



Title	Revisiting Punic avo and Latin ave, with Arabic taḥīya as a Witness
Author(s)	Takashina, Yoshiyuki
Citation	アラブ・イスラム研究. 2025, 23, p. 1-23
Version Type	VoR
URL	https://doi.org/10.18910/106218
rights	
Note	

The University of Osaka Institutional Knowledge Archive : OUKA

<https://ir.library.osaka-u.ac.jp/>

The University of Osaka

Revisiting Punic *avo* and Latin *ave*, with Arabic *taḥīya* as a Witness

TAKASHINA Yoshiyuki *

ポエニ語 *avo* とラテン語 *ave* 再考 —— アラビア語 *taḥīya* 「挨拶」の用法と対照させて ——

かつてフェニキア語文法書は、ラテン語 *ave* の語源として、ポエニ語（後期フェニキア語）の *avo* に言及してきた。しかし、ラテン文字表記のポエニ語研究で顕著な貢献をした Krahmalkov (2000, 2001) は、ポエニ語にラテン語の語源となる *ave* は存在しないとの立場を取った。ところが、ラテン語の語源研究では、フェニキア語側の研究を参照してきたため、ラテン語 *ave* は来源の根拠を失った。

しかし、アラビア語の研究で進展してきた言語接触の理論を駆使すれば、フェニキアの植民地カルタゴで大規模なピジン語やクレオール語が生まれたことを容易に想定でき、Krahmalkov の研究を修正することなく、ラテン語 *ave* の来源をポエニ語で説明できる。ポエニ語の挨拶言葉 *ave* に対して、アラビア語の同源語 *taḥīya* 「挨拶」が、サファール語（前古典アラビア語の1つ）資料に在証することは有力な傍証である。古典アラビア語「挨拶」の用例分析もまた、矛盾なくこれを支持する。

1. The Aim of the Study

1.1. Latin Etymologists

Certainly, it is thanks to the Latin etymologists that we know Punic *avo* or **ave* is, in their opinion, the source of Latin *ave*. For example, Punic *avo* taken from the Latin comedy *Poenulus* written by Plautus¹⁾ (see 3.1) was quoted in TLL (vol. II, 1900-06, col. 1300), followed by Walde (2 ed., 1910, p. 71), Ernout - Meillet (1932, p. 56a), OLD (1st ed., 1968, p. 210a) and Gaffio (2016, p. 218a). These works invariably quote Punic *avo* as the source of borrowing. They all maintain this etymology in their latest edition. Further, there are some who comment that *avo* is the plural of *ave* in view of

* 高階 美行 大阪大学 名誉教授 professor emeritus, Osaka University
y.takasina@gmail.com

1) Titus Maccius Plautus is the author of 'the earliest Latin works to have survived complete' (Brown, p. 438 or OCD, p. 1194b written by the same author). *Poenulus* is said to have been written between 195-189 BC (see footnote 9).

the different final vowel.

This enthusiasm, however, is not shared by scholars of the Punic language. To the best of our knowledge²⁾, those who referred to this probable loan are Friedrich (1951, p. 120; 1970, p. 131; 1999, p.187), Sznycer (1967, p. 139), KAI (Bd. 2, 1968, p. 167) and Segert (1976, p. 167). But no scholar explained the difference of the final vowel -o (*avo*) and -e (**ave*) convincingly.

1.2. Krahmalkov's Studies

In contrast, Krahmalkov's control of the data is quite consistent in his grammar (2001, pp. 158-9, 175) and dictionary (2000, pp. 178-9). To him, the etymology of Latin *ave* is beyond the concern of Punic studies. He did not spend a word on Latin *ave* and took up *avo* as the optative or precativ use of the so-called perfect³⁾. For instance, *hauo bene silli* is with him "May my son live!" (Poenulus 1141)⁴⁾.

Quite consistent methodology, as well as convincing analyses of Punic passages written in the Latin script, seems to have put an end to the study of the text of Poenulus. He interpreted successfully many words difficult to explain so far. This meant, however, that Latin etymologists have no foothold now for Latin *ave* in Punic. At the same time, they had to give up the clue to explain the variant spelling of Latin *(h)ave*, to which Punic *avo* could offer its variant *hauo*.

2) We checked older works but they only state that Punic *avo* is an imperative, with no mention of Latin *ave*. See Gesenius (1837, p. 377) and Schröder (1869, p. 207).

3) See Arabic *rahima-hu (A)llāhu* 'May God have mercy on him!' uttered after the name of the deceased. See our footnote 17 and Krahmalkov (2001, p. 175).

4) In his discussion of Punic *auo*, Krahmalkov wrote: the greeting formula is already attested in Ugaritic: *hwt aht*, "May my sister live long!" (2000, p. 179). But this remark is untenable for the simple reason stated below. The phrase in question comes from Baʿl's greeting to ʿAnat (1.10 II 20) and scholars of Ugaritic have taken the verb *hwt* as perfect (suffix conjugation used as a precativ/optative) in the 2nd person, singular, feminine. Gordon (1965, p. 90) took the verbal stem as the ground stem (Arabic I): *hwt aht* (76:II:20) 'mayest thou live (*hawēti*), (O) my sister'. For Sivan (1997, p. 98), it is D (Arabic II) active: *hwt ʾaht* (1.10 II,20) 'may you live [*hawwiti*], my sister!', while de Moor and DULAT take it as D passive. De Moor (1987, p. 113): 'May you be revived, my sister ... !' (Loves II.ii, line 20); DULAT (2015, pp. 374-375): *hwt ʾaht* (1.10 II 20) 'may you be revived, sister!' where the verb is parsed as D stem, passive, suffix conjugation with the meaning as 'to give (back) life, etc.' (p. 375). As in these studies, we have to parse the verb to be 2, sg. fem., not 3, sg. fem., because IIIw/y verbs in Ugaritic have *-w/yat ending for the 3, sg. fem. (**hwyt*). We have *atwt* [ʾatawat] 'she came' (Segert, 1984, p. 74) and *ʿlyt* [ʾalayāt] 'she went up' (Sivan, p. 162). On the other hand, 2, sg. fem. ending takes *-ē/iti (*hwt*). Though we do not have an example of 2, sg. fem. for IIIw/y verbs, we can rebuild it easily in light of the 1, sg. *bnt* [banē/iti] (in the simpler notation of the vowel length of the personal suffix) 'I built' (Segert, 1984, p. 74; Sivan, p. 162). Since the accepted reconstruction of the second person endings for the suffix conjugation are *-ta/-ti (m/f) (Segert, 1984, p. 58; Sivan, p. 110), 'you (sg. fem.) built' will be *bnt* [banē/iti], which leads us to **hawē/iti* 'you (sg. fem.) lived'. This is nothing but the form Gordon gave us long ago. All in all, for *hwt aht* (1.10 II 20) we have only one reading 'may you live long, my sister!' *hawēti ʾahāti*. Gordon called it a greeting (p. 90, footnote 2). But unlike the Punic greeting *avo* in Poenulus, we do not call it a greeting formula, with no other usage in Ugaritic at present.

1.3. The Outline of Our Study

Once we hit upon a simple fact that Phoenicians built many colonies, when instantly we grasped that, in their colonies, there must have emerged a variety of pidgin languages. At the next moment, we thought of another way of borrowing *ave* into Latin. From the perspective of the current Arabic studies, there lies another way to explain borrowing PUNIC *ave* into Latin, with no touch on Krahmalkov's studies. This is discussed below.

Seeing that the verbal noun تَحِيَّةٌ *taḥīya* 'greeting' is still alive in Modern Arabic, it is very important to inquire into the history of the Arabic حَيَّا *ḥayyā* 'to greet'. As it turned out, the word is very old. Toward the end of our search in pre-Islamic poems, we came across Ancient North Arabian data, which, in turn, happened to be a bridge between Punic and Arabic. Our argument will follow this sequence.

2. Another way of Borrowing Punic *ave* into Latin

2.1. A Phoenician-based Pidgin

Covered by the mist of tradition, it is not known when the Phoenicians began to build the New City, but it is certain that the colony absorbed the native population as man power for the building work. On such occasions, Arabic studies now presuppose that a pidgin emerges for the communication between the indigenous population and the speakers of the upper language (Phoenician or Arabic). It may be termed a Phoenician-based pidgin. In our days, Juba Arabic (South Sudan) is a good model, in which many verbs have been acquired from the Arabic (lexifier) imperatives⁵⁾ at an earlier stage, but without inflection: *árkab* 'rode, ride, ride!' (Juba Arabic).

The situation continued until Phoenicians moved to Carthage after the destruction of Tyre by Alexander the Great (332 BC). Around this period, the incoming wave of colonists or refugee Phoenicians stopped, and the indigenous local population had many Phoenician speakers around them. Already there were many children born to the couple of a native and a Phoenician and these children learned this pidgin as their mother tongue. Phoenician speakers need not be those born in Phoenicia, but may be those who spoke it only for trade.

In other words, Phoenician *ḥawō* 'may he live!' (literally 'he lived', the optative use of the perfect) might have been learnt as its imperative **ḥāwē* 'live!'⁶⁾. It is this phonetic form that a Roman heard uttered by a would-be Carthaginian, while the form

5) Versteegh, pp. 123-124. For just two examples, see EALL II:523 (Juba Arabic), III:635a (Bongor Arabic or *túrku*).

6) The form is automatically reconstructed from the sister language, Biblical Hebrew. It has *ḥāyā* (√ḥyy) 'to live', of which the imperatives are: *ḥāyē* (masculine singular), *ḥāyī* (feminine singular) and *ḥāyū* (masculine plural). Concerning the parallel usage of a pidgin verb employed in a greeting (optative), we are indebted to Nakao Shuichiro for his earlier reference to Nubi phrase *álla bārik* 'God bless!' (*bārik* comes from the Arabic imperative). Nakao lists this in his Nubi on-line dictionary: <https://sites.google.com/view/nubi-dictionary/home/a>.

was not an authentic greeting in Phoenician. Seeing that it was difficult for the native inhabitants to pronounce Phoenician pharyngeals, the probable pronunciation the Roman heard must have been **hawe* or **awe*. Or, some Romans heard **hawe* and others **awe*. Thus, partly in awe of the earlier magnificent civilization, and partly out of interest in the rival city beyond the sea, the phrase **awe* or **ave* spread wide and afar in the Roman world⁷⁾.

By and large, three generations afterwards at least, those who spoke the pidgin begin to acquire fuller inflections of verbs and nouns, while the greeting formula recovered its authentic form and pronunciation: *ḥawō*. The language of the New City became uniform enough to be called Punic by the mid 3 C. The time was near the clash of the two great powers, when Carthaginians uttered *ḥawō* or *awō* while Romans said *have* or *ave*.

2.2. The Earliest Latin *have*

Punic evidences put aside, the earliest testimony in Latin seems to be the HAVE mosaic found at House of the Faun in Pompeii built in 180 BC⁸⁾. Granted that the comedy *Poenulus* (3.1) was finished in the early second century (195-189) BC⁹⁾, the HAVE mosaic was finished after *Poenulus* (*avo*). In other words, Romans, who greeted *have* daily, felt no inconsistency, when they heard *avo* in the comedy. This testifies to the fact that *HAVE* had become already a part of the Latin language prior to *Poenulus*, and they justly understood that *avo* is Punic, be it in the comedy. Therefore, *have* or *ave* had lost no time in acquiring its due position among Latin greeting words, such as *vale*, *vive* or *salve* (Murray, 1917).

Also, it is probable that the mosaic HAVE was finished after House of the Faun for some reason. Nonetheless, the usages of *have* persisted in Latin despite the third Punic war (149-146 BC). This means that *have* prevailed over its variant *ave* during the period (see section 4 and the table, section 7).

In the meantime, Punic began to lose laryngeals (*ʕ* and *h*) and in Neo-Punic, pharyngeals (*h* and *ʕ*) were lost, probably due to the existence of a large number of the indigenous population¹⁰⁾. As stated in 2.1, the base for the pidgin was likely to be *ḥāwē* 'live!', which Romans borrowed as *have* [hawe]. But toward the Punic war,

7) A very low probability is that, with the Latin imperative of *vivere* 'to live' used for farewell in mind, a Roman asked his Phoenician friend of the Phoenician equivalent and got *have* or *ave*. But this is too simple to explain the flow of historical events harmoniously.

8) For this date we follow Wikipedia (English) which quotes Cambridge Ancient History. House of the Faun was built in the 2 C BC during the Samnite period (180 BC). See 'House of the Faun' and 'Ave' at Wikipedia (English), viewed on 30/08/2023. The mosaic seems to have been a today's welcome mat. It is viewable at <http://pompeiiisites.org/en/archaeological-site/house-of-the-faun/>.

9) The date is based on Wikipedia ('*Poenulus*', viewed on 30/08/2023) which quotes G. Maurach, *Der Poenulus des Plautus* (Carl Winter, 1988:33). Sznycer (1967:37) writes: Le « *Poenulus* » a donc dû être créé dans les premières années du IIe siècle av. J.-C.

10) For this phenomena, one reference is quoted here, Krahmalkov (2001, pp. 18-19). Corresponding letters were used instead for other purposes. About this, consult any Phoenician grammar.

when Carthage almost attained the language uniformity, Romans found Carthaginians say *avo* [awō] (2.1 end). Put otherwise, it was after *have* had been assimilated in Latin that Romans noticed Carthaginians utter *avo*.

3. The Punic Data Discussed so far

3.1. Punic Greetings in Plautus' Poenulus

Plautus' Poenulus belongs to quite an early work in the Latin literary history, written shortly after the second Punic war (218-201 BC) when the memory of Hannibal was still fresh among the Romans. The Punic passages have long attracted both Latin and Phoenician scholars. With all the previous studies, however, we are interested in *avo* only, which runs in five lines or verses of Poenulus.

In place of reviewing preceding studies, we prepared the table including the readings of Krahmalkov (2000, 2001), Ernout (1938, pp. 162-257), said to be the source of Krahmalkov, and Sznycer (1967, pp. 136-141)¹¹⁾.

line	cast	text			reading	
		Sznycer's text			Ernout	Krahmalkov
		B	C/D	Studemund		
994		auo		auo	auo	
998		uo ... donni		auo ... donni	auo ... donni	
1001		auo nonni	auo nonne	auo donnim	auo donnim	1) auo donnim ¹²⁾
1141-	puer ¹³⁾	hau dones illi			haudones illi	2) hauo done silli ¹⁴⁾
1142				auammailli.		3) haua amma silli ¹⁵⁾
	Giddenis ¹⁶⁾	hauon bene siilli		kauonbanesill..	hauon bene siilli	4) hauo bene silli ¹⁷⁾

As shown in the table, Krahmalkov's reading is convincing, but he added minor amendments. His change of *aua* > *haua* in 3) is quite needless in our approach. The mixture of *auo* and *hauo* perhaps can be accounted for not as the copyists' fault but

11) We need this because Krahmalkov's reading is not altogether that of Ernout. Please refer to Sznycer's work concerning B, C, D and Studemund, which stand for types of manuscripts.

12) "May the gentlemen live long!" (in modern Hebrew, *adonim*). In Krahmalkov (2001, p. 175), the verse number 1141 must be read as 1001.

13) In the related literature, PV stands for PVER or puer 'slave boy'. Earlier the spellings *hav*, *havon* in Poen 1141, 1142 seems to have been put for analysis (DNWSI, p. 355) but these are now read as (one and the same) *hauo*. The remark 'Ein Plural (mit Energicus) liegt vor in aun, d.i. *ḥayūn*.' (Friedrich-Röllig, 1999, p. 120), if stated with lines 1141-1142 in mind, is now invalid.

14) "May my master live long!" (in modern Hebrew, *adoni*, *šelli*).

15) "May my mother live long!" (in modern Hebrew, *imma*). *haua* = mod. Heb. *hayta*. In Krahmalkov (1973, p. 24), the text was given as: 1141 PV. au amma silli.

16) In the play, the slave boy recognizes Giddenis (GI), a wet nurse of certain sisters, to be his real mother.

17) "May my son live long!" (in modern Hebrew, *beni*). In Krahmalkov (1973:24), the text was given as: GI. hauon bene silli.

was so in the hand of Plautus. Therefore our reading is: 1) *auo donnim*, 2) *hauo done silli*, 3) *aua amma silli*, 4) *hauo bene silli*. Else, Krahmalkov's argument holds consistency.

3.2. The Punic **haue* in RES 1224¹⁸⁾

Of many Phoenician inscriptions, we know only one that reads **haue* and, as it happened, the text was broken. It is part of the bilingual text (Greek and Punic) on the tombstone¹⁹⁾ found at the necropolis of Carthage. Scholars have accepted Lidzbarski's reading (Eph. I 162) of the text ...[h]w as imperative **hāwē* 'live!',²⁰⁾ and understood it was used like Latin 'ave or vive' corresponding to the Greek [χ]αῖρε in the inscription.

Considering that our interpretative framework rests on the Phoenician-based pidgin and that the date of the inscription is assumed to be *ante* 146 BC (RES 1224), it is probable that this tombstone was made while the pidgin or creole still persisted in Carthage (3 C BC). Admittedly, however, the inscription is not in such a good condition as to testify something about Latin *ave*.

3.3. The Punic Greeting in Meleager's Epigram

To a certain Hellenized cosmopolitan, named Meleager²¹⁾, we owe trilingual greeting phrases current in the eastern coast of the Mediterranean in 1 C BC: Σάλαμ with a Syrian, **avo (a)doni*²²⁾ with a Phoenician and χαῖρε with a Greek (Meleager, No. 419, lines 7-8). In Meleager's time, his home city Gadara was bordering on, or within, the kingdom of Nabataeans (Aramaic-speaking Arabs²³⁾). Though his main work is the Greek anthology, he was most likely an Arab educated in Tyre.

Considering that he mentioned Tyre in the epigram with Gadara, we can surmise that he learned there for a good time in the Greek and Punic environment. He certainly lived with the phrase **avo (a)doni*. Therefore, this is an important witness that Neo-Punic was spoken, at least in part, on the east Mediterranean coast in his time.

4. Usages in Latin Seen Chronologically

Checking the etymological notes of *ave* in Latin lexica, we noticed the remark of

18) I.e., RES III (1916-1918), p. 35. Other labels identifying the inscription are Eph. I 162 (= p. 162) and CIS I 6000.

19) Inscriptions may not ordinarily bear 'hello, good day or goodbye' but in Latin, tombstones do (see the table in section 7).

20) See footnote 6. As stated above (1.2), Krahmalkov (2000, p. 179) reads it as perfect **hawō* (precativ or optative).

21) Flourished around 100 BC (OCD, p. 953). He was born in Gadara in Jordan, presentday Umm Qays southeast of Lake Galilee. For Meleager of Gadara, we are indebted solely to Menahem Luz (1988). It is noteworthy that the Latin greeting was not mentioned here.

22) In the epigram, the word is nowadays spelled *Αὐδονίς* rather than the older *Ναῖδιος*. About this restored form, see Luz, pp. 227-229, and Krahmalkov (2000, p. 179).

23) Therefore, it is not known whether Σάλαμ represents Arabic *salām* or Aramaic (Nabataean) **šalām*.

Ernout-Meillet (p. 55b), which we formulated below. In short, according to them, the ordinary form was *have* during the imperial period and, in Quintilian's time, *ave* was an artificial sound²⁴⁾.

—— *ave* (without *h-*) —— 27 BC —— *have* —— 100 AD —— *ave* (Quintilian) ——

This statement led us to check the usages in larger lexica, such as TLL, Lewis-Short, OLD and Gaffiot, collecting the typical usages according to the time scale. The Latin lexicography helped us to collect them. We tabulate below what we picked up from them. For the proper names, kindly refer to the table in section 7.

	180 BC or later	c. 54 BC	27 BC	c. 100	123	384 (Vulgata)
[<i>have</i>] HAVE mosaic	—————	——	—————	—————	have (Apuleius)	
[<i>ave</i>]	ave (Catullus)	——	ave (Quintilian)	—————	—————	—————

To sum up, the first attestation in Latin is *have*, of which the last usage is in AD 123 (Apuleius). On the other hand, *ave* came into use in c. 54 BC and it continued to be in use, perpetuated by the Vulgate in 384. In our day, it has spread the world over as *Ave Maria*.

5. Arabic حَيَّا ḥayyā ‘to greet’ and تَحِيَّةٌ taḥīya ‘greeting’

We are going to discuss the verb حَيَّا ḥayyā ‘to greet’. In the Arabic grammar, it belongs to the derived stem II²⁵⁾. It was used in al-Qurʾān, but the prophet explained *as-salām* ‘peace’ as the greeting of the people in the paradise²⁶⁾. Accordingly, the use of the verb حَيَّا ḥayyā was replaced by *As-salāmu ʿalay-kum* ‘Peace be upon you’. But the verbal noun تَحِيَّةٌ taḥīya²⁷⁾ continued to be in use as ‘greeting’ since pre-Islamic days until today. Granted that the new greeting phrase had been introduced, it is almost a miracle that *taḥīya* lives even today.

In this part of the study, we attempt collecting examples of حَيَّا ḥayyā ‘to greet’ in pre-Islamic Arabic, specifically because the verb literally means ‘to make live’. According to Arab lexicons, the verb means “to say حَيَّاكَ اللهُ ‘May Allāh preserve thee alive’” (Lane, p. 680a). But in view of pre-Islamic Arabia, when Allāh was not the only god, it is difficult to accept this explanation.

5.1. Arabic ‘to live’ and its Derived Stems II and IV

Concerning the root of the verb ‘to live’, the cognate in Phoenician is √ḥwy and in Hebrew √ḥyy. Though the spelling حَيَّ ḥayya suggests the root √ḥyy for Arabic, the fact is otherwise, because its form is the result of the rule -iwa > -iya (Wright I, §§

24) The HAVE mosaic was found in 1831 when the Alexander mosaic was excavated. Evidently, the HAVE mosaic was not noticed by them (Ernout-Meillet, 1st ed., 1932).

25) In Hebrew and Phoenician, this is often termed Piel or the stem D.

26) Sīra-A1, p. 473; Sīra-A2, 1/583; Sīra-E, p. 319. See *SALĀM* in EI² (8/915b – 918a) for the Hebrew and Aramaic background of ‘peace’ as a greeting phrase.

27) Strictly speaking, this verbal noun went through a slight phonetic change: *taḥīiya > taḥīya.

166a, 168 and 177)²⁸⁾. Hence, the real root is $\sqrt{hyw}$.

From the fact that Arabic has أَحْيَا ʾahyā ‘to cause to live’ (IV or causative²⁹⁾) as well as حَيًّا (II or D), it turns out that the factitive function of hayyā (II) was transferred to ʾahyā (IV), when II was used chiefly for greeting³⁰⁾. In order to know how hayyā (II) restricted itself to greetings, we devoted ourself to collecting data in the pre-Islamic texts. ‘Pre-Islamic’ here means the period before Muhammad’s death (up to 630).

This automatically includes the text of al-Qurʾān. Regarding other texts, however, we take up chiefly poems, be the work *Sīra Rasūl ʾAllāh* ‘The Life of the Apostle of God’ edited by Ibn Hishām (d. 833/4) or *Kitāb al-ʾAḡānī* (KA) ‘The Book of Songs’ compiled by ʾAbū al-Faraḡ al-Iṣfahānīy (d. c. 966). This is because the original text of poems is in a way protected better by meters and rhymes than the prose part of these texts edited by authors who took them from older works.

5.2. *Al-Qurʾān and Sīra Rasūl (A)llāh*

In al-Qurʾān, the verb hayyā (II) ‘to greet’ is used in the following two verses, but we also find the new one *sallama* (II) ʿalā ‘to say *As-salāmu ʿalay-kum*’ in the text (the last one below; see footnote 26). It is to be noticed that *taḥīya*, originally a verbal noun of the older verb, is used to cover the new verb³¹⁾ also.

4:86 وَإِذَا حُيِّتُمْ بِتَحِيَّةٍ فَحَيُّوا بِأَحْسَنَ مِنْهَا ‘And when you are greeted with a greeting, then greet with a better one than it’.

58:8 وَإِذَا جَاءُوكَ حَيَّوكَ بِمَا لَمْ يُحَيِّكَ بِهِ اللَّهُ ‘And when they come to you, they greet you with what God never greeted you’.

24:61 فَإِذَا دَخَلْتُمْ بُيُوتًا فَسَلِّمُوا عَلَى أَنْفُسِكُمْ تَحِيَّةٌ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ مُبَارَكَةٌ طَيِّبَةٌ ‘But when you enter houses, greet (*sallimū*) one another with a greeting (*taḥīya*) from God, blessed and good’.

As concerns *Sīra Rasūl (A)llāh*, it was originally written by Ibn ʾIshāq (d. 768) but the present text is the revised one made by Ibn Hishām (d. 833/4). This obliges us to be cautious in evaluating the language used, all the more so because the chronological order is different from ours. Seeing that the result of our checking conformed with that

28) The rule is best exemplified in the passive of basic forms of IIIw verbs: دُعِيَ ‘to be called’ < دَعَوْ < دَعَا (‘to call’). For ordinary verbs, two are known: يَحْيَا (حَيَّ) ‘to live’ < $\sqrt{hyw}$, حَيَّوَان ‘animal’, حَيَّوَةٌ (حَيَاة) ‘to be glad, pleased’ < رَضِيَ رَضَوَان ‘consent’. In contrast, يَعْْيَا (عَيَّ) ‘to be incapable’ comes simply from $\sqrt{yy}$. In Islam, many people were named Yahya ‘he lives, is alive’.

29) Or, Hiphil in Hebrew and Yipil in Phoenician.

30) But Arab lexicons tend to admit that they are the same. LA says that ʾahyā-hu (*A)llāhu* (IV) and hayyā-hu (II) are of the same meaning (p. 1079b), and TA (vol. 37, p. 516b) says that it [hayyā-ka (*A)llāhu* (II)] is like ʾahyā-ka (*A)llāhu* (IV)).

31) Out of 12 usages of this verb in al-Qurʾān, the third example cited here is the only instance used for greeting.

of al-Qurʾān, we list here only one, said to be from the days of Abraha, Ethiopian ruler in Yemen³²⁾.

أَلَا حُيِّتَ عَنَّا يَا رُدَيْنَا * نَعْمَانَاكَم مَعَ الْإِصْبَاحِ عَيْنَا
Rudayna? We rejoice at you this morning in the eye!” (Sīra-A1, p. 36; Sīra-A2, 1/70; Sīra-E, p. 27).

5.3. حَيَّا *ḥayyā* ‘to greet’ and تَحِيَّةٌ *taḥīya* ‘a greeting’ before Islam

5.3.1. Pre-Islamic Poems in general

Of many diwans holding pre-Islamic poems, what we searched are: *al-Muʿallaqāt*, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt*³³⁾ and *Kitāb al-ʿAghānī* (KA). Except for the first one covering seven pre-Islamic poems, we had to select pre-Islamic poems according to the poet’s lifetime. For this purpose, we prepared the table below relying chiefly on Lyall’s work. This division mark will be listed in every quotation and those without it are post-Islamic.

division ³⁴⁾	6a	6b	6c	6j	7a
years	500-549	550-599	6 C	Jāhilīy	600-630

As against our expectation, both *al-Muʿallaqāt* and *al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt* have yielded one usage each for *ḥayyā* ‘to greet’ (II). In the former the example comes from ʿAntar, while in the latter it comes from al-Muraqqiṣ al-ʿAkbar with two specimens of *taḥīya* ‘a greeting’ (36:14, 42:20)³⁵⁾. This is why we arrange them at the top in the next section. *Kitāb al-Aghānī* was completed very late (10 C) but collected quite a number of poems with episodes related to the poet, and the data of the poems are generally held genuine³⁶⁾. Unlike *al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, we could glean quite a lot in it as listed below³⁷⁾.

32) The verbal noun is also found in Sīra-A1, p. 90; Sīra-A2, 1/146; Sīra-E, p. 60. After al-Hiğra, we have three usages in the days of successive battles. The first one comes around the Battle of Badr (624, Sīra-A1, p. 530; Sīra-A2, 2/28; Sīra-E, p. 352), the second around that of Uhud (625, Sīra-A1, p. 636; Sīra-A2, 2/144; Sīra-E, p. 424) followed by the third around that of Tabuk (630, Sīra-A1, p. 912; Sīra-A2, 2/454; Sīra-E, p. 613).

33) *Al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt* holds 130 poems composed by 67 poets, including three (anonymous 1, Jewish 1 and a woman). The total number of poems are 130. Of the poets in this collection, those who composed poems in pre-Islamic days are 57.

34) The division 6c means that the poet lived sometime in 6 C, while 6j means the poet is sure to have lived in pre-Islamic days. The judgement, however, is often approximate. *Jāhilīy* means pre-Islamic in Arabic.

35) 36:14 stands for the poem No. 36 in *al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, line 14. But beware that KA 15:21 stands for vol. 15, p. 21.

36) Though the text should be handled with care, no other work contains 1,175 poets with their poems. We counted the names of the poets registered in the first index in *Tables Alphabétiques* edited by I. Guidi (see KA).

37) In KA we located perhaps every usage of حَيَّ , but we put to analysis pre-Islamic ones and, from the rest, only what interested us.

5.3.2. The Verb *ḥayyā* ‘to greet’ (II)

It should be made clear that the use of *ḥayyā* ‘to greet’ and the greeting formula *ḥayyā-ka (A)llāhu* are two things apart. As we saw above (section 5), Arab lexicons say that the usage of the verb comes from this greeting formula, but it seems that they were in use separately. First, we list several examples to show the verb was used in pre-Islamic poems as in *al-Qurʿān* and *Sīra*.

ʿAntar (al-Muʿallaqa³⁸), 6b, line 5): حَيَّيْتَ مِنْ طَلَلٍ تَقَادَمَ عَهْدُهُ “May you be greeted from the ruins, the time of which has gone long since!”

al-Muraqqiṣ al-ʿAkbar (al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, 6a³⁹), No. 128 [Appendix 2], line 1): يَا ذَاتَ أَجْوَارِنَا قُومِي فَحَيِّنَا * وَإِنْ سَقَيْتَ كِرَامَ النَّاسِ فَاسْقِينَا “O (daughter of) our neighbors, rise, then greet us! And if you pour the noble men (wine), pour us!” Cf. ʿaḡwār = ḡīrān.

ʿAbd Allāh bn al-ʿAḡlān al-Nahdī, 6b⁴⁰), KA 19:104, line 7: فَقَالُوا لَنَا إِنَّا نَحَبُّ * لِقَاءَكُمْ * وَإِنَّا نُحَيِّي أَرْضَكُمْ وَنَزُورُهَا “Then they said to us, ‘Indeed we love meeting you. We hail your land and visit there.’”

Musāfir bn ʿAbī ʿAmr bn ʿUmayya, 6b⁴¹), KA 8:49, line 3: وَمُحَيِّيهِمْ إِذَا شَرَبُوا * “And (is he) a man who greets them when they drink, and (is he) a man who lessens an idle talk among them?”

al-Nābiḡa, 6b-6c, Ahlwardt, p. 3, line 25⁴²): رِقَاقُ النِّعَالِ طَيِّبٌ حُجْرَاتُهُمْ * يُحَيَّوْنَ “As to their soft sandals, their tuck (of trousers) is good⁴³, (and) they are greeted with (a bunch of) fragrant flowers on Palm Sunday”.

ʿUmayya bn ʿAbī al-Ṣalt, 6c⁴⁴), KA 8:3⁴⁵), line 1: وَمَا لِي لَا أَحْيِيهِ وَعِنْدِي * مُوَاهِبٌ “Why do I not greet him, when I have talents to manage things thoroughly?”

Durayd bn al-Ṣimma, 6c⁴⁶), KA 13:136, line 1: حَيُّوا ثَمَاضِرَ وَارْبَعُوا صَحِي * وَقِفُوا

38) See Muʿallaqa, p. 297. KA takes up this verse at least four times (7:137, 8:134, 15:132, 15:133). KA discussed the first 41 lines of ʿAntar’s Muʿallaqa (8:134-5) and took up an Arab saying that *وتقول العرب حيا الله طلك شخص* (i.e. body, or person). Since this adds nothing, we interpret otherwise.

39) See footnote 56.

40) The editor of al-Nahdī (p. 11) specifies the date of his death 557 AD.

41) His another poem is quoted in *Sīra-E* (pp. 65-6), *Sīra-1* (p. 96) and *Sīra-2* (pp. 1/154-5; in footnote 4, this passage of KA is cited).

42) In KA, only this line is quoted in another poet’s episode (14:3). See also Ibn Qutayba, p. 7 (line 7). The glossary in the work quotes a similar usage as ‘a bunch of flowers’ (p. XIX).

43) Since *ṣadīd* (*ṭayyib, karīm*) *al-ḥuḡza* mean ‘patient’ (Lane, p. 519b), the verse says that they are strong and patient like their soft sandals.

44) Though the poet died a little after al-Hiḡra, the verse cited is sure to have been composed toward the end of 6 C, since it was made to praise ʿAbd Allāh bn ʿUdʿān (d. before 600, EI² I:44b) who presented two singing girls to ʿUmayya.

45) The verse corresponds to ʿUmayya 45:1 (p. 61).

46) Asked by Durayd to marry him, Tumāḍir (= al-Ḥansā) refused it. Since al-Ḥansā (born c. 575 AD, EI²

فَإِنَّ وَفُوفَكُمْ حَسْبِي “Greet Tumāḍir and remain waiting, friends! And just stop, for your stopping is enough for me.”
 Ṣaḥr bn ʿAmr⁴⁷⁾, 6c, KA 13:145, line 4: وَحَيَّيْتُ رَمْسًا * وَإِذَا دُكِرَ الْإِخْوَانُ رَفَرَقْتُ عَيْبَةً *
 عند ليّة ثاويّا “When the brothers came back in memory, I shed tears and greeted a grave at Liya (near al-Ṭāʿif), making a halt.”

The verb was used seamlessly after Islam.

al-Ṣamardal, c. 700⁴⁸⁾, KA 12:119: إِذَا مَا أَتَى يَوْمٌ مِنَ الدَّهْرِ دُونَهُ * فَحَيَّاكَ عَنَا شَرْفُهُ وَأَصَائِلُهُ “When a day should come from eternity without him, then may the sunrise and sunset greet you in our place”.
 ʿAbū Dahbal al-Ġumāḥīy, died c. 715⁴⁹⁾, KA 6:162: يَا رَبِّ حَيِّ بِخَيْرٍ مَا * حَيَّيْتُ إِنْسَانًا عُمَارَةً “O my lord, greet ʿUmāra with the best (greeting) of what you have greeted to a man so far!”

5.3.3. The Phrase *ḥayyā-ka (A)llāhu* Used Literally

Much limited as the searching result in al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt was, the first example below was very suggestive in that the verb is employed in its literal sense (see footnote 30). The second is a verse taken from what was composed by one of the Helpers for his own sake. It is interesting that, in the poet’s fancy, a man could divorce his wife by this phrase. Further, Allāh was not employed and *ḥayyā* has a literal sense ‘to keep alive’.

The rest are specimens from the prosaic part of KA (contrary to our principle in 5.1). The utterances of the two persons portray the tense situation. In the third, ʿUṭayba did not greet his brother but stated simply a fact that Allāh had kept his brother’s life by giving him a chance to take back camels. In the last example, the phrase expresses a literal wish of the speaker (Ḥātim), who conveys both wish and greeting.

ʿAwf bn ʿAtīya, 6b, 124:8⁵⁰⁾: أُحْيِي الْخَلِيلَ وَأَعْطِي الْجَزِيلَ حَيَاءً “I bring life again to the needy⁵¹⁾ and offer a lot bashfully.”

IV:1027a) was still before marriage, the poem must have been uttered before 600. Durayd (born c. 530, EI² II:626b) died in the battle of Ḥunayn (8 AH, EI² II:626b) at the very advanced age (Sīra-E, pp. 574-5).

47) The poet al-Ḥansāʾ (see footnote 46) was famous for her elegies on two brothers, Muʿāwiya and Ṣaḥr. This verse is a line from the elegy composed by Ṣaḥr on the death of his brother Muʿāwiya. See also 5.4.1 end and footnote 61.

48) This poet rivaled such poets as Ġarīr and al-Farazdaq.

49) EI² I:113b.

50) The verse corresponds to line 9 of the Cairo version. The translation of the first half is that of Lyall’s. The native interpretation is to take the verb as equivalent to *ʾuḥābī* ‘I show favor’ (Mufaḍḍalīyāt, vol. 1, p. 839).

51) Here the word means ‘lean, destitute’.

Ka'b bn Mālik al-ʿAnṣārīy, 7a⁵²⁾, KA 15:32: *وَدَعَتْهَا فِي مُقَامِي ثُمَّ قُلْتُ لَهَا * حَيَّاكَ* “I bade farewell to her in my abode and then said to her, ‘May your lord keep you alive! I am not worried about you’”.

ʿUṭayba bn al-Ḥārīt bn Šihāb al-Tamīmīy, 6b⁵³⁾, KA 14:87: *فَرَجَعَ حَنْظَلَةَ إِلَى أَخِيهِ* “Ḥanzala returned to his brother (ʿUṭayba) and informed him of the news. Then he (U) said to him (Ḥ), ‘Allāh has kept your life! Go now and set your camels apart (i.e. remove them)!’”.

Ḥātim bn ʿAbd Allāh bn Saʿd al-Ṭāʾīy⁵⁴⁾, 6b, KA 16:99: *فَأَتَاهُ بَنُو لَامَ فَوَضَعَ حَاتِمٌ* “Then tribesmen of Lām (a branch of Ṭayyī) came to him; thereupon Ḥātim spread the table and said ‘Eat! May Allāh keep your life!’”.

5.3.4. The Passive Participle *muḥayyan* ‘face’

The word is simply a passive participle of *ḥayyā* (II), ‘what is greeted (by others) > countenance’⁵⁵⁾. Of the twelve usages of the word found in KA, we quote the following two. The first usage is met with in a verse composed by ʿAmr bn Qamīʾa⁵⁶⁾. It is to be noted that almost the same verse is found in KA 12:127 as composed by al-Ḥusayn bn Ḥumām⁵⁷⁾ (lifetime 6b). Perhaps the phrase became well-known in a very short time.

As to the remaining ten cases, seven were from the Umayyad period and three from the Abbasid. We should like to take up here one from the Umayyad period, of which the date of composition is quite clear.

ʿAmr bn Qamīʾa, 6a, AQ 1:11⁵⁸⁾ (p. 12): *وَلَمْ يَحْمِ فَرْجَ الْحَيِّ إِلَّا مُحَافِظٌ * كَرِيمٌ* “And none defends a fissure of a tribe except a keeper,

52) He appears repeatedly in Sīra. Though we know a reference to ʿUṭmān’s death in his account of KA, we take this verse uttered before the death of Muḥammad.

53) KA relates this episode as part of the Day of al-Ġawnayn (or al-Raġām). Since his adversary Bistām bn Qays is described as ‘born in the last quarter of the 6th century A.D.’ (EI2, 1:1247b), it is safe to take that he lived in the second half of 6 C.

54) It is almost impossible to allot his lifetime precisely, but in all probability he lived in the latter half of 6 C. Consult Nicholson, pp. 85-7, and we know that his daughter protested harshly in front of the prophet.

55) Alternatively, the word came into use according to the rule applied to the derived verbs, for which a passive participle assumes the function of the noun of place: ‘the human part at which the greeting is performed’.

56) KA states twice (16:163, 166) that he took ʿImruʾ al-Qays (6a) out on a travel to Constantinople, adding that he is the earliest poet. But normally, it is ʿImruʾ al-Qays that is held as the earliest Arab poet. Considering that he is the nephew of the famous al-Muraqqiṣ al-ʿAkbar (lifetime, 6a), we shall take him simply as one of the earliest poets. See his family tree in Mufaḍḍalīyāt (vol. 2, p. 166).

57) His two poems were taken up in Mufaḍḍalīyāt, Nos. 12 and 90. He also appears in Sīra-A1, p. 65; Sīra-A2, 1/111; Sīra-E, p. 43.

58) This poem corresponds to KA 16:164, where the end of the verse is cited otherwise: *ʿaḡradā*.

noble of countenance, glorious and not close-fisted”.

Maysa bint Ḡābir, 685⁵⁹), KA 21:38, line 4: وَنَحَّ إِلَهِي رَنْقَتِي مِنْ يَدِ أَمْرِي * شَتِيمٍ “And my god, put aside the rope round my neck from the hand of a man whose face is insulting to every man of sincerity”.

It is astonishing to find (*al-*)*muḥayyā* ‘face’ in the earliest years of pre-Islamic poetry (the first half of 6 C). Seeing that, however, the verse was soon imitated by another one in the same century, it is incumbent that we assume a certain length of time before such a euphemism for ‘face’ came into use among Arab tribes. In other words, it may be safe to say that the verb *ḥayyā* (II) had been in use for several decades at least before the poet thought of this passive participle in place of ‘face’. Granted that the poet lived in the first half of 6 C, the verb *ḥayyā* (II) was certainly in use in the mid 5 C.

5.4. The Use of حَيَّاكَ اللهُ *ḥayyā-ka (A)llāhu* after Islam

5.4.1. The Phrase in Transition

Examples below tell us that, during the expansion period of Islam, non-Muslims felt embarrassed to employ the phrase with Allāh. Seeing that the poet of the first example did not use Allāh, it is likely that they normally uttered with *rabb* like this usage. We may recall that his tribe (i.e. that of al-Ḥansā) accepted Islam very late.

In the second example, °Amr bn Ma°adī Karib evidently shows a hesitation. To him, both the teaching of the prophet and his position was so unfamiliar that he uttered two different greetings: the one he had learned from hearsay, and the other used exclusively before the kings of al-Ḥīra⁶⁰). It is reported that he joined Ridda when the prophet died.

Ṣaḥr bn °Amr⁶¹), 6c, KA 13:145, line 5: إِذَا مَا أَمْرُوْهُ أَهْدَى لِمَيْتٍ تَحِيَّةٌ * فَحَيَّاكَ رَبُّ النَّاسِ عَيْي مُعَاوِيَا
“When a man sends a greeting to the dead, then may the lord of men greet you in my place, O Mu°āwiya!”

°Amr bn Ma°adī Karib, 7a⁶²), KA 14:27: فَلَمَّا تَقَدَّمَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ يَسِيرُ قَالَ حَيَّاكَ اللهُ

59) The verse is a part of the elegy composed by the wife (Maysa) of Ḥārīṭa bn Badr al-Tamīmīy, who died in the battle of Dūlāb against °Azāriqa. So the date of composition is authentic. Being a poet himself, he earlier supported a false prophetess Saḡāḥ (of Tamīm), but after the battle of Yamāma (632), when Musaylima (Saḡāḥ’s husband) was defeated, he converted to Islam and fought against the Ḥārīḡī revolt. For a better understanding, we add the previous line too: فَيَا رَبِّ قَدْ أَوْفَعْتَنِي فِي بَلِيَّةٍ * فَكُنْ لِي حِصْنًا مِنْهُ “So, my lord, you threw me in a misfortune; then for me be a fortress, my lord, sufficient against him!”

60) Mufaḍḍalīyāt writes (vol. 2, p. 109): ‘Mayst thou be saved from cursing’, literally, ‘Mayst thou refuse [to do that which will bring upon thee] cursing’. See also Lane, p. 12a. In spite of °Amr bn Ma°adī Karib’s effort, the prophet feigned ignorance of the greeting formula.

61) In KA, this line follows the verse cited above (KA 13:145, line 4; see 5.3.2). This poem was taken up by other famous works, including al-Ḥamāsa by °Abū Tammām.

62) The meeting took place on the way back from the battle of Tabuk, when he embraced Islam (Sīra-E, pp.

إِلَهُكَ أُبَيَّتَ اللَّعْنَ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ إِنَّ لَعْنَةَ اللَّهِ وَمَلَائِكَتَهُ وَالنَّاسَ أَجْمَعِينَ عَلَى الَّذِينَ لَا
 “When the apostle of Allāh stepped forward to go on, he (ʿAmr bn Maʿadī Karīb) said, ‘May Allāh, your god, preserve your life! May you refuse the curse!’ Then the apostle of Allāh said, ‘The curse of Allāh, his angels and people is all upon those who do not believe in Allāh or in the Last Day; so believe in Allāh, and he will keep you safe from the Day of the Great Terror!’”.

5.4.2. The Spread of the Phrase as a Polite Greeting

Though the citations below are from the prosaic part, we list them here since scenes from a refined civil life, in our opinion, are reflected. In the first scene, a famous qāḍī uttered, when young, to his wife’s mother. In the second, it was uttered by Burayka, mistress of a certain guesthouse, where Qays bn ʿDarīḥ (or *Maḡnūn Lubnā*) stayed. She kindly arranged him a secret chance to meet Lubnā. Seeing that Burayka met him for the first time, their dialog went on in politeness. In the third, a widowed mother, perhaps half in delight but still in doubt, replied to her daughter, by whose words the poet had been struck deeply.

The first scene comes from the days of the orthodox caliphs and the second from the early days of the Umayyads, while the third from the Abbasid period at its zenith.

Šurayḥ bn al-Ḥarīṭ al-Qāḍī, c. 650⁶³), KA 16:38: دخلت منزلي فإذا عجوزٌ تأمر وتنهى
 “I entered my house, and then an old woman was ordering and forbidding. I said, ‘O Zaynab, who is this?’ She said, ‘My mother So-and-so!’ I said, ‘May Allāh greet you in peace!’”

Burayka, mid 7 C⁶⁴), KA 8:128: فقال أذكر حاجتي قالت إن شئت قال أنا قيس بن
 “So he said, ‘May I mention my need?’ She said, ‘If you please!’ He said, ‘I am Qays bn ʿDarīḥ.’ She said, ‘May Allāh keep you alive and make you near!’”

Mother of the wife of Mutammim al-ʿAbdīy, c. 800⁶⁵), KA 20:7: فَأَتَيْتُهَا فَقُلْتُ يَا
 أُمَّتَاهُ اسْتَمْعِي مِنِّي فَقَالَتْ لَهَا يَا أُمُّهُ فَاسْتَمْعِي مِن عَمِّي مَا يُلْقِيهِ إِلَيْكَ فَقَالَتْ حَيَّاكَ اللَّهُ
 “So I walked to her and said, ‘Mother, listen to me!’ Then she (the girl) said to her, ‘Mother, hear from my uncle what he says to you!’ Then she (mother) said,

640-1).

63) Seeing that Šurayḥ is mentioned in reference to ʿUmar and ʿAlī, his marriage with Zaynab, as well as this episode, might have taken place earlier, even before the prophet’s death. He lived very long and according to Ibn Khallikan (vol. 1, p. 621), he died in 706.

64) Ibn Khallikan (vol. 4, p. 269) writes that Qays bn ʿDarīḥ died c. 65 AH.

65) According to *Tables Alphabétiques* of KA (p. 589a), the poet was contemporary with the great musician ʿIṣḥāq bn ʿIbrāhīm al-Mawṣilīy (767-850, EI² IV:110b-111a).

‘May Allāh greet you! Ha? Good news from afar?’⁶⁶⁾ I said, ‘Is this your daughter?’ She said, ‘Her father used to say so!’ I said, ‘Then do you marry her?’”

5.4.3. Usages in Specialized Scenes

Quite different are the following two types. First, the phrase was used to curse opponents in that the phrase can deny their life: *lā ḥayyā-ka (A)llāhu*. We located ten passages of this type in KA. In the first case below, the phrase was uttered by the king to the son of his former friend⁶⁷⁾. In the earlier days of the Abbasids, al-Kumayt (d. 743, EI² V:374a) was suspected to be pro-ʿAlī in his poetry. This was why this same curse was cast by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad bn ʿAlīy⁶⁸⁾ on al-Kumayt’s son al-Mustahill (KA 15:122).

In the second case, on the other hand, the phrase was used quite otherwise among the ruling class. It is presumed that, uttered in the court, the phrase had a specific connotation.

al-Ḥārīt bn Māriya al-Ġassānīy al-Ġafnīy⁶⁹⁾, 6b, KA 4:176: *فلا حيّاك الله ولا حيّا أباك*

“May Allāh not keep you alive, nor keep your father alive!”

ʿUlayya bint al-Mahdī⁷⁰⁾, c. 800, KA 9:87: *حيّاكما الله خليليّتا * إن ميتاً كنتُ وإن حيّاً*

“May Allāh preserve your life, O my two true friends, dead or alive I may be!”

5.5. Section Summary: the Development of Arabic *ḥayyā* ‘to greet’

- 1) The traditional explanation (5 end), that *ḥayyā* ‘to greet’ comes from *حيّاك الله ḥayyā-ka (A)llāhu*, does not hold good on the ground that there are usages of the verb before Islam (5.3.2 and 5.4.1). This suggested that the verb and the phrase had a different history.

66) KA-B (vol. 22, p. 220) notes that this is a phrase modified from the proverb: *هل من مَعْرَبَةٍ خَيْرٍ* “Has any information or news come to you from a foreign land?” (Lane, p. 2244c). We are thankful for this to the editors of KA-B.

67) Seeing that the next personage in our check who uttered this curse was the Umayyad poet (al-ʿAḥṭal, KA 7:186), it is probable that the first one was transposed erroneously from the later usage.

68) ʿAbd al-Ṣamad bn ʿAlīy, who died c. 801 (Ibn Khallikan, 2:143), was a relative of early Abbasid caliphs and was appointed to the several important offices including governorships of al-Baṣra and Damascus (Siyar, vol. 9, pp. 129-30).

69) He is the famous Ghassanid king (529-569), who was formerly on good terms with Zuhayr bn Ḡanāb al-Kalbīy (see EI² IX:558b). Later, their relation turned worse, when the king uttered these words to Zuhayr’s son. Regarding the king al-Ḥārīt bn Māriya, or bn Ḡabala, see Nöldeke pp. 53 and 62.

70) There are three versions for the background story of this verse in KA (others being 9:57 and 9:88). We took up this one as depicting a typical scene. ʿUlayya, one of the daughters of al-Mahdi, sent her maid Ḥalūb to where ʿUlayya’s two brothers, al-Raṣīd and Maṣnūr were drinking. The maid stood singing this verse in front of them, with drinking-cups filled in her hands and with bouquets in her arms. The two took them, drank and read a slip of paper, handed by the maid, on which was written that ʿUlayya herself made the melody (*lahn*) that day. It may be that the verse was composed by someone else.

- 2) The verb ‘to greet’ was used, before and after Islam, with *taḥīya* ‘greeting’ (5.3.2) as its verbal noun. After Islam, they were also used as a polite greeting (5.4.2).
- 3) But the basic sense ‘to keep alive’ did not disappear (5.3.3 and footnote 30), and the verb was used at times in the literal sense (5.3.3) before Islam.
- 4) The early usage of *muḥayyan* ‘face’ (the first half of 6 C, 5.3.4) forces us to posit its use yet earlier in 5 C.

Discussed within Classical Arabic, all we can say is that the usage was inherited from the parent language. From a broader perspective, however, we can pick up its primitive usage in Ancient North Arabian.

6. Evidences from Safaitic (pre-Islamic Arabic)

It is known that Arabs wrote, in the days before pre-Classical Arabic, either in the Aramaic or in Ancient North Arabian. During this period, there was no universal language or script for writing. People wrote in the language available to them in their milieu, but inscriptions tell us that there was no area of illiteracy in the peninsula. Their writings were mostly left in inscriptions or graffiti, and generally very short.

6.1. Usages in Safaitic⁷¹⁾

We could fortunately identify a few examples relevant to our discussion in the Safaitic corpus prepared by al-Manaser and Macdonald (M-M).

Thanks to the recent reinforcement of the study in Ancient North Arabian, the number of Safaitic inscriptions reached over 40,000 (M-M, p. ix)⁷²⁾. Certainly, three or four out of over forty thousand may be very few and almost negligible, but we are confident that the context of the texts clearly bears relevance to our argument⁷³⁾.

C 1280 [M-M, pp. 1818-19]

text: *h ʔlt sʔd ysʔmʔl b[n] rbbn f hy*

translation (M-M): O ʔlt, help Ysʔmʔl {son of} Rbbn so that he may live long.

our interpretation: ... So may he live long! (*hayiya* G-SC⁷⁴⁾ optative)

comment: M-M follows al-Jallad (p. 122). Ours went only a step further.

LP 663 [M-M, p. 7533]

text: *l brkʔl bn ytʔ w hy ḥsʔln ḥl-h*

translation (M-M): By Brkʔl son of Ytʔ and he greeted Ḥsʔln, his maternal uncle.

our interpretation: ... And may Ḥislān, his maternal uncle, live! (*hayiya* G-SC

71) Written on stones or rock walls by bedouins in the area bordering Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia roughly between 1 – 4 C AD. See Macdonald, p. 183. They lived in the desert, while Nabataeans traversed it and lived in the settled area.

72) We really express our gratitude to the huge corpus by M-M in the PDF format (xvii + 10087 pp.).

73) For the bibliographical data and sigla, M-M should be consulted.

74) The framework of the Safaitic grammar by al-Jallad is followed. G: the derived form I, D: II, SC: suffix conjugation, IMP: imperative.

optative)

comment: M-M follows the study of Littmann (LP, p. 169), who had written: *hy* may also mean “[long] live!”

LP 1267 [M-M, p. 7742]

text: *l bḥ(l)h bn lhyn bn ḥbb bn kdr bn ṭḥrt w ḥy f h (ʿ)lt l- (k)ʿmh ʿḥ -h <t>*

translation (M-M): By {Bḥlh} son of Lhyn son of Ḥbb son of Kdr son of Ṭḥrt and grant long life, O {ʿlt}, to {Kʿmh}, his brother.

our interpretation: ... And may he live! So, O Allāt, (this petition is) to Kaʿammih, his brother. (*ḥayiya* G-SC optative)

comment: M-M and al-Jallad (pp. 272, 324a) interpret the verb as D-IMP (‘to give life’), whereas we parsed the sentence structure differently to get the same context with LP 663. Littmann (LP, p. 277) translated: And he greeted in the name of Allāt.

LP 335 [M-M, p. 7415]

text: *l lfʿt bn bʿsʿh bn bqrt bn ḥl[d] w h rḏw ḥy w mrḏ f nwy -h h- nq h- mṭ(y)h*

translation (M-M): By Lfʿt son of Bʿsʿh son of Bqrt son of {Ḥld}. And, O Rḏw, [grant] health for the mount she-camels were sickened by their date-stones (or: during his absence).

our interpretation: ... And O Ruḏaw! May he⁷⁵ keep life, and (the herd of) she-camels, his mounts, got sick in his absence. (*ḥayyā* D-SC optative)

comment: M-M follows Littmann (LP, p. 85), while we follow al-Jallad (p. 126, ‘grant life!’). Else, we took Littmann’s another choice ‘in his absence’ (naw-an < *naway-un, p. 85). maṭīy is the plural (or collective) of maṭīya ‘a mounting camel’.

6.2. Section Summary

It is safe to say that in our reinterpretation, these verbs are all in the optative use of the perfect (or the suffixed conjugation). Though they are prefixed by a conjunction *w* or *f*, the *sentence-initial* rule is observed (Krahmalkov, 2001, p. 175). On top of it, the context of the three examples is consistent as ‘may he live!’.

While the last example is actually employed in the derived stem **ḥayyā* (II) in the sense ‘to keep alive’, we can safely posit a semantic change toward ‘to say ‘may he live!’ > to greet’. Though evidence is yet to be procured for this usage, we can, in the meantime, proceed our discussion in light of *sallama ʿalā* ‘to greet’.

7. Summary

For brevity’s sake, we shall list our main arguments in the table below, with attestations of Latin *ave*, *have* and Punic *avo*.

75) The deity Ruḏaw is called in the third person. Punic also observes this rule (see 1.2).

approx. date ⁷⁶⁾	(Neo-)Punic/Arabic	Latin	
		have	ave
332 BC	Tyre fell.		
218 BC	Hannibal crossed over the Alps.		
c. 205-184 BC	The earliest Latin literary works (<i>see</i> footnote 1)		
195 - 189 BC	<i>avo</i> in Poenulus (3.1)		
180 BC		The <i>HAVE</i> mosaic (2.2)	
a. 146 BC	RES 1224 (3.2)		
146 BC	Carthage fell.		
c. 54 BC			Catullus' poem ⁷⁷⁾
49 BC		<i>have</i> in Caelius' letter to Cicero ⁷⁸⁾	
34 BC		<i>haveto</i> ⁷⁹⁾ in Catilina's letter	
27 BC	Augustus as Emperor		
1 C BC	<i>*avo (a)doni</i> (3.3)		
14			Augustus' letter ⁸⁰⁾
79	Safaitic graffiti in Pompeii	Mt. Vesuvius erupted and buried Pompeii.	
1 C			a sepulcher inscription (CIL 6.23297, line 5) ⁸¹⁾
c. 100			Quintilianus ⁸²⁾
c. 123		<i>havete</i> in Apuleius' work ⁸³⁾	
1-4 C	<i>*hayiya</i> in Safaitic		
384			The Vulgate Gospel ⁸⁴⁾
5 C	<i>muhayyan</i> 'face' (5.3.4)	Augustinus, a Neo-Punic native (d. 430)	

76) The dates are mostly the year of the writer's death in OLD or TLL. Else, we specify the source.

77) The poem No. 101, line 10 runs: *atque in perpetuum, frater, aue atque uale* (CATUL.101.10: 140-1). Our tentative translation: and in perpetuity, Brother, hail and farewell.

78) Lewis-Short 213c-214a; TLL 1300, line 64ff.; OLD 230b. Caelius wrote in the letter: *Caesar audierat, simul atque 'have' mihi dixit, statim quid de te audisset exposuit* (Cic. Fam., vol. 2, Book 8, letter 16, line 4; pp. 178-9), translated tentatively: Caesar had heard, and at the same time he said to me [Caelius] 'Have!' and immediately explained what he had heard about you [Cicero]. The date is given in Cic. Fam. vol. 2, p. 626.

79) The word is used at the end of a letter written by Catilina addressed to Catulus according to Sall. C. 35, 6 (p. 28). Catilina died 63 BC and the work was finished ca. 43 BC, while the author Sallustius died 34 BC. Lewis-Short 214a = TLL 1300, line 63 = OLD 230b. *Haveto* is an infrequent imperative future. The date is the year of the author's death.

80) The first greeting word in the emperor's letter quoted in the work of Gellius (Gell. 15, 7, 3; vol.3, p. 78) who died after 180 AD. Augustus himself died 14 AD. It was addressed to Gaius, his grandson.

81) = CIL 1.1072. TLL 1300, line 44 = OLD 230b.

82) M. Fabius Quintilianus (TLL, ca. 35–100) wrote: *multum enim litteratus, qui sine aspiratione et producta secunda syllaba salutarit (avere est enim), ...* (Quint. inst. 1, 6, 21). Our tentative translation: in fact, the greatly literate (person), who greets [*"avē"*] without the aspirate and with the second syllable lengthened (for it is in fact *avēre*), ...

83) Used in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*: *sic introgressus 'havete' inquit 'fortissimo deo Marti clientes* (APUL.Met.7.5: 306-7). Our literal translation: Thus entering, he inquired, "Hail, clients of the mighty god Mars". The author was born c. 123.

84) OCD, p. 1614a.

It was our purport to get a clue from Punic to account for the ultra-long life of Arabic *taḥīya*. About the Arabic language after the annexation of Petra to Rome (106 AD), Arabic elements in late Nabataean inscriptions⁸⁵⁾ and Safaitic are known. Though Safaitic pertinence is still meager, they tacitly point to the similar use of the verb in northern Arabia. That is, they are the earliest usage ‘may he live!’ in Arabic after Punic.

Arabic and Punic, however, had no point of contact. Further, the basic sense is different on the surface. In this ‘May so-and-so live!’, while in that ‘May a deity keep you alive!’ However, with the Safaitic ‘may he live!’, we can say that the Punic *avo* is a precedent to Safaitic **ḥayiya*. Moreover, we now can say that the original sense of Arabic *ḥayyā* (D or II) is “to say *ḥayiya*”, that is, “to say ‘may he live!’”.

Still, we have only a handful of instances in Safaitic. Yet from the sequence of usages in Punic, Safaitic and Arabic, we can safely judge that the greeting phrase in one corroborates the usage in another. Between Safaitic and Arabic, there was one step of modification by Islam. Also, it is to be hoped that our study can mend the tie between Punic and Latin, broken once. We could probably have glued it in a way.

C. Brockelmann named Aurelius Augustinus⁸⁶⁾ (353-430) at the end of his article (pp. 57-58). In the west, Augustinus belonged to one of the last generations that uttered Punic *avo*, when in the east Arabic had begun to develop a new usage *ḥayiya* ‘may he live’ along with *ḥayyā* ‘to greet’ and *taḥīya* ‘greeting’.

It may not be out of place today to refer to a simple fact. On the wall of a small theater in Pompeii, a few Safaitic graffiti were found⁸⁷⁾. They are simply nine graffiti with eleven names. Since they are no more than a whimsical coincidence, they lend no linguistic support to our discussion. Nonetheless, it provides us with the most persuasive witness of the historical milieu pertinent to our study.

85) There exist several, the latest of which bears the date 355 AD.

86) Concerning literary pieces in Phoenician/Punic including those written in the Roman times, see Krahmalkov (2001:10-15). North Africa lost Carthage as a political entity but the Neo-Punic way of life continued long after its fall. Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), often called the first African emperor, was in fact a ‘Carthaginian’ emperor who ruled Rome. During the reign of this Punic-born emperor, we know two men of letters from the area, Apuleius (d. after 170) and Tertullianus (d. c. 220) whom we deplore if only Carthage had flourished a little longer. Aurelius Augustinus was a native of Neo-Punic. He was contemporary with Eusebius Hieronymus (c. 342-420) who revised the older Latin translations of the Bible (Vetus Latina) and produced the Vulgate. Though others also contributed to the revision, the Gospels were of his own work. The text varied in manuscripts of Vetus Latina, as seen in Luke 1:28: *habe gratiam plena* (Codex Corbeiensis, ca. 450), *habe gratificata* (Frisingsensia Fragmenta, ca. 650) [for the date of the manuscripts, we followed Wikipedia “Vetus Latina manuscripts” viewed on 15/12/2023]. We learn that Augustinus wrote to Hieronymus about the textual problem in the Bible and that the latter wrote to the former on another occasion [Wikipedia “Augustine of Hippo” viewed on 30/11/2023]. It is certain that Augustinus had his own copy and read the phrase *Ave, gratia plena* in the new translation.

87) See Calzini (1990), al-Jallad (2015, p. 1) and Helms (2021).

Bibliography

- Ahlwardt, W. (1870), *The Diwans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets*. Trübner, London; repr. 1972, Biblio Verlag, Osnabrück.
- Brockelmann, C. (1964), “4. Die kanaaniäsen Dialekte mit dem Ugaritischen” in pp. 40-58, *Semitistik*, Brill, Leiden, 1964.
- Brown, P. G. McC. (1986), “The First Roman Literature” in *The Oxford History of the Classical World*, ed. by J. Boardman et al., OUP, Oxford.
- Calzini, J. G. (1990), “Safaitic graffiti from Pompeii”. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, vol. 20, pp. 1-7.
- CATUL = *The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus*. (Ed. by) F. W. Cornish, The University Press, Cambridge, 1904.
- Cic. Fam. = *Cicero. The Letters to his Friends* with an English Translation by W. Glynn Williams. 3 vols., William Heinemann, London, 1928, repr. 1952.
- CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin, 1863-.
- CIS = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*.
- DNWSI = Hoftijzer, J. and Jongeling, K. (1995), *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. 2 parts, Brill, Leiden.
- DULAT = Olmo Lete, G. del and Sanmartín, J. (2015), *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. 2 vols., 3rd rev. ed., Brill, Leiden.
- EALL = *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. 6 vols., 2006-2009, Brill, Leiden.
- EI² = *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd ed., 12 vols., 1960-2004, Brill, Leiden.
- Eph. = Lidzbarski, M. (1902-1915), *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*. 3 vols., Giessen.
- Ernout, Alfred (1938), *Plaute comédies*, tome 5. 7th print., 2020, Les Belles Lettres, Paris.
- Ernout – Meillet = Ernout, A. and Meillet, A. (1985), *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Latine*. 1st ed., 1932; 4th ed., 1959; rev., 1985; repr. 2001, Éditions Klincksieck, Paris.
- Friedrich, Johannes (1951), *Phönizische-Punische Grammatik*. Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, Roma.
- Friedrich, Johannes – Röllig, Wolfgang (1970), *Phönizische-Punische Grammatik*. 2., völlig neu bearbeitete Aufl., Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, Roma.
- (1999), *Phönizische-Punische Grammatik*. 3., neu bearbeitet von Maria Giulia Adamasi Guzzo unter Mitarbeit von Werner R. Mayer, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, Romae.
- Fuentes Estañol, M. J. (1980), *Vocabulario Fenicio*. Biblioteca Fenicia, Volumen 1, Barcelona.
- Gell. = *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius* (Loeb). With an English translation by J.C. Rolfe, 3 vols., William Heinemann, London, 1927.
- Gesenius, W. (1837), *Scripturae Linguaeque Phoeniciae* (Phoeniciae Monumenta). 3 vols., Sumptibus Typisque Fr. Chr. Guil. Vogelii, Lipsiae.
- Gordon, Cyrus H. (1965), *Ugaritic Textbook*. Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome.
- al-Ḥansāʾ = Cheikho, L. (1896), *Commentaires sur le diwan d'al-Ḥansāʾ*. Imprimerie Catholique, Beyrouth.
- Helms, Kyle (2021), “Pompeii’s Safaitic Graffiti”. *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 111, pp. 203-214.
- Ibn Khallikan = M. de Slane (1843-71), *Ibn Khallikan’s Biographical Dictionary*. 4 vols., Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, Paris.
- Ibn Qutayba = de Goeje (ed.), *Liber Poësis et Poëtarum*. Brill, Leiden, 1904 (*Kitāb al-Šiʿr wa-l-Šuʿarāʾ wa qīla Ṭabaqāt al-Šuʿarāʾ li-bn Qutayba*).
- al-Jallad, Ahmad (2015), *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions*. Brill, Leiden.
- KA = ʾAbū al-Farağ al-ʾIṣḥāḥānī, *Kitāb al-ʾAgānī*. Būlāq (Cairo), 20 vols., 1285 [1868-69] with Tables Alphabétiques du Kitāb al-ʾAgānī, ed. by I. Guidi, 1900, Brill, Leiden (repr. ca.1975, Beirut).
- KA-B = ʾAbū al-Farağ al-ʾIṣḥāḥānī, *Kitāb al-ʾAgānī*. Ed. by ʾIḥsān ʾAbbās et al., Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, 25 vols., 1st ed., 2002, 3rd ed., 2008.

- KAI = Donner, H. – Röllig, W. (1966-69), *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. 1. Aufl., 3 Bde. 1962-64; 2. Aufl., Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.
- Krahmalkov, Charles R. (1973), 'A Punic Dialogue'. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, vol. 48 (1973-74), pp. 23-27.
- (2000), *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. Peeters, Leuven.
- (2001), *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar*. Brill, Leiden.
- LA = Ibn Manẓūr (1981-1986), *Lisān al-ʿArab*. Ed. by ʿAbd Allāh ʿAlī al-Kabīr, Muḥammad Aḥmad Ḥaṣb Allāh, Ḥāšim Muḥammad al-Šādīlī, 6 vols., 1981, and Fahāris, 3 vols., 1984-6, Cairo, Dār al-Maʿārif.
- Lane, Edward William (1863-93), *An Arabic-English Lexicon, Book I*. 8 parts, Williams and Norgate, London. Repr., 1968, Librairie du Liban, Beirut.
- Lewis-Short (1958), *A Latin Dictionary*. 1st ed. 1879, The Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- LP = Littmann, E. (1943), *Safaitic Inscriptions. Syria*. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–1905 and 1909. Division IV. Section C. Brill, Leiden.
- Luz, Menahem (1988), "Salam, Meleager!" 222-231, in *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, Terza Serie, vol. 6.
- M-M = Al-Manaser, A. and Macdonald, M. C. A. (2017), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic inscriptions*. Preliminary Edition. Supported by the United Kingdom's Arts and Humanities Research Council and The Khalili Research Centre, University of Oxford, Oxford.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. (2004), "Ancient North Arabian" in pp. 179-224, R. D. Woodard (ed.), *The Ancient Languages of Syria-Palestine and Arabic*. 2008, Cambridge UP, Cambridge. [= chapters 9-16 of the same editor's *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*, 2004, Cambridge UP]
- Meleager = *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*. 2nd ed. by A. S. F. Gow & D. L. Page. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1965. Or *Anthologia Graeca*. 2nd ed. by H. Beckby, 4 vols., De Gruyter, München, 1957-8.
- De Moor, J.C. (1987), *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*. Brill, Leiden.
- Muʿallaqāt = *Šarḥ al-Qaṣāʾid al-Sabʿ al-Ṭiwāl al-Ġāhiliyyāt lil-ʿAnbārī*. Ed. by ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Dār al-Maʿārif, al-Qāhira, 1963. (15:21 = vol. 15, p. 21)
- Mufaḍḍalīyāt = Lyall, C.J. (1918-1921), *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt. An Anthology of Ancient Arabian Odes*. Vol. 1 (text, 1921), vol. 2 (translation and notes, 1918), Clarendon, Oxford. (36:14 = No. 36, line 14)
- Murray, E. R. (1917), *Formulae of Greeting and Farewell in the Ciceronian and Augustan Ages*. Master's thesis submitted to the graduate school of the University of Illinois.
- al-Nahdī = *Dīwān ʿAbd Allāh bn al-ʿAġlānī al-Nahdī*. Ed. by ʾIbrāhīm Šālīḥ, Hayʾa ʾAbū Ḍaby li-l-Ṭaqāfa wa-l-Turāṭ, Abu Dabi, 2010.
- Nöldeke, Th. (1887), *Die Ghassanischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's*. Verlag der königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
- OCD = *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd ed., 1999, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- OLD = *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. 1st ed. 1968, 2nd ed. 2012, The Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Quint. inst. = *Quintilian Institutio Oratoria*. Books I-III, with an English translation by H. E. Butler. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1920, repr. 1996.
- RES = *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*.
- Sall. C. = *The Bellum Catilinae of C. Sallustius Crispus*. Ed. by C. G. Herbermann, B.H. Sanborn, Boston, 1903.
- Schröder, P. (1869), *Die phönizische Sprache. Entwurf einer Grammatik nebst Sprach- und Schriftproben mit einem Anhang, enthaltend eine Erklärung der punischen Stellen im Pönulus des Plautus*. Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, Halle; Reprint, 1979, Sändig, Wiesbaden.
- Segert, Stanislav (1976), *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic*. C.H. Beck, München.
- (1984), *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California.

- Sīra-A1: *Kitāb Sīra Rasūl Allāh. Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishāk bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hischām*. Ed. by F. Wüstenfeld, 3 parts, 1858-1860, Göttingen, Dieterichsche Universitäts-Buchhandlung.
- Sīra-A2 = *Al-Sīra al-Nabawīya li-bn Hišām*. Ed. by M. al-Saqqā et al., 4 vols., 7th ed., 2009, Dar Al-Marefah, Beirut. [1/70 = p. 70 in vol. 1]
- Sīra-E: *The Life of Muhammad*. Translated by A. Guillaume, 1955, OUP, Oxford.
- Sivan, D. (1997), *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*. Brill, Leiden.
- Siyar = *Siyar al-ʿAʿlām al-Nubalāʾ li-l-Ḍahabī*. Vol. 9, 11th ed., Muʿassasa al-Risāla, Beirut, 1996.
- Szynger, Maurice (1967), *Les passages puniques en transcription latine dans le "Poenulus" de Plaute*. Librairie C. Klincksieck, Paris, pp. 136-141.
- (1974), "La vocalization des forms verbales dans l'écriture néopunique", 209-219, in *Actes du Premier Congrès International de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique, Paris 16-19 Juillet 1969*, ed. by Caquot, A. and Cohen, D., Mouton, The Hague/Paris, 1974.
- TA = *Tāğ al-ʿArūs li-l-Zabīdī*. Ed. by ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāğ et al., 40 vols., 1965-2001, Maṭbaʿat Ḥukūmat al-Kuwayt, al-Kuwayt.
- TLL = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*. 1900-, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaft. Open Access⁸⁸.
- Umayya = *Dīwān ʿUmayya b. ʿAbī al-Ṣalt*. Ed. by Sağīr Ğamīl al-Ğubaylī, Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, 1998.
- Versteegh, Kees (1984), *Pidginization and Creolization: The Case of Arabic*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Vetus Latina
- Codex Aureus: Belsheim, J. (1878), *Codex Aureus sive Quattuor Evangelia*. Libraria P. T. Mallingii, Christianiae.
- Codex Corbeiensis: Buchanan, E.S. (1907), *The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbeiensis*. The Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Frisingensia Fragmenta: White, H. J. (1888), *The Four Gospels from the Munich MS. (q) ...* The Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Walde, A. (1906-10), *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 1. Aufl. 1906, 2. Aufl. 1910, Carl Winter, Heidelberg.
- Walde, A. und Hofmann, J. B. (1938-82), *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 3 Bde., 3. Aufl. 1938-1956, 5. Aufl. 1982, Carl Winter, Heidelberg.
- Wright, W. (1967), *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. 3rd rev. ed., 2 vols., Cambridge UP, Cambridge.

[Postscript]

After we submitted the study to the journal, a most important study on the Punic community appeared: Ringbauer, H. et al. (2025), "Punic people were genetically diverse with almost no Levantine ancestors." *Nature*, 23 April 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-025-08913-3>.

Shocking as the title may sound, this study of ours offers a clue on how Punic people came into being in the colonies, on the analogy of the recent pidgin - creole studies in Arabic. Moreover, we must recall that on the Mediterranean coast there existed colonies of Romans, Greeks and Phoenicians. At any place of contact, the common language was sought for on either side. Since Phoenicia had enjoyed a great prosperity and fame in the earlier days of the first millennium BC, it was often Phoenician on such occasions, later to be supplanted by koine Greek.

In addition, we can recall a similar language situation that took place on land around 700

88) Viewed on 08/25/2023. <https://publikationen.badw.de/en/thesaurus/lemmata#14589>

BC in Mesopotamia, when Assyria finally conquered Aramaean revolts. Thereafter, we lose sight of Aramaeans whereas their language, Aramaic, thrived among many (non-Aramaean) peoples. Suffice it to say that Jesus' mother tongue was Aramaic. Today we know many communities, though small in population, speaking varieties of Modern Aramaic, while Assyrians fell into oblivion long before. When Aramaic was an inter-continental lingua franca from Afghanistan to Egypt, Phoenician - Punic is really worthy of being a maritime lingua franca in view of the vast western Mediterranean coast, where Punic inscriptions were found. Being as such, Phoenician - Punic was quite naturally used by non-Punic people too. (June 02, 2025)⁸⁹⁾

89) For the discussion of the earlier version of this study read at our 42nd meeting (October, 2023), we are very grateful to all the participants, including Shuichiro Nakao, who kindly commented on other points later. The anonymous reference is most highly esteemed and accepted.