it is sometimes possible to spell the word letter by letter, its meaning is often not immediately apparent. This is especially true for the Berber (or Berberized) words.

¹¹³ In the Arabic poetry tradition, a verse consists of two parts, usually separated by a space. Here, however, the scribe used three dots instead of the space. Further, we can note that throughout page 1, the first half of the verse finishes with ب /b/, while the second half finishes with س /s/. Poetic form and rhymes are frequently used in religious Islamic texts to make them easier to memorize for students.

3) Kabyle manuscript KA 21 and the Soummam manuscript (tia 08)

I would like to thank Mr. Mechehed for drawing my attention to this MS (<http://www.e-corpus.org/eng/notices/88213-العقيدة-Al-Aqida-en-berbè-re-Manuel-dogmatique-en-berbè-re-.html>). I refer to this MS as ‘Soummam’, after a region in Petite Kabylia where it originates from.

The Soummam MS contains five pages. The first page begins with a short (eight lines) introduction written in Arabic, after which the Berber text follows. The manuscript treats the same subject as the MS under investigation (KA 21), and there are many common words and entire sentences.

The major differences between KA 21 and the Soummam are as follows:

1) The *Soummam* MS misses *taškīl* (supplementary diacritics)

- omission of *ḥarakāt* (vocalisation); as a result, [e] is not indicated by *fatha*;
- omission of *tašdīd*

While the omission of *šadda* in Arabic words is not so problematic, it causes more trouble for the interpretation of Berber words or phrases. Thus, the Berber preposition *n* ‘of’ is often assimilated to the following consonant in the Genitive construction (A *n* B ‘A of B’), e.g. *n Ṛebbi* > *ṛ^Ṛebbi*. Since the *Soummam* manuscript lacks *tašdīd*, *ṛ^Ṛebbi* is written simply as <rb>. One needs to be familiar with the syntax in order to reconstruct the underlying form.

2) Berberization

Some of the words that appear in MS KA 21 in “pure Arabic” form (at least in the spelling), are Berberized also in spelling in the *Soummam*. Thus, the *Soummam* MS occasionally does not have the *alif* of the Arabic article in Berberized words, which simply start with a *lām*.

3) Length

The *Soummam* MS is shorter than MS KA 21, and as a result is even more concise. Thus, ‘twenty attributes’ are not mentioned anywhere explicitly, and the passage explaining the meaning of *lǧerm* is missing.

4) More native Berber vocabulary

Some of the Arabic/Berberized lexemes of the MS KA 21 are translated or explained in Berber in the *Soummam*. Thus, words such as *ṣṣamam* ‘deafness’, *lɛama* ‘blindness’, and *lbakam* ‘muteness’, are explained. After the mention of *ṣṣamam*, the *Soummam* MS reads: *aṣu i d ṣṣamam? tteezzugt* (< d t tteezzugt) ‘What is *ṣṣamam*? It is *tteezzugt* (deafness).’ Similarly, *lɛama* is translated with *tidderyelt*, and *lbakam* with *tikukemt*.

Appendix 5.1. Arabic writing system (glossary of terms)

abjad (consonantal/ vowelless alphabet): a type of writing system in which each symbol represents a consonant, while vowels are generally not written (or written optionally by means of diacritics: see *ḥarakāt*).

abugida: a type of writing system which is based on consonants, and in which vowel notation is secondary (as in *abjads*), but obligatory (as in *alphabets*).

ajami: the use of Arabic script for a language other than Arabic itself.

alif (Ar. 'alif, ألف) (ا): the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, historically used to indicate either a long /a:/, or a glottal stop /ʔ/. The confusion led to the introduction of the additional letter *hamzatu l-qat'*, see *hamza* (ء).

alif al-wiqāya (اِ), a profilactic alif: *alif* with a small dot (or a *sukūn*) above used word-finally after *wāw* to indicate the final -u

alif madda (الألف ممددة) <آ>/ʔa:/: a double alif: alif with a tilde-like diacritic used to represent /ʔa:/ (a glottal stop followed by /a:/), e.g. القرآن *al-qur'ān*.¹¹⁴ In medieval Berber orthography, *madda* was used to mark initial vowels.

alif maqṣūra (الألف المقصورة) (ى) or 'broken alif': like the regular *alif*, used to represent a long /a:/; appears only at the end of a word; looks like a dotless final *yā'* (ى for ي).

alif waṣla (ألف وصل) or *hamzatu l-waṣl* (همزة الوصل) <أ>: *alif* with a small diacritic sign on the top (that looks like a small *ṣad*) indicating that the *alif* is elided after a preceding vowel. It represents a non-phonemic glottal stop produced automatically at the beginning of an utterance. *Alif waṣla* occurs only word-initially (initial phoneme of the definite article, after the definite article or a preposition), e.g. باسم.

alphabet (proper, or true alphabet): a type of writing system in which both consonants and vowels are represented by basic graphemes and are thus equal in status.

dagger/ superscript alif (Ar. *alif khanjariyya*, ألف خنجرية): a short vertical stroke optionally written on top of a consonant to represent a long /a:/ in a few words where alif is conventionally not written, e.g., هَذَا.

ḍamma (ضمة): a small *wāw* (و) or a "curl-like diacritic" placed above a letter to represent a short /u/, e.g., دُ /du/. A *ḍamma* followed by *wāw* (و) indicates a long /u:/, e.g. <دُو> /du:/. Cf. *fathā*, *kasra*.

fathā (فتحة) <َ> /a/, lit. 'opening': a small diagonal line placed above a letter and used to represent a short /a/, e.g. دَ /da/. A *fathā* followed by an *alif* (ا) indicates a long /a:/, e.g. دَا /dā/. Cf. *kasra*, *ḍamma*.

grammarology (a term coined by Gelb in 1952): the scientific study of writing systems or scripts.

¹¹⁴ The sequence /ʔa:/ should logically be spelled as <أْ>*, i.e. with a hamza on the alif representing the /ʔ/ followed by another alif representing the /a:/, but a sequence of two alifs is never written.

hamza (همزة): a sign used to indicate a glottal stop /ʔ/. It is not considered a full letter or *harf* in Arabic alphabet. Most often, *hamza* is a diacritic on the “carrier” (above or under an *alif*, *wāw*, or *yā*: ا, و, ي), but it can also occur as a separate letter in writing (*hamzatu l-qat*, همزة القطع). The choice of carrier depends on the quality of the adjacent vowels. At the beginning of the word, the glottal stop is indicated by *hamza* on an *alif* (ا and أ), e.g. أخ /ʔakh/, ‘brother’, إِسْرَائِيل /ʔisra:ʔi:l/, ‘Israel’, أُم /ʔumm, ‘mother’. In the middle of the word, *alif* is used only if the glottal stop is not preceded or followed by /i/ or /u/. If /i(:)/ is there, a *yā*’ (usually without the dots) is used to support the *hamza* (ئ). If the adjacent vowel is /u(:), a *wāw* is used, e.g. نَشَأَة /naʃʔa/, ‘origin’, إِسْرَائِيل /ʔisra:ʔi:l/, رَوْف /raʔu:f/, ‘lenient’.

hamzatu l-waṣl: see ‘*alif waṣla*’.

ḥarakāt (حركات, singular *ḥaraka* حركة), lit. ‘motions’: diacritics used optionally to mark short vowels (cf. *niqqud* in Hebrew). Text with *ḥarakāt* = vocalised (vowelised, vowelised) text. Text without *ḥarakāt* = not vocalised/unvocalised text. See *fatha*, *kasra*, *damma*.

ḥurūf: ‘letters’ (in case of Arabic, consonantal graphemes)

ḥurūf al-madd: letters of lengthening (used to represent the vowels): *alif* for /a/, *yā*’ for /i/, and *wāw* for /u/.

iʿjam (إعجام): consonant pointing, pointing diacritics used to distinguish various consonants that have the same form (*rasm*), e.g. ب /b/, ت /t/, ث /θ/, ن /n/, and ي /j/. Modern Arabic almost always uses *iʿjam*, but early texts could be also unpointed.

kasra (كسرة) < ِ > /i/, literally, ‘breaking’: a small diagonal line placed below a letter and used to represent a short /i/, e.g. د /di/. A *kasra* followed by *yā*’ (ي) indicates a long /i:/, e.g. دي /di:/ . Cf. *fatha*, *damma*.

madda: see ‘*alif madda*’.

matres lectionis (Latin: ‘mothers of reading’, SG: mater lectionis): the use of certain consonants to indicate vowels. The letters that do this in Arabic are: *alif* ا, *waw* و, and *ya* ي.

nisba (النسبة *an-nisba*): a common suffix to form adjectives of relation or pertinence. The suffix is -ي -iyy- for masculine and -ية -iyya(t)- for feminine gender, e. g. لبنان *Lubnān(u)* ‘Lebanon’ > لبناني *lubnān-iyy* ‘Lebanese (M.SG)’, لبنانية *lubnān-iyya(t)* ‘Lebanese (F.SG)’.

nunation: see *tanwīn*.

plene spelling of vowels: full or vocalised spelling.

šadda (شدة) or *tašdīd* (تشديد): an optional diacritic that looks like a small Latin w placed above a consonant and used to indicate that this consonant is doubled (i.e. it indicates gemination: consonant doubling or extra length, which is phonemic in Arabic), e.g. دّ /dd/.

sukūn (سكون): a small circle placed above a consonant and used to indicate that this consonant is not followed by a vowel, e.g. دّ /dad/.

tā' maftūḥa (تاء مفتوحة) 'open tā': a regular letter *ta'* (to be distinguished from *tā' marbūṭa* (تاء مربوطة), 'bound tā').

tā' marbūṭa (تاء مربوطة), 'bound tā'): a variant of the letter *tā'* (ت) used at the end of (mostly grammatically feminine) words. It denotes either /h/ or /t/ (in construct state) and looks like the letter *hā'* (ه). The regular letter *ta'* is referred to as *tā' maftūḥa* (تاء مفتوحة) 'open tā'.

tanwīn (تنوين), or *nunation*: doubled vowel diacritics at the end of a word used to indicate that the vowel is followed by *n*. These diacritics are used to represent the grammatical endings in MSA or Classical Arabic: *-un*, *-in*, *-an* (Nom., Gen., and Acc. cases, respectively). The sign َ (-*an*) is most commonly written in combination with *alif* (ا), *tā' marbūṭa* (ة), or stand-alone *hamza* (ء).

tašdīd: see *šadda*

taškīl (تشكيل), lit. 'forming': supplementary diacritics (including *ḥarakāt*) that are optionally used to represent short vowels and consonant length.

waṣla: see 'alif *waṣla*.

Appendix 5.2. Collating sequences of the Arabic alphabet

1. *Abğadī* (أبجدي) order

(1) Mashreqi

أ ب ج د ه و ز ح ط ي ك ل م ن س ع ف ص ق ر ش ت ث خ ذ ض ظ غ

(2) Maghrebi

أ ب ج د ه و ز ح ط ي ك ل م ن ص ع ف ض ق ر س ت ث خ ذ ظ غ ش

2. *Hiğā'ī* (هجائي) or '*alifbā'ī* (ألفبائي) order

(1) Mashreqi

أ ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ك ل م ن ه و ي

(2) Maghrebi
(two variants)

(a) أ ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ك ل م ن ه و ي

(b) ا ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز ط ظ ك ل م ن ص ض ع غ ف ق س ش ه و ي