ORIENTALIA SUECANA

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Editorial Note

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The first issue of the journal *Orientalia Suecana* appeared after a period of preparation and fund-raising in 1952. Its founder was Erik Gren (1904–1959), Reader in Classical History and Archaeology at Uppsala University as well as librarian at the University Library. The journal came to be a successor to the journal *Le Monde Oriental*, published by scholars in Oriental Studies at Uppsala 1906–1946.[1]

From the very beginning the acting editor had at his disposal an editorial board consisting of about ten well-established Swedish oriental scholars who acted as reviewers of incoming contributions in their respective fields of research.

The purpose of OS was described as follows in the introduction to its first issue:

> During recent years Oriental studies in Sweden have grown so much in intensity and scope that the need for a special periodical covering certain branches of these studies has become more and more urgent. This is so in the investigation of the ancient culture of the Near East, which has largely attracted increasing attention, and hardly less so in the case of certain aspects of Islamic studies, Iranology, Egyptology and African ethnology.
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> The present journal is in the first place intended to satisfy this need, but the possibility of later extending the programme will be kept in view.

This outline for the journal has been followed ever since. The fields covered were soon extended beyond those mentioned. Indology was included as early as vol. 2, Turkology from vol. 3, and articles on Byzantine studies were subsequently also published. The need for the journal expressed at the start has certainly been confirmed by its unfailing survival during half a century.

The editor of the journal, Erik Gren, had just finished vol. 8 when he suddenly passed away in 1959. The task of editing was taken over by the Byzantinist Gustav Karlsson and the Indologist Nils Simonsson who designed vol. 9 (1960) as a memorial volume for the founder of the journal, including an obituary. The same two scholars, with the support of the original editorial board, edited the journal up to vol. 13 (1964) when Frithiof Rundgren took over as sole editor. He stayed on as the editor for 25 years, doing most of the editorial work himself, with the help of the printing house Almqvist & Wiksell. During his period as editor there was a certain interruption when vols. 33–35 (1984–1986) were combined into a Festschrift for Frithiof Rundgren, edited by Tryggve Kronholm and Eva Riad (in collaboration with Lennart Carlsson, Stig Eliasson, and Lennart Grönberg). Frithiof Rundgren retired from his chair in Semitic languages in 1987 and handed over the editorial work to his successor, Tryggve Kronholm, with the double issue 38–39 (1989–1990, a congratula-

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[1] A special article about Le Monde Oriental has been published by Sigrid Kahle in Orientalia Suecana 51–52 (2002–2003), pp. 275–295.

tory volume for Gösta Vitestam, professor of Semitic Languages at the University of Lund 1968–1987). Frithiof Rundgren lived until 2006; his obituary was printed in vol. 55 (2006).

Tryggve Kronholm was the sole editor of vols. 39–42. At the prospect of editing vol. 43 (1994) he summoned support from his colleagues at the then Department of Asian and African Languages: Gunilla Gren-Eklund, Indology; and Bo Utas, Iranian studies. For Turkic studies Lars Johanson, also originally from Uppsala, joined the editorial committee. Tryggve Kronholm passed away suddenly in 1999; his obituary can be found in vol. 49 (2000). His successor, professor Bo Isaksson, took over Kronholm's responsibilities on the acting editorial committee from vol. 53 (2004) as a representative of Semitic Languages. For vols. 54–57 there was a slight change in the editorial committee when Gunilla Gren-Eklund was appointed as the main editor, with Bo Isaksson, Lars Johanson, and Bo Utas acting as collaborating members.

The editorial committee as constituted until now has thus been responsible for the journal for sixteen years. During this period, vols. 51–52 (2002–2003) were edited as a combined volume by Éva Á. Csató, Carina Jahani, Anju Saxena, and Christiane Schaefer, intended as a congratulatory volume on the occasion of the retirement of the two editors Gunilla Gren-Eklund and Bo Utas from their respective professorships at Uppsala University: Indology, especially Sanskrit; and Iranistics.

With the present volume the editorial quadriga has handed over the responsibility for the journal to a new committee which has the intention – in clear accordance with the vision of the founder – to broaden the journal's content anew by including more fields of Oriental Studies.

Such is the story of the editorial work behind *Orientalia Suecana*. The technical aspects of the editing were originally handled by Almqvist & Wiksell, the printing house traditionally engaged by the University of Uppsala. After a restructuring of the printing house and its distribution department, the collaboration was ended, and from the double vol. 43–44 (1994–1995) the working committee took over more of the technical duties: both the financial accounts and the entire distribution process. Since that time the typesetting has been competently performed by Textgruppen AB, Uppsala, and its resourceful director John Wilkinson.

In spite of varying conditions the journal has remained financially stable. For at least three decades the editing has been supported by grants of greater or lesser amounts from the Swedish Research Council, thus securing both funding and quality.

It is not, however, only the demands of the Research Council that have made the editors aware of the necessity to ensure high quality in the contributions. Since the journal is, in fact, multidisciplinary, expert knowledge, internal and external, has always been called upon, and many experts have, without personal compensation, been of great help in passing judgement on the incoming contributions.

A closer look at the contents of the journal during its long history reveals certain changes in the scholarly world of Oriental Studies during the last decades.

First, the number of contributions from abroad is greater today than in the time before the 1990s, which might also be an indicator that the journal has obtained wider acceptance among the international scholarly society.

Second, it is also evident that most of the early contributions could be classified as primarily philological, with a wider view towards historical, and especially religious-historical issues. The articles dealing with antiquity are now joined by more studies of present-day topics and phenomena. At the same time, contributions addressing philological and linguistic problems are more clearly distinguished today, due to the fact that different modern theories are applied to these fields. The diversity of topics, times, and viewpoints might be exemplified by mentioning two articles typical of their times: "Mithra en vieux-perse" from the first issue in 1952; and from vol. 56 (2007), a paper treating the view on East and West in the novels of Orhan Pamuk.

This is the story of *Orientalia Suecana* so far, and we three, now retiring editors wish the new editorial committee the best of luck – both in upholding the fine traditions of the journal and in meeting the demands of the present time for necessary renewal in all respects.

Kingship and Religion in a Mediaeval *Fürstenspiegel*:
The Case of the *Chahār Maqāla* of Niżāmī ʿArūżī

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> It is by virtue of the *Chahār Maqāla*, and that alone, that Niḏhāmī-ʿArūḍī of Samarqand deserves to be reckoned amongst the great names of Persian literature.
>
> Edward Browne (1921:xi)

In the mediaeval period, works in the *Fürstenspiegel* (mirror-for-princes) genre were composed by members of diverse intellectual and social groups in the Iranian cultural sphere. The rich variety of the genre, combining the various themes of statecraft, ethics, history, and homiletic discourse, testifies to the widespread mediaeval preoccupation with problems of kingship and governance. Designed for the edification of rulers and princes on the ethical and practical aspects of government, the mirror-for-princes genre displays a notable contrast between works written by court officials and secretaries, whose political and social ideals were formed largely by the Persian royal tradition, and Islamic scholars, whose vision of the ideal polity was dictated by religious norms. This distinction can be observed most clearly in their conflicting conceptions of the relationship between kingship and religion. The ancient Persian view, which is championed, for instance, by the Saljūq minister Niżām al-Mulk (d.1092) in the *Siyāsatnāma* (The Book of Statecraft), seeks to maintain equilibrium between the secular and religious domains of power. It represents a desire for a perfect state of parity and social harmony between kingship and religion based on the natural balance of the universe. In contrast, the Islamic view, as envisaged in homiletic mirror-for-princes literature, such as *Baḥr al-favā'id* (The Sea of Precious Virtues) and *Laṭā'if al-ḥikma* (The Subtleties of Wisdom) of Sirāj al-dīn Urmavī (d. 1283), insists on the supremacy of the spiritual over the mundane in a divinely ordered hierarchy.[1]

In her study on the notion of kingship in the *Naṣiḥat al-Mulūk* (The Book of

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[1] Mirror-for-princes is a universal genre which can be defined most broadly as "ethics of statecraft" or "advice on how to rule". In contrast to philosophical and legal works on statecraft, the genre does not primarily address the theory of the state, but revolves around the personality and conduct of the ruler and his counsellors. Mirror-for-princes is also to be distinguished from other genres, such as instruction in etiquette and political philosophy, which it substantially overlaps. Considerable attention has been paid to the religious aspects of the Persian mirror-of-princes literature by Patricia Crone (1987), A. K. S. Lambton (1954 and 1971), Louise Marlow (1995) and Julie Scott Meisami (1991). Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds (2003:27–31) have discussed the tension between Persian and Islamic notions of governance in their study on religious authority in early Islam. The Iranian origin of the concept of social parity between kingship and religion has been evaluated by Molé (1963:51f) and Crone (1987:182–185).

Counsel) of Muḥammad Ghazālī (d. 1111), A. K. S. Lambton draws attention to the inherent tension between Persian and Islamic elements in the mediaeval mirror-for-princes literature.[2] Without much further elaboration she suggests that this tension can be observed most noticeably in the *Chahār Maqāla* (Four Discourses) of the twelfth-century literary scholar Niżāmī ʿArūżī. In her view, Niżāmī ʿArūżī initially makes a concession to the classical theory of the Islamic caliphate and subsequently rejects it altogether (Lambton 1954:49). In this short essay I would like to explore the relationship between kingship and religion in the preface of the *Chahār Maqāla* in order to examine whether Niżāmī ʿArūżī's position should be seen as a revival of the Persian concept of kingship or as a justification of Islamic political theory. The apparent tension in his discussion can be interpreted, as Lambton seems to suggest, as a form of intellectual inconsistency, but it can also be seen as an attempt to synthesize opposing doctrinal tendencies and cultural legacies. Before delving into this topic, it is, however, necessary to explore Niżāmī ʿArūżī's biography and literary production on the basis of the mediaeval sources in order to understand the historical and cultural milieu in which the *Chahār Maqāla* was composed.

The Life and Times of Niżāmī ʿArūżī

Aḥmad Niżāmī ʿArūżī was born in Samarqand during the latter part of the eleventh century, probably around 1085.[3] He received his early education in his hometown and acquired extensive learning in the profane sciences such as grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and ethics, which comprised the heart of humanistic education in the Iranian cultural sphere. This curriculum was particularly aimed at training and educating court officials and secretaries. Besides his secretarial education Niżāmī ʿArūżī was also well-versed in astrology and medicine. To judge from his autobiographical accounts in the *Chahār Maqāla*, he was in all respects a multifaceted scholar and a man of great reputation in his own lifetime. For more than forty-five years, he served as secretary and poet to the Ghurid court in the city of Bāmiyān in central Afghanistan. In the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, Persian literature experienced a renaissance in flourishing trade towns along the Silk Road, and cities like Bāmiyān, Balkh, and Harāt were not only vital financial centres, but also major centres of literature and art.

What we know about Niżāmī ʿArūżī is primarily derived from his short autobiographical accounts in the *Chahār Maqāla*. This work informs us that in his youth he heard stories about the pioneer of the Persian literary renaissance, the poet ʿAbdulla Rūdagī of Bukhārā (d. 941), which perhaps inspired him to become a poet. In his twenties, he travelled around in Transoxania and Khurāsān collecting information

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[2] Alexey Khismatulin (2008) has convincingly questioned the ascription of the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* to Ghazālī in his discussion of counterfeiting and forgery in Mediaeval Persian literature.
[3] Concerning Niżāmī ʿArūżī's name, Edward Browne (1997:337) writes: "His name, according to his own statement […] was Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, and his title (*laqab*), Najmu'd-Dīn, but he is always known by his pen-name (*takhalluṣ*) of Niẓāmī. Even amongst his contemporaries, however, there were, as will directly appear, several Niẓāmīs more celebrated than himself, not to mention his later, greater namesake, Niẓāmī of Ganja, who is the Niẓāmī *par excellence* of Persian literature; so the poet with whom we are now concerned is always spoken of as Niẓāmī-ʿArūżī (*i.e.* 'the Prosodist') of Samarqand."

about prominent, contemporary men of learning. In 1112, he visited Balkh, where he enjoyed the society of the astronomers ʿUmar Khayyām och Mużaffar Isfizārī, who had devised a new solar calendar which was inaugurated by the Saljūq sulṭān Malikshāh (d. 1092). Niżāmī ʿArūżī probably also visited the famous schools, scientific academies, and libraries of that city. Some years later, he was gathering information about the poet Abū al-Qāsim Firdausī in the district of Vāzh in the province of Tūs. At this time, he had started to compose his first poems, since he relates that in 1116, he wrote a panegyric poem and joined the court of Sulṭān Sanjar on his way from Harāt. In the *Chahār Maqāla*, he relates this occasion in the anecdote which portrays the early successes of Amīr Muʿizzī:

> In the year A.D. 1116, the King of Islam, Sanjar the son of Malikshāh (may God prolong his existence and continue his exaltation to the heights!), chanced to be encamped in the spring season within the marches of Tūs, on the plain of Turuq, where he remained for two months. There, I, in hopes of obtaining some favour, joined his court from Harāt, having then nothing in the way of equipment or provision. I composed a panegyric poem and went to Muʿizzī the Poet Laureate (*malik al-shuʿarā*), to seek an opening through him. (Niżāmī ʿArūżī 2003:67–68)[4]

Amīr Muʿizzī was the most celebrated poet in the court circle of Sulṭān Sanjar and an arbiter in literary matters. The literary historian Daulatshāh Samarqandī (1901: 60) (d. 1507) describes Niżāmī ʿArūżī as one of his pupils. With his support and encouragement Niżāmī ʿArūżī attracted the attention of the sulṭān. We do not know for sure when he first entered service at the court or when he made his breakthrough as a poet but for some reason he left the court of Sanjar. Perhaps he lost favour or felt neglected in the shadow of more celebrated writers. His journey went to the Ghurid capital Bāmiyān. For more than forty-five years, he served as a secretary and court poet for various Ghurid monarchs. His prose work *Chahār Maqāla* was composed rather late, in his late sixties, under the auspices of the Ghurid prince Husām al-Daula ʿAlī and his father, king Fakhr al-Daula Masʿūd. To judge from its panegyric prologue, the former seems to have been the author's special patron and benefactor.

The Ghurid dynasty was of ancient Iranian ancestry and belonged to the Shansabān family which was descended from the prehistoric king Ẓahhāk (M. P. Dahāg). This ancestry, even if completely fictional, is important as far as political legitimacy is concerned, since it endowed them with the dignity of a royal Iranian ancestry. Ẓahhāk ruled over the Iranian Plateau in prehistoric, mythological past. In the national epic *Shāhnāma* (The Book of Kings), Abū al-Qāsim Firdausī (d. 1020) relates that Ẓahhāk's tyranny lasted for one thousand years before he was deposed by king Farīdūn with the help of the blacksmith Kāva. The historian ʿUs̱mān ibn Sirāj al-Dīn Jūzjānī (1963:323) explains that Ẓahhāk was imprisoned on the mountain of Damāvand and that his descendants escaped to the east and found refuge in the district of Ghur, between the valley of Harāt and Hilmand.[5] The name Shansabān stems, however, from the historical ancestor of the family, a nobleman at the

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[4] All translations are my own except when otherwise stated.
[5] It is from this district that the Ghurid dynasty, also called Shansabān, derives its name.

Sāsānid court who witnessed the Arab invasion of Iran in the seventh century. He was forced to escape to the east from bloody persecution with other members of the Persian nobility and finally settled in the inaccessible mountains of Ghur. The Umayyads launched several military raids into Ghur, which the local inhabitants successfully repulsed. The Ghurids did not convert to Islam before Sulṭān Maḥmud's military conquests (d. 1030), which initially only yielded a token submission to the new religion.[6]

In Niżāmī ʿArūżī's lifetime, the Saljūq and Ghaznavid dynasties were the dominating political constellations in the eastern parts of the Iranian cultural sphere. The Saljūqs ruled over Khurāsān and Persia proper, while the Ghaznavids had been forced to withdraw to the northern border of India. The ʿAbbāsid caliph, addressed with the pious honorific "The Prince of Believers" (amīr al-muʾminīn), was the highest religious authority of Islam. Yet in practice, he was a shadow ruler under the Saljūq sulṭāns, who exerted the real secular power. His only authority was to legitimize the worldly rulers by bestowing upon them an investiture comprising among other things a sword, a standard, and robes of honour. Situated between the Saljūq and Ghaznavid power spheres, the buffer district Ghur stood intermittently in a vassal relationship to both empires. In the beginning of the twelfth century the formerly so powerful Ghaznavid dynasty was, however, in decline and famine prevailed in the capital Ghazna. In 1117, Bahrām Shāh (d. 1152) declared himself sulṭān after executing his own brother, Sulṭān Arslān Shāh. Bahrām Shāh was a great patron of the arts, but his political recklessness brought an end to Ghaznavid dynastic power. His celebrated circle of court poets was led by Sanāʾī, who composed the masterpiece Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa (The Garden of Truth) under his auspices.

Fearing growing Ghurid influence and claims of self-autonomy Bahrām Shāh had the Ghurid vassal Quṭb al-Daula in Pīrūzkūh poisoned and staged a conspiracy against his brother, prince Saīf al-Daula Sūrī in Ghazna. In wintertime, as the roads to the city were blocked by heavy snowfall, Bahrām Shāh arrested the prince, forced him to run the gauntlet and then had him crucified. Enraged at the treacherous execution of his two brothers, ʿAlā al-Dunyā Ḥusain fell upon Ghazna in 1151 and had its entire population slaughtered after luring them from their hiding-places by the call to prayer. Bahrām Shāh was forced to permanently retire to India, where he spent his last years in solitude. With good reason ʿAlā al-Dunyā Ḥusain was thereafter called "Burner of the World" (jahānsūz), a nick-name that endured among the people of Iran until the Mongol period.[7] After his conquest of Ghazna, which marked the beginning of the Ghurid dynasty, ʿAlā al-Dunyā Ḥusain returned to Pīrūzkūh.[8] On the journey he demol-

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[6] The major historical source about the Ghurids is the Tabaqāt-i nāṣirī (Nāṣirī's Chronicles) written by ʿUs̱mān ibn Sirāj al-Dīn Jūzjānī in the middle of the thirteenth century. The father of Sirāj al-Dīn served as a judge under the Ghurids and the work gives valuable information regarding the early history of Islam in Afghanistan and India. Cf. Bosworth 1968:157–166.
[7] Cf. Jūzjānī 1963:333–334 and 379.
[8] Pīrūzkūh is located near the modern city of Ahangarān in central Afghanistan. Today, nothing remains of it except the minaret of Jam.

ished all the glorious buildings that had been raised by the Ghaznavids. Niżāmī ʿArūẓī (2003:47), who devotes praise to him in the prologue of the *Chahār Maqāla*, emphasizes that the new conqueror, despite his antipathy towards the Ghaznavids, cherished the poems which had been written in the praise of their sulṭāns.

> The Monarch of the World, Sulṭān ʿAlā al-Dunyā Ḥusain, the helper of the Prince of Believers (may his life be long, and the umbrella of his dynasty triumphant!), marched on Ghazna to avenge those two monarchs, the martyred prince and the laudable king, and Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh fled before him. In revenge for those royal victims, whom they had treated with such indignity, and of whom they had spoken so lightly, he sacked the city of Ghazna, and destroyed the buildings raised by [the Ghaznavid sulṭāns] Maḥmūd, Masʿūd and Ibrahīm, but he purchased with gold the poems written in their praise, and placed them in his library.[9]

ʿAlā al-Dunyā Ḥusain declared himself king of the Shansabān dynasty in Pīrūzkūh, but his victory was short-lived. He was defeated the following year by Sulṭān Sanjar at the gates of Auba (Obeh) and taken captive together with his son at the hands of the Saljūq Commander-in-Chief Yaranqush. In one of his auto-biographical accounts, Niżāmī ʿArūẓī (2003:107) relates that the son was released for fifty thousand *dīnār* while the king was freed without ransom and granted a robe of honour. As is evident from the concluding anecdote of the *Chahār Maqāla*, the author wandered about in Harāt "in the guise of a fugitive" following this event, since he was connected with the Ghurid court (Niżāmī ʿArūẓī 2003:107 and 137). Afterwards, he travelled to the district of Bāmiyān where he wrote down his life's work under the auspices of ʿAlā al-Dunyā Ḥusain's brother Fakhr al-Daula Masʿūd, who bore the title "king" (*malik*). The later life of Niżāmī ʿArūẓī is unknown, but it seems incontestable that he continued to be involved in the politics of his time. The Ghurid dynasty experienced a period of greatness under ʿAlā al-Dunyā Ḥusain's nephew, Ghiyās̱ al-Dīn Muḥammad, and the latter's brother, Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad, who conquered Bengal and established a Persian empire in India. They forced the last Ghaznavid to withdraw from Lāhūr and also reached westwards to Iṣfahān. Ghurid expansion was not halted until 1204 when ʿAlā al-Dīn Khārazmshāh Muḥammad II won a decisive victory over them.

The *Chahār Maqāla*

Niżāmī ʿArūẓī served as a court poet and secretary, but of his poetry only four scanty fragments (*qiṭaʿāt*) and one quatrain (*rubāʿī*) have survived in the *Lubāb al-albāb* (Sublime Intellects) of the literary historian Muḥammad ʿAufī (1903: 207–208) (d. 1242). Notwithstanding the satisfaction displayed by Niżāmī ʿArūẓī regarding his own poetical talent, his poems have not been judged by posterity as being of the highest order. As the literary scholar Edward Browne (1921:xi)

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[9] It must, however, be mentioned that ʿAlā al-Dunyā Ḥusain had less interest in philosophy, since a collection of Abū ʿAlī Sīnā's books, which had been confiscated at Iṣfahān and brought to Ghazna in 1034, was put to the torch.

argues "it is far inferior to his prose, which is admirable, and in my opinion, al-most unequalled in Persian".[10] It is by virtue of the *Chahār Maqāla*, and not his poetry, that Niżāmī ʿArūżī has gained merit as a writer through the centuries. This prose work was composed around 1156 as a mirror-for-princes under the auspices of king Fakhr al-Daula Masʿūd, and addresses contemporary monarchs and aristocrats. As such, it is permeated not only by the attitudes that informed the Ghurid political activities in the region, but also by the general cultural atmosphere of the contemporary Persian renaissance. The *Chahār Maqāla* has thematic similarities with earlier mirrors, such as the *Qābūsnāma* (The Book of Qābūs), in its aristocratic and secular orientation. The *Qābūsnāma* was composed by the Ziyārid prince ʿUnsur al-Maʿālī Kay Kāvūs (d. 1098) in 1082 for his son Gīlān-Shāh. It specifies the conduct of kingship and offers advices in matters of court etiquette, such as chess, wine, love, horses, poetry, and rearing children. The didactic sections are augmented with illustrative anecdotes, often of amusing content.

A. K. S. Lambton (1971:419, 421), who has discussed the mediaeval evolution of mirror-for-princes literature, observes that this genre generally is characterized by an assimilation of Islamic political and ethical norms to traditions of kingship drawn from ancient, mostly Persian sources.[11] The mediaeval mirror-for-princes owes par-ticularly much to concepts of the ruler, justice, and good religion envisaged in the old Persian manuals of court etiquette (*āʾīn-nāma*). Persian belles-lettres flourished in the Sāsānid period and later served as models for mediaeval mirrors-for-princes in Persian as well as Arabic and Turkish. The Sāsānid king Khusrau I (d. 579), known as Anūshīrvān-i Dādgar ("The Just of the Immortal Soul"), and his prime-minister Wuzurgmihr Bukhtagān were the epitome of ideal rule and wise government. Many collections of maxims and sage proverbs about kingship and administration have been attributed to them. The most famous collection of Wuzurgmihr is the *Ganj-i shāhagān* ("The Treasures of Kings"). He also figures prominently in a work known as *Pandnāmag* (The Book of Counsel), which is known from a ninth century Middle Persian version.[12] In the *Qābūsnāma*, Kay Kāvūs devotes a whole chapter to the counsels of Anūshīrvān to his son Shāpūr I. According to the mediaeval historian Abū al-Ḥasan Masʿūdī (d. 956), Wuzurgmihr summarized his counsel on govern-ance in twelve points, which the king inscribed in golden letters. These commands (paraphrased below), can be said to adequately represent an Iranian ideal of king-ship:

> Fear God; be trustworthy and loyal; seek the advice of wise men; honour scholars, the
> nobles, and the officials; supervise judges and tax collectors strictly; check on the condition
> of prisoners; ensure the safety of roads and markets; punish the guilty according to their

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[10] This is also the opinion of Muḥammad Muʿīn. See his preface to Niżāmī ʿArūżī 2003.
[11] Lambton (1954:48) writes: "The writers of these manuals were not as concerned with the legal aspect as had been the jurists and thus they were not limited in the material on which they could draw; in fact they drew largely on pre-Islamic tradition, which meant in the eastern part of the Islamic world, where this type of work was especially popular, Sasanian tradition, and their works were in part inspired by the old Persian manuals of court etiquette."
[12] The *Pandnāmag* was also translated into Arabic and included in the *Jāvidān khirad* (Eternal Wisdom) by Ibn Miskavay (d. 1030). Cf. Christensen 1930:97–98.

crime; provision the army; honour the family; defend the borders; and watch government officials closely and remove the disloyal and incompetent.[13]

In the period more or less contemporary with Niżāmī ʿArūẓī several important mirrors were composed on government and ethics as well as homiletic subjects. The most influential was perhaps the *Siyāsatnāma* of the famous premier minister Niżām al-Mulk, who founded several Saljūq universities and scientific academies. The *Siyāsatnāma* is made up of fifty chapters of advice to rulers, interspersed with illustrative anecdotes. It is not merely a theoretical handbook but also an administrative blueprint according to which the author expected the Saljūq realms to be governed. His ambition was to maintain the vast empire, especially against internal rebellion, and to promote stability. Niżām al-Mulk maintained that the king is responsible for ensuring the welfare of the people by nominating wise and loyal counsellors. Drawing from the Sāsānid model of court administration he considered the vizier or premier-minister, who often exerted much influence on the king, to be the most important person under the monarch in the central government. He also sought an ideal model for the entire society in the Sāsānid social structure and upheld the correctness of its division into priests, warriors, scribes, farmers, and artisans (Niżām al-Mulk 1990:22–34).

In contrast to the *Siyāsatnāma*, the *Chahār Maqāla* belongs to the literary current of mirror literature. Like the above-mentioned works, it is a textbook directly instructing kings. Niżāmī ʿArūẓī's main interest, however, is not the king, but his officials and administrators. Initially, he draws attention to Niżām al-Mulk's notion that the king needs wise and effective counsellors whose opinions he should follow. But in contrast to the latter, his purpose is not to specify the attributes and virtues of the king, but those of his ministers so that the king can govern in a wise and effective way. In the preface, Niżāmī ʿArūẓī (2003:5) specifies that his aim is to serve the "supreme royal court" (*majlis-i aʿlā-yi pādshāhī*) by defining kingship according to "the canon of wisdom (*qānūn-i ḥikmat*) with decisive proofs and trenchant arguments". As the title suggests, the *Chahār Maqāla* formally consists of four sections that separately discuss the offices of the court. According to Niżāmī ʿArūẓī, these influential professions are the secretaries, the poets, the astrologers, and the physicians. The very structure of the book indicates that the author identifies the *sine qua non* of kingship with the king's incumbents; that is, the government or public administration. He states:

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[13] The French translation of Masʿūdī's (1962:235) original reads as follows : (I) Craindre Dieu, lorsqu'on est près de céder à la concupiscence, à la convoitise, à la peur, à la colère ou à la passion ; redouter, dans les conséquences de ces passion, non pas l'homme, mais Dieu. (II) Être sincère dans ses paroles et exécuter fidèlement ses promesses et ses engagements, les pactes et les traités. (III) Prendre l'avis des sages en toute affaire. (IV) Honorer les savants, les nobles, les gouverneurs des frontières, les officiers, les secrétaires et les employés, chacun suivant son grade. (V) Surveiller les juges, examiner avec équité les comptes des agents du fisc ; récompenser les bons services et punir les malversations. (VI) Connaître par de fréquentes visites la situation des prisonniers, afin de redoubler de surveillance envers les coupables et de délivrer les innocents. (VII) Assurer la sécurité des routes et des marchés, contrôler les prix et les transactions. (VIII) Punir les coupables dans la mesure de leur faute et appliquer les sanctions légales (IX) S'approvisionner d'armes et de tout le matériel de guerre. (X) Honorer sa famille, ses enfants, ses proches, et rechercher ce quit peut leur être profitable. (XI) Avoir l'oeil ouvert sur les frontières, afin de connaître le danger et de le prévenir. (XII) Surveiller les ministres et les employés, et révoquer ceux dont la déloyauté ou l'incapacité est manifeste.

> Hence, a king must be surrounded by such men – since on their counsel, judgment and de-
> liberations depend the loosing and binding of the world (*ḥall va 'aqd-i 'ālam*) and the
> well-being of the servants of the God Almighty – as are in every respect the most excellent
> and most perfect of their time. Now of the counsellors (*khavāṣṣ*) necessary to kings are the
> secretary, the poet, the astrologer, and the physician, with whom he can in no wise dispense.
> The maintenance of the administration is done by the secretary; the perpetuation of immor-
> tal renown by the poet; the ordering of affairs by the astrologer; and the health of the body
> by the physician. (Niżāmī ʿArūẓī 2003:18)

Like other mediaeval Persian writers, Niżāmī ʿArūẓī begins his work with a pane-
gyric praise of God, the prophet Muḥammad, and his benefactor, who is portrayed
as a magnificent and just ruler. Following this short opening, he gives a learned ex-
planation about the creation of the universe, minerals, plants, animals, and humans.
As has been suggested by ʿAbbās Mīlānī (1998:320), his scientific outlook is largely
based on an Aristotelian taxonomy filtered through the works of Muslim peripatetic
philosophers (in particular Abū ʿAlī Sīnā). Niżāmī ʿArūẓī thereafter deals with the
classes of human society and the meaning and function of kingship. Each of the four
main sections begins with a theoretical discussion on the foundations and methods
of each art (i.e. the secretarial art, poetry, astrology, and medicine), which also de-
scribes the qualifications and education necessary for their practitioners. The theor-
etical introductions, which are largely based on Greek, Persian, and Islamic learn-
ing, are in each case followed by ten or more biographical anecdotes about learned
men (and one woman), which illuminate the offices in various respects. The anec-
dotes are charming, more or less literary, and a few contain humoristic elements.

The *Chahār Maqāla* offers a rich overview of the Iranian cultural history in the
two centuries preceding its composition and the literary conditions of Niżāmī
ʿArūẓī's own time. In this respect, it serves as an invaluable original source not only
about the literary development in that period but also about contemporary political
events in West and Central Asia. Reflecting the prevailing cultural trends among the
ruling elite and the social norms of the period, it can be used as a rich resource for
studying social, intellectual, and literary tendencies. The anecdotes about the poets
Firdausī, Khayyām, and Amīr Muʿizzī as well as those about the scientists, Abū
Rayḥān Bīrunī och Muḥammad Zakariyya Rāzī are particularly valuable in this re-
spect. To a modern reader it is perhaps surprising that the anecdote about Khayyām,
which is the only contemporary of its kind, is not included in the section on poetry
but in that on astrology. However, Khayyām was, until recently, mainly known as a
mathematician and astronomer in his land of origin.

To judge from Niżāmī ʿArūẓī's own accounts, he was held in high esteem for his
sober scholarship and stylistic genius already by his contemporaries. The *Chahār
Maqāla* soon became a model for prose elaboration, and even imitation, and was re-
ferred to by many great authors of the following centuries. Muḥammad ʿAufī, who
also served at the Ghurid court, wrote his *Lubāb al-albāb* in the form and style of
Niżāmī ʿArūẓī. Among other writers who were influenced by him are the historian
Ibn Isfandiyār and the biographer Daulatshāh Samarqandī, composer of the famous
Taẕkirat al-shuʿarā (The Memoirs of the Poets). The *Chahār Maqāla* is actually
among the most frequently cited prose works in the whole Persian literature. It has

continued to influence writers and intellectuals in modern times, such as Muḥammad Taqī Bahār (d. 1950) and Muḥammad Qazvīnī (d. 1950). Bahār was a journalist, Member of Parliament, and writer of classical poetry. Qazvīnī looked upon Niżāmī ʿArūẓī as a stylistic model and underlined his importance for secular thought, insisting on the central role of the Persian language for Iranian national identity (Bahār 194-:298–318).

Kingship and religion in the *Chahār Maqāla*

In the preface to the *Chahār Maqāla*, Niżāmī ʿArūẓī presents his views on nature and human society, and delves into the meaning and function of kingship. In his natural philosophy or physics he follows to a large extent Aristotle through the writings of peripatetic philosophers such as Muḥammad Fārābī (d. 950) and Abū ʿAlī Sīnā (d. 1037). Niżāmī ʿArūẓī (2003:114) describes the *Qānūn* (Canon) of Abū ʿAlī Sīnā as the richest source of natural philosophy after Aristotle in its systematic and empirical approach.[14] His view of nature is essentially an evolutionary one in a pre-modern sense, from the mineral and vegetable kingdoms to the animal kingdom. He begins his discussion by elucidating in how man developed from the natural world. Interestingly, he defines man as a "perfect animal" (*ḥaivān-i kāmil*) that differs from other animals by reason of his intellectual faculty (Niżāmī ʿArūẓī 2003: 13). Referring to the well-known tradition of prophet Muḥammad, which recalls the ancient Greek aphorism "Know thyself", Niżāmī ʿArūẓī (2003:15) asserts that the fundamental pre-eminence of man lies in his ability to understand abstract ideas.

> So by reason of intelligence he [i.e. man] became king over all animals and brought all things under his control. From the mineral world he made jewels, gold, and silver his adornment; from the vegetable kingdom he made his food, raiment, and bedding; and from the animal kingdom he obtained steeds and beasts of burden. And from all three kingdoms he produced medicines wherewith to heal himself. Whereby did there accrue to him such supremacy? By this, that he understood abstract ideas (*maʿqūlāt*) and, by means of these, recognized God. And whereby did he know God? By knowing himself; for *He, who knows himself, knows his Lord*.

Niżāmī ʿArūẓī's conception of human society and the division of classes is heavily influenced by Greek political thought, most likely through Abū ʿAlī Sīnā whom he considers a model in science and philosophy. Like Plato, his ideal state is aristocratic and comprised of three classes of citizens corresponding to the three souls of men: the appetitive soul (emotion or desire), the spirited soul (will or volition), and the rational soul (mind or intellect).[15] Niżāmī ʿArūẓī differs, however, from Plato in his definition of each class. According to him, the *first* class is the wild men and women who inhabit the wasteland; the *second* class is the merchants and craftsmen who dwell in the cities and collaborate with each other; the *third* class is the scientists and philosophers, who devote their time to intellectual activities, such as writing and teaching.

[14] Niżāmī ʿArūẓī's reliance on Aristotelian philosophical and scientific foundations has been demonstrated by ʿAbbās Mīlānī (1998:390) in his study of the *Chahār Maqāla*.
[15] Cf. Plato 1930:IV 436e–441c.

> So this kingdom [of man] became divided into three classes. The first is that which is prox-
> imate to the animal kingdom, such as the wild men of the waste and the mountain, whose
> aspiration does not suffice more than to secure their own livelihood by seeking that which
> is to their benefit and warding off what is to their harm. The second class comprises the in-
> habitants of towns and cities, who possess civilization, the ability to cooperate, and the ap-
> titude to discover arts and crafts; but whose scientific accomplishments are limited to the
> organization of such association as subsists between them, in order that the different classes
> may continue to exist. The third class comprises such as are independent of these things,
> and whose occupation, by night and by day, in secret and in public, is to reflect. (Niżāmī
> ʿArūẓī 2003:15–16)

Like the Greek philosopher, Niżāmī ʿArūẓī (2003:49–50) bases this tripartite divi-
sion, as well as the division of professions, on the natural talent and education of the
individual. This is also evident from his discussion on the competence and talent of
the poet. But in contrast to Plato's ideal state, which is governed by philosophers,
Niżāmī ʿArūẓī views the monarchy as the best form of government. This viewpoint,
which is in accordance with the Persian tradition, also corresponds to that of Arist-
otle. They both maintain that the king's ministers and counsellors should issue from
the "middle class" of society, i.e. the class between the king and the common
people. In Niżāmī ʿArūẓī's (2003:18) case this means that they belong to the third
class whose "arduous functions and noble arts are amongst the branches of the sci-
ence of philosophy".

In the prologue to the *Chahār Maqāla* Niżāmī ʿArūẓī departs from the customary
mediaeval praise of his patron. Instead of conventional doxology he mentions the fa-
vours that God has ordained and vouchsafed to his patron. His primary goals are
this-worldly and the theme of *realpolitik*, with its aspiration for temporal prosperity,
stability, and prestige, is present from the very beginning. Niżāmī ʿArūẓī is careful
not to assign a lot of religious honorifics to his benefactor. The prince is the "Helper
of Islam and Muslims" (*nuṣrat al-islām va al-muslimīn*) and the "Majesty of the
Faithful" (*jalāl al-ummat*), but these are his only religious titles among a resplendent
string of more than thirty honorifics. His supreme title is the "Learned and Just
Monarch" (*malik-i ʿālim-i ʿādil*), which is profane and also evokes the ancient Per-
sian emphasis on justice as the most essential criterion of kingship.[16] Although
Niżāmī ʿArūẓī (2003:1–2) asserts that the king should be recognizant of the special
grace with which God has endowed him, piety and religious zeal are not among his
distinctive attributes. He even suggests that the eternal name that the righteous
prince will leave behind in this world is more important than his gaining salvation in
the next. The prince is a secular sovereign; protecting religion and safeguarding the
faithful are merely a part of his political function.

Niżāmī ʿArūẓī does not attach much religious significance to the royal office and
he uses religious vocabulary very sparingly in connection with kingship. The
Chahār Maqāla contains few quotations from the Qurʾān, and its author does not
appear to have been greatly interested in the role of religion in government. In con-

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[16] Cf. Lambton 1971:421–422. According to the *Dēnkart* (Acts on Religion) good kingship manifests
itself as justice, prosperity, and happiness. Zoroastrian literature generally emphasizes the importance of
justice and the crucial role played by the king in the moral and material welfare of the world. This role, as
Patricia Crone (1987:183) has shown, was taken very seriously in practice by the Sāsānid kings.

trast to Muḥammad Ghazālī's exposition in the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, he does not depict the king as the "shadow of God upon Earth" (*ẓill allāhi fī al-arẓ*) or claim that obedience to him as the chosen of God is incumbent upon the people. In this respect, it is also noteworthy that the ancient Iranian concept *farr* (divine glory, Av. *xʷārena*) is absent in Niżāmī ʿArūẓī's discussion on political authority. This symbol of divine protection or sanction was adopted, for instance, by Firdausī in the *Shāhnāma*, as a continuation of the divine aura and regal authority of Iranian kingship. Its roots go back to the first world empire, the Achaemenid dynasty, which was established by the Persian king Cyrus II in the sixth century BC. In the royal ideology of the Achaemenids and later Persian dynasties, the king was the embodiment of justice and fortune. He dispenses justice as the sun dispenses light; and the fortune of his realm is symbolized by his aureole of glory (Widengren 1959:242).

Although the temporal goals are in the forefront for Niżāmī ʿArūẓī, religious, other-worldly motives are also present. Usually one of the main thrusts of the mirror-for-princes literature, to which the *Chahār Maqāla* belongs, was to promote a conception of kingship having a sacral foundation. Even if the theological element is much less conspicuous in the *Chahār Maqāla* than in other mediaeval mirrors-for-princes, such as the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* or the *Baḥr al-favā'id*, his position on the relationship between religion and political authority is quite ambivalent. His point of departure is that the king's position is subordinate to that of the prophet (i.e. religion is superior to kingship), since God is the Creator of the Universe. Referring to the frequently cited Qurʿānic verse (4:52) on obedience, he asserts that the king is second in rank to the prophet of Islam and third in rank to God in a divinely ordered hierarchy.

> For even so had God in His incontrovertible Scripture and eternal Word [i.e. the Qurʿān], coordinated on one thread and sewn forth on one string the pearls represented by these three exalted titles. *Obey God*, said He, *and obey the Apostle, and those with authority amongst you*. For in the grades of existences and the ranks of the intelligible, there is no rank higher than kingship after the prophetic function, which is the supreme limit of man's attainment. (Niżāmī ʿArūẓī 2003:6)

It is significant that Niżāmī ʿArūẓī interprets the Qurʿānic phrase *ūli al-amr* ("those with authority amongst you" in E. H. Palmer's translation) as referring to the king. This famous verse has been the object of many disputes and controversies among Muslim commentators on the Qurʿān. In general, Shīʿi commentators have linked "those with authority amongst you" to the doctrine of *imāmat* (i.e. the belief in infallible *imāms*), and have interpreted this phrase as referring to the family of the prophet, and in particular the hidden *imām* Muḥammad al-Mahdī. The majority of Sunnī commentators, on other hand, have interpreted "those with authority amongst you" as referring to the worldly rulers. By relating this phrase to the concept of kingship, Niżāmī ʿArūẓī's assumption is that kingship is inferior to religion as far as authority is concerned. In his definition of the "prophetic function" (*nubuvvat*), he classifies the prophets among the third category of human society together with the philosophers. In his view, the prophets differ, however, from the philosophers in that they reach the extreme limit of human understanding without access to acquired knowledge or education.

> Now the peculiar virtues of the prophet are three: first, that, without instruction, he knows all forms of knowledge; second, that he gives information concerning yesterday and to-morrow otherwise than by analogical reasoning; third, that he has such a psychical power that from whatever body he will he takes the form and produces another form, which thing none can do, save such as are in conformity with the angelic world. (Niżāmī ʿArūżī 2003:16)

For this reason Niżāmī ʿArūżī concludes that no one is above the prophet in the human world. Since the prophet communicates with the angelic world, his command is also effective for the well-being of the world. This is the foundation of his definition of the prophetic function. But in order to preserve the religious teachings of Islam, i.e. "revealed law and practice" (*shar' va sunnat*), the prophet must have a successor or deputy (*nāʾib*) who must be "the most excellent of that community and the most perfect product of that age" (Niżāmī ʿArūżī 2003:16). In Niżāmī ʿArūżī's parlance, this person is called "leader" (*imām*). Yet, he insists that the leader, due to political expediency, requires deputies, i.e. worldly sovereigns or monarchs, to establish law and order in Muslim realms.

> But this leader cannot reach the horizons of the East, the West, the North, and the South in such a wise that the effects of his care may extend alike to the most remote and the nearest, and his command and prohibition (*amr va nahī*) may reach at once the intelligent and the ignorant. Therefore he must have deputies to act for him in distant parts of the world, and not every one of these will have such power that all mankind shall be compelled to acknowledge it. Hence there must be an administrator or compeller, who is called a "monarch" (*malik*), that is to say, a king; and his specific function is called "kingship" (*pādshāhī*). (Niżāmī ʿArūżī 2003:16–17)

Hence, according to Niżāmī ʿArūżī, the king constitutes the fourth category of existence and power. He is the representative and the deputy (*nāʾib*) of God, the prophet and the leader, just as the prophet is the representative of God. While he refrains from identifying the office of the leader, it seems obvious that he is referring to the caliphate, which was the established political leadership of the Muslim community both in history and juristic theory. As he acknowledges, the caliph's position is based on the notion of a successor to the political authority of the prophet Muḥammad. In his lifetime, the Ghurid kings as well as the Saljūq sulṭāns regarded themselves as deputies of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. In the panegyric prologue of the *Chahār Maqāla* Niżāmī ʿArūżī (2003:2) affirms that prince Husām al-Daula ʿAlī is the "helper of the Prince of believers" (*nuṣrat-i amīr al-muʾminīn*). As already noted, this nominal allegiance to the caliph was often a pure formality since the latter's authority was restricted to bestowing legitimacy upon the worldly rulers as symbolized by the handing over of an investiture. As Lambton (1954:49) argues, after the eleventh century, the kings endeavoured to obtain the caliph's recognition largely to strengthen themselves against rivals.

In this respect, Niżāmī ʿArūżī's view is in agreement with the Islamic legal theory of the caliphate as expounded by religious scholars, such as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mavardī (d. 1058), who view the Qurʿān as the source of all political authority. It also corresponds to Ghazālī's assertion that the caliph is permitted to delegate political authority to a king or sulṭān although he is subject to God's will. Yet, after explain-

ing that the king is the deputy of the caliph, Niżāmī ʿArūżī substantially modifies his position by claiming that kingship and religion are of equal rank. In a stylistic twist, he not only asserts that the two have a comparable rank, but that they serve a common function and objective.

> Religion and kingship are brothers and equals, since in form and essence (*shikl va maʿnā*) neither differs from the other, either as regards increase or defect. (Niżāmī ʿArūżī 2003:17–18)

This remarkable statement, which implies that kings and prophets are equally important players in a balanced universe, is compatible with Iranian socio-cultural ideals. It not only demonstrates that the king is of a rank equal to that of the prophet, but that kingship and religion should have complementary functions. This point of view is also evident in the prologue of the *Chahār Maqāla* where Niżāmī ʿArūżī suggests that kings and prophets belong to different realms and perform separate functions. The prophets bring guidance to the world through revelation, while the kings and viziers bring order to the world through the sword and the pen (Niżāmī ʿArūżī 2003:1). In this respect, his use of language implies a dissociation of religious and temporal authority, but it also suggests the complementary and equally indispensable roles of kingship and religion. To this effect, he cites a verse by Firdausī from the *Shāhnāma* in which king and prophet are likened to two fine stones in a single ring.

چنان دان که شاهی و پیغمبری

دو گوهر بود در یک انگشتری

Then learn that the functions of king and prophet
Are set side by side like two stones in one ring.[17]

According to the literary scholar Muḥammad Muʿīn (d. 1971), this saying is attributed to the first Sāsānid king Ardashīr Pāpakān, who ruled in Iran from 226 to 241 A.D. Ardashīr was of priestly background and had a religious counsellor Tansar, who formulated and strengthened the Zoroastrian orthodoxy (Boyce 1968). In 240 he had his son Shāhpūr I crowned as joint monarch. On that occasion he counselled his son to govern by the principles of the Zoroastrian faith and enlightened him about the religious duties that he had to perform (known in the literature as "Ardashīr's Testament"). The Sāsānians saw themselves as heirs to the Achaemenids and attempted to establish Zoroastrianism as the state religion. For this reason, the religious functionaries attained positions of high eminence under Shāhpūr's reign, partly to meet the challenge posed by the rise of Christianity in the Roman-Byzantine Empire. By allying themselves with the religious leaders the kings sought to create a stable balance in society between the temporal and the spiritual order. According to Firdausī (1968:187), Ardashīr counselled Shāhpūr I as follows during the son's coronation:

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[17] This saying, which is attributed to Ardashīr is mentioned by Firdausī in the last chapter of *Shāhnāma*, i.e. the chapter on the kingdom of Yazgird III. In the following verse Firdausī (1971:355) says:

If you break the one or the other	ازین دو یکی را همی بشکنی
You'll ruin both spirit and wisdom.	روان و خرد را به پا افگنی

When princes call blessings down upon the faith,	چو بر دین کند شهریار آفرین
Brothers do princes and religion become.	برادر شود شهریاری و دین
Religion is not firm without the royal throne,	نه بی تخت شاهیست دینی بپای
Nor may a prince be secure without religion.	نه بی دین بود شهریاری بجای
The two are one tapestry, interwoven with each other,	دو دیباست یک در دگر بافته
Bringing forward a close-knotted warp and weft.	بر آورده پیش خرد تافته
Religion is not without need of the king,	نه از پادشا بی نیازست دین
nor might the king be blessed in glory without the faith.	نه بی دین بود شاه را آفرین
Thus are they the guardians of each other;	چنین پاسبانان یکدگرند
You'd say they were beneath a single mantle.[18]	تو گویی که در زیر یک چادرند

The pairing of monarchy and religion under the Sāsānians was perhaps most clearly evident in Tansar's successor Kardēr's inscriptions at Naqsh-i Rustam, which describes his religious services at the Sāsānid court. Kardēr established a religious administration with himself as the head of the magi (*mōbad-i mōbadān*) by the king's appointment. The effort to combine religious orthodoxy with social unity under a rightful dynasty also became the dominant theme of Persian mirrors-for-princes in mediaeval times. In the *Siyāsatnāma* Niżām al-Mulk spares no examples of the praiseworthy qualities of ancient Persian kings. Drawing from the Sāsānid precedents he defines "right religion" as the greatest necessity for the king and reinstates Ardashīr's dictum that "kingship and religion are like two brothers" (Niżām al-Mulk 1990:71). In line with the Iranian royal tradition, the two domains of power are presented as entirely comparable phenomena, the one counterbalancing the other in a divinely ordained system.

The overall impression of the *Chahār Maqāla* is that Niżāmī ʿArūżī is more interested in the Persian tradition of statecraft than in Islamic political theory, and that religion plays a fairly minor role in his ideal polity. Already before his lifetime a political transformation had occurred that was reflected in works touching upon political authority. The weakening of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and the rise of the Saljūqs in the eleventh century stimulated a revival of Sāsānid notions of kingship and governance in the Iranian cultural sphere. Men of affairs, such as Niżāmī ʿArūżī, became more concerned with stability and order than with the specifically Islamic character of the government. In view of the contemporary state of affairs anarchy may have appeared to them as the greatest evil of all. The Saljūqs and the Ghurids (as well as the

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[18] Another version of Ardashīr's dictum is to be found in Abū al-Ḥasan Masʿūdī's (1962:220) *Murūj al-ẕahāb va maʿādīn al-jauhar* (Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems): "O my son, verily are religion and kingship brothers, one of which cannot exist without the other, for religion is the foundation of kingship, and kingship is the protection of religion; that which has no foundation vanishes, and that which vanishes has no guardian and is destroyed." Harking back to Ardashīr's aphorism, Niżām al-Mulk (1990:71) states: "Whenever disarray appears in the realm, disorder in religion comes about too; those of bad religion and inaugurators of corruption appear. Now whenever the business of religion is defective, the realm is confounded and the authors of evil gain strength, and the king is deprived of reverence and his mind distracted, while outrageous schisms become manifest and heretics acquire strength."

Sāmānids and the Ghaznavids before them) relied heavily on Iranian officials, which made the kings adapt themselves in greater measures to the Sāsānid royal tradition and its administrative practices. For this reason, Persian political ethics and court etiquette became increasingly attractive to writers such as ʿUnsur al-Maʿālī Kay Kāvūs, Niżām al-Mulk and Niżāmī ʿArūżī.

Conclusion

Niżāmī ʿArūżī's discussion on kingship and religion is characterized by a combination of ancient ethical and political elements, mainly of Persian origin, with materials drawn from the Islamic tradition. This type of intellectual endeavour is not unique to him, since the Persian conception of kingship and religion as comparable counterparts was repeatedly expressed in the mediaeval mirror-for-princes genre. It pervaded the major works closest to the *Chahār Maqāla*, such as the *Qābūsnāma* and the *Siyāsatnāma*, and is an explicit testimony not only to the survival of Sāsānid political culture in mediaeval times but also to the general Persian cultural renaissance of that period. Niżāmī ʿArūżī represents a literary tradition which attempted to assimilate, although superficially, Islamic notions of political authority to the Sāsānid model of good government. He freely adopts abstract concepts as well as anecdotal material drawn from both sources to substantiate and strengthen his arguments. Although he initially claims that religion is superior to kingship, in accordance with his interpretation of the Qurʾānic verse (4:52) on obedience, he concludes that kingship is an institution as important as (if not *more* important than) the prophetic function. In his view, religion depends on kingship since the ruler guarantees political order and stability.

   In his attempt to establish a likeness between kingship and religion, Niżāmī ʿArūżī's pre-eminent orientation is towards Iranian political ideals. His ranking of prophets, caliphs, and kings in a divinely ordained hierarchy is only superficially synthesized with Persian political and ethical concepts. Since his emphasis is on the perfect state of parity and social harmony between kingship and religion, this incontrovertible ranking may suggest their extreme proximity and closeness. The king does not, for instance, have to meet any obligations in his dealings with the caliph, and the religious class (*ʿulamā*) is completely omitted from Niżāmī ʿArūżī's discussion. The *Chahār Maqāla* is fairly free from religious elaboration and stands in sharp contrast to other mirrors-for-princes, such as the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* and the *Baḥr al-favāʾid*, in its resolutely profane ethos and tone. In my view, this aspect of his discourse must be considered against the background of the contemporary situation and the growing influence of the *ʿulamā* at the expense of the secretary class (*dabīrān*) in the Saljūq period. Finally, it is also essential to take into account the religious constraints and restrictions that mediaeval authors had to conform to, which perhaps made Niżāmī ʿArūżī appear a more genuine Muslim for the sake of appearances.

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The Manifestation of Ideology in a Literary Translation

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Abstract

This paper investigates ideological aspects of literary translations by specifically focusing on the analysis of the textual features of a literary source text (namely, Sadeq Hedayat's *Buf-e Kur* [*The Blind Owl*], a novel originally published in Persian in 1937) and its corresponding translated target text (namely, *The Blind Owl*, rendered into English by D. P. Costello in 1957). Inspired mainly by Hatim and Mason's (1990, 1991, 1997) theoretical framework for the analysis and assessment of translated works, the researchers have analysed the target text by accounting for the sets of constraints relating to genre, discourse, and text as semiotic systems within which the expression of ideology takes place. In order to indicate the translator's ideological orientations, the study has mainly concentrated on three textual features, namely, "transitivity shifts", "nominalizations", and "modality shifts", together with a handful of lexical choices suggesting "domestication". Venuti's proposal (1995) – that the present status of English as a "dominant" language serves as a motive for translators to adopt a "domesticating" strategy – has also been drawn on.

Keywords: ideological critique, literary translation, translation and ideology, translational shifts, domestication/foreignization, transitivity system

1. Introduction

It is said that "translation is as old as humankind" (Calzada Pérez 2003: 1). Therefore, it is not surprising that it has been recognized as an essential means of disseminating knowledge, spreading scientific achievements, and passing on great literary works across cultures and nations throughout the history of civilization. Therefore, it should not sound surprising that even the advent of some great socio-political movements have been attributed to works of translation. One of the outstanding instances that history has recorded is the translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* from Arabic into French in the eighteenth century by Galland, described as having "inflamed the imagination of Europe, of general readers and poets alike, from Pope to Wordsworth" (Haddawy 1990: xvi).

However, as a social and linguistic activity, translation cannot be considered a neutral undertaking (Hatim & Mason 1997). For example, Fitts, a famous contemporary translator of classical and Latin American literature into English, in his translations of ancient Greek poetry, has translated *Zeus* by *God* – thereby suggesting "an atmosphere of monotheism" in ancient Greek society (Venuti 2000: 69). One may regard such a rendering as a reflection of his own religious beliefs, or, to put it another way, his own ideology. The recent translator of *Alf Layla wa Layla* (*The Thousand and One Nights*) into English reports that previous major translators of the work into English "deleted and added at random, or at will, from the various sources to piece together a text that suited their individual purposes" (Haddawy 1990: xv).

He adds that the French translator of the same literary work went even further and "instead of following the text faithfully,…deleted, added, and altered drastically to produce not a translation, but a French adaptation, or rather a work of his own creation" (*ibid*.: xvi) to suit French tastes.

Lefevere (1992) maintains that all translations, "whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology". Considering the issue from a linguistic perspective, Fairclough (1989) maintains that language is the primary domain of ideology. Or, to put it in Kress's words (1985: 29–30), "ideologies find their clearest articulation in language". Therefore, as a linguistic activity by nature, translation may as well be regarded an *ideological activity*.

I ought to clarify at the outset that in line with Hatim and Mason (1997) and in accordance with Simpson's understanding of the term (1993: 5), what I intend by *ideology* is "the taken-for-granted assumptions, value systems and sets of beliefs which reside in texts".

As one of the outstanding examples of ideological attack through translation, one can mention Voltaire's (1734) frequently-quoted translation of Hamlet's famous soliloquy – certainly not as a meditation on death, but instead as a bitter attack against religion: "*thus conscience doth make cowards of us all*" was translated into French as "*thus conscience turns a warrior hero into a timid Christian*" by Voltaire (quoted by Fawcett 1998: 108).

As another historical example of literary translation that conveys an ideology different from that of the original text, one can point to Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam's quatrains in the 19th century. Maine (1965), the editor of *Robāʿiyāt*, comments that Fitzgerald took such great liberties with the text that it is not Khayyam's. Venuti (1995: 189) makes a similar point, evaluating Fitzgerald's work as an outstanding instance of "domesticating" translation. The process of domestication in Fitzgerald's rendition is so conspicuous that Bunting (1936, cited in Venuti, *ibid*.) maintains that "Fitzgerald translated *a poem that never existed*, yet…made Omar utter such things as he would himself have spoken if he had been born in England" (italics added).

On the basis of the framework of analysis put forward by Hatim and Mason (1990, 1991, 1997), and later developed by Calzada Pérez (2002), this paper presents a selective sample of a more thorough analysis of a literary source text in Persian and its corresponding translation into English (cf. Ghazanfari 2004) in terms of three textual features: *transitivity shifts*, *modality shifts*, and *nominalizations*.

Finally, relying on the data obtained by an analytical comparison of the source text (ST) and the target text (TT), the researchers have attempted to identify the translational strategy applied by the translator in terms of the dichotomy historically associated with Schleiermacher.

2. Theoretical grounding of the study

The basic theoretical foundations of the present research are the theoretical premises put forward by Hatim and Mason (1990, 1991, 1997), on the basis of which Calzada Pérez (2002) developed her own model of analysis. Their theoretical proposals are, in turn, based on the line of thought put forward by critical discourse analysis

(CDA). The other strand of thought upon which this study draws to interpret the data is the methodological dichotomy proposed by Schleiermacher. A brief account of each of these lines of thinking follows.

2.1 Hatim and Mason's framework for the analysis and assessment of translations

Hatim and Mason's framework of analysis uses a set of constraints relating to *genre*, *discourse*, and *text*. Their contention is that these are the semiotic systems within which the expression of ideology takes place, and that, in Mason's words (1994: 26), "the investigation of ideology in translation is best handled within such a framework". However, from a linguistic perspective, their proposed framework draws especially on Halliday's (1985) systemic-functional linguistics.

2.2 Calzada Pérez's theoretical model of analysis

On the basis of Hatim and Mason's framework of analysis, Calzada Pérez (2002) proposed a model of critical text analysis that has inspired the present study more vividly than Hatim and Mason's, and that delves in particular into the ideological realms of translations. Her critical approach consists of three components: description, explanation, and exploration. At the descriptive level, a host of tangible, textual features such as *transitivity*, *mood*, *modality*, *cohesion*, and *thematization*, can be studied. The explanatory component is related to pragmatic and semiotic features "such as discourse, genre and text-type that are closely connected to ideological spheres" (Calzada Pérez 2002: 208). The exploratory component of Calzada Pérez's model is concerned with the potential impact the new translated texts might have upon the target culture and the receiving literary system.

2.3 Schleiermacher's methodological dichotomy

According to Venuti (1998), the many different strategies that have emerged since ancient times may perhaps be divided into two large categories: *domesticating* and *foreignizing* strategies.

From a historical perspective, as a theory and practice of translation, a foreignizing method, according to Venuti (1995), is mostly associated with the philosopher and Protestant theologian, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834). Concerning the various roads open to a translator in the course of translation, he argued:

> In my opinion there are only two. Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader toward him. Or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author toward him. (cited in Lefevere 1992: 149)

He emphasized that "I would merely like to add that there cannot be a third method" (*op. cit.*: 150). Although Schleiermacher did not himself make any attempt to find specific labels for the two methods he distinguished, his distinction has so far been redefined many times and used by other writers (Fawcett 1998), the former having come to be known as "foreignization" and the latter as "domestication" in the re-

lated literature. "Seen from the perspective of socio-textual practices," in Hatim's words, "domestication means negotiating the discoursal, generic and textual designs of the source text in terms of target language norms and conventions", whereas foreignization "means negotiating these values in terms of source language norms and conventions" (Hatim 1999: 214).

3. Method

3.1 Materials and procedure

As mentioned earlier, a Persian novel by Sadeq Hedayat (1937), entitled *Buf-e Kur* [*The Blind Owl*], has been selected as the literary source text (ST) to be compared closely with its corresponding target text (TT) translated into English by Desmond Patrick Costello (1957) to reveal to what extent the translated text diverges from the original work as far as ideological orientations are concerned. Moreover, through a sentence-by-sentence comparison of the two texts, instances of domestication in the TT have been identified as qualitative evidence.

Finally, the study seeks to find convincing answers to the following research questions:

1. To what extent did the translation process affect the ideology of the original text, namely, *Buf-e Kur*?

2. Did the status of English as a "dominant" language cause the translator of *Buf-e Kur* to unwittingly apply a *domesticating* strategy in translating the book into English?

4. Framework of analysis

As it was pointed out, the ST and the TT have been analysed in terms of three categories of textual features: transitivity shifts, modality shifts, and nominalizations, as well as lexical choices denoting domestication. A brief account of each of these features follows.

4.1 Transitivity system in systemic-functional linguistics

In the systemic-functional grammar, the selections that we make are included in the system of *transitivity*. The term transitivity generally refers to how meaning is represented in the *clause*. It shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality through *processes*, or verbal phrases. The semantic processes expressed by clauses potentially have three components:

(1) The *process* itself, which will be expressed by the verb phrase in a clause;

(2) The *participants*, or noun phrases, involved in the process;

(3) The *circumstances* associated with the process, normally expressed by adverbial and prepositional phrases.

Furthermore, processes can be classified according to whether they represent actions, speech, states of mind or simply states of being. Halliday (as cited in Simpson 1993) classes **material** (or physical), **mental**, and **relational** processes as major processes. There are also minor processes, which include **verbal** and **existential** ones. Examples of each type of the above-mentioned processes follow:

1. Material process: *The mouse ran up the clock.*
2. Mental process: *Mary liked the gift.*
3. Relational process: *Sarah is wise.*
4. Verbal process: *He said that.*
5. Existential process: *There were ten students at the party.*

Material processes are further subdivided into **action** processes, in which the actor is animate (e.g., *The policeman fired*), and **event** processes, in which the actor is inanimate (e.g., *The ceiling collapsed*). Action processes can be further subdivided into **intention** processes, in which the actor performs the act voluntarily (e.g., *John aims at the target*), and **supervention** processes, in which the action simply happens (e.g., *John fell down*).

4.2 Modality shifts

The term *modality* refers broadly to "*attitudinal*" features of language, reflecting the text producer's attitude toward the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence. It refers to some of the grammatical means (e.g., modal auxiliaries, *seem*, *appear*, etc.) by which a speaker or writer "qualifies" what would otherwise be an *absolute* statement (see Simpson 1993). Modality indicates the speaker or author's point of view, as Kies (2009: Modality Shifts, para. 1) has also pointed out, allowing them "to hedge on the assertions made by transitive verbs". To put it differently, modals introduce an element of *obligation*, *necessity*, *willingness*, *probability*, or the like into the sentence.

4.3 Nominalizations

Nominalization is the condensed reformulation of a verbal process and the various participants involved; in other words, the conversion of an *agent-verb sequence* into a single noun phrase. For example, an agent-verb sequence like: *Someone criticized* may be changed into *There has been criticism*. When we nominalize a process, we can exclude the participants involved in that process. The elimination of human participants would have the effect of *undercutting agency* and minimizing the role of people as active conscious human agents and the elimination of human intentionality (Sykes 1985: 98). To indicate the suppressing of agency in literary texts, Kies (2009: Nominalizations, para. 1) presents the following nominalized example from Orwell's *1984*:

> She described to him, almost as if she had seen or felt it, the ***stiffening*** of Katharine's body as soon as he touched her…. (*1984*: 110)

"To write that *Katharine stiffened her body*," Kies (*ibid*.) elaborates, "would make

Katharine conscious and agentive. The nominalized verb *stiffening* robs Katharine of consciousness and agency".

5. Analysis and results

In this section, a selective sample of instances relating to each of the textual features under investigation, together with a series of lexical choices leading to "domestication", have been taken from the target text and critically analysed in terms of the ideological shifts that are likely to be brought about as a result of such translational shifts.

5.1 Critical analysis of transitivity shifts

As for the system of transitivity, the researchers have been concerned with the *alterations*, or the *shifts*, that the transitivity system of the ST undergoes in the process of being relayed to the target language, thereby conveying an ideology that may differ from the original. Such alterations of the transitivity system have been grouped on the basis of the type and nature of the shifts, and for the sake of convenience of analysis, under *expansions*, *contractions*, *materializations*, *agency shifts*, *voice shifts*, *nominalizations*, and *modality shifts*. Moreover, transitivity shifts are followed by some examples of lexical choices that reflect the employment of a *domesticating strategy* by the translator. Instances of the Persian source text have been transliterated, and are immediately followed by the researchers' English translation in square brackets. Then, the target text version is quoted, followed by a comment by the researchers.

5.1.1 Expansions

The category of shifts discussed under this heading includes cases in the source text in which the text producer has avoided any reference to a *process*; however, in relaying the text, the translator has inserted the avoided process(es).

The following selective instances of transitivity in the Persian source text (*Buf-e Kur*) have undergone *expansion* in the English target text (*The Blind Owl*). The processes that have been added to the utterances by the translator appear in italics.

(1) ST: *…væ tænha daru-ye an færamushi be tævæssoṭ-e shærab væ xab-e mæṣnu'i be væsileh-ye æfyun væ mævadd-e moxæddereh æst.* (p. 9)

[…and the only remedy for that is forgetfulness through wine and artificial sleep through opium and narcotics.]

TT: Relief from it is *to be found* only in the oblivion *brought about* by wine and in the artificial sleep *induced* by opium. (p. 7)

While the source text contains a single relational process with a non-human agent, the target text expands the clause by inserting three more material processes in the passive voice, the agent of the first of which is an implied human actor.

(2) ST: *…æz sheddæt-e væḥshæt 'æmuyæm ba muha-ye sefid æz oṭāq xarej mishævæd…* (p. 56)

[…due to excessive horror, my uncle walks out of the room with white hair…]

TT: …the horror of all this *had changed* my uncle, by the time he walked out of the room, into a white haired old man. (p. 74)

In this case, a prepositional phrase in the ST has been expanded into a clause with a material event process assigning the non-human agent (*the horror*) an active role.

5.1.2 Contractions

Contraction may be considered the opposite case of expansion, where a construction with a process is contracted into a *no-process* construction, a nominalization, a phrase, etc.

(1) ST: *…ræng-e læbæsh mipæræd væ cheshmhayæsh gerd o væḥshætzædeh mishævæd.* (p. 75)

[…her lips get pale, and her eyes become round and full of horror.]

TT: -bloodless lips, staring, wild eyes-… (p. 100)

The ST contains two clauses with two explicit processes together with an elliptical process, whereas in the TT, the processes have been reduced to nominals, entailing the deletion of agency.

(2)   ST: *cheshmhayi ke mal-e u bud…* (p. 40)

[The eyes that belonged to her…]

TT: …her eyes. (p. 51)

In the example above, the same trend of omitting the process and reducing the clause to a phrase is in operation. That is, the *agent-process* sequence has been converted into a nominal phrase, diminishing the active role of the agent in the translated version.

5.1.3 Materializations

This type of transitivity shift refers to cases in which various *non-material* processes, e.g. relational, mental, existential, etc., in the source text are converted into *material processes*, denoting the performance of an action.

(1) ST: *…bel'æxæreh mæn æz kar o jonbesh oftadæm…* (p. 62)

[…at last, I was unable to do any work or make any movement…]

TT: In the end I *abandoned* all the activities and interests that I had… (p. 82)

While the source text includes a material action process (the agent of the process is animate), of *supervention* type (of the type in which the action simply happens to the agent, without his/her intention; see § 3.1, above), the target text producer has changed the process into a material action process, of *intentional* type, where the agent has been granted the will and the ability to either carry out the action or fail to perform it.

(2) ST: *'æṭr-e sinehæsh mæstkonændeh bud…* (p. 112)

[The fragrance of her bosom was intoxicating …]

TT: The perfume of her bosom *made* my head *swim…* (p. 151)

Once more, a *relational process* in the source text has undergone *materialization* in the translation, being altered into a material event process (one in which the agent is inanimate; see §3.1, above). As a consequence, the non-human agent has been portrayed as assuming a more active role than in the source text. Moreover, the clause has been expanded so that another sequence of agent-verb ([*made*] *my head swim*) has been added by the translator.

5.1.4 Agency shifts

As Kies (2009: Introduction, para. 5) has pointed out, "AGENCY is one of the most widely used techniques to control a literary theme in a text…. It can be expressed (or suppressed) by a number of syntactic constructions." To put it another way, changes in syntax can lead to changes in meaning. One way to achieve such changes in the subtleties of meaning through syntax is by means of passive voice constructions. The passive voice holds the potential, Kies (*ibid*.) argues, "for manipulating a hearer/reader: it allows the speaker/writer to hide the agent by neglecting to mention the agentive *by*-phrase." The following pair of examples, presented by Kies (*op. cit*.: Passives, para. 1), can help clarify the difference in meaning between active and passive voices:

a. Bill hit John. [active voice, grammatical subject clearly expressing the agent]

b. John was hit (by Bill). [passive voice, grammatical subject does not express agency; the agent is expressed through a prepositional phrase with *by*, if it is expressed at all]

One more point in relation to *agency* is concerned with the *theme/rheme organization*. According to Halliday (1985: 39), "the Theme [*sic*] can be identified as that element which comes in first position in the clause…So part of the meaning of any clause lies in which element is chosen as its Theme". He goes on to clarify the point by making a distinction between two semantically related sentences:

There is a difference in meaning between *a halfpenny is the smallest English coin*, where *a halfpenny* is Theme ("I'll tell you about a halfpenny"), and *the smallest English coin is a halfpenny*, where *the smallest English coin* is Theme ("I'll tell you about the smallest English coin").

(1) ST: …*bæra-ye in næqš moshtæri peida mishod væ…* (p. 13)

[…customers were found for this picture, and…]

TT: *I* found customers for these paintings of mine. (p. 14)

The ST process is of material action type, belonging to the *supervention* subdivision of material processes (see §3.1, above), without denoting any sense of prior human intention, whereas in the TT, the *supervention* process has given way to an *intention* one (*found*), suggesting an active human will on the part of the narrator, which is different from what the original sentence conveys.

(2) ST: …*mesl-e in mærdha-ye toxmi ke zænha-ye ḥæshæri væ æḥmæqra jælb mikonænd…* (p. 99)

[…like the stud males who attract dissolute foolish women…]

TT: …like the stud-males that *stupid randy women* usually fall for. (p. 132)

The "*goal*" in the original sentence has been transformed into the "*actor*" in the subordinate clause. The result would be a striking change in the entire meaning and ideology of the clause – that is, while in the ST "*the men*" are assigned the active role of "*attracting women*", in the TT they are pictured as inactive, passive creatures. On the contrary, it is "*stupid randy women*", in the TT, who assume the active role, rather than being acted upon, as in the ST. All in all, it seems that in this case the shift in agentivity results in a shift in discourse toward the opposite end of the pendulum; that is, the original *male-oriented discourse* has given way to a sort of "*feminist discourse*" in the translated version.

5.1.5 Voice shifts

As it was discussed above, a passive construction enables a speaker or author to hide the agent, especially when he/she fails even to mention the agentive by-phrase. It was also argued that changes in voice can lead to different *theme/rheme organizations* and consequently to shifts in the meaning of the clause. Kies (2009: Passives, para. 1) has more to say about expressing *passivity* in English, although a similar interpretation may be put forward concerning the Persian language as well:

Passives are among the most common grammatical devices to undercut agency in English, allowing the agentive noun phrase to occur out of thematic, sentence initial position, in an optional agentive *by*-phrase at the end of the sentence.

Therefore, by changing an active utterance into a passive, or, on the contrary, by altering a passive into an active construction, one has to change the agent of the utterance, resulting in an utterance with a different *thematic orientation*, which, in its own turn, would convey a different meaning, and a different ideology.

(1) ST: *hæmin ke qæẓiyeh kæshf mishævæd…* (p. 56)

[As soon as the affair is exposed…]

TT: As soon as *she* learned the truth… (p. 73)

In this case, besides changing the agent, the translator has altered a passive into an active process. In terms of thematization, while in the ST it is "*the affair*" (or "*the truth*", as suggested by the translator) that is focused upon, or foregrounded, in the TT, this "foregrounding" shifts toward "*she*".

(2) ST: *næmidanæm in xanehra kodam mæjnun ya kæjsæliqeh…saxteh…* (p. 12)

[I do not know which madman or which ill-disposed fellow has built this house…]

TT: They *must have been built* by some fool or madman heaven knows… (p. 12)

An active material action process, of *intentional* type, in the ST has been translated as a passive one, eliminating at the same time the questioning tone of the original sentence and adding a sense of modality (*must*) to the clause. From a thematic point of view, the two versions differ strikingly. Furthermore, there is an error of reference in the translated version; namely, the "patient" of the clause, a singular noun by origin (*xaneh*), has been transformed into a plural personal pronoun (*they*) in the TT.

5.2 Critical analysis of modality shifts

In the following sample of instances, *modality shifts* have resulted in an ideology different from that in the original text.

ST: *…abi ke u gisovanæshra ba an shostoshu midadeh* mibayæsti *az yek chesh-meh-ye monḥaṣer be færd-e nashenas…*budeh bashæd. (p. 18)

[…the water with which she washed her hair *must* have come from a unique and unknown spring…]

TT: …the water with which she washed her hair *came* from some unique, un-known spring …(p. 21)

The source text, with a modal auxiliary, introduces an element of expectation, or in-ference, into the sentence, whereas the target text conveys an *absolute* statement, eliminating any sense of possibility, qualification, or hedge from the sentence.

(2) ST: *…ḥala hæm ba jesaræt-e mæxṣuṣi ke* momken æst *yek zæn-e bi showhær dashteh bashæd nesbæt be mæn ræftar mikærd.* (pp. 79–80)

[…she still treated me with the peculiar boldness that a husbandless woman *might* possess.]

TT: … She still treated me with that peculiar boldness that you *find* only in widows. (pp. 106–7)

The target version has ignored the element of *modality* in the ST, conveying as a consequence a sense of *absoluteness* in the statement, as if all widows behaved in the same manner.

5.3 Critical analysis of nominalizations

The following samples have undergone *nominalization* in the target text – that is, a clause in the ST with its own process(es) has been contracted and diminished into a *nominal* in the TT.

(1) ST: *ægær kæsi* beguyæd *ya* benevisæd… (p. 9)

[If someone *talks* or *writes* (about them)…]

TT: Any *mention* of them in *conversation* or *writing*… (p.7)

The source text contains a verbal process (*talk*) and a material action process, of intentional type (*write*), with an overt agent; in the translated version, however, the two processes have been replaced with three nominalizations devoid of any agentivity.

(2) ST: …*bæra-ye an ke kæsi* næbinæd… (p. 30)

[…in order for no one to *notice* …]

TT: … without *attracting attention*! (p. 37)

An agentive process in the ST has been changed into an *agentless* nominalization. Undercutting agency through a nominalized verb can suggest a lack of intentionality, or passivity on the part of the agent of the clause.

6. Critical analysis of lexical choices resulting in "domestication"

In addition to the transitivity shifts the target text has undergone, as discussed above, there are also instances that can be termed "domestication", according to the dichotomy proposed by Friedrich Schleiermacher in the 19th century (see §1.3 above). Therefore, as far as lexical choices are concerned, the following sample of instances in the target text – instead of relaying socio-textual and socio-cultural features of the original text – either reflect elements peculiar to the receiving culture or convey the source text in a manner that neutralizes specific socio-cultural elements present in the source text. To quote Schleiermacher, as the translator has tried to leave the readers in peace and move the author toward them, examples such as the ones that follow can be considered instances of "*domestication*" in the translated version of the original text.

(1) ST: …*migoft: "binæmazæm."* (p. 59)

[She would say: "I'm exempted from praying."]

TT: …she would only say, "It's the wrong time of the month." (p. 78)

In this sentence, faced with an expression involving socio-cultural and religious values and beliefs (namely, the fact that a Moslem woman is not allowed to pray during her monthly periods, implying, as a consequence, that she cannot have sexual relationships either), the translator has opted for a rather neutral expression that

simply implies a sense close to the original, thereby denying the clause its socio-cultural and religious values.

(2) ST: *…yek ketab-e doʻa bærayæm aværdeh bud ke ruyæsh* yek væjæb xak *neshæsteh bud.* (p. 81)

[…she brought me a prayer book with *a span of dust* on top of it.]

TT: …she brought me a prayer book with *half-an-inch of dust* on it. (p. 109)

This specific case is also worth considering due to the *domestication* that has taken place in the process of translating: "*half-an-inch*", a measurement more associated with the Anglo-American culture, is the suggested equivalent for *yek væjæb* (literally, a span).

(1) ST: *…mæn be dæræk…* (p. 30)

[…*hell* with me…]

TT: Not that I *mattered.* (p. 37)

(2) ST: *…væ bæʻd æz an ke mæn ræftæm,* be dæræk… (p. 48)

[…and after I am gone, *hell* with me…]

TT: …and after I have gone *what do I care what happens*? (p. 61)

The Persian term *be dæræk* conveys a sense of excessive annoyance or anger, describing an unpleasant situation or experience. Neither of the translated versions of the term in pair of examples quoted conveys such a sense whatsoever. The inconsistency of the translator, on the other hand, in the two cases above indicates that he was not certain about the exact equivalent of the term, domesticating it as far as he could to approximate the original text.

(5) ST: *…væ ba xodæsh zekr mikærd…*(p. 89)

[…and she was reciting some prayer to herself …]

TT: She …was muttering some *formula* to herself. (p. 119)

While the original clause conveys a solemn religious sense, the translation has reduced a significant cult merely to a neutral "formula" in the modern sense of this word, devoid of any religious connotation or sacredness.

7. Quantitative data pertaining to translational shifts in *The Blind Owl*

By comparing Hedayat's *Buf-e Kur* as the source text and its corresponding English translation, *The Blind Owl*, as the target text, with regard to the textual features and lexical choices made by the translator, one may arrive at the conclusion that the target text does reflect the source text as literally as one might expect it to do. Our quantitative data display a rather large array of translational shifts (a total of 172 cases; see Table 1 below) opted for by the translator in the process of rendering the

source text. In terms of ideological orientations, such shifts can be considered divergences of the target text from the source text.

Table 1. Translational Shifts in *The Blind Owl.*

	Number of shifts	Percentage of shifts
Transitivity shifts:		
Expansions	47	27.32
Contractions	12	6.97
Materializations	6	3.48
Agency shifts	43	25.00
Voice shifts	28	16.27
Total transitivity shifts	**136**	**79.06**
Nominalizations	6	3.48
Modality shifts	6	3.48
Lexical choices	24	13.95
Total number of shifts	**172**	**100.00**

8. Discussion and conclusions

The quantitative data obtained through the empirical study of the source text and its corresponding translated version provide strong evidence that the original and the target text diverge from each other with respect to both the textual features and lexical choices under investigation, resulting in semantic and ideological discrepancies between the two corresponding texts. Therefore, as far as the first research question is concerned, the obtained data by themselves lead to the more limited conclusion that the translation process *has affected* the ideology of the source text. Nonetheless, we should bear in mind that, in the absence of any agreed-upon criterion in the relevant literature, the exact degree of such an ideological impact cannot be measured and declared quantitatively. All we do know and are certain about is that the target text and the source text do not convey the same ideology. To put it another way, the influence of target-language values and ideological tendencies of the translator are evident throughout the target text.

A number of scholars in the field of translation studies (for example, see Emami 2002, quoting Beard) have commented that Costello's translation of Hedayat's *Buf-e Kur* is a free translation. The data obtained by analysing the texts in the present study also confirm the claim. The translational shifts that the target text has undergone clearly indicate that the divergences of the target text from the source text are striking, resulting in a translation that seems to stand close to the "free" end of a "literal – free" continuum.

One more point which is worth mentioning is the relationship assumed to exist between *domestication* and *free translation*, bearing in mind, of course, that Costello's translation is regarded as a free rendition. Hatim (1999:214) maintains that any discussion of "domestication" versus "foreignization" inevitably raises the "literal" versus "free" translation debate. "It is tempting to equate foreignizing with a more literal mode," Hatim explains, "and domesticating *with a freer mode*. Indeed, this is more or less how it is in most cases" (italics added).

Finally, Venuti (1995: 18–19), regarding translation as "a cultural political prac-

tice" by nature, with regard to a domesticating method of translation, points to "the violence that resides in the very purpose and activity of translation: the reconstitution of the foreign text in accordance with values, beliefs and representations that preexist it in the target language". Moreover, according to Venuti (*ibid.*), over the last three centuries, there has been a predominant trend towards domestication in Anglo-American translations; Costello's rendering of Hedayat's *Buf-e Kur* seems to be a typical example of this. Thus, do not the great number of translational shifts (nominalizations; transitivity, voice, agency, and modality shifts; as well as certain lexical choices, as displayed in Table 1 above) in *The Blind Owl* suggest that all these *interventions* by the translator are directed towards producing a translation reflecting dominant cultural values, a target text "in which linguistic and cultural differences are domesticated" (Venuti, 1995: 34)? It is, however, very difficult, if not impossible, to prove that this domestication takes place because of the status of English as a "dominant" language. A large number of case studies, where translations into "dominant" and "less dominant" languages are analysed, could potentially at least suggest an answer to this question.

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The Kālacakra Initiation by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama in Amaravati, January 2006

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Introduction

The Kālacakra initiation is part of the Buddhist Tantric system of Kālacakra Tantra. This tantra is considered to be one of the most important tantric teachings in Tibet.

It has its origins in India in the 10th or 11th century A.D. and is something of an encyclopaedia of Buddhist knowledge of the time. These teachings will be treated later in this article.

The reason why this initiation has become well known today is because the present fourteenth Dalai Lama has given it on many occasions to large audiences during the last thirty years.[1] As can be seen below, the initiation has been given on thirty occasions nineteen of which were during the last sixteen years. Why has the Dalai Lama given so many initiations in later years? This question is difficult to answer exhaustively, but one reason is his rising popularity in the world after winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989. Another reason is that the global situation demands more Kālacakra initiations as these are said to be given for the promotion of world peace.

A more political reason, considering that he has given seven initiations at different places in India, is that all the Tibetans in exile, and as many as possible of the Tibetans inside Tibet, should have the possibility to participate in these ceremonies. These occasions are of great importance for strengthening the Tibetan national identity in exile. There have been over 100,000 participants and up to 200,000 participants at several of the initiations in India. This means that practically all of the

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[1] The Dalai Lama has given the following initiations since 1954 and especially since 1970:
Norbu Lingka, Lhasa, Tibet, May 1954; Norbu Lingka, Lhasa, Tibet, April 1956; Dharamsala, India, March 1970; Bylakuppe, India, May 1971; Bodh Gaya, India, December 1974; Leh, Ladakh, India, September 1976; Madison, USA, July 1981; Dirang, Arunachal Pradesh, India, April 1983; Lahaul & Spiti, India, August 1983; Rikon, Switzerland, July 1985; Bodh Gaya, India, December 1985; Zanskar, Ladakh, India July 1988; Los Angeles, USA, July 1989; Sarnath, India, December 1990; New York, USA, October 1991; Kalpa, Himachal Pradesh, India, August 1992; Gangtok, Sikkim, India, April 1993; Jispa, Himachal Pradesh, India, August 1994; Barcelona, Spain, December 1994; Mundgod, India, January 1995; Ulanbator, Mongolia, August 1995; Tabo, Himachal Pradesh, India, June 1996; Sydney, Australia, September 1996; Salugara, West Bengal, India, December 1996; Bloomington, USA, 1999; Key monastery in Spiti, India 2000; Graz, Austria, October 2002; Bodh Gaya, India, January 2003; Toronto, Canada, April 2004 and Amaravati, India, January 2006. An initiation was planned in Bodh Gaya for January 2002. The Dalai Lama was there, but cancelled the initiation because of bad health and the initiation was postponed until the following year.This information can be found on the Internet site of the Tibetan Government in Exile, www.tibet.com. See also Dalai Lama 1991:97 and Hammar 1992:204.

Tibetans spread over the world have been present at one of these events, which are the greatest assemblies of Tibetans ever held. The initiation in Bodh Gaya probably had more than 300,000 participants.

I will begin by describing the event at Amaravati and how it was organized. Then I will present a short overview of the different parts of a Kālacakra initiation as held by the Dalai Lama in different places over the years. Finally I will give a day-by-day description over the events at Amaravati 2006 and then draw some general conclusions about the event as a whole.

A presentation of the Kālacakra initiation in Amaravati 2006

In January 2006 I participated in the 30th Kālacakra initiation given by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama at Amaravati[2] in the state of Andhra Pradesh in India. The aim was to study that initiation, because my doctoral thesis treated the Kālacakra Tantra.[3]

The initiation ceremony took place from January 5 to 17 2006. Because of my earlier studies of the Kālacakra Tantra and its initiation I was very interested in how one of these mass initiations would be conducted with predominantly Tibetan participants. I had attended the Kālacakra initiation of the Dalai Lama in Rikon, Switzerland in 1985, but there were only around 7,000 participants, a majority of whom were non-Tibetans.

My thesis treated the history of Kālacakra in Tibet and the concept of Ādibuddha in the Kālacakra tantra. It also treated some questions concerning the Kālacakra initiations held by the Dalai Lama in more recent years. There were some problems at the initiation in Bodh Gaya in 2003, with Ambedkar Buddhists holding a fast to the death in order to protest against the Dalai Lama, demanding that he be be thrown out of India.[4]

The initiation at Amaravati 2006 was especially interesting because it was held at the site where, according to tradition, the Dhānyakaṭaka stupa was situated. That was the place where, according to the scriptures, Buddha Śākyamuni held the sermon of the Kālacakra tantra. It has been identified with Amaravati stupa. This identification is not certain, but it is a possibility. In any case it has been decided by Dharamsala that this was the site of the preaching of the fundamental text of the Kālacakra tantra.

The basic text existing today is the Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja (the laghutantra) of around 1050 stanzas. It is stated in the text that there existed a root-tantra (mūlatantra) of 12,000 verses which has never been found except in shorter excerpts. The other important text is the great commentary Vimalaprabhā which is transmitted together with the laghutantra and is of equal importance for the teaching of the tantra.

It was eventually decided that the Dalai Lama's 30th Kālacakra should take place in Amaravati. Behind the event was the Central Tibetan Administration in India,

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[2] The most correct spelling is Amarāvati, but I have chosen to keep Amaravati as it is the spelling used in this context.

[3] Hammar 2005.

[4] See Hammar 2005: 11−16.

which is the Tibetan government-in-exile based in Dharamsala. The whole event was sponsored by the Busshokai Foundation in Japan. They have sponsored similar events in the past and have also sponsored many Tibetan refugee school children in India. There is a Busshokai Centre of Kanazawa in Japan, which is a small Japanese group focused on the study of Tibetan Buddhism, especially its Tantric tradition. Mrs. Kazuyo Baba is their President, and Kyabje Denma Lochoe Rinpoche is the group's principal teacher. The practical work was done by Norbulingka Institute, an organization based in Dharamsala which was chosen by the Busshokai Foundation.[5] Norbulingka Institute is a registered trust functioning under the chairmanship of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, and operating under the auspices of the Tibetan Government-in-exile in Dharamsala.[6] The Norbulingka Institute is dedicated to preserving the Tibetan culture in different ways. The Institute made all the practical arrangements and plans for the event. The fee for westerners was very low (US $10). For the Tibetans it was even lower, and for the Tibetans from Tibet there was no fee. The simpler tents in the Amaravati camp were also very cheap. Everything was done in order to facilitate the participation of the Tibetans.

It was necessary to be registered as a writer in order to be able to shoot photos and video, and the permits were issued by the Department of Information and International Relations of the government-in-exile in Dharamsala. Consequently it was clear in many ways that the responsibility for this event was held by that government. The teachings were simultaneously translated into various languages like English, Italian, Russian, and even Telugu for the local visitors. An FM radio broadcast was organized and one had to have a radio and tune in a specified frequency to hear the desired translation.

For the event, and also for the future, a twenty-seven-meter high statue of Buddha Śākyamuni was being constructed near the teaching ground. It was supposed to have been finished before the initiation but it was still under construction. This was a little setback for the organizers but even under construction the statue was worth visiting. This part of Andhra Pradesh was previously a Buddhist centre. The well-known Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna stayed at nearby Nāgārjunakoṇḍa where there are archeological remains from his time 2000 years ago.

Amaravati has around 13,000 inhabitants and a lot of work had to be done with the infra-structure in order to host the around 100,000 participants. For example, the main streets were paved and an electrical net had to be set up for the teaching ground and the tent camps. The cell-phone net had to be augmented considerably for the event and special arrangements were made by the Tibetan Technology Center.[7] The sanitary arrangements were also very important and seemed to work comparatively well. The organizers paid local Indian women to keep the streets clean. 1,600 workers were employed to do the cleaning work.[8]

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[5] See Kalachakra 2006 Information Kit.
[6] See www.norbulingka.org where information can be found on the Amaravati initiation.
[7] See www.tibtec.org/?q=node/38 This is another example of Tibetan refugee enterprises, a technology centre for helping the Tibetan community in India with modern technology.
[8] The New Indian Express, Vijayawada. Monday January 16, 2006.

In order to show the good relations between the Tibetan organizers and the local government, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, YS Rajasekhar Reddy visited the initiation and especially the Dalai Lama. He also insisted that the event did not have any political significance and would not affect India's relations with China. He stated that the Dalai Lama and Tibetan Buddhists were free to practise their religion in India. Therefore the government of Andhra Pradesh was helping to organize the Kālacakra event. The Dalai Lama also expressed a wish that Amaravati should be a Buddhist place of study and worship. Buddhism is, after all, an Indian religion and was practised in the area long ago. A Buddhist Museum and interpretation centre was established in Amaravati.[9]

General information

I travelled by air to Hyderabad on 4 January 2006. From there it was a seven-hour train journey to Guntur in southern Andhra Pradesh. From there the organizer had arranged buses from the train station to the town of Amaravati 35 km away. I arrived there in the evening and after some problems managed to reach the tent camp where I had reserved an "Australian Luxury Tent" for my two-week stay at the site. It was a twenty-minute walk from the teaching grounds. The organizers had done an enormous job in planning living quarters for the around 100,000 expected visitors. Most of the participants were staying in the tent camps but many also stayed in neighbouring towns like Guntur or Vijayawada. I registered as a writer to gain admittance to the press section and be allowed to film the event. Otherwise filming and taking pictures was prohibited. The security was quite strict and every bag was searched before one could enter the closed-off teaching ground. Receiving a press card was necessary in order to be able to cover the event.

Every day a press conference was organized at the press centre located nearby in a tent well equipped with computers and telephones. Sometimes important information was provided at the press conferences. Among other events there was press conference with the Prime Minister in exile Samdhong Rinpoche. He underlined that the initiation was a purely religious event and that it did not have a political significance. There was a press release every day during 7-15 January in which the events of the day were published.[10]

At a press conference (2006.1.15.) in Amaravati the following figures were given by the exile government for participants from different countries.

40,000 lay Tibetans, mostly from India, but also from the whole of the diaspora.

16,000 Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns from the diaspora.

8,600 Tibetans from inside Tibet who had come for the occasion. Most of these Tibetans were going to travel back to Tibet, but there were 800-900 refugees.

5,000 from the Himalayan regions, including 300 from Bhutan.

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[9] The New Indian Express, Vijayawada, January 10, 2006. See also Kalachakramediainfo.org 8 January. There was an Indian organization at the level of the State of Andhra Pradesh under the protection of the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh Dr. Y S Rajasekhara Reddy. There was also a Kalachakra District Committee as well as a number of organizations that were taking care of the logistics of this big event.
[10] www.kalachakra2006.com/press/release/

300 Ladakhis
300 Mongolians
6–7,000 local Indians.
4,000 foreigners from 36 countries around the world.

A total of around 80,000 people attended the event. Other figures have been given, the most common being 100,000. Later even the figure of 150,000 attendees has been given.

These figures are approximate because there was some but not complete control of the number of people attending. For the first time there were also some Chinese Buddhists from the People's Republic. There were also Buddhist monks from Taiwan, Sri Lanka etc.

The giant Buddha statue was sponsored by a Japanese Buddhist organization.

The whole event had a budget of around US $1 million. There were several large donators, especially the Japanese Buddhist organization Busshokai mentioned earlier, which also was sponsoring the building of the giant Buddha statue near the old Amaravati stupa. During the conference the participants were asked to contribute more to the budget. There was a deficit of around US $35,000. It seems like that sum was raised because there was no more fund-raising during the final days when the budget was officially commented on. There is a tradition of making an economic report at the end of an initiation and this was done by the organizers.

A summary of the teachings of the Kālacakra Tantra

Kālacakra means "The wheel of time", and in some ways it is a philosophy of time. At the beginning of the basic text it is mentioned that everything in the cosmos has its origin in "time".[11]

The extant basic texts are the relatively short Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja (KCT or the laghutantra) and its canonical commentary Vimalaprabhā (VP). It is said that there exists a root-tantra, which is much longer but of which only a shorter version and various quotations are known. There are also many other texts translated from the Sanskrit into Tibetan in the Tibetan canon, the bKa'-gyur and the bsTan-'gyur. Finally there is a voluminous literature of commentaries written in Tibetan from later centuries. The large number of texts is a measure of the importance of the Kālacakra Tantra in Tibet. Only parts of this literature have been translated into western languages.[12] According to their own tradition, the basic texts were written by kings in the mythic land of Shambhala.[13] Buddha Śākyamuni himself is supposed to have preached the original root tantric texts, which were then written down by the kings of Shambhala.

The basic text (KCT) and its commentary (VP) are divided into five chapters of which the first treats the outer world (the macro-cosmos) and the second the inner human world (the micro-cosmos), consisting of the subtle body with the six cakras,

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[11] KCT I:4 in Banerjee 1985:1, translated in Newman 1987:419.

[12] See Newman 1987 for parts of the first chapter. Wallace 2004 for the second chapter. Andresen 1997 for the third chapter and Hartzell 1997 for parts of the fifth chapter.

[13] Shambhala is the Tibetan version of the name of the land, which in the Sanskrit texts is written Sambhala.

and how to control this body. The subtle body is described as a system of energy (prāṇa) channels with three main channels: one in the middle (avadhūti), and one on each side. The energy moves in these channels and the goal of the six-limb yoga (ṣaḍaṅga-yoga) is to halt the movement of these "winds" and in that way reach supreme bliss. The energy does not move in the spine, as in Hindu Kuṇḍalini yoga, but somewhere in the middle of the body.

The third chapter (abhiṣeka-paṭala) treats the initiation ritual of this tantric system. This chapter was the first to be explained by the Dalai Lama as it was necessary for understanding the Kālacakra initiations that he was giving.[14]

The fourth chapter contains descriptions of the methods of meditation (sādhana) and also the six-limbed yoga mentioned above.

The fifth chapter (jñāna-paṭala) treats knowledge (jñāna) with a long sub-chapter on the supreme unchanging bliss ("nirvāṇa"). Traditionally the Kālacakra Tantra is divided into three parts: the outer, which is the first chapter treating astronomy, astrology, and mathematics; the inner, which is the second chapter treating the human body with its inner structure of cakras and different energy channels; and finally there is the "other" Kālacakra, which in chapters 3–5 treats the very divinity Kālacakra, the mandala, and the other main teachings.

As is shown by this short overview of the content of these texts, they contain an almost encyclopaedic knowledge of the contemporary Indian society.

The teachings of Kālacakra have the goal of reaching nirvāṇa, or rather the state of śūnyatā (the void), which is also called the state of great bliss (mahāsukha) and is compared to the concept of the supreme unchanging (paramākṣara). This is reached by the union of opposites as mentioned in other mahayāna teachings: male/female, and upāya/prajñā (translated as means and wisdom). This state is symbolized by Kālacakra (the wheel of time) as a male divinity in embrace with his female counterpart Viśvamāta (the all-mother). These two principles possibly have emerged from the so-called Ādibuddha, the "original" Buddha, or "first Buddha". Actually it is not very clear what is meant by the concept of Ādibuddha. In some places it can be interpreted as the principle in which the world began. For the person initiated or meditating on the Kālacakra, the process of identification, as in all tantric meditation, is enacted. The teacher giving the Kālacakra initiation (the Dalai Lama) becomes Kālacakra, and with him all the participants become identified with the Kālacakra.

All the above are presuppositions that are basic to the actual initiation ritual.

There are different layers in the interpretation of a ritual. In the case of the Kālacakra Tantra there is a complicated philosophical background to why the ritual is performed from a purely Buddhist perspective. Another layer of interpretation is the analysis of how the ritual functions for the individual or for the group as a whole. How is the ritual used, and what is its meaning to the participants? In the final part of this article I will discuss those questions.

Before describing more details of the initiation at Amaravati, a more general picture of the ritual will be drawn. I will briefly describe the Kālacakra initiation ritual as it has generally been performed by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

[14] See Dalai Lama 1985 and Andresen 1997.

The Kālacakra initiation ritual – A general description

I will here describe the Kālacakra initiation as it has been performed at the great mass-initiations given by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama during the last twenty-five years. Apart from Amaravati 2006, I also attended the initiation performed by the Dalai Lama at Rikon in Switzerland in 1985, and these two occasions will stand as models for the Kālacakra initiations performed by the Dalai Lama. I have been able to compare them with other initiations in writings and on web sites, Madison 1981, and later, Graz 2002 and Toronto 2004.[15] The differences are very small between them. The entire initiation, including preparations, lasted for twelve to thirteen days. In Rikon there were around 6,000 participants, and in India there have been more than 100,000 participants on several occasions, and 200,000 in one case.[16]

The Dalai Lama belongs to the largest school of Tibetan Buddhism, the dGe-lugs-pa, and uses the initiation lineage of that school. The monks who are specialists on the Kālacakra Tantra belong to the rNam-rgyal college of the great Drepung (sBras-spungs) monastery in Lhasa. This monastery has been rebuilt in exile in southern India and its monks accompany the Dalai Lama during all initiations. Their special tasks are to make the sand mandala of Kālacakra and to assist in the ritual.

The Kālacakra initiation has also been given in the other Tibetan Buddhist schools Sa-skya-pa, bKa'-brgyud-pa (Karma-pa) and rNying-ma-pa, both in Tibet and in the western world. I assisted at the initiation by the Karma-pa lama Kalu Rinpoche in Stockholm 1982 and there were differences from that of the Dalai Lama. In particular, the preliminaries and the sand mandala[17] were not present. The initiation was instead performed with a painted mandala. Much of the initiation process in the following presentation is performed with the visualization technique used in Tantric Buddhism in general. For example, when it is said that the participant is circumambulating the mandala and enters the different doors, it is a mental process. At some points in the initiation it might have been possible to perform the actions physically, but this was not practical because of the number of participants. It is important to remember that in Tibet the number of participants at the Kālacakra initiations was very limited. They were performed for much smaller groups and it was very difficult to obtain the initiation and the accompanying teachings. Normally it was necessary to pay with gold or money for the teachings in older times.[18]

The mass-initiations are probably a quite recent phenomenon. There exists information though, that there were initiations given to many participants even earlier. The 9th Panchen Lama held no less than nine Kālacakra initiations from 1928–36 in China.[19] At that time the Panchen Lama resided in Peking for many years and he

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[15] See Kalachakra Initiation 1981 and Kalachakra Initiation 1985. For Graz 2002 and Toronto 2004 I have consulted their Internet sites. www.shedrupling.at/KC/KChome.html for Graz 2002 and www.ctao.org/kalachakra/ for Toronto 2004.

[16] See www.tibet.com, the official site of the Tibetan government in exile.

[17] I write mandala instead of maṇḍala because the word can be said to be a part of the modern English language.

[18] See Hammar 2005 where I have translated a text by the 14th century scholar Bu-ston on the history of Kālacakra in Tibet.

gave these initiations to thousands of attendees. The initiation in Peking 1932 was the most important. I will return to these events later. The present Dalai Lama gave the first mass-initiations in Lhasa in 1954 and 1956 and he has continued with many more later. In other Tibetan schools of Buddhism Kālacakra initiations have also been given to many participants at the same time.

The preparations for the initiations are performed some days before the actual initiation.[20] These preparations are more or less the same at all the Kālacakra initiations given by the Dalai Lama. During the first three days the place of the initiation is prepared. At Rikon 1985 and Amaravati 2006, this was done by the Dalai Lama and his assistant monks from Namgyal College of Drepung monastery in South India. As the ritual leader, the Dalai Lama first appeals to the divinities protecting the grounds for permission to perform the initiation. He then creates a protective circle and calls on other protective deities. He also blesses the atmosphere. This is very interesting because he seeks protection from earth deities who are not actually of Buddhist origin. It is an old stratum in Tibetan religions that there are divinities everywhere in nature, in mountains, trees, and in the earth. It is interesting to see that these traits are a living tradition today. As the texts are from India, perhaps this was also a religious tradition in Old India. At the same time as these old religious traits are honoured, the Buddhist five jinas[21] are evoked, together with Kālacakra himself.

All the above are preparations for the construction of the Kālacakra mandala, which is a representation in two dimensions of the Kālacakra cosmology. There exists a Kālacakra mandala in three dimensions in the Potala palace in Lhasa, which I studied when visiting the Potala. It is like a small house with all the 722 divinities represented in the mandala.[22] At the Dalai Lama's initiations a sand mandala is constructed. It takes the monks from the Namgyal college three days to create this mandala. At the initiations of other Tibetan Buddhist schools a thangka (cloth painting) is used instead of coloured sand.

In the centre of the mandala are the divinities: the male Kālacakra and the female Viśvamāta.

They are depicted in sexual embrace and symbolize the principles of upāya / means/the male and prajñā/wisdom/the female. These principles are then united in the concept of Ādibuddha, which is a sort of unifying concept.

Then the Dalai Lama issues a command, especially to the protective aspect of the Kālacakra, Dorje Shug, to create the mandala. The assisting monks performed a rit-

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[19] See Jagou 2004: 117–126. This is a recent work of great value treating the life of the 9th Panchen Lama, which has not previously been described in a scholarly work.

[20] The contents of the following chapter are based on personal observations in Rikon 1985 and Amaravati 2006, Kalachakra Initiation 1985, Dalai Lama 1985, Dhargyey 1975, Andresen 1997, Sopa 1985 and Berzin 1997.

[21] The five jinas (victors) are in the north Amitabha, the south Ratnasambhava, the east Amoghasiddhi, the west Vairocana and above the centre Akṣobhya and below the centre Vajrasattva. They are placed in each of the six directions. There is consequently a sixth family with Vajrasattva, who can be replaced by Kālacakra, especially in the Kalacakra Tantra. The number six is very important in these teachings, as there are also six cakras instead of seven. It can be remarked that Amitabha is placed to the north in the Kālacakra. In China and Japan he is the master of "the paradise of the west".

[22] Abhayākaragupta 1949:76–86; translated in the introduction by Bhattacharyya; Personal observations, Lhasa 2001.

ual dance taking the form of the wrathful protective deities in order to remove all disturbing forces. They create a "wheel of protection" to ensure the success of the initiation. These rituals also have the purpose of inviting the earth goddess to enter the structure of the mandala. The next step for the monks is to draw the mandala with chalk. Finally the divinities which have been called upon for constructing the mandala can return to their places in the mandala construction.

Finally the Dalai Lama invites the divinities to take their places in the mandala which is protected by the five jinas and their female consorts. When the chalk structure is finished, the monks begin creating the Kālacakra mandala with coloured sand. This process takes three days as performed by the sixteen specialized monks from the Namgyal college of the Drepung monastery.

From the fourth to sixth days in Rikon there were preliminary teachings, but they were not given by the Dalai Lama. At Amaravati, he himself gave teachings on the third to the sixth days on Chapters 18, 24, and 26 of the Mūlamadhyāmākārikā, or "Fundamental Wisdom of the Middle Way" by Nāgārjuna. He held lectures every morning between 9 a.m. and 12 noon explaining different parts of the text in an independent way.[23]

On the seventh day the meditative ritual (sādhana) is performed. Ten vases are placed in the ten directions around the mandala. The mandala is about one-and-a-half metres in diameter, and is protected by in a small house-like construction with a curtain. The participants are not allowed to see the mandala until a special moment in the initiation ritual, and therefore it is hidden behind the curtain. On this day in Amaravati a ritual dance was performed by the monks from Namgyal monastery in order to honour the mandala. At Rikon this was performed on the eighth day.

There was also ritual musical performance. The rituals conclude with another Kālacakra sādhana performed by the Dalai Lama. At Amaravati the preparatory empowerments of the students began on this day and were continued on the next day. I will not give the details of the initiation here as they have been described earlier.[24] The Kālacakra initiation of the generation stage (utpattikrāma) is performed by the Dalai Lama in the form of seven initiations, like the stages of development of a child. These are the seven basic initiations. These initiations were prepared on the tenth day and were actually given on the eleventh day.

At Rikon, the Dalai Lama then established the time and place of this occasion. According to the chronology of the Kālacakra it is the year 2846, counting from the enlightenment of the Buddha and the year 2797, counting from the Buddha's teaching of the Kālacakra Tantra at the Dhānyakaṭaka stupa in south India. At Amaravati it was explained in a similar way. The preceding was consequently the initiation of the generation stage, which is the basic teaching and practice of the Kālacakra.

Then follows the completion stage of the initiation (sampannakrāma), which was given on the twelfth day at Rikon. At Amaravati the higher initiations were given on the tenth day and the higher-than-higher were given on the eleventh day. On the oc-

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[23] Kalupahana 1991.
[24] See for example Mullin 1991 and Hammar 2005:2.

casion of the initiation at Rikon 1985, the Dalai Lama decided that in addition to the normal program he was going to give the four higher, and the fourth of the higher-than-higher initiations.[25] This was also done at Amaravati 2006. There the vajra master initiation was performed for a few specially selected lamas as a preparation for these masters to be allowed to give the Kālacakra initiation themselves. Again I will not give the details of these initiations as they have been treated elsewhere.[26]

Finally The four higher-than-higher initiations of the completion stage were given. These initiations were given on the twelfth day at Rikon and on the eleventh day at Amaravati together with the vajra master initiation. These initiations were not announced in the program but were given on the two occasions when I was present. The first three of these initiations do not differ substantially from the higher initiations, but the fourth is a new development and is of great importance. The fourth of the higher-than-higher initiations – the definitive word initiation – is as follows. It offers the possibility to reach the final stage of the tantric method of enlightenment. This is "complete enlightenment" and the disciple achieves an energy-consciousness body[27] in the form of Kālacakra. One receives the word initiation when one realizes that this is the culmination of the tantric method, which can be likened to and has the essence of "the great union".[28] The disciple reaches the point where these two opposites are united in their original concept, which can be compared to the Ādibuddha-concept. After these final initiations the disciple is prepared for the tenth and final bodhisattva stage.

The Kālacakra initiation in Amaravati 2006, day by day

On the first day, January 5, there were rites to the earth divinities performed by the ritual specialists from Namgyal college of the reconstructed Drepung monastery. There were no public ceremonies.

The overall religious aim of this tantric initiation is, by giving 15 different initiations, to give permission to all the participants to start practising the different methods of meditation and the six-limbed yoga connected with the Kālacakra tantra. The ceremony in itself also has a blessing function where it is meritorious just to be present. It is also stated in the texts that everybody who has participated in the initiation will be reborn to fight in the ultimate war against evil under the 25th king of Shambhala. This is interpreted by some as being an internal war against evil that is going to take place, not a war in the outer world.

On the second day of the preparatory ceremonies, January 6, the Dalai Lama especially addressed himself to the Tibetans who had come from inside Tibet. He said

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[25] The information on the Kālacakra initiation is based on my own notes from Rikon1985, Mullin 1985: 129–155 and Dhargyey 1985:113–148.

[26] See footnote 25.

[27] Tib. rlung-sems. This is a non-material body, which can be created in the context of tantric meditation. (See Hammar 2005: 170–199.)

[28] Skt. yuganaddha. See for ex Snellgrove 1987: 285–88. The concept aims at the unity, but still division, of the concepts of wisdom/means, voidness/compassion and male/female.

that he wanted to show how the Tibetans in exile had organized themselves demo-cratically. They had elected a prime minister who was also going to speak to them. He wanted to inform the new-comers about what the government in exile has been doing. He also warned them that when they return to Tibet they are going to be questioned by the Chinese authorities and they should, if asked, deny that they have faith in the Dalai Lama. He will forgive them for that, because they will get into trouble if they talk about the Dalai Lama. He also told them not to take any materials from the Kālacakra initiation back to Tibet, and absolutely no pictures of the Dalai Lama. He also said that there were certain to be spies among the participants who were there in order to report back to the Chinese authorities. The Dalai Lama urged them to report exactly what he had said because in the past there had been incorrect reports for instance that the policy of the Tibetan government in exile was the same as the policy of the Tibetan Youth Congress. This organization has a different agenda for Tibet and demands total independence, unlike the Dalai Lama and his government who demand a kind of self-rule inside China. He said that he has nothing against the agents reporting back, but they should correctly repeat what he says.

Another notable commentary by the Dalai Lama was that he said that everybody who had faith in Buddhism was welcome to take part in the initiation ceremony, apart from the worshippers of Shugden. There has been a long controversy about the worship of this deity who was been banned by the Dalai Lama long ago. Shugden is, according to the Dalai Lama, a deity hostile to Buddhism and should not be worshipped. He was an enemy of the fifth Dalai Lama in the 17th century. Consequently, worshippers are not welcome to take part in the actual initiation. They could attend the general teaching on the Ngārjuna texts, but not be initiated. The teachings of the fifth Dalai Lama have become so important that his enemies should not be encouraged.[29] On this second day there was also an Earth Ritual Dance performed by the monks from Namgyal Dratsang.

On January 7–10, the third to sixth days of the ceremonies, The Dalai Lama gave preliminary teachings for the participants on the "The Fundamental Wisdom of the Middle Way". During these four days the monks prepared the sand mandala of Kālacakra

On the January 10, the sixth day of the teachings, the Dalai Lama began the preparatory initiations. He ended his teachings on the texts of Nāgārjuna and started the taking of the vows a day early. Everybody took the bodhicitta vows according to tradition. It is necessary to change your mindset from negative to virtuous.

The Dalai Lama continued his preliminary teaching, before the actual initiation ceremony, on Nāgārjuna's text. As Nāgārjuna had lived nearby this was a good occasion to teach what he has written. Discussing Nāgārjuna's view on the Void (Śūnyatā) he refuted the Sāṃkhya philosophy, that otherwise bears some resemblance to Buddhism. This philosophy states that a primal substance exists and that everything follows a rule. This primal substance permeates everything. This is not Mādhyamika Buddhism according to the Dalai Lama who bases his statement on the writings of Nāgārjuna. During these four days the specially prepared monks from

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[29] See for example Dreyfus 1998 and von Brück 2001.

Namgyal dratsang (college) of Drepung monastery in exile prepared the Kālacakra mandala from coloured sand. The mandala must, in this tradition, be made with coloured sand and afterwards be thrown into running water.

On Wednesday January 11, The Dalai Lama held an audience for foreigners/westerners. This was quite a brief event where he jokingly asked for the nationalities to answer when he called out for people from, for example Italy. There were very few Swedes there, perhaps seven or eight, mostly from Stockholm. This, the seventh day, was a day of rest for the participants. It was possible to take a tour to nearby Nāgārjunakoṇḍa on the Krishna river.

On the next day, Thursday January 12, everybody took the bodhisattva vows. If taken seriously this is a very strong commitment to practise the Buddhist religion. There are twenty pledges of a bodhisattva and these vows are the very foundation of Mahayana Buddhism. There are eighteen root infractions and an additional twenty-six tantric vows to be taken. All these vows make it very difficult to follow this practice if you intend to be serious. It demands a life of very high moral standards guiding on how to behave beneficially towards other people.

Then the preparations for the initiation itself started. It is important that the practice of the Kālacakra tantra be kept secret. To reveal secrets from the initiation brings evil and can lead to being born in a hell realm. According to the Dalai Lama one of the causes of the decline of Buddhism in India was that the secrecy was not maintained. Today the mainaining of the secrecy is even more difficult with all the modern means of communication. Most of the aspects of the Kālacakra are now being explained openly in books published in the West and in India. The two basic texts have been translated into English almost in their entirety, and other commentaries have also revealed what should have been difficult to access almost a thousand years ago when the teachings were introduced to Tibet. The secret aspects still kept alive are the actual practice of the six-limbed yoga associated with the Kālacakra. This yoga is still being taught from master to disciple and is not widely distributed.

On this day Kusha grass was distributed to all the participants to put under their beds and cause important dreams to come during the night. At these points in the initiation ceremony, when ritual elements were distributed to all the participants, a minor chaos broke out as everybody tried to get their share. There were many monks involved in distributing, for example, this grass but it still took some time. On this day the only official sign of the presence of Ambedkar Buddhists was visible in Amaravati. They demonstrated their presence on the main street of the initiation site, but I did not have the impression that they were protesting against anything. As there were problems between Ambedkar Buddhists and the Dalai Lama on the occasion of the initiation in Bodh Gaya in 2003 I was looking for signs of this, but there were no obvious conflicts.[30]

On the next, ninth day, Friday January 13, the teaching began with some Theravada monks performing a ceremony to greet the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama was keen to show that this was a sort of ecumenical event where Buddhists from every

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[30] Hammar 2005. 1:1415.

Buddhist country, such as Sri Lanka, Thailand, Japan, and China, were welcome. The initiation should be held on a full-moon day and this was also the case at Ama-ravati. The Dalai Lama then talked about Shambhala, the sacred land where the Kālacakra teachings are said to have been kept for a thousand years before being brought to India in the 10th century. He does not really take a stand in the question of whether Shambhala should be understood as a geographic country or as a sort of pure heavenly land not materially located on this Earth. It could be a geographical entity or not. Then the Dalai Lama continued by giving the vows of the bodhisattva and the tantric vows. There are 25 modes of conduct which must be observed. It was in the context of these vows that he spoke about the way of conduct of the Tibetans. He said that drinking alcohol was very bad for the mind and that in Tibet people drank too much, perhaps in order to cope with a bad situation. But drinking is bad and makes you lose your mind. One should abstain from killing animals when it is not necessary and it was better to be a vegetarian. Tibet should ideally be made a paradise for animals and peaceful behaviour which should attract tourists etc.

After this, the initiation continued and the 722 divinities in the Kālacakra mandala were invited to participate in the consecration act. These divinities all have a corre-spondence in the body and the energy channels existing in the so-called subtle body. Hereby the stage of entering the mandala was completed and starting that day the participants were invited to see the mandala in groups in order that everybody should have time to see it before Sunday.

On Saturday January 14, the tenth day, the Dalai Lama gave the seven initiations called "like a child." These are the basic Kālacakra initiations given to all the par-ticipants. They are given at all the Kālacakra initiations. He then also gave the 4 higher initiations. These are not always given, but on this occasion they were given. They are the initiations of the vase, the secret, knowledge/wisdom, and the word initiations.

On Sunday the 15th, the eleventh day, the Dalai Lama spoke about the more pro-found teachings of the Kālacakra Tantra. There are techniques that will halt the "winds" moving in the body and will lead to a state of emptiness/void, and this is also a state of supreme immutable bliss (paramākṣarasukha). This is a concept which I have treated in my dissertation and to achieve it is the very pinnacle of the Kālacakra Tantra practice. One must pile up the 21,600 drops (bindu) in the central channel in the body (avadhūti) and then one can experience the supreme immutable bliss. In order to practice this highest bliss it is necessary to have the four higher-than-higher initiations. These four, with the same names as the four higher initiations, were then given on this day. These initiations are necessary in order to practise the six limbs of the ṣaḍaṅgayoga (the six-limbed yoga). The Dalai Lama also gave a rare Great Vajra Master Initiation to a few selected Buddhist masters in order to give them the authority to teach all levels of the Kālacakra Tantra. These masters have now reached a level where they can no longer become lay people again even if they would want to. They are after these initiations called "vajra masters" (vajrāchārya). With that initiation the Kālacakra initiation ritual was concluded. The Dalai Lama thanked the local authorities in Andhra Pradesh for their co-operation. Then there was an opportunity for the participants to go up on the stage and see the

sand mandala in its little house. This took a very long time even though it had actually already started on Saturday with some groups.

Disciples desiring to take up the real practice of the sādhanas and the Kālacakra yoga were then supposed to contact a Kālacakra centre and obtain practical instructions. There are a few such centres in the west today, in the USA, Paris, London, and Italy. Consequently for a serious student of the Kālacakra Tantra the religious practice had only just begun. For the majority, who will not practise the Kālacakra, it will have been an auspicious occasion giving religious merit. Finally, when the participants had left the site of the initiation, the Dalai Lama and his assistants collected the sand of the mandala in a ceremonial hat, and then he dispersed it in the nearby Krishna river. The sand must be thrown into running water.

The Dalai Lama's closing words about the Kālacakra were that the most important factors in the Kālacakra practice are to be warm-hearted towards others and to cultivate the bodhicitta (the mind of awakening into enlightenment), as well as to understand the chain of dependent origination. One can see that the Dalai Lama was underlining the general ethical attitude of people and putting less stress on complicated meditation/yoga methods. It is no secret that most of the participants in these initiations will not practise the special Kālacakra teachings to any great extent, and that the important things are people's ethical behaviour and being a good person. He said jokingly at the beginning that he was holding these great Kālacakra initiations because then many people would come to listen to him and he would have an opportunity to speak to them, and that the initiation was just an excuse.

On the twelfth and final day, Monday January 16, there was a puja for the longevity of the Dalai Lama and for all the participants. There was also an initiation into the text and teachings of the Mañjuśī-nāma-saṅgīti. Once again the Dalai Lama spoke more specifically to the Tibetans from inside Tibet. He said they should work to learn more about the Buddha-dharma and also make efforts to learn to read and write the Tibetan language well. It was also important to learn other languages like Chinese and Sanskrit. He felt his responsibility heavily for the Tibetans who put so much faith and hope in him.

Politics and religion at the Kālacakra initiation, Amaravati 2006

There was less political activity at the Klacakra initiation event than I had expected. Having studied from a distance the activities at the 2003 Kālacakra initiation, where there seemed to be considerably more political activity, I found that the Tibetan government in exile held a comparatively low profile in political matters. The Prime Minister, Samdhong Rinpoche, held a press conference where he stated the religious nature of the event and said that this was a Buddhist ceremony without any political significance. He avoided the political questions that Indian journalists put to him. He was also asked for his opinion on a boycott of the Olympic Games in Peking 2008. He answered that the government in exile did not recommend a boycott as the Chinese population supported the games and there was no point in taking a stand against the Chinese people. It could have been otherwise if the population had not wanted the Games. He also pointed out that in China some movements were being noticed which supported the Tibetan cause of defending their ethnic identity.

Nevertheless it must be stated that the event had a political significance in itself. It was an occasion for Tibetans to once again come together and feel that they are a significant group in India and that the Tibetans in Tibet would be influenced by the event. Later on this influence showed itself in a very concrete manner when Tibetans in Tibet began burning or destroying the animal skins they wear as a sign of prestige. The Dalai Lama was namely propagating in an effective way against the killing of rare animals like tigers and deer. He said that these animals could become extinct and he also pleaded for a vegetarian life-style saying that the way that animals were treated in China was not good. This must be a difficult task in Tibet where much of the food is based on the yak in the form of meat or different milk products. In Amaravati there was a very active group of young Tibetans pleading for vegetarianism. No meat was served at the official restaurants in the camp and this group pleaded actively for a vegetarian Kālacakra initiation.

When later that spring spread to Tibet about the Dalai Lama's recommendation to not wear animal skins, Tibetans in Tibet collected skins at various places and burned them in public to the embarrassment to the Chinese authorities who could witness the influence of the Dalai Lama even at a distance.

The Tibetan Youth Congress was present but they were not very active in spreading propaganda. There were also concerts and dances in the evenings that were more of cultural events. At a moderate distance from the teaching grounds there was an area where the more militant groups were making their voices heard. Among them were Students for a Free Tibet and a group of former prisoners (Gu chu sum) in Tibet who had made an exhibition of conditions in Tibetan prisons. The most visual political manifestation was a poster put up in several places in central areas which depicted the Panchen Lama elected by the Dalai Lama and a caption saying he is the youngest political prisoner in Tibet. There was also a candlelight vigil for the Panchen Lama organized one evening by the Central Association for H.H. the Panchen Lama based at the Tashi Lhunpo monastery (in exile) in Bylakuppe in South India. The vigil was supported by the Tibetan Youth Congress, the Tibetan Women's Association, Students for a Free Tibet, and the Gu Chu Sum Movement of Tibet.[31] The latter organization is a group of ex-political prisoners of Tibet who are engaged in helping political prisoners in Tibet and in exile. They publish materials are on people who have been in prison but also report on conditions in Tibetan/Chinese prisons today. They also had a tent in Amaravati providing information about political prisoners in Tibet.[32]

The presence of the Tibetans was especially felt around the Amaravati stupa in the evenings. Thousands of butter lamps and candles were planted at the stupa and people circumambulated by the thousands. It was a moving experience to witness this pious gathering of Tibetans worshipping the stupa in different ways. This was clearly an example of how the Tibetans could feel a group identity in this great gathering. The event was also an occasion to meet relatives and friends. For example there was a Tibetan woman from inside Tibet who said that she had met her

[31] A leaflet distributed in Amaravati in my possession.
[32] See www.guchusum.org

eleven-year-old nephew in Amaravati for the first time, his parents having left be-
fore he was born. One of the volunteers from the Tibetan Youth Congress said that
he was receiving many requests for help finding relatives and neighbours whom
people hoped to meet at Amaravati.[33]

I have accordingly been present at three different Kālacakra initiations: in Stock-
holm 1982, led by the Kagyu Karmapa master Kalu Rinpoche; at Rikon 1985; and at
Amaravati 2006. The Stockholm initiation took place 13–16 December 1982. Con-
sequently the whole event took place over four days including preparations com-
pared to the 12–13 days spent on the same event with the Dalai Lama initiations.[34] In
Stockholm the fee was 200 Skr for the event. The Karma Kagyu initiation was quite
different from the great initiation events led by the Dalai Lama. In Stockholm there
were some 200–300 participants, most of whom were westerners, but also including
most of the Tibetans living in Sweden. There was a painted thangka of the Kala-
chakra divinity and mandala instead of a sand mandala. The event obviously had
much less funding than the Dalai Lama initiations and it was more simple for that
reason. This initiation was also more of an event for western Buddhists than the
other two. At Rikon 1985 there were about 7,000 participants of whom around 2,000
were Tibetans, and of course at Amaravati there was a completely different atmos-
phere. As this article mainly treats the Kālacakra initiations by the Dalai Lama I will
not go into more details of that event in Stockholm.

Conclusions

The Kālacakra initiation at Amaravati was a very important event in many ways. It
was the 30th in the line of Kālacakra initiations by the Dalai Lama and it took place
at Amaravati where, according to tradition, the Kālacakra was preached by the Bud-
dha Śākyamuni 2500 years ago.

For the town of Amaravati the ceremony was most welcome because it brought
income during the event and also some more advantages like paved roads etc. It also
brought hope for more pilgrims in the future, but there seems to have been no great
increase in the number of pilgrims or tourists. One year after the Kālacakra, life is
about the same as before the event.

It was also important as the hitherto largest meeting between Tibetans in exile and
Tibetans from inside Tibet. Many contacts were made between the two groups. Al-
though the political importance of the event was played down by the Dalai Lama,
the Klacakra initiation at Amaravati had a certain political importance because of
these contacts and the Dalai Lama's contact with the newly arrived Tibetans who
would then go back to Tibet with new ideas. This was proved true later in the spring
with the burning of skins of protected animals which was reported from many places
inside Tibet.

In her dissertation Jensine Andresen has written on the function and social role of
the Kālacakra initiation and finds that the initiation ritual has undergone great

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[33] Hyderabad Times (Times News Network)
[34] Kalachakra invigning 1982. My own observations at the event.

change since it has been practised in the community of Tibetans in India, and later in the rest of the world where there is an interest in the Tibetan Buddhism.[35] In India the ritual has become a congregation of nearly all Tibetans in India, as well as many from other parts of the world and from inside Tibet. It is a place of meeting and an occasion to see relatives and friends. The religious content of the ritual is naturally not understood by the vast majority of the Tibetan participants. Still the initiation is given to this great number of people. This is perhaps not such a great novelty in the transmission of the teachings as the number of serious practitioners of the meditation and yoga techniques that accompany this tantric teaching never has been high, and now the number is increasing but not by very much. To practise the Kālacakra tantra seriously requires great effort which few are ready or able to undertake. Therefore the giving of the initiation to such a great number of Tibetans is not a problem because most of them are quite happy to receive it as a blessing. Another difference is the change of context for these mass gatherings in India which have become events for strengthening the new "national consciousness" among the Tibetans in exile, and also for the Tibetans coming out of Tibet. At the initiation in Bodh Gaya 2003 it seems that the propagation of political ideas was intense while in Amaravati 2006 it was less so.[36]

Andresen treats at some length the Kālacakra initiations in the USA and observes that "In the late twentieth century, entertainment, theatricality, advertising, and information betray a postmodern orientation towards the Kālacakra Empowerment. Many Tibetan monks today rely on ritual handbooks without consulting the root tantra or learning the intricacies of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga." I believe that these conclusions are partially correct. I have no experience of how the Kālacakra is treated in the USA, and am familiar with it only by reading, but it is possibly correct that these initiations, and still more so the construction of the mandala as a cultural event outside of the religious context, have made the teachings more "commercial" and non-traditional.

At Rikon 1985 I did not experience a great deal of modernization or commercialism. It seemed to me a quite serious religious Buddhist event. Many Tibetans exiled in Switzerland or in Europe in general were present and displayed normal respect for the event. The westerners were to a great extent already practising Buddhists and the official and political side of the whole event was not too great. Perhaps it is not necessary to panic about the modernizations of the Kālacakra initiations because the core of the ritual is the same and is directly based on the texts. Having myself studied these texts at some length I realise that they are often so difficult to understand that some more simplified instructions are necessary. It is already necessary to study the Great Commentary Vimalaprabhā in order to understand the basic text Śrī Kālacakra, and the Tibetan commentators have added further explanations to these basic Sanskrit texts. Modern instructions are often based on these Tibetan commentators, which is quite normal in a Buddhist context.

Concerning the commercialization of these great rituals there is a point which is

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[35] Andresen 1997: 9–33, 196–220 and 228–269.
[36] Hammar 2005: 11–16.

worth remembering, namely that the first translators and masters of the Kālacakra tantra in the 11th–12th century had to bring considerable amounts of gold and other riches in order to obtain these texts and the accompanying initiations.[37]

Toni Huber has written on these initiations recently and stresses the importance of what he names the "Dükhor Wangchen", (The great Kālacakra initiation) in Tibetan, for the new national consciousness of the Tibetans in exile.[38] Huber uses the Tibetan expression for the ritual perhaps in order to underline the special Tibetan context in which the event is taking place. It is important to emphasize that this initiation has been an exclusively Tibetan affair since perhaps the 12th century. Very little is known about Kālacakra initiations in India before Buddhism disappeared. Perhaps it was practised later, but nothing is known about it for certain. The conclusion is that the Kālacakra initiation has for a very long time been exclusively Tibetan and was not practised in any other Buddhist country. No Chinese translation is known to exist, much less a Japanese one. As Huber points out there is a conscious policy on the part of the leaders of the Tibetan community in India to reinvent the sacred places of pilgrimage in India, and the Amaravati initiation follows that pattern by placing the Amaravati stupa on the Buddhist pilgrimage map in a more obvious way. The local political rulers of Andhra Pradesh wanted to construct a large pilgrimage site at the stupa as well as a place for Kālacakra worship. The theory that Amaravati was the location of the Dhānyakaṭaka stupa where the Kālacakra tantra was preached is in no way certain and would possibly need further investigation.

The Kālacakra initiation and the teaching of the Kālacakra tantra both in general and regarding the construction of sand mandalas for exhibition purposes have consequently become a great event for the Tibetans, and also for many westerners interested in things Tibetan. It will possibly continue to be so even though four years soon will soon have passed since the latest great Kālacakra initiation by the Dalai Lama, and there is no sign of a coming one to this date.

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[37] See for example Hammar 2005:3540 where it is written by Bu-ston how much gold the founder of the 'Bro school of Kālacakra Somanātha and his successors had to pay for the teachings.

[38] Huber 2008: 372–375.

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The Situation of Women in Sasanian Iran: Reflections on the Story of Bahrām Gōr and his Mistress

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Abstract

The concept of history of which the Zoroastrian priests and their secretaries were in charge in the Sasanian period was different from what is known as history nowadays. History was a means of education, glorification of kings, and preservation of the social order. Acts, myths, and legends were intertwined in historical accounts. Thus, historians were in a privileged position to modify history in favour of its educational aims, or even to make history more impressive by using rhetorical and figurative language such as metaphors and hyperboles.

It is commonly believed that the situation of women in Iran in the Sasanian era had improved more significantly than that in the rest of the world, and that the women were better treated than in all previous epochs of Iran's history. But there is a story about the king Bahrām Gōr that testifies to tyranny and injustice towards women. It is a hunting story where Barhām Gōr cruelly causes the death of one of his mistresses, who was in his company. This story has been told and re-interpreted in, e.g., Ferdousi's *Shāhnāme* and Sa'ālebi's *Ghorar al-siyar*. This essay will study the situation of women in Sasanian Iran based on Bahrām Gōr's story.

Keywords: Bahrām Gōr, Ferdousi, Shāhnāme, Moqaddasi, Sa'ālebi, Sasanian history, Iranian historiography, situation of women

Introduction

Little evidence and few documents are available on ancient Iran, and it is thus impossible to draw a complete picture of the situation of women in that society.[1] There are two main, and strongly opposing, views about the status of women in ancient Iran. 'Alavi (1380: 9–11) holds that in ancient Iran, women were highly esteemed and that a woman was considered as a full member of the family. She was active in all the affairs and business of married life, equal to her husband. 'Alavi further claims that as Iran's history progressed, the situation of women improved along with their social position, so that in the Sasanian epoch, for instance, some reforms were made in favour of women in contrast to the Arsacid period.

Contrary to this, there is another hypothesis whose followers believe that a matriarchy flourished in the pre-Indo-European period, but that after the immigration of the Aryans and their settlement on the Iranian plateau, the matriarchal system declined and was replaced by a rough, patriarchal structure in which the women were isolated, marginalized, and commodified (Mazdāpur 1383: 87).

In support of the view that the Sasanian society was a harsh patriarchy, the purpose of the present essay is to exemplify the oppression of women in that society by

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analysing a story recorded in a number of Persian literary works claiming to reflect Sasanian history.[2] Furthermore, the article will demonstrate how this story was re-interpreted in order to be acceptable at the time when the literary work was produced, several centuries after the alleged incident.

The Iranian view of documenting history

The concept of history of which the Zoroastrian priests and their secretaries were in charge in the Sasanian period was different from what is known as history nowadays. History was a means of education, glorification of the kings and preservation of the social order. Hence, facts, myths, and legends were intertwined in historical accounts. Thus, historians were in a privileged position to modify history in favour of its educational aims, or even to make history more impressive by using rhetorical and figurative language such as metaphors and hyperboles.

The Persian national epos *Shāhnāme*, composed by Ferdousi, is a mirror that reflects the behaviour and deeds of the Iranians over the course of centuries. This great epos portrays the nation's temperament and is a monument to the culture and lifestyle of the Iranians throughout history. *Shāhnāme* is a tangible world, like the empirical world in which we now live, described in a way appropriate for its own age, which also includes aspects of its predecessors' customs and conventions ('Alavi 1380: 36). Although *Shāhnāme* embraces miscellaneous mythical and heroic elements, Ferdousi's aim was not to create a mere collection of narrations and myths, but to versify Iran's history based on old narratives. From this perspective, *Shāhnāme* should be considered as a historical epos (Ḥariri 1365: 95).

Nevertheless, the pre-Islamic Iranians' methods of historiography, of analysing and recording history, are obviously different from what are called historiography and historical criticism in the West. First, history and historiography in pre-Islamic Iran were deeply influenced by Zoroastrianism, which provides the ethical and intellectual basis for conceptualizing history. This emphasizes human behaviour and deed. It makes the behaviour meaningful, and therefore worthy of being recorded and kept in memory. Societies are managed by kings whose legitimacy is appraised by Ahura Mazda's favour (*farrah*), which supports the "good" king's reign.

The kings are society's guardians and legislators, and the founders of social structures. History is the account of their performance: records of the wars, monarchic discourses, the structures they establish, the social and political events of their age, and their ethical and intellectual position. As assumed in religious circles, where the actual historiographers were to be found, history is not only seen in retrospect, but also as embracing the future. The idea that the general pattern of history has been determined since the beginning of creation has probably caused the relative absence of historical criticism in Iranian historiography. History was not considered a spring for quenching the thirst of truth seekers, but as

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[2] For further studies on the situation of women in pre-Islamic Iran, see e.g. Sattāri 1373, Barāhani 1363, and Ḥasanābādi 1381.

having a principally didactic and ethical aim. In the Sasanid epoch, the purpose of history was to maintain and develop the prevalent ethical standards as well as to deepen religious and national concepts.

The historiographers generally emerged from the "secretary" class who were closely related to the clergy and the privileged aristocratic classes; in other words, the secretaries were in their service. They promulgated the thoughts of those classes and defended their interests. History was the medium for teaching stability and unity in society. It was utilized to support the nation's common heritage and to propagate idealism. Hence, not only was a historian a biased scholar, but he was also both the protector and the propagator of the social, ethical, and political values by which the Sasanid governors and elite were revered. To accomplish its social mission, history should be persuasive and interesting to read. Thus, the Sasanid historians incorporated myths and legends in their historiography in order to fulfil a common cultural purpose.

Figurative devices like metaphor, metonymy, simile, and hyperbole were sometimes employed to elevate the impressiveness of the narrations, while noxious or redundant details were easily distorted or omitted from the narratives. In this kind of historiography, folk tales did not confront any serious obstacles on their way to being added to the historical realm with the same value as historical events. In fact, these folk tales were seen as accounts of historical events (Yarshater 1983: 367–369). It is thus clear that a historian had the privilege to add or omit historical events, and historicize what he himself or the Sasanian establishment believed in, and that there was a purpose behind such distortions.

The aim of this relatively long introduction is to argue that the story to follow must not be regarded as an example of something notorious or abnormal at the time. On the contrary, it was implicitly valued because it actually reveals the society's moral standards. Furthermore, it was attributed to a king, who was not to be blamed in historical accounts of this kind. Whether or not it ever happened is not the issue; the important thing is that it reflects the prevalent ethical standards. Thus, if the historians had ever doubted its positive impact, they would have omitted it immediately. We should also bear in mind that Ferdousi, Sa'ālebi and others (see below) have just retold earlier narrations, and especially Ferdousi, famous for his integrity, is known for not distorting his sources, although he might not agree with some of them.

The story of Bahrām Gōr and his mistress

Bahrām (Vahrām) V, known as Bahrām Gōr, was the son of Yazdgird I. When a child, he was sent to Al-Hirah to be educated by No'man, son of Mundhir, who was the approved governor of the region. No'man undertook Bahrām's training and brought him up willingly. Al-Hirah belonged to the Sasanian domain, and its ruler was appointed by the Iranian king. The reason for sending away his son was that, after Bahrām's birth, his father was notified by the astrologers that his son would not ascend to the throne unless he was brought up in another land. Hence, Yazdgird despatched his son to Al-Hirah, and there he was trained skilfully in the fields of horse-

manship, hunting, philosophy, and literature. While still a young prince, he demonstrated great physical strength and agility (Yarshater 1983: 381).

Few of the Sasanian kings were as popular as Bahrām V. He was benevolent to all people, and often exempted his subjects from part of the taxes to be paid. Numerous stories have been narrated regarding his prowess in battles with the northern tribes and Byzantium, his love affairs, and his hunting skills. These narratives, which are stylistically similar to Münchhausen's tales, were not only used in literature, but also employed in the patterns of carpets, curtains, and other textiles for centuries. There are even some existing silver cups on which Bahrām's hunting scenes are depicted. (Christensen 1936: 271).

S̲a'ālebi (1372: 313–14) writes that one day, after finishing his education, Bahrām asked Mundhir to complete his benevolence towards him by providing him with the pleasure of flirting with beautiful minstrels and girls in order to achieve perfect joy. Glad of Bahrām's confidence in him and their relationship, Mundhir sent some beautiful, well-tempered, and exquisite girls to him. Mundhir also gave him carte blanche to drink and relish the girls. Thus, Bahrām enjoyed all the joys and passions of youth.

In *Tajāreb al-Omam* (1373: 220, also quoted in *Shāhnāme*, vol. 5, 253) we read:

> Bahrām said: I ask you to buy me two concubines for my sexual pleasure and for listening to their songs, and I wish them to bear my children. So, Mundhir purchased four beautiful singing bondmaids and bestowed them on Bahrām. Thereafter, Bahrām spent much time on indulgence.

Bahrām Gōr was very adept at archery and hunting, and he was a sybaritic man of pleasure, so that "he had shared his days with love, elation, music, hunting and playing" (S̲a'ālebi 1372: 313). Christensen (1936: 272) holds that "plein de vigueur et de force vitale lui-même, Vahrām exhortait tout le monde à jouir de la vie". Apparently it was customary that kings were accompanied by women, minstrels, and bondmaids when hunting in order to increase their pleasure. The matter can be observed by the scenes depicted on cups, coins, and other remaining artefacts from that age. For instance, the patterns of Tāq-e Bostān (Arch of Garden) depict Khosrou Parviz's hunting park and five rows of attendants. The upper part of the rock carving shows a boat in which many women are sitting clapping hands and singing. In the midst of the relief, the king, standing in the leading boat, is drawing a bow, and a woman is playing the harp at his right hand. Behind this boat, there is another boat full of female harpists. ('Alavi 1388: 64) In another carving at Tāq-e Bostān, the king is depicted at the top and his horse is ready to jump in pursuit of the prey, while rows of women, some standing in respect, and some playing instruments, are carved behind the king. (Christensen 1936: 463)

Probably this custom was first established by Bahrām Gōr, for such scenes were not recorded or seen before him. There is an engraved cup in the Ermitage museum in St. Petersburg on which Bahrām V, recognizable by his crown, is sitting on a camel with his young mistress in tandem. The different heights of the figures shows their social classes as the king and a woman. (Christensen 1936: 271). In *Ghorar al-siyar*, there is evidence that Bahrām Gōr invented this way of hunting: "one day

he [Bahrām Gōr] decided to experience all pleasures such as hunting, wine, minstrelsy, and concubines simultaneously. Therefore, he mounted the best female camel and placed his minstrel Āzādvar in tandem. They left for hunting carrying a wine goatskin and a golden cup" (S̲a'ālebi 1372: 313).

The event I will focus on occurred on one of these hunting occasions. Whether or not it actually took place is not the main issue. The important conclusion we can draw is that this account was regarded as important enough and of such high educational value that it was recorded in several historiographic works. Furthermore, as Nöldeke (1879: 90) also points out, this story reveals a picture of an ideal Iranian hero-king, who killed his beloved mistress without any discomfort of conscience because she had not approved of his shooting skills.

The event can be summarized as follows:

One day Bahrām Gōr, accompanied by one of his mistresses, sat on a camel and went hunting while his mistress, probably named Āzādvar, sat with him in tandem. The mistress asked the king coquettishly to change a male gazelle into a female, and a female one into a male, using his arrows. Then the king shot two arrows at the female gazelle so that the arrows penetrated her head like two antlers; and then he shot a two-headed arrow striking the antlers of a male gazelle, so that both of the antlers were detached from the head. The maker of the cup has engraved this arrow in a particular way, as a crescent. (Christensen 1936: 271–272)

Yarshater (1983: 381–382) narrates the event in another way:

> In another instance, dared by a female companion, he proposed to "sew" together the ear and foot of a deer with an arrow. First, he shot an arrow, which barely touched the deer's ear. When the deer then scratched its ear, he left fly another arrow, which "sewed" its foot and ear together.

None of these two sources mentions how the incident ended and the reason for this omission is unknown. Ferdousi, in his *Shāhnāme*, which is apparently well known for its originality and the authenticity of its textual sources, narrates the event and its aftermath (Ferdousi 1363: 255–56) similarly to Moqaddasi (1381: 516), but with different interpretations. According to Moqaddasi's version, after his successful performance, Bahrām threw the girl off the horse. "You examined me hard, and you intended to divulge my weakness" said Bahrām. Then he killed her. The same narrative was recorded by S̲a'ālebi (1372: 313), but its end differs from the previous narration:

> Having finished such an ostentatious feat of archery, he [Bahrām Gōr] dropped the girl under the camel's legs in wrath. "You wished to mortify me with your excessive wants," cried Bahrām, muttering imprecations. The girl was squashed beneath the camel's legs, and her recovery was very slow, while some narrations claim that she died in that cruel way.

The anonymous author of *Tajāreb al-Omam* (1373: 222–223) does not mention the innocent girl's death, although he splits the story into two parts:

There was a very dear mistress of Bahrām Gōr whose name was Āzādvar. Bahrām took her hunting, and she practised minstrelsy en route while sitting on Bahrām's horse in tandem. One day, Bahrām, accompanied by Āzādvar, came across a gazelle. "Where do you wish my arrow strike on its body?" asked the king. "I wish you to couple its head to its leg," said Āzādvar. Bahrām drew his bow and struck the gazelle's forehead. Another arrow coupled its leg and head while the gazelle was scratching its forehead. Then he threw the girl off the horse wrathfully, although he loved her very much, because the king would have been humiliated if he had failed to fulfil what she wanted.

Once again, he and a concubine went hunting. A male and a female antelope appeared. "How would you like me to shoot? Where should the arrow strike?", he asked the concubine, "I will be pleased if you change the male into a female and vice versa," she replied. So Bahrām shot two arrows at the female antelope's forehead and it appeared like a male. Then he aimed at the male antelope's antlers and shot two arrows, so that both of them came off. Sending back the concubine to the palace immediately, he swore never to go hunting accompanied by women again.

Most of the sources referred to recount that the great Sasanian monarch brutally killed an innocent girl, who was his mistress and had spent much time with him, by throwing her under the camel's legs, merely on account of a demand which the king himself had persuaded the girl to make.

It must be assumed that such events indeed took place in the Sasanian period, and not only did they not subvert the High monarchy, but they also testified in a positive way to His Majesty's severity and harshness. The preservation of such narratives of cruel scenes, whether done by the Sasanian historians or the narrators of the Islamic period, was evidence of the monarch's severity, and served to intimidate those who were either his adversaries or disobedient to him. So, according to the truism of history and historiography of the Sasanian period, this event ought to have been expunged from history if it had detracted from the king's reputation – not just Bahrām Gōr's reputation, but rather the reputation of the monarchy. Such deletions have taken place in a range of historical records, like, for example, the records about Yazdgird I and his elder son, Shāpur. Bahrām Gōr's father, Yazdgird I aroused the dissatisfaction of the priests and elites, and they, in spite of being aware of the atrocity of regicide in Iranian culture, murdered him in a remote part of Khurasan, attributing his death to his horse. There was also a total silence in historiography about the alleged murder of his elder son. He was, furthermore, called "the Wicked" while non-Iranian sources present him as a benefactor.

It is also interesting to note the testimonies about reactions to Bahrām Gōr's murder of Āzādvar. S̱aʿālebi records that when Mundhir, the king of Hira, where Bahām Gōr had been raised, was informed about the event, he prayed for God's blessings upon Bahrām and protection from all harm. He also commanded the royal painters to draw Bahrām, the minstrel girl, the female camel, the antelope, and the way the event had occurred on the wall of the feast hall of Khawarnaq Palace (1372: 313–14). This shows that the king's act was approved of.

Now I wish to focus on four authors who have mentioned this event in their books. First, we should know the intention of their literary works. Doubtlessly, these

authors were either Sho'ubi,[3] or influenced by Sho'ubi thought; and their intention in writing their books was first of all to preserve the Iranian culture and history, which were gradually being forgotten, along with rekindling the Iranians' injured nationalism, and secondly, to remind the Arabs of the history of Iranian culture and civilization. The Arabs called the Iranians "Ajam", meaning non-Arabs, and they were proud of their new religion Islam, but ashamed of the custom of entombing their daughters alive. Obviously, these authors reacted to Bahrām's killing of his mistress, since it would put a blemish on the Iranians to show that they had also committed such cruelties to women as the Arabs were known to have done.

Among these authors, S̲a'ālebi only ambiguously refers to the death of the mistress. According to this account, Bahrām dropped the girl under the camel's legs and cried "You wished to mortify me with your excessive wants," muttering imprecations. The girl was squashed beneath the camel's legs, and her recovery was very slow. S̲a'ālebi also note that some narrations claim that she died in that cruel way (1372: 313).

The unknown author of *Tajāreb al-Omam*, probably assisted by 'Abdollāh Ebn-e Moqaffa', as supposed by the editors (1373: 12), has divided the story of the event into two parts in both of which Bahrām is successful, but there is no mention of any killing of the mistress, perhaps because of the Sho'ubi influence in this work. However, in one of the parts, the scene where the girl is thrown off the camel by Bahrām is mentioned, and at the end of both stories Bahrām decides never again to go hunting accompanied by women. It is also written that Bahrām was irritated by the mistress's strange request (1373: 322–323). Since the narrations and events in *Tajāreb al-Omam* are the same as in the other three sources, even in their details, it is unlikely that their ends would differ considerably. Therefore, the sole conclusion to be drawn is that the ending, i.e., the murder of the mistress, has been distorted or even deleted. The author's intention could have been to give a more favourable picture of pre-Islamic Iranian culture.

In his *Āfarinesh va Tārikh,* Moqaddasi respects the authenticity of the event and mentions the murder at the end of the story. However, he somehow tries to justify Bahrām's cruelty by writing "I swear by God that this event is impossible, unless it were a mere accident" (1381: 516).

But how does the highly esteemed poet, Ferdousi, whose nationalism and authenticity have never been questioned, and both of which he has proved, react to this event? He was sure that the story would pave the way for Turkish and Arab mistreatment of Iranians. On the other hand, deleting the story was not congruent with his integrity. He was more attentive than Moqaddasi who first told the story, but at the end swore that it must have been fictitious or accidental. It was obvious to Ferdousi that Bahrām had slain this innocent girl heinously, since he himself had urged the girl to dare him in hunting. In order to justify Bahrām, Ferdousi tried to attribute an insulting behaviour to the girl, to show that this caused her death, not the strange request. So, he describes how, having fulfilled the girl's demand triumphantly, Bahrām asked her:

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[3] For more information on the Sho'ubiye movement, see Momtaḥen (1385).

Oh moon-face, how was it?
Āzāde poured out a brook of tears.
She answered the king: this is not boldness
You are not a man, you are a madman.
(*Shāhnāme*, vol. 5, 256).

So, Bahrām's reaction to such contempt would appear reasonable.

From the horse smote her Bahrām's hand
Pushed down was she, fell over the land.
He passed the camel on the beauty's body,
Weltered her chest, her hand, harp bloody…
Beneath the camel's legs she was slain,
With no lass he went hunting again.
(*Shāhnāme*, vol. 5, 256).

The mistress first intended to mortify the king by demanding such a strange thing, but Bahrām understood her intention:

If I failed to please thy request / would in shame my character rest
(*Shāhnāme*, vol. 5, 256).

When the mistress observed his success, she thus, according to Ferdousi, began insulting and reproaching him. As a result of such imprudent behaviour, she deserved death, i.e., what she received by Bahrām's hand.

Conclusions

The issue under discussion is not whether the event described above actually happened or not. The important point is that this story has been recorded as an honourable act of Bahrām Gōr's. We can thus conclude that what Bahrām Gōr did to Āzādvar was not only culturally acceptable but also laudable. This story, as well as other accounts of mistreatment of women in the Sasanid era, indicates the low value of women and the oppression they faced in pre-Islamic Iran.

In fact, this picture was so ugly that writers in early Islamic times, such as Ferdousi and Moqaddasi, felt it impossible to retell the story without adding some justification and interpretation of this evil act, in order to save face for the Iranians in the eyes of the Arabs. Moqaddasi, as Shafi'i argues, is the first person who interpreted the transcendental myths in the age of reason (in Bahār 1381: 373). Ferdousi actually frequently interpreted the stories he re-told, and writes in justification:

Do not assume it is a lie or a legend
The world's way is not the same to the end.
From it, what is of the reason, thou gain,
Secret and symbol art what remain.
(*Shāhnāme*, vol. 3, 136)

Ferdousi thus persuades the reader to interpret the story. Focusing on the reason for Ferdousi's and Moqaddasi's particular interpretations and justifications is in itself an interesting study. This subject has, to a certain degree, been dealt with in a sep-

arate article in Persian (see Ḥasanābādi 1386 where Moqaddasi is discussed), but more remains to be done in this area.

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Aufreizende Verbote: Uşaklıgils *Aşk-ı Memnu* als Schlüssel zur ‚orientalischen' Liebe

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Abstract

This article is an analysis of the novel *Aşk-ı Memnu* "Forbidden Love" (1900) by the Turkish writer Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil (1866–1945). It focuses on the interaction of eroticism and social rules in an Islamic society subject to strong Western influence. In particular, the veiling of women (*tesettür*) is shown to have a number of functions in addition to the moral role usually ascribed to it by some conservative Muslims. Other subjects are the psychology of patriarchy and female homosexuality. Quoting extensively from the novel, the contribution contextualizes Uşaklıgil's literary work within both traditional Islamic and Westernized Ottoman cultures.

Keywords: Istanbul, Ottoman literature, fin de siècle, eroticism, patriarchy, Islam, veiling, lesbian love.

0. Einführung

Die osmanische Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts wird immer noch stiefmütterlich behandelt, obwohl es gewisse Anzeichen gibt, daß sich dies ändert.[1,2] Die Gründe für das lang währende Desinteresse sind nicht nur in der Marginalisierung literaturwissenschaftlicher Themen innerhalb der Turkologie und Osmanistik zugunsten linguistischer und historischer Fragestellungen zu suchen, sondern auch in der Weitergabe und dem Fortwirken des Dégouts der republikanischen Türkei für alles Osmanische, insbesondere für dessen angeblich dekadente und ‚volksferne' Literatur. Unverdientermaßen ist die osmanische Literatur der Endphase auch kaum in den Genuß aktueller Wiederbelebungsversuche gekommen, da sich diese unter dem Einfluß namentlich konservativ-islamistischer Kreise seit ungefähr zwei Dezennien stark auf die als glorreich empfundene klassische Phase der osmanischen Herrschaft bis ungefähr zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts konzentrieren.[3]

Die literarische Entwicklung der spätosmanischen Periode wurde maßgeblich von Verwestlichungstendenzen geprägt. Die Öffnung gegenüber den fortschrittlichen Entwicklungen des Westens auf technischem, militärischem, administrativ-juristischem, kulturellem und damit auch literarischem Gebiet war von den osmanischen Herrschern bereits seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts als Reaktion auf den zuneh-

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[1] Zur Umschrift: Osmanische Textzitate werden in der wissenschaftlichen Umschrift nach Richard F. Kreutel wiedergegeben; siehe Kreutel 1965: XIV–XX. Für das moderne Türkische wird die offizielle Standardorthographie benutzt. Zur Klarstellung für den nichtturkologischen Leser wird nötigenfalls jeweils durch ein Kürzel (osm. oder ttü.) angegeben, um welche der beiden Sprachen es sich handelt. Klassisch-arabische Zitate werden nach den Umschriftregeln von Hans Wehr (1985) zitiert, wobei jedoch unter Vereinheitlichung im Hinblick auf das Kreutel-System für Wehrs *q* das Symbol *ḳ* geschrieben wird.

[2] Etwa durch die jüngst erschienene Übersetzung des unten besprochenen Romans von H. Z. Uşaklıgil: Usakligil 2007.

[3] Siehe dazu eingehend Furrer 2005.

menden Verfall des Reiches eingeleitet worden. Mit dem „Großherrlichen Dekret von Gülhane" (osm. *Gülḫāne Ḫaṭṭ-ï Hümāyūnu*) von 1839 leitete der reformfreudige Sultan ʿAbdülmeǧīd I. den Höhepunkt dieser Entwicklung ein. Die dadurch eingeläutete Ära der „dem Wohle zuträglichen Umordnungen" (osm. *Tanẓīmāt-ï Ḫayrīye*), kurz (ttü.) *Tanzimat*-Zeit genannt, dauerte bis 1876. Ihr Höhepunkt und zugleich Abschluß war eine ephemere Phase der konstitutionellen Monarchie (1876–1878), die man als „Ersten Konstitutionalismus" (ttü. *Birinci Meşrutiyet*) bezeichnet. Mit der Auflösung des ersten osmanischen Parlaments durch ʿAbdülmeǧīds dritten Nachfolger, ʿAbdülḥamīd II., am 13. Februar 1878 kam es jedoch zu einem Bruch in der Linienführung der großen osmanischen Politik. Unter dem Eindruck des für die Pforte katastrophalen osmanisch-russischen Krieges, der die Truppen des Zaren am 8. Januar 1878 bis vor Edirne gebracht hatte und in dem nur das Eingreifen eines britischen Flottenkontingents (3. Februar) den Todesstoß seitens der Russen abwendete,[4] sowie angesichts des sich infolge dieses Krieges abzeichnenden osmanischen Staatsbankrotts schwenkte ʿAbdülḥamīd II. auf einen autokratischen Stil um. Seine Regierungszeit, die erst 1909 endete, ist daher in der türkischen Geschichtswissenschaft als Ära des „Despotismus" (ttü. *İstibdat*) verschrien. Für das unter seinem Namensvetter ʿAbdülḥamīd I. (1774–1789) begonnene und unter Selīm III. (1789–1808) und Maḥmūd II. (1808–1839) vorangetriebene Verwestlichungsprojekt bedeutete dies zwar keinesfalls das Ende. An die Stelle des stark europafreundlichen Klimas der Ära unter ʿAbdülmeǧīd und seinem Nachfolger ʿAbdülʿazīz (1861–1876) trat jedoch eine nicht mehr so eindeutig prowestliche Atmosphäre. ʿAbdülḥamīd II. selbst förderte die Entwicklung einer auf der Einheit von islamischer Religion und Herrschaft in seiner Person basierenden Ideologie. Dies schloß die Übernahme technischer Innovationen aus dem Westen nicht aus, begünstigte jedoch tendenziell die islamistischen Bewegungen. In der hamidischen Gesellschaft diskutierte man verschiedene Modelle einer osmanischen Identität, wobei Alternativen zu den Vorstellungen des Sultans aufgrund der brutalen Zensur- und Unterdrückungsmaßnahmen nur im Verborgenen oder im Exil verhandelt werden konnten. Zur maßgeblichen Oppositionsgruppe entwickelte sich dabei die bereits 1865 gegründete Geheimgesellschaft der Jungosmanen (ttü. *Genç Osmanlılar*), die im Unterschied zu ʿAbdülḥamīds islamistischen Visionen das religiöse Element zurückdrängte, und zwar zugunsten dem Westen abgeschauter konstitutionalistisch-säkularistischer Vorstellungen. In dieser Hinsicht wurden sie später von einer anderen Geheimgesellschaft, den Jungtürken (ttü. *Jöntürkler*), sowie letzten Endes auch der nationalen Emanzipationsbewegung unter der Führung Mustafa Kemals, des späteren Atatürk, beerbt.

Trotz der markanten Veränderung der politischen Verhältnisse ab 1878 und der reaktionären Prägung der *İstibdat*-Phase orientierte sich die dominierende literarische Strömung dieser Zeit nach wie vor an westlichen, insbesondere französischen, Vorbildern. Führende Vertreter dieser sogenannten „Neuen Literatur" (osm. *Edebīyāt-ï Ǧedīde*, ttü. *Edebiyat-ı Cedide*) waren Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi (1844–1913), ʿAbdülhaḳḳ Ḥāmīd (1851–1937), Nāmïḳ Kemāl (1840–1888), Šemseddīn Sāmī (1850–

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[4] Zum historischen Hintergrund vgl. Kreiser/ Neumann 2005: 339.

1904) und Reğā'īzāde Ekrem (1847–1913).[5] Šemseddīn Sāmīs 1872 in serialisierter Form ersterschienenes „Liebesleben von Talat und Fitnat" (ttü. *Taaşşuk-ı Talât ve Fitnat*) gilt als erster von einem Türken veröffentlichter Roman überhaupt.[6] In der *Edebīyāt-ï Ğedīde* vermengten sich klassisch-osmanische, westliche und reformerische Elemente.

Ausgehend von der Grundannahme, daß die *Edebīyāt-ï Ğedīde* eine Literatur des Übergangs gewesen sei, in der sowohl auf inhaltlicher als auch sprachlicher Ebene traditionell-osmanische und westliche Elemente ineinanderliefen, werden in dem folgenden Beitrag die Implikationen dieser Transformation am Beispiel des Themas Liebe und Erotik illustriert. Thematischer Ausgangs- und Schwerpunkt ist dabei das Bild des Schleiers, das neben seiner konkreten stofflichen Form in vielfältiger Weise als tragendes Sinnbild für Vorstellungen von Liebesbeziehungen in der osmanischen Kultur, aber auch als Chiffre für deren Mythisierungen verstanden wird. Die Mächtigkeit dieses für moralische Grenzen, aber auch erotische Verführung und Verklärung stehenden vieldeutigen Bildes und seiner Avataras läßt sich bis in die Gegenwart an der Bedeutung von textilen Verschleierungsmitteln in aktuellen Debatten über das Verhältnis islamischer und westlicher Kultur ablesen. Diese sind unter dem Stichwort „Kopftuchproblem" ein zentraler Bestandteil gegenwärtiger kulturkritischer Auseinandersetzungen geworden.

Die Hauptquelle der Untersuchung bildet der Roman (ttü.) *Aşk-ı Memnu* (1900) von Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil (1866–1945).[7] Diese Wahl ist zum einen dadurch legitimiert, daß dieser „erste Meister"[8] und „kraftvollster Romanschriftsteller der vorrepublikanischen türkischen Literatur"[9] als der führende Vertreter dieser Gattung innerhalb der *Edebīyāt-ï Ğedīde* gelten darf, wobei *Aşk-ı Memnu* allgemein als sein reifstes Œuvre anerkannt wird. Vor allem setzt sich der Roman jedoch in einer Dichte und Vielfalt, die in der osmanischen und türkischen Literatur nicht ihresgleichen hat, mit der Problematik des auf verschiedene Weise ‚verschleierten', „verbotenen" und „verhinderten" (letztere zwei Bedeutungen des Adjektivs *memnu*) Liebens an der Schnittstelle traditionell-orientalischer und westlicher Lebensweisen auseinander. Daher kann dieses Meisterwerk als einer der wichtigsten Romane zum Themenkomplex „Schleier" in der osmanischen Literatur überhaupt gewertet werden. Bis in die Gegenwart hat das Werk eine erstaunliche Wirkungsgeschichte entfaltet, unter anderem durch die zweimalige Verfilmung als Fernsehserie (1975 und 2008).[10]

Ergänzend und vergleichend werden jedoch auch weitere thematisch relevante erzählerische Werke aus der spätosmanischen Literatur herangezogen.

Nach einer Interpretation der im Roman *Aşk-ı Memnu* enthaltenen verschiedenen

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[5] Al'kaeva 1956: 6, 10f.

[6] Kudret 1987: 90; Finn o. J.: 9. Vgl. Al'kaeva 1956: 10.

[7] Uşaklıgil 2006 (Textgrundlage), dt. Uşakligil 2007. – Zu Leben und Werk Uşaklıgils siehe Al'kaeva 1956 (die trotz der dick aufgetragenen kommunistischen Theorie wertvolle Einsichten bietet, am Marxismus-Leninismus nicht Interessierte sollten unbedingt erst ab S. 9 zu lesen beginnen); Necatigil 1980: 393f., s.v. *Uşaklıgil, Halit Ziya*; Önertoy 1999.

[8] *İlk usta* (Finn o. J.: 123).

[9] *Cumhuriyet'ten önceki Türk edebiyatının en kuvvetli romancısı* (Necatigil 1980: 394).

[10] Siehe Kaygusuz 2008.

Ausdeutungen des Spannungsverhältnisses von Verbot und Liebe, für das der ‚Schleier' symbolisch steht, werden die Ergebnisse im Schlußkapitel (7.) zusammengefaßt und kurz in einem weiteren kulturgeschichtlichen Rahmen kontextualisiert.

1. Verschleierte Visionen des Orients

Verschleierung stellt eines der Grundmerkmale dar, anhand derer islamische Gesellschaften ihr Verhältnis zu Sexualität und Erotik bestimmen. Auch wenn der Schleier als Kleidungsstück, Metapher und Symbol im Verlauf der islamischen Geschichte von deren koranischen Ursprüngen bis heute vielfältigen Wandlungen unterworfen gewesen ist, spielte er zu allen Zeiten eine wichtige Rolle bei der Definition der muslimischen Einstellung zur menschlichen Sexualität, die wiederum einen zentralen Aspekt jeglicher menschlicher Gemeinschaftsbildung darstellt. An den unterschiedlichen Interpretationen, die Begriffe für den Schleier wie arab. *niḳāb* und *ḥiǧāb* und deren Übertragungen, Entsprechungen und Synonyme in anderen Islamsprachen im Laufe der Jahrhunderte erfahren haben, läßt sich das jeweils zugrundeliegende Verständnis menschlicher Liebesbeziehungen ablesen. Diese Gradmesserfunktion des Schleiers gilt infolgedessen auch für die hier untersuchte Periode des ausgehenden osmanischen 19. Jahrhunderts und seine Literatur.

Der Begriff „Schleier" stellt nicht nur eine fundamentale textile und soziale Realität in den islamisch geprägten Gesellschaften dar, sondern ist zugleich ein Kristallisationspunkt wissenschaftlicher, journalistischer und belletristischer Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Thema der Liebe im Islam. In einer auf die semantischen und symbolischen Aspekte der Wechselbeziehung zwischen Erotik und Verschleierung abzielenden Analyse macht es dabei keinen Sinn, die einzelnen Kleidungsstücke, die die Funktion der Verschleierung erfüllen, in prinzipiell voneinander getrennten Kategorien zu betrachten. Die türkische Sprache kennt als Oberbegriff für alle Kleidungsstücke, welche zur religiös gebotenen Verhüllung des weiblichen Körpers in der Öffentlichkeit dienen, das Wort (ttü.) *tesettür*. In Geschäften mit der Benennung *tesettür* kann man in Istanbul beispielsweise den ganzen Körper verhüllende Tschadore, Kopftücher, Gesichtsschleier und Burkas kaufen. Selbstverständlich drückt die Wahl eines bestimmten Kleidungsstücks und damit Verschleierungsgrades eine jeweils unterschiedliche Stellungnahme zu den religiösen und sozialen Normen aus. Die jeweiligen Kleidungsstücke, ihre Farbe, Form, Qualität, ihr Material, die Art ihres Getragenwerdens usw. lassen sich in dieser Hinsicht, auch unter Berücksichtigung der Kultur- und Länderspezifizität, zwar sehr wohl klassifizieren. Eine derartige vergleichend-systematisierende ‚Schleier-Kunde' ist jedoch nicht das Ziel der nachfolgenden Ausführungen. Vielmehr geht es darin um die Interpretation prominenter Schleier-Verwendungen in der türkischen Literatur und der türkischen Öffentlichkeit. Ziel ist hier nicht ethnographische Vollständigkeit, sondern die Freilegung der religiösen, sozialen und sonstigen Motive, welche die Verwendung von unter den Oberbegriff *tesettür* fallenden Kleidungsstücken bestimmen, und das Inbeziehungsetzen dieser Motive zu den untersuchten Texten.

Die bereits angedeutete Möglichkeit, potentiell stufenlose Übergänge zwischen den einzelnen Schleier- und Kopftuchvarianten zu realisieren, eröffnet den islamischen Frauen eine Vielzahl von Spielarten der Ambivalenz zwischen dem religiös Korrekten und Koketten, zwischen dem Frommen und Freisinnigen. Diese These läßt sich bei jedem Spaziergang am Ufer Üsküdars wie in den belebten Einkaufsstraßen Kreuzbergs oder Neuköllns direkt verifizieren. Selbst sich in pechschwarzen Tschadoren bewegende mutmaßliche Frauen können, scheinbar im Kontrast zu der mit diesen Kleidungsstücken üblicherweise assoziierten Vorstellung von religiöser Sittenstrenge, durch einen eng am Körper liegenden Zuschnitt, die Wahl eines glänzenden, hochwertigen Stoffes, durch das Tragen teurer Schuhe, die Verwendung von durchsichtigen Strumpfhosen und andere Mittel eine beträchtliche Konzentration erotischer Signale in die Umwelt senden. Noch wesentlich größer sind die Möglichkeiten erotisierter Erscheinung bei den im Gegensatz zum Tschador nur geringe Teile des weiblichen Körpers, in der Regel nur den Kopf oder Teile davon, bedeckenden Kleidungsstücken. Die unter Türkinnen verbreiteten Kopftücher des Typs (ttü.) *türban* werden in nahezu unbegrenzten Farbvariationen getragen, und durch das mehr oder weniger enge Binden läßt sich die Form der darunterliegenden Haarpracht je nach Wunsch relativ konkret andeuten und erotisieren. Diese Form der religiös konnotierten Kopfbedeckung läßt ferner die ganze Palette der Erhöhung weiblicher Anziehungskraft vom Make-up bis hin zum Schmuck und dem Rest der Kleidung unangetastet.

Obwohl also der Umfang der Bedeckung noch nicht genau festlegen muß, wo auf der Skala zwischen Züchtigkeit und Koketterie der jeweilige Aufzug angesiedelt ist, wird allein die Tatsache der Verwendung von *tesettür* in islamischen Gesellschaften traditionellerweise in der Regel als ein Merkmal moralischer Untadeligkeit (osm. ʿ*iffet*, türk. *iffet*) der Frau verstanden, die sich direkt in soziales Prestige übersetzt. Über eine Frau zu sagen, daß sie „verschleiert" (osm. *mestūre*) sei, war in frühosmanischen Texten gleichbedeutend mit einem Kompliment für ihren sittlichen Lebenswandel. Der Begriff „Verschleiertheit" (osm. *mestūrelik*) bezeichnete diese Eigenschaft sogar unabhängig vom tatsächlichen Tragen eines Schleiers. Ein konkretes Beispiel für diese Semantisierung des Lexems *mestūre* liefert der osmanische Historiker Nešrī (Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts) in seiner idealisierenden Beschreibung von Mal Ḫatun, der Frau des osmanischen Dynastiegründers.[11] In Folge dieser ihrer moralisch-religiösen Aufladung sind die Begriffe „Schleier" und „Kopftuch" auch außerhalb der islamischen Länder, etwa in Europa, zu Symbolträgern für islamische Moralität in aktuellen Diskussionen um die Stellung der Frau in der islamischen Kultur geworden.

Damit ist die Bandbreite der Bedeutungen von Begriffen für *tesettür* aber immer noch nicht erschöpft. In einer sich aus der europäischen Orientbegeisterung des 18. (etwa durch die Übersetzung der Erzählungen von 1001 Nacht durch Antoine Galland) und der Romantik des 19. Jahrhunderts speisenden und über von Hollywood geprägte Vorstellungen vom Orient bis heute nachwirkenden Wahrnehmung wird der orientalische Schleier zur Chiffre für das Schleierhafte, welches die Erotik des

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[11] Mehmed Neşrî 1949: 74f.

Orients angeblich umweht. Als solcher ist er zum Gegenstand der von Edward Said initiierten Polemiken um den „Orientalismus" geworden.

Zu all den genannten Bedeutungen von *tesettür*-Kleidung, die sich auf die religiöse, soziale und sexuelle Sphäre beziehen, muß noch ergänzend hinzugefügt werden, daß der Schleier (arab. *ḥiǧāb*, *ḥimār*) in der islamischen Kultur schließlich auch ein abstrakter philosophisch-theologischer Begriff ist. Denn abgesehen von der im Koran mehrfach belegten konkreten Bedeutung als Kleidungsstück steht der Begriff beispielsweise auch für die Trennung von Wissen und Unwissen sowie Himmel und Hölle.[12] Daß Theologie, Philosophie und Sexualität sich dabei in einem einzigen Begriff treffen, ist alles andere als zufällig und drückt vielmehr die wechselseitige Durchdringung dieser Bereiche aus. So haben die islamischen Mystiker im Gefolge des Ibn al-ʿArabī (1165–1240) explizit argumentiert, daß die Hingabe an eine(n) irdische(n) Geliebte(n) eine direkte Entsprechung der Hingabe an und Vereinigung mit Gott sein könne.[13] Was die genannten Semantisierungen des Wortes „Schleier", gleich ob religiös oder philosophisch, verbindet, ist die Vorstellung von einer notwendigerweise zugleich trennenden und verbindenden Grenze, deren Überschreiten durch das Lüften zwar einerseits ohne weiteres und mit Leichtigkeit möglich erscheint, auf der anderen Seite jedoch mit den allerstriktesten Tabus belegt ist. Diese Grenze ist dabei eine hierarchische, da das, was als hinter dem Schleier liegend angenommen wird, immer als auf einer sozial, religiös oder philosophisch höheren Stufe stehend imaginiert wird. Der Schleier ist keine Mauer, aber ein ebenso wirkungsvolles Zeichen gesellschaftlicher und religiöser Grenzen. Seine Leichtigkeit impliziert, daß er mit einer Handbewegung abgeworfen werden *könnte*. Daß dies in den meisten Fällen jedoch tatsächlich nicht geschieht, obwohl es theoretisch möglich wäre, erhöht den Zauber und die Neugier auf das Dahinter. In dieser durch den Schleier provozierten Gier und Neugier liegt seine erotische Dialektik. Denn die durch den Schleier auf der Ebene der Optik, Sichtbarkeit und Wahrnehmbarkeit realisierte sensorische Deprivation – der in der philosophischen Verwendung eine Limitierung des menschlichen Wissens im Hinblick auf Allah entspricht – wird überkompensiert durch die von dieser Privation provozierte Phantasie. Der durch den Schleier blockierte – männliche – Blick sucht sich in der erotisch aufgeladenen sexuellen Phantastik einen Ausgleich.[14] Erst durch den Schleier wird das Objekt, unabhängig von seinen tatsächlichen Eigenschaften, nicht nur zu einem konventionellen Objekt der Begierde, sondern zu einem Gegenstand hypertrophierten, grenzenlosen Verlangens. Dies führt zu dem paradoxen Phänomen, daß die Einhaltung der Verschleierungsvorschriften und sexuelle Obsession einander nicht ausschließen müssen. In der Kunstgeschichte ist diese paradoxe Faszination an den zahlreichen Darstellungen des orientalischen Harems (arab. *ḥarīm*, türk. *harem*) ablesbar. Es ist gerade dessen Unzugänglichkeit – die Worte für Harem leiten sich von einer arabischen Wurzel ab, die unter anderem „berauben, vorenthalten" bedeutet –, welche die Maler und

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[12] Zu Schleier und *ḥiǧāb* im Koran siehe Maier 2001: 151, s.v. *Schleier*.
[13] Siehe Pala 1998: 42, s.v. *aşk*; Arkoun 1990: 119; Ritter 2003: 450–452.
[14] Vgl. zu diesem Gedankengang Gozlan 2004.

Schriftsteller Europas, insbesondere in der Periode der Romantik, zu immer neuen phantastischen Interpretationen des orientalischen Harems angeregt hat. Wenn der Begriff „Orientalismus" irgendwo angebracht ist, dann wohl im Hinblick auf diese Kunstwerke. Derselbe Schleier-Mechanismus liegt wohl auch der sogenannten ʿuḏritischen Liebe der altarabischen Literatur zugrunde, bei der es trotz in geradezu absurden Kategorien und in Form der unglaublichsten Liebesnarrationen geschilderter brennender Zuneigung zwischen den beiden Partnern (etwa Layla und Madschnun) niemals zu deren tatsächlicher Liebes-Vereinigung kommen darf.[15] Eine Vereinigung der beiden würde zwangsläufig die Gefahr der Ersetzung des über all die Verwicklungen hinweg verfolgten Phantasmas (arab. *ḫayāl*) des oder der Geliebten durch dessen oder deren Realität bergen, was mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit zu einer Desillusionierung führen müßte. In der philosophisch- theologischen Sphäre entspricht dem Schleier das orthodoxe (nicht sufische) Verbot einer allzu starken Annäherung Allahs an menschliche Kategorien (deren abgeschwächte Variante jedoch durch die Anthropomorphisierung Gottes im Koran vorgegeben ist). Der sich auch in den Kleidungsvorschriften für Frauen niederschlagende Konservatismus entspringt der Angst vor einer Szientifizierung, Profanisierung und damit Entmythisierung des schleierhaften Gottesverständnisses, dem die konservativen Eliten, wie sie intuitiv verstehen, ihre Existenzberechtigung und ihr soziales Prestige verdanken.

Die oben beschriebene gegenläufige Funktion des oriental(ist)ischen Schleiers läßt sich darin zusammenfassen, daß er ins Unermeßliche steigert, was er verbirgt. Er depriviert maßvoll und erotisiert zugleich maßlos. Aus dieser in zwei widersprüchliche Richtungen offenen Natur ergibt sich die unendliche Produktivität und ungeminderte Aktualität des Schleiers für die verschiedensten Meinungsträger. Für Moralisten ist er aufgrund seiner Rolle als Teil eines Verbot-Gebot-Systems ebensosehr ein zentrales Thema wie für die Sensualisten und Libertins, die von den durch die Verschleierung angestachelten ungezügelten Phantasievorstellungen profitieren. Auf Grund dieser vielschichtigen und -sagenden Bedeutung des Schleiers scheint es sinnvoll, ihn als Grundlage einer Annäherung an das Thema „Liebe in der türkischen Literatur" zu verwenden. Wie leicht zu zeigen sein wird, spielen die durch den Schleier metaphorisch und symbolisch ausgedrückten Restriktionen der Liebe eine bedeutende Rolle in der türkischen Literatur.

Dies ist auch im Roman „Verbotene Liebe" (ttü. *Aşk-ı Memnu*) von Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil (1866–1945) der Fall.[16] Bereits der Titel weist auf jene Verwobenheit von öffentlicher Moral und Sexualität hin, die auch durch die oben besprochenen Facetten des *tesettür* kodiert wird. Der Roman und sein Thema können somit als direkte Stellungnahme zum durch die verschiedenen Bedeutungsschichten des Schleiers abgedeckten Problemfeld verstanden werden. Wie in der Analyse des Textes weiter unten zu zeigen sein wird, kommt die traditionell-islamische Frauenverhüllung

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[15] Zur ʿuḏritischen Liebe siehe Jacobi 2004.

[16] Ausgabe: Uşaklıgil 2006. – Die Schreibweise mit Großbuchstaben (*Aşk-ı Memnu*) wird im folgenden für den Roman beziehungsweise seinen Titel verwendet, während Kleinschreibung (*aşk-ı memnu*) sich auf den *Begriff aşk-ı memnu* („verbotene Liebe" usw.) bezieht. Letzterer wird nicht immer übersetzt, insbesondere dann, wenn keine Festlegung auf eine bestimmte seiner vielfältigen Bedeutungen beabsichtigt ist.

darin auch explizit vor. Eines der Kompositionsprinzips dieses schon kurz nach seinem Ersterscheinungsjahr 1900 als großer Klassiker der osmanischen (und später türkischen) Romanliteratur erkannten Werkes besteht darin, daß das Titelthema eben nicht nur unter einem Aspekt (wie *tesettür*) oder im Lichte einer einzigen Figurenkonstellation bearbeitet, sondern in immer neuen Variationen beleuchtet wird. Denn es geht keineswegs immer um dieselbe Art von „Liebe" (ttü. *aşk*) und dieselbe Art von „Verbotenem" bzw. „Gegenstand des Verhinderns" (ttü. *memnu*), wenn den Lesern die mehr oder weniger krisenhaften Liebesgeschichten der einzelnen Romanfiguren vorgestellt werden. In dieser Vielschichtigkeit, die Traditionell-islamisches ebenso berührt wie Europäisches und die das Thema in immer neuen Blickwinkeln darstellt, muß auch eine der Ursachen für die bis heute anhaltende Nachwirkung und Popularität des Romans gesehen werden. Damit verbunden ist, daß Uşaklıgil sich des vor allem in der post-9/11-Ära so populär gewordenen Kulturmanichäismus enthält, der in gewollter Vereinfachung oder ungewollter Naivität einen mehr oder weniger monolithischen ‚Orient' dem ‚Okzident' gegenüberstellt.[17] Obwohl die Figuren von *Aşk-ı Memnu* vom Aufeinandertreffen der östlichen und westlichen Kultursphären direkt betroffen sind – man denke nur an die Rolle, die das Europäerviertel Beyoğlu als Epizentrum der Vergnügungssucht spielt[18]– ist dieses selbst kein Thema des Romans. Uşaklıgil geht es nicht um gesellschaftliche, religiöse oder philosophische Entwürfe, sondern um den Lebensweg der einzelnen Menschen.

In den folgenden Kapiteln wird der Versuch unternommen, die hauptsächlichen Interpretationen des mehrdeutigen Titels *Aşk-ı Memnu* durch den Romantext selber darzustellen.

2. Magie und Misere männlichen Begehrens: die Figur des Behlül

Die eingangs skizzierte Janusköpfigkeit des die Liebesbeziehungen in islamischen Kulturen regulierenden Verschleierungsprinzips, das Verbot und Aufreizung *zugleich* bewirkt, läßt sich an keiner Figur von *Aşk-ı Memnu* so deutlich zeigen wie an Behlül, der wichtigsten männlichen Figur des Romans. Behlül bildet zusammen mit den beiden weiblichen Protagonisten Bihter und Nihal das zentrale Figurendreieck des Romans. Vielleicht ist Behlül sogar *die* (im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes) kardinale Figur des Romans. Denn als einzige der genannten drei Figuren geht er mit *zwei* der anderen Beziehungen ein, die sich in der titelgebenden Kategorie der „verbotenen Liebe" (*aşk-ı memnu*) einordnen lassen. Da es sich in beiden Fällen um ehebrecherische Verstrickungen handelt, ist Behlül vordergründig diejenige Figur, die verbotene Liebe im Sinne der Übertretung gesellschaftlicher Moralnormen am klarsten verkörpert. Behlül ist fast über die gesamte Romanhandlung hinweg präsent und ändert dabei seine Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber den moralischen Restriktionen der Sexualität nicht ein bißchen.

Die Schauplätze, auf denen sich Behlül solcher verbotener, ehebrecherischer Lie-

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[17] Zu diesem Problemkreis vgl. Heß 2007, Heß 2007a und Heß 2008 (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der modernen türkischen Literatur).
[18] Siehe unten Fußnoten 19 und 20.

besbeziehungen befleißigt, sind die Verbindungen zwischen Bihter und ihrem Gatten Adnan sowie zwischen Bihters Schwester Peyker und deren Mann Nihat. Im zweiten Teil des Romans kommt Behlüls nimmersattes sexuelles Interesse auch noch bei seiner jugendlichen Cousine Nihal zum Tragen. In allen drei Fällen begegnet Behlül dem Leser als skrupelloser donjuanesker Verführer, dem der illegale, ehebrecherische Charakter seines Tuns kein Hinderungsgrund ist. Im Falle seiner Cousine macht er sogar die eigene Verwandschaft zum Opfer seiner Lüsternheit. Hierzu muß man jedoch einschränkend festhalten, daß ein sexuelles Verhältnis zur eigenen Cousine in der islamischen Kultur nicht unbedingt als inzestuös gilt. Im Gegenteil wird die Cousinenehe sogar bisweilen als eine bevorzugte Form der Ehe angesehen. Daher muß die von Behlül angestrebte sexuelle Beziehung zu seiner Cousine nicht unbedingt als ein Tabubruch gewertet werden.

Der sexuell zügellose Charakter Behlüls beschränkt sich jedoch nicht auf die genannten Personen, die allesamt seinem Verwandten- und näheren Bekanntenkreis angehören. Sein rastloser Liebesappetit agiert sich vielmehr im Verlaufe des Romans auch in seinen regelmäßigen Besuchen im Europäer-Stadtteil Beyoğlu aus. Dieser war seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts Dreh- und Angelpunkt einer freizügigen, von europäischen Mustern beeinflußten Auffassung von Sexualität.[19] Im osmanischen Mittelalter, das durch die Neuerungen der Tanẓīmāt-Zeit erst langsam zu Ende zu gehen begann, durften sich zumindest muslimische Frauen nur unter Einschränkungen und verschleiert in der Öffentlichkeit zeigen. In Beyoğlu ergab sich jedoch für muslimische Männer die Möglichkeit, ohne große Umstände und vor allen Dingen unbehindert durch die Restriktionen der traditionellen osmanisch-islamischen Gesellschaftskonventionen fremde Frauen kennenzulernen, und zwar nicht nur, wie im Mittelalter, unter Wahrung absoluter Diskretion. Die sexuelle Revolutionierung der osmanischen Gesellschaft, die eine Folge der Öffnung nach Europa hin war, wird in *Aşk-ı Memnu* in Form von Musik- und Tanztheatern wie dem *Concordia* präsent gemacht. Letzteres ist der am häufigsten von Behlül aufgesuchte Vergügungstempel Beyoğlus.[20] Die im *Concordia* auftretende Tänzerin Kette, die Behlül mit geradezu manischer Besessenheit sexuell zu erobern trachtet, personifiziert im Roman die Anziehungskraft der neuen, nach westlichem Modell organisierten Geschlechterinteraktion.[21] Ihr Name ist möglicherweise ein klangliches Wortspiel mit dem französischen Wort *coquette*, was neben ihrem Tänzerinnenberuf und ihrem Auftreten ein weiterer Hinweis auf ihren leichtlebigen, verführerischen Charakter wäre. Bezeichnenderweise werden in *Aşk-ı Memnu* jedoch weder Kette noch Beyoğlu als per se lasterhaft, verderblich und anrüchig portraitiert – es fehlen entsprechende moralisch negative Bewertungen sowohl durch den auktorialen Erzähler als auch durch einzelne Figuren. Das Alte wird nicht verherrlicht und das Neue nicht verdammt. Durch sein lebhaftes Treiben sowohl in der Welt der osmanisch-islamischen Großbourgeoisie als auch in Beyoğlu steht Behlül für einen Prozeß des harmonischen Wandels in den sexuellen Beziehungen. Er vermag es, beide Welten auf seine – zugegebener-

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[19] Uşaklıgil 2006: 111; vgl. Ze'evi 2006: 164.
[20] Siehe z. B. Uşaklıgil 2006: 350.
[21] Siehe Uşaklıgil 2006: 350.

maßen ebenso scham- wie zügellose – Weise miteinander zu verbinden, ohne daß der Leser den Eindruck gewinnt, es handele sich um klar voneinander abgetrennte Bereiche. Behlül schafft es, Westliches zwanglos in das Östliche zu integrieren, wobei die im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes treibende Kraft seine nie versagende Potenz ist, die in fast schon Freudscher Manier wie eine nicht hinterfragbare Urgewalt sein ganzes Handeln determiniert. Eine direkte Beeinflussung durch Sigmund Freuds Sexualtheorien kann dabei jedoch ausgeschlossen werden, da *Aşk-ı Memnu* im Jahre 1900, also fünf Jahre vor Freuds bahnbrechenden *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie,* erschien. Schon die Namen von Behlüls flüchtigen Liebschaften deuten den Anbruch einer von Offenheit gegenüber der von der neuen, westlichen Kultur geprägten sexuellen Ära an. Unter ihnen finden sich Damen mit osmanischen Namen wie İkbal ebenso wie eine an ihrem Namen als frankophon erkennbare Şarlot (< Charlotte).[22]

Das in einer historischen Perspektive Interessante an Uşaklıgils Darstellung der west-östlichen Liebesabenteuer Behlüls ist seine Freiheit vom später dominant werdenden, anti-europäischen, anti-,orientalistischen' (im Sinne von Said 1978) und islamistischen Stereotyp, das aus der Sicht des islamischen Orients die Begegnung mit dem Westen als eine Ursache des eigenen Werteverfalls erkennen möchte. Hierbei spielt die Bewunderung Uşaklıgils für die europäische Kultur, insbesondere Literatur, ebenso eine Rolle wie das differenzierte Verhältnis des hamidischen Reiches zu Europa.[23] Dieses implizierte zwar die Suche nach einer Neudefinition der osmanischen Identität auf der Basis einer Verschmelzung von Islam und modernen Ideen der Nationalstaatlichkeit, artikulierte aber im Hinblick auf die wirtschaftliche, technische und militärische Überlegenheit der Europäer keine radikale Form der Ablehnung. Eine entscheidende Radikalisierung der Kritik an Europa fand dann erst ab der jungtürkischen Revolution von 1908 statt und findet ihren Ausdruck beispielsweise in den Schriften des Dichters Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873–1936).

Obwohl die Figur Behlüls somit einerseits für ungezügelte männliche Triebhaftigkeit und deren fatale Folgen für das soziale und private Beziehungsgeflecht steht, erschöpft sich sein Charakter anderseits nicht in der oberflächlichen Gier nach Sex und der permanenten Vergnügungssucht. Tatsächlich ist er sich sehr wohl bewußt, daß dieses unstete hedonistische Leben ihn nicht wirklich zufriedenstellen kann. Er sieht ein, daß die „Vergnügungen", denen er sich hingibt, in Wahrheit das Gegenteil von dem sind, was sie nach außen hin auf den ersten Blick scheinen mögen. Er reflektiert diese Einsicht folgendermaßen:

> „Das Leben war für ihn ein langgezogenes Vergnügen. Er betrachtete diejenigen, die in der Lage waren, das meiste Vergnügen zu haben, als diejenigen, welche am ehesten einen berechtigten Anspruch auf das Leben besaßen.
>
> Vergnügen haben… Auch die Bedeutung dieses Wortes hatte bei Behlül eine Veränderung erlebt. In Wirklichkeit hatte er an überhaupt gar nichts Vergnügen. Er rannte immer zu sämtlichen Vergnügungsorten, suchte nach allem, worüber sich lachen ließ, und wahrscheinlich lachte er von allen am meisten. Aber: hatte er Vergnügen? Er *sah* so *aus,*

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[22] Uşaklıgil 2006: 250.
[23] Vgl. Önertoy 1999: 1–9.

als ob er Vergnügen habe, für ihn war Vergnügen zu haben gleichbedeutend mit so auszusehen, als ob man Vergnügen habe."[24]

Diese ernste, die Doppelsemantisierung des lateinischen *gaudium* als innere und oberflächliche Lust, wie sie etwa in Sentenzen aus Senecas *Briefen an Lucilius über Ethik* vorkommt,[25] in Erinnerung rufende Erkenntnis scheint Behlüls rücksichtsloses Schürzenjägertum einzuschränken. Die Bedeutung dieser Einsicht darf jedoch nicht überbewertet werden, da sie in *Aşk-ı Memnu* vor allem ein erzählerisches Mittel ist. Diese reumütige Szene ist nämlich die unabdingbare Voraussetzung dafür, daß Behlüls Liebesschwüre an Nihal glaubwürdig werden. Die den Schlußteil des Romans beherrschende Liebesaffäre Behlüls mit seiner Cousine würde weniger ernsthaft wirken, wenn der Leser Behlül nicht das Potential zur Bekehrung vom Schürzenjäger zum ‚wahren' Liebhaber zutrauen dürfte. Tatsächlich ändert sich aber selbst nach der oben zitierten Selbstreflexion überhaupt nichts an Behlüls Charakter.

Immerhin führt diese Reflexion eine neue Interpretation des Begriffs *aşk-ı memnu* ein. Behlüls Liebe erscheint nämlich nicht nur als „verboten", sondern auch „verhindert", was beides zu den Bedeutungen von *memnu* gehört.[26] Uşaklıgil bringt dadurch zutage, daß selbst für einen exzessiven Liebhaber wie Behlül Grenzen des Liebeslebens nicht nur durch die konventionelle Moral vorgegeben werden, sondern auch durch die sich ab einem gewissen Punkt totlaufende Absurdität bedingungslosen Luststrebens. Neben die konventionell-moralische Interpretation von *aşk-ı memnu* tritt hier also eine philosophische Interpretation des Begriffs.

3. Das Dilemma der Frauen: Unvereinbarkeit von Liebe und sozialem Status

Ein weiterer Grund für das Scheitern beziehungsweise „Verhindert"werden von Liebesverhältnissen in *Aşk-ı Memnu* liegt in sozialen Gegensätzen. Um die Art und Weise zu verstehen, wie der soziale Status der Figuren und deren Liebeserfahrungen einander bedingen, ist es notwendig, sich zunächst einen Überblick darüber zu verschaffen, wie Uşaklıgil den gesellschaftlichen Hintergrund der betreffenden Protagonisten allgemein darstellt.

Uşaklıgils Roman spielt in den höchsten Geld- und Bildungseliten des hamidischen Istanbul. Keines der näheren und entfernteren Mitglieder der im Mittelpunkt des Geschehens stehenden Familie Adnans leidet unter irgendwelchen materiellen Schwierigkeiten, und auch sonst spielen äußere Ereignisse negativer Art keine Rolle

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[24] *Hayat onun için uzun bir eğlence idi. En ziyade eğlenebilenlere yaşamak için en ziyade istihkak sahibi olanlar nazarıyla bakardı.*
Eğlenmek… Bu kelimenin manası da Behlül de [sic, recte: *Behlül'de] tebeddüle uğramış idi. O hakikatte hiçbir şeyden eğlenmezdi. Bütün eğlence yerlerine koşardı, bütün gülünecek şeyleri arardı, ihtimal herkesten ziyade gülerdi; fakat eğlenir miydi? Eğleniyor görünürdü, onun için eğlenmek, eğleniyor görünmek demekti. (Uşaklıgil 2006: 111f.; Hervorhebungen in der Übersetzung von M. H.).
[25] Epist. XXIII, 3ff. (Seneca 1985: 12f.).
[26] Redhouse 1987 [1890]: 1981, s.v. *memnūʿ*.

bei der Entfaltung des Dramas. Dieses entwickelt sich vielmehr ausschließlich aus den psychologischen Zuständen der Protagonisten und deren Interaktion heraus. Die feudale Ufervilla (*yalı*) in Spitzenlage am Bosporus unweit von Sarıyer, in der der Großteil des Romangeschehens stattfindet, belegt dies ebenso wie die sich darin tummelnden zahlreichen Bediensteten, das Zweithaus auf der Prinzeninsel Heybeliada, die Kutschen der Großfamilie, Nihals, noch dazu virtuoses, Klavierspiel und die verschiedentlich in den teuersten Gegenden der osmanischen Hauptstadt getätigten Luxus-Shopping-Touren. Diese geradezu märchenhafte materielle Sicherheit gerät an keiner Stelle des Textes auch nur andeutungsweise in Gefahr oder wird als potentiell endlich oder begrenzt dargestellt. Die Figuren des Romans stehen am Ende des Romans in materieller Hinsicht genauso gut da wie am Anfang. Vom Leben der weniger gut Abgesicherten, vom sozialen Sprengstoff, den die frühkapitalistischen Verhältnisse des 19. Jahrhunderts auch im Osmanischen Reich bereits spürbar erzeugten, und von gesellschaftlicher Ungerechtigkeit hört man in *Aşk-ı Memnu* kein Wort. Dabei hatte in Europa spätestens mit dem Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts durch Werke wie Hugos *Les Misérables* (1863 auf osmanisch als *Sefîller* erschienen[27]) auch die literarische Verarbeitung der unerträglichen gesellschaftlichen Zustände eingesetzt. Ungefähr zur gleichen Zeit wie *Aşk-ı Memnu* verfaßte Yašar Nezīhe (1880–1935) Gedichte, in denen sie ihrer Diskriminierung als Frau und aufgrund ihrer Armut kämpferischen Ausdruck verlieh.[28] Uşaklıgil dagegen schreibt noch an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert seinen Roman komplett an den Realitäten des 19. vorbei. Die Klassifikation des Werkes als „realistischer Roman" (*gerçekçi roman*) ist unter diesem Gesichtspunkt irreführend.[29]

Durch seine Beschränkung des Personen- und Handlungsinventars auf eine kleine, extrem reiche Ingroup trägt *Aşk-ı Memnu* in der türkischen Literaturgeschichte entscheidend dazu bei, daß im jungen, erst um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Genre des osmanischen, sowie später des türkischen, Romans ein Gegensatz vorgeprägt wird, dessen Nachwirkungen bis heute spürbar sind. Diesen kann man als das Gegenüber von sozial engagierter und eskapistisch-hedonistischer Literaturproduktion beschreiben. Er tritt erst in der republikanischen Literatur (ab 1923) voll zutage. In deren erster Phase orientiert sich die literarische Erzeugung zunächst an nationalen Idealen und später, moderater geworden, an gesellschaftlicher Verantwortlichkeit. Man nimmt in dieser Zeit an, daß Literatur einem nationalen beziehungsweise gesellschaftlichen Zweck dienen müsse. Dies führt unter anderem zur Blüte der sogenannten „Dorfliteratur" (*köy edebiyatı*), die sich das Ideal eines sozial engagierten Schreibens aneignet.[30] Ein markanter Gegenpol zu dieser vom kemalistischen Establishment getragenen literarischen Präferenz, die über das erste halbe Jahrhundert der modernen türkischen Literaturgeschichte hinaus bestimmend bleibt, bildet sich erst in Form der ungefähr in der Mitte der 1980er Jahre voll einsetzenden ‚postmodernen' Phase der türkischen Li-

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[27] Önertoy 1999: 16.
[28] Vgl. Tamsöz 1994: 6f.
[29] Siehe das entsprechende Statement des damaligen türkischen Kulturministers M. İstemihan Talay in Talay 1999.
[30] Siehe Heß 2007.

teratur heraus.[31] Vor allem nach dem Ende der Militärdiktatur (1980–1983) er-
wacht eine neue Generation türkischer Schriftsteller aus der geistigen Starre, in
der ein großer Teil der republikanischen, vom Ideal des sozial verantwortlichen
Schriftstellers dominierten Literatur befangen gewesen war. Unter den Vorzei-
chen einer postmodernen Ästhetisierung des Schreibens negiert oder unter-
bewertet diese Generation in ihren Werken einen Großteil der von sozialen Pro-
blemen geprägten Wirklichkeit, die auch Uşaklıgil in *Aşk-ı Memnu* schon so kon-
sequent ausgeblendet hat, und wird in dieser Hinsicht zu dessen eigentlichem Er-
ben.[32] Der kommerziell erfolgreichste und bekannteste Repräsentant dieser
postmodernen Neuorientierung unter eskapistisch-großbürgerlichen Vorzeichen
ist Orhan Pamuk (*1952).[33] Im übrigen liegt auch in der von Pamuk in seinen
Werken vorgetragenen harmonisierenden Interpretation der Begegnung von Ost
und West eine Parallele zum Schaffen Uşaklıgils.[34]

Obwohl *Aşk-ı Memnu* die allgemeine soziale und wirtschaftliche Misere des un-
tergehenden Osmanischen Reiches nicht thematisiert, spielen soziale Unterschiede
darin dennoch eine Rolle. Die in *Aşk-ı Memnu* dargestellten Sozialstrukturen kön-
nen dabei als charakteristisch für die Oberschicht der vormodernen osmanischen
Gesellschaft angesehen werden. Konkret geht es um an die traditionelle Großfamilie
gebundene Formen des sozialen Auf- und Abstieges. Illustriert werden diese am
Beispiel der Familie von Firdevs, die als Mutter der beiden Schwestern Bihter und
Peyker eine weitere Hauptfigur des Romans ist. Firdevs und ihre Vorfahren werden
kollektiv mit dem nicht gerade schmeichelhaften Epithet „Melihs Truppe" (*Melih
Bey takımı*) vorgestellt.[35] Bei besagtem Melih handelt es sich um einen zu Firdevs'
Vorfahren zählenden Emporkömmling, der es trotz „zweifelhafter" (*meşkuk*) und
„obskurer" (*müphem*) Ursprünge bis in das „vornehme Leben" (*kibar hayat*) Istan-
buls schafft. Am Ende seines bemerkenswerten Aufstiegs kann er sogar ein pracht-
volles *yalı* auf der asiatischen Seite des Bosporus sein eigen nennen.[36] Dieses *yalı* ist
das definitive Gütesiegel dafür, daß Melih am Ende seines Weges nach oben jene
oberste soziale Schicht erreicht hat, auf der auch Adnan und seine Familie stehen.
Doch dieser soziale Aufstieg Melihs wird, wie schon dessen Herkunft, umhaucht
von einem Ruch der Anstößigkeit. Der Text von *Aşk-ı Memnu* deutet diesbezüglich
an, daß Melihs *yalı* Ort ausschweifender Vergnügungen gewesen sei. Denn selbst
als ein halbes Jahrhundert später einige Figuren von *Aşk-ı Memnu* an Melihs Ufer-
villa mit dem Boot vorbeifahren, erscheinen ihnen „nachts die Wasser des Bosporus
immer noch befunkelt vom Überbleibsel des Glanzes von jenem Pomp der Berau-

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[31] Die zeitliche Festlegung der Periode der Postmodernität in der türkischen Literatur spielt für das hier
Gesagte keine Rolle. Der hier vorgeschlagene Ansatz folgt Priska Furrer (Furrer 2005), während er nach
Yıldız Ecevit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des frühen postmodernen Romanciers Oğuz Atay bis an
den Anfang der 1970er Jahre zurückzuverlegen wäre (siehe Ecevit 1996, Ecevit 2004).
[32] Zu diesen Schriftstellern im einzelnen vgl. Ecevit 1996, Ecevit 2004, Furrer 2005. Zum Gegensatz
zwischen sozial verantwortlicher und eskapistischer türkischer Literatur vgl. auch Heß 2007.
[33] Zu Pamuk vgl. Ecevit 1996, Heß 2007a, Heß 2008.
[34] Siehe Heß 2007a, Heß 2008.
[35] Uşaklıgil 2006: 21f. Das Wort *Bey* ist nicht Bestandteil des Namens, sondern eine dem Vornamen
nachgestellte respektvolle Anrede. Sie muß in der Übersetzung nicht wiedergegeben werden.
[36] Zitate aus Uşaklıgil 2006: 21f.

schung, welchen sie einstmals von dort [sc. Melihs *yalı* – M. H.] aufgefangen hatten".[37] Dadurch daß derartige Gerüchte über Melih und seine Villa insbesondere von den Istanbuler Frauen (*kadınlar*) einmütig bestätigt werden, gibt Uşaklıgil durch die Blume zu erkennen, daß diese prachtvollen Ausschweifungen im *yalı*, die ja bezeichnenderweise „nachts" stattfinden, wohl erotische Seiten gehabt haben müssen, wenn dies nicht sogar ihr hauptsächlicher Zweck gewesen ist. Das in dem Zitat vorkommende Wort *nešve* „Berauschung" muß zwar nicht zwangsläufig mit einer sexuellen oder erotischen Konnotation gelesen werden, bezeichnet aber eine ausgelassene Fröhlichkeit mit der Tendenz zum Kontrollverlust, insbesondere in Folge von Alkohol- oder Drogenkonsum.[38] Daß der Text sich in diesem Zusammenhang mit sehr schwachen und vagen Andeutungen begnügt und das Benennen genauerer Details vermeidet, darf dabei nicht als Beweis für das Fehlen sexueller Unterstellungen gewertet werden. Vielmehr charakterisiert die Vermeidung der direkten Benennung intimer Details den Stil von *Aşk-ı Memnu* durchgehend. Dieser Stil ist der Prüderie der damaligen Zeit geschuldet und fußt auf der Übernahme europäischer sexueller Deutungsmuster durch die Osmanen während des 19. Jahrhunderts.[39] Die entsprechenden Passagen dürfen somit keinesfalls dahingehend interpretiert werden, daß Melih in seinen Ausschweifungen in Wirklichkeit so unpenetrant gewesen sei wie der reine Wortlaut des Textes es besagt. Im Gegenteil lassen selbst diese dezenten Umschreibungen noch das soziale Stigma und die Spuren der Schande erkennen, die die Folge der Unanständigkeiten gewesen sein müssen, welche Melihs Aufstieg begleiteten.

Noch vorsichtiger als bei den Modalitäten des sozialen Emporkommens von Melih und den näheren Einzelheiten seines pompösen Luxuslebens ist der Text in bezug auf die Ursachen und den Verlauf seines anschließenden Absturzes. Völlig unbestimmt und metaphorisch ist diesbezüglich nur von einem „Fluß der Umwälzung" (*inkılap nehri*) die Rede.[40] Auf die von ihm selbst in den Raum gestellte Frage, wer dieser Melih Bey denn eigentlich gewesen sei, gibt der Erzähler bewußt keine klare (*sarih*) Antwort. Stattdessen verweist er auf das auf der Jetzt-Ebene des Romans immer noch stehende *yalı* und die sich darum rankenden Gerüchte als einzige konkrete und sichtbare Spur von Glanz und Elend dieser ominösen Figur.[41] Auch wenn der Text also nicht ausdrücklich feststellt, daß in Melihs Leben tatsächlich ein tiefer sozialer Fall stattgefunden habe, deutet die Verlassenheit des *yalı* bereits darauf hin. Auch der Umstand, daß die „Melih-Truppe" nur noch in Form von Legenden fortexistiert, ist ein klarer Hinweis darauf, daß die Sippe in der Zwischenzeit den sozialen Tod erlitten hat.

Nicht zuletzt ist der soziale Crash des Melih-Clans auch an der Person von Firdevs ablesbar, die als einziges seiner Mitglieder auf der Gegenwartsebene des Romans agiert. Sie hat nämlich das von diesem angesammelte soziale Stigma „durch

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[37] … *Geceleri Boğaz'ın suları bir zamanlar buradan topladıkları neşve şaşaasının hâlâ iltima bakiyesiyle füruzan* …(Uşaklıgil 2006: 22).
[38] Vgl. Redhouse 1987 [1890]: 2084, s.v. *nešve*.
[39] Vgl. Önertoy 1999: 1f.
[40] Uşaklıgil 2006: 23.
[41] Uşaklıgil 2006: 21f.

ihr in einem Ausmaß, das nie würde vergessen werden können, verbrachtes Vergnügungs-Leben" geerbt.[42] Zwar bleibt an dieser Stelle offen, ob dieses „Vergnügungs-Leben" die Zeit *vor* Melihs sozialem Abstieg oder die *danach* abdeckt, doch das an dieser Stelle von Uşakligil gewählte Wort für „Vergnügung" kennzeichnet die entsprechenden Aktivitäten von Firdevs unzweifelhaft als anrüchig und sie selbst als Angehörige einer sozial niedrig stehenden Klasse. Denn wie bereits gesehen, gehört das Wort „Vergnügung" (*eğlence*) zu den an anderen Stellen von *Aşk-ı Memnu* explizit mit sexueller Ausschweifung konnotierten Wörtern.[43]

Über das Trauma, das Firdevs durch das Bewußtsein ihre soziale Benachteiligung erleidet, kommt trotz des eingangs beschriebenen, weitestgehend von sozialen Konflikten befreiten Oberschicht-Settings des Romans nun doch eine starke soziale Dimension in das Zentrum der Handlung. Firdevs' Seele nimmt infolge der sozialen Ächtung, die sie erlitten hat, am Ende des Romans nämlich einen hexenartig-böswilligen Charakter an, der wiederum den tragischen Ausgang entscheidend mitbeeinflußt, insbesondere was die Figur Bihters anbetrifft. Schon der Kontext der oben zitierten Stelle, an der rückblickend vom „Vergnügungs-Leben" Firdevs' die Rede gewesen ist, läßt erkennen, daß ihr geminderter sozialer Status einer der Gründe für ihre tiefliegende Frustration ist.[44]

Interessanterweise rationalisiert Firdevs ihren unbefriedigenden Lebensweg als Folge ihrer eigenen *Gefühle*. Sie ist also nicht nur infolge ihres niedrigen sozialen Status eine emotional verbitterte Frau, sondern Uşakligil stellt dieses geringe soziale Ansehen in einer dialektischen Verschränkung selbst wieder als Folge von unerfüllten leidenschaftlichen Liebesgefühlen dar. Dadurch erzeugt der Autor den Eindruck, daß Liebesglück und hoher sozialer Status einander ausschließen. Wie weiter unten noch zu sehen sein wird, exerziert er diese Aussage auch an anderen weiblichen Figuren von *Aşk-ı Memnu* durch. Was Firdevs betrifft, so meditiert sie in einem Rückblick auf die erste Zeit ihrer Ehe, daß sie sich damals, als junge Frau, von ihrem Gatten „leidenschaftliche Liebe und Begehren" (*aşk ve garam*) erhofft habe, in dieser Erwartung jedoch schon bald aufs schmerzlichste enttäuscht worden sei. Denn die anfänglich noch vorhandenen Neigungen ihrer „Leidenschaft" (*sevda*) wurden in der Beziehung nicht befriedigt. In einer Analyse dieses Fehlschlags in ihrem Leben stellt sie dann die emotionale Seite der Liebesbeziehung der sozial-finanziellen gegenüber. Dabei vergleicht sie sich im Nachhinein voller Bedauern mit denjenigen Frauen, die von Anfang an ausschließlich den monetär-absichernden Aspekt der Ehe im Blick hatten, ohne auf „leidenschaftliche Liebe und Begehren" überhaupt etwas zu geben:

> „Genauer gesagt, hatte sich Firdevs in dieser Ehe getäuscht. Die Ehe brachte ihr rein gar nichts von den Dingen ein, die sie erhofft hatte, oder sie brachte ihr von alledem einen so kleinen Anteil ein, daß sie auf einmal diesem Mann gegenüber, der sie in ihren Wunschvorstellungen getäuscht hatte [sc. ihrem verstorbenen Ehemann – M. H.], Feindschaft verspürte. Diese Ehe verschaffte ihr nicht einmal den Trost, die Hoffnung eines gutgläubigen jungen Mädchens zufriedengestellt zu haben. In dieser Ehe hatte sie nicht einer einzigen

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[42] *... Unutulamayacak derecede süren eğlence hayatı* (Uşakligil 2006: 45).
[43] Siehe das längere Textzitat in Abschnitt 3.
[44] Siehe Uşakligil 2006: 44f.

Neigung ihrer jugendlichen Leidenschaft nachgehen können, und als sie nach dem Opfer ihrer sämtlichen Hoffnungen auf leidenschaftliche Liebe und Begehren sah, daß sie als Entgelt für diese Opferbereitschaft so gut wie nichts in Händen hielt, da empfand sie eine bittere Reue. Zu sich selbst sagte sie: ‚Wenn das so ist und da es ja nun so kommen mußte, warum…‘, und bei dieser Frage visualisierte sie stets die Gesichter der Frauen, die sich zu kurz gekommen fühlten, weil sie nie in der Lage sein würden, sich von ihr zu einer guten Partie verhelfen zu lassen. Und sie beendete ihren Satz mit der Frage: „Ja, warum bin ich dann nicht eine von ihnen geworden?‘ “[45]

Das einzige, was Firdevs, die in dieser Ehe die Hosen angehabt hatte,[46] für ihren Gatten empfindet, wohlgemerkt jedoch erst *nach* dessen Tod, ist „Mitleid, ja sogar eine gewisse Zuneigung“,[47] also Gefühle, die weit unter dem Siedepunkt der leidenschaftlichen Liebes-Empfindungen (*aşk ve garam*, *sevda*) liegen, von denen sie einstmals geträumt hatte. Ihre enttäuschende Ehe-Erfahrung löst in Firdevs ein tiefes Mißtrauen gegen Liebesheiraten aus und führt dazu, daß sie auf materiellen Gewinn abzielenden Zweckheiraten den Vorrang gibt. Oberster Grundsatz in den Beziehungen zwischen Mann und Frau soll es in ihren Augen fortan sein, „ein Portemonnaie zu finden“ (*bir kese bulmak*).[48] Mit dieser Haltung beurteilt sie auch die Ehen ihrer Töchter und versucht, deren beider Leben in dieser Hinsicht zu beeinflussen, wo sie es kann.

Die Erfahrung von Firdevs’ vermurkster und in dieser Hinsicht *verhinderter* (*memnu*) Leidenschaft (*aşk*) wird somit die Grundlage für ihre Beurteilung und Bewertung der weiteren Liebesbeziehungen in dem Roman, insbesondere der Ehe zwischen ihrer Tochter Bihter und Adnan. Die semantische Verbindung zwischen dem Begriff *aşk-ı memnu*, der erst im folgenden Verlauf des Romans seine volle Bedeutung erlangen wird, und der „Liebesehe“ (*aşk izdivacı*), an der Firdevs durch die Umstände gehindert wurde und die infolgedessen für sie den Charakter einer *verbotenen* oder zu verbietenden Tat erlangt, stellt Firdevs selbst in einer Bemerkung zur Ehe ihrer Tochter Peyker explizit her:

„Peykers Hochzeit war für sie ein furchtbarer Schlag gewesen. Sobald die Sache ruchbar wurde, rebellierte sie gegen die Idee ihrer Tochter, zu heiraten. Insbesondere sah sie in einer Liebeshochzeit, wie sie Peyker zu schließen gedachte, ein unverzeihliches Vergehen.“[49]

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[45] *Daha doğrusu bu izdivaçta Firdevs Hanım aldanmış idi: İzdivaç ona beklediği şeylerden hiçbirini getirmiyordu, yahut bunlardan o kadar az bir hisse getiriyordu ki birden kendisini hulyalarında aldatmış olan bu adama husumet etti. Bu izdivaç ona saf bir genç kız emelini tatmin etmiş olmak tesliyetini bile vermiyordu. O izdivacında şebabının hiçbir sevda temayülüne tebaiyet etmemiş idi, bütün aşk ve garam emellerini feda ettikten sonra bu fedâkârlığa mukabil elinde hemen bir hiç görünce acı bir nedamet duydu; kendi kendisine «O halde, mademki böyle olacaktı, niçin…» der, bu sualin arasında hep kendisine zengin bir izdivaç yaptıramayacaklarından dolayı ihmal edilen çehreleri görür. Ve «Evet, o halde ne için onlardan biri olmadı?» sualiyle cümlesini ikmal ederdi.* (Uşaklıgil 2006: 25f.)

[46] Dazu siehe folgendes Zitat aus Uşaklıgil 2006: 26: *[…] hatta denebilirdi ki bu kadın izdivaç münasebetlerinde vazifeleri değiştirmiş, kocalık sıfatını kendisine alıkoymuş idi* („ […] und man könnte sogar sagen, daß diese Frau [Firdevs – M. H.] in den ehelichen Beziehungen die Aufgaben vertauscht und die Rolle des Mannes für sich selber reserviert hatte“).

[47] *Merhamet, hatta bir muhabbet* (Uşaklıgil 2006: 28).

[48] Uşaklıgil 2006: 28.

[49] *Peyker’in izdivacı onun için müthiş bir darbe olmuş idi: Mesele çıkar çıkmaz kızının izdivaç fikrine karşı isyan etti, hususuyla Peyker’in yapmak istediği gibi bir aşk izdivacına affolunmaz bir kabahat nazarıyla bakıyordu.* (Uşaklıgil 2006: 28f.)

Mit *kabahat* (osm. *ḳabāḥat*) „Vergehen" läßt Uşaklıgil Firdevs einen terminus technicus der osmanischen Rechtssprache auf die von ihr verdammte Liebesehe (*aşk izdivacı*) applizieren. *Kabahat* weist dieselbe doppelte Anwendbarkeit in der juristischen und nicht-juristischen Sphäre auf wie *memnu* (osm. *memnū'*). Hierdurch wird die zitierte Äußerung Firdevs' als eine weitere Variaton des Themas *aşk-ı memnu* erkennbar.

Firdevs beschränkt sich aber nicht darauf, über die in ihrem eigenen Leben gemachten bitteren Erfahrungen bloß nachzudenken. Vielmehr greift sie am Ende des Romans selbst aktiv in das Eheleben ihrer Tochter Bihter ein, um als eine Art strafende Nemesis deren Leben in ähnlicher Weise zugrundezurichten, wie ihr eigenes ruiniert worden ist. Unter einem Vorwand in das *yalı* der Eheleute Bihter und Adnan gekommen, gelingt es ihr, von Bihters Ehebruch zu erfahren, den diese aus unerfüllter Sehnsucht und naiver Verstrickung in die Umgarnungen Behlüls kurz nach einer enttäuschenden Nacht mit Adnan begangen hat.[50] Vordergründig, um Bihter aus ihrem Doppelleben zu befreien, wirkt Firdevs auf Behlül ein, damit dieser Bihter heiraten solle.[51] Dies müßte zwar zwangsläufig zur Scheidung Bihters von Adnan führen, würde aber die auf Lug und Trug beruhende gegenwärtige Situation zumindest nach außen hin bereinigen. Tatsächlich geht es Firdevs aber überhaupt nicht um die Rettung ihrer Tochter aus einer schwierigen Situation, sondern sie will nur eingreifen, um deren Glück zerstören. In Firdevs brennt – wie wir inzwischen wissen, aufgrund ihrer eigenen glücklosen Vergangenheit – nämlich eine „Feindschaft gegen ihre Töchter, die nicht erlöschen konnte".[52] Zwar ist es am Ende nicht Firdevs selbst, sondern eine Nebenfigur, der abessinische Diener Beşir, der das ehebrecherische Verhältnis Behlüls und Bihters deren Ehemann Adnan verrät und damit Bihter nur noch die Alternative des Selbstmords läßt. Doch Firdevs hat mit ihren vorausgehenden Intrigen maßgeblich dazu beigetragen, ihre Tochter ins Verderben rennen zu lassen. Man kann sagen, daß der Fluch der Melih Bey-Truppe somit von Firdevs auf Bihter übertragen worden ist. Das soziale Stigma, so vage und schwer erkennbar seine Ursprünge auch gewesen sein mögen, wirkt in fataler Weise bis in die Gegenwart fort.

Der Zusammenhang zwischen Emotionalität und sozialer Stellung der Frau zeigt sich auch an der anderen Tochter Firdevs', Peyker. Letzten Endes wird das Leben aller drei Frauen von denselben unbefriedigenden Zwängen hinsichtlich der sozialen Position und des Liebeslebens geprägt. Aus der Sicht von allen dreien ist die Frage der sozialen Position nämlich von der der Heirat nicht zu trennen. Als muslimischen Osmaninnen ist es ihnen nicht möglich, sich durch eigenständige Arbeit ihre Position in der Gesellschaft zu erarbeiten, was in dem sich modernisierenden Istanbul von *Aşk-ı Memnu* immerhin schon christlich-europäischen Frauen wie Kette und Şarlo offensteht, wenn auch um den Preis eines gesellschaftlich nicht allgemein akzeptierten Berufs. Uşaklıgil stellt dabei den sozialen und sexuellen Lebensweg Firdevs' den Lebenswegen ihrer beiden Töchter antagonistisch gegenüber. Während

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[50] Uşaklıgil 2006: 404f. Zu den Einzelheiten dieser Nacht siehe weiter unten.
[51] Uşaklıgil 2006: 401.
[52] *Kızlarının saadetine (öyle) sönmek bilmeyen bir husumet* (Uşaklıgil 2006: 405).

Firdevs weder ihrer bescheidenen sozialen Herkunft entkommen *noch* eine glückliche Ehe führen kann, sind sowohl Bihter als auch Peyker mit Angehörigen des osmanischen oberen Bürgertums verheiratet. Doch auch zwischen den beiden Schwestern gibt es einen klaren Gegensatz: die Beziehung Peykers zu ihrem Gatten Nihat verläuft, abgesehen von vorübergehenden Anfechtungen durch den unverbesserlichen Behlül,[53] unproblematisch und harmonisch, die Ehe ihrer Schwester Bihter mit dem großbürgerlichen Adnan gerät dagegen in eine tödliche Krise und wird zum Schauplatz der wichtigsten dramatischen Entwicklungen des Romans. Neben dem in gesonderten Handlungssträngen entfalteten Schicksal von Adnans Tochter aus erster Ehe, Nihal, und verschiedenen Verwicklungen um Behlül wird Bihter nämlich die Hauptfigur des tragischen Schlußteils von *Aşk-ı Memnu*. Nachdem ihr Gatte von ihrem ehebrecherischen Verhältnis zu Behlül erfahren hat, erschießt sie sich – die einzige Gewalttat des gesamten Buchs und schon dadurch aus dem restlichen Geschehen mit drastischer Schroffheit und Brutalität herausragend.[54]

Die Charaktere Peykers und Bihters geben kontrastierende Antworten auf die durch das Leben ihrer Mutter in den Vordergrund gerückte Frage, wie man glücklich verheiratet und sozial abgesichert sein könne. Es ist eine Alternative zwischen einem weitgehend bedürfnislosen und unauffälligen Leben, das aber der überall in der Person Behlüls lauernden Versuchung selbstgenügsam zu widerstehen vermag (Peyker), und einem von innerer Zerrissenheit und dunklen Begierden überschatteten unsteten Dasein, dessen Instabilität letzten Endes in die Katastrophe führt (Bihter).

Die Schilderungen von Bihters Innenleben, insbesondere ihre nächtlichen Träume und Phantasmagorien, gehören zu den ergreifendsten Passagen des Romans. Sie zeigen in starken Bildern die *psychologischen* Wurzeln des sozialen wie sexuellen Scheiterns, deren äußere Ursachen in den Einwirkungen Firdevs' und Behlüls liegen. Als Auslöser von Bihters innerer Unzufriedenheit erscheint dabei ein Erlebnis, aus dem sie den Schluß zieht, daß sie mit ihrem Ehemann Adnan niemals sexuelle Befriedigung finden werde: Eines Nachts wartet sie, nur mit dem Untergewand bekleidet und „mit allen Reizen ihrer Nacktheit" (*üryanisinin bütün cazibeleriyle*) ausgestattet, längere Zeit auf ihn. Doch als er dann endlich kommt, ist ihre Lust auf Liebe schlagartig wie weggewischt, denn „in dieser Minute rebellierte etwas in ihrem Körper".[55] Als eigentliche Ursache von Bihters plötzlicher Frigidität wird in dieser Schlüsselszene ihre Unfähigkeit erkennbar, Adnan aus tiefster Seele zu lieben. Sie spürt, daß eine wie auch immer geartete sexuelle Beziehung zu ihm niemals ihren „Liebeshunger" (*garam açlığı*) werde stillen können.[56] Mit dieser Angst vor fehlender sexueller Befriedigung verbindet sich die Furcht vor drastischem sozialem Abstieg, wodurch der Bogen zum äußerlichen, sozialen, Aspekt des Scheiterns geschlagen wird. Denn in Bihters eigenen Augen läuft eine Frau wie sie, die ein sexuelles Verhältnis ohne wahre Liebe unterhält, Gefahr, „eine schlechte Frau" (*kötü bir kadın*) zu werden[57] – womit in der türkischen und osmanischen Sprache Frauen ohne

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53   Siehe Uşaklıgil 2006: 175 und 194–196.
54   Siehe Uşaklıgil 2006: 503f. und 508–511.
55   *Bu dakikada vücudunda bir şey isyan etmiş* (Uşaklıgil 2006: 201).
56   Uşaklıgil 2006: 206.
57   Uşaklıgil 2006: 206.

sexuelle Ehre wie beispielsweise Prostituierte bezeichnet werden. Bihter erscheint somit nicht nur als Opfer ihrer unbefriedigten Begierde, sondern auch ihres eigenen materialistischen Kalküls, aus dem heraus sie die Ehe mit Adnan ursprünglich geschlossen hat. Die Nacht der Verweigerung hat ihr dies bewußt gemacht. Nach dieser Nacht hat sie nur noch die Wahl zwischen zwei schlechten Lösungen: entweder fehlende sexuelle Befriedigung *mit* Adnan oder sozialer Absturz *ohne* ihn. Auch ohne ihren abschließenden Selbstmord wäre Bihter also nicht dem Dilemma entkommen, an dem schon ihre Mutter verzweifelt ist. Bihter ist somit diejenige Figur, die das Scheitern ihrer Mutter fortführt: In ihrer Schwäche, sexuellen Unzufriedenheit und dem Selbstmord agiert sich das Gebrochensein ihrer Mutter aus. Firdevs, die sich von Anfang an gegen ihre Hochzeit mit Adnan gestellt hat,[58] hat somit ihr Ziel erreicht und die Ehe ihrer Tochter zerstört. Das Romanende ist ein Triumph der dunklen Kräfte der Vergangenheit über die Hoffnungen der Zukunft.

Die Entwicklung der Figuren Firdevs' und Bihters bietet Gelegenheit zu weitergehenden kulturhistorischen Betrachtungen. Hier kann die islamische, schon durch den Koran vorgegebene Interpretation der Sexualität und Ehe als eines zwar in limitiertem Sinne privaten, doch letzten Endes der allumfassenden sozialen Kontrolle mit Hilfe der durch die Religion festgeschriebenen Normen unterworfenen Geschehens ins Spiel gebracht werden.[59] Bihters Sicheinlassen auf die Stimme ihres erotischen Begehrens und ihrer Sehnsüchte (der in mittelalterlich-islamischen Diskursen die Einflüsterungen des Teufels entsprechen könnten) in der Nacht, in der sie sich der Erfüllung ihrer traditionellen Ehepflicht gegenüber Adnan entzieht, markiert einen Bruch mit der traditionellen Form der durch religiös-soziale Normen reglementierten Ehe. Firdevs, deren eigenes Glück in eben diesem traditionellen System unerfüllt blieb, tritt nun als Rächerin nach dem Prinzip auf, daß auch ihrer Tochter das versagt bleiben soll, was sie selbst nicht erreicht hat. Die Geschichte von Bihters unheilvoller Beziehung zu Behlül erzählt dann von ihrem mißlungenen Versuch, eine sexuelle Verwirklichung außerhalb der traditionellen Normen zu erreichen. Auch hier handelt es sich wieder um eine ‚verbotene Liebe' in mehr als einem Sinne: verboten ist auf der äußerlichen, formal-rechtlichen Ebene der Ehebruch, den sie begeht, doch im übertragenen Sinne stellt auch das Verhalten Firdevs' ein Verbot dar. Denn die Mutter verbietet ihrer Tochter gewissermaßen ein individuelles, von den gesellschaftlichen Normen abweichendes Ehe- und Liebesglück. Im übrigen erlebt auch die jüngste weibliche Hauptfigur von *Aşk-ı Memnu*, Nihal, ein analoges Scheitern, indem ihre Träume von einer Ehe mit Behlül in dem Augenblick zerplatzen, als sie dessen betrügerischen Charakter durchschaut. Beide Figuren, Bihter und Nihal, erblicken bereits den Horizont einer neuen, individualisierten, Auffassung von sexueller Erfüllung, die unschwer als Produkt des europäischen Einflusses erkennbar ist, scheitern aber an der immer noch, am stärksten durch die Figur der Firdevs, beherrschenden traditionellen Ordnung.

Eine weitere kulturhistorische Interpretation bietet sich bei dem in *Aşk-ı*

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[58] Uşaklıgil 2006: 52, 57.
[59] Siehe Fatima Mernissi, zitiert in Fischer-Tahir 2003: 33. – Zu den koranischen Festlegungen über die profane Liebe siehe Chebel 2003, Bd .1.: 215–217. Vgl. auch Arkoun 1990.

Memnu an der Figur der Firdevs durchexerzierten Thema des sozialen Abstiegs infolge sexuellen Fehlverhaltens mit anschließender Wiederverwendung der gemachten Erfahrung auf einer anderen – sozial niedriger stehenden – Ebene an. Dieses wird in der modernen türkischen Literatur in der Erzählung *Oyuncu Kadın* von Orhan Kemal (1914–1970) aufgegriffen.[60] Der schwer übersetzbare Titel bezeichnet eine Klasse von Frauen, deren soziales Ansehen beschädigt ist und die sich infolgedessen nolens volens als Mätressen im Hause eines Reichen aushalten lassen. Für einen derartigen Abstieg hält die türkische Sprache den Ausdruck *sokağa düşmek* „auf der Straße landen" bereit, und eine in diesem Sinne „gefallene" Frau heißt *düşkün*. Die „Straße" im wörtlichen und zugleich prekäre soziale Verhältnisse bezeichnenden Sinn ist der Schauplatz mehrerer von Kemals Werken.[61] In *Oyuncu Kadın* wird jedoch, wie im Falle von Firdevs in *Aşk-ı Memnu*, klar, daß ein solcher „Fall" nicht nur negative Aspekte hat. Denn eine der *oyuncu kadınlar* (Pl.), die in der gleichnamigen Erzählung auftritt, erzählt der Hauptfigur Nazmiye ausführlich von den Vorteilen ihres Daseins als Mätresse eines Reichen, die vor allem in der gesicherten Versorgung und im Schutz liegen. Am Ende von *Oyuncu Kadın* wird Nazmiye dann selbst zu einer *oyuncu kadın*. Bei der Übertragung dieses letzteren, überaus vielschichtigen Ausdrucks ins Deutsche muß man also einem eigentümlichen Mischungsverhältnis von sozialem Ansehensverlust und nachfolgender Arrangierung mit den Verhältnissen und somit teilweise erfolgtem sozialem Wiederaufstieg Rechnung tragen. Dem primären Wortsinn nach könnte man *oyuncu kadın* als eine „tanzende Frau" bezeichnen, da dies eine der Tätigkeiten ist, zu der sie als Mätresse verpflichtet ist. Doch das dem Wort *oyuncu* „tanzend, Tänzerin" zugrundeliegende Wort *oyun* ist überaus vielseitig semantisiert und von Kemal absichtsvoll aufgrund dieser Polysemie in den Titel aufgenommen worden. Es bezeichnet unter anderem „Theatervorstellung" und „Spiel", aber auch „List" und „Betrug".[62] Eine *oyuncu kadın* kann demzufolge in weiteren Lesarten eine Person bezeichnen, die hinter dem verführerischen Anschein des belustigenden Tanzes bedrohliche Abgründe verbirgt. Dadurch wird die *oyuncu kadın* namentlich zu einer in der materialistischen Prosa des sozialistisch-realistischen Autoren Kemal wiederbelebten Figuration der mittelalterlich-islamischen Dämonisierungen von Weiblichkeit. Das schillernde „(Vor)- spielen" und „Tanzen" mitsamt der Andeutung möglicher Hinterlistigkeit offenbart nämlich die *oyuncu kadınlar* als Trägerinnen von *fitna* (arab., osm./ türk.: *fitne*), jenem islamischen Konzept, das weibliche Verführung und die durch sie ausgelöste Verderbnis und soziale Desintegration zugleich bezeichnet.[63] Letzten Endes geht es sowohl in *Aşk-ı Memnu* als auch in *Oyuncu Kadın* um die soziale Dimension weiblicher Sexualität und die sich daraus ergebenden Probleme. Entsprechend dem materialistisch geprägten Hintergrund Kemals und der laizistisch-republikanisch geprägten Zeit, in der er schreibt, werden die psychologischen Aspekte sowie die religiös-islamischen Hintergründe dieser Proble-

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[60] Ausgabe: Kemal 1982.
[61] So etwa in Kemal 1993 [1956], Kemal 1994.
[62] Siehe Steuerwald 1988: 720, s.v. *oyun*.
[63] Zu *fitna* vgl. Fischer-Tahir 2003: 33f.

matik in seiner Erzählung stark in den Hintergrund gedrängt, während sie bei Uşaklıgil eine deutlichere Rolle spielen. Trotz dieser unterschiedlichen Gewichtungen bleibt in beiden Texten eine charakteristische Verknüpfung der weiblichen Sexualität mit gesellschaftlichen, namentlich moralischen, Kategorien erkennbar, die schon in frühen islamischen Gesellschaftsentwürfen nachweisbar ist. Das Konzept der *fitna* wirkt in beiden Texten nach als die Vorstellung von weiblicher Verführungskraft, die die bestehende soziale Ordnung bedroht.

4. Moral als Hindernis und Stimulus

Im Kapitel über die Krise des männlichen Begehrens (2.) wurde bereits dargestellt, wie moralische Normen die Voraussetzung für das „Verbotene" der „verbotenen Liebe" abgeben, die Behlül in nimmermüder Schürzenjägerei praktiziert. Dasselbe Bewußtsein von der Amoralität der Liebesbeziehung hat auch seine Sexpartnerin Bihter während ihres flüchtigen Verhältnisses. Sie erkennt in ihrer Hingabe an ihre Begierde und ihrer Abwendung vom sexuell für sie unbefriedigenden Adnan von Anbeginn an „ihre erste Liebessünde" (*ilk aşk günahı*) und eine „schmutzige Wahrheit" (*çirkin hakikat*).[64] In ihrer internen Verarbeitung dieser widersprüchlichen Erfahrung erklärt sie sich das „Schmutzige" daran mit der im vorausgehenden Abschnitt beschriebenen Wirkung ihrer Mutter Firdevs, was zwar eine Milderung ihrer eigenen moralischen Schuld bewirkt, diese aber keinesfalls aufhebt.[65]

Noch an einer weiteren Stelle in *Aşk-ı Memnu* begegnen wir dem Gegensatz zwischen Lust und Moral, und zwar erneut unter Beteiligung von Behlül. Während seiner Annäherungsversuche an Bihters Schwester Peyker bringt diese nämlich das sexualmoralische Prinzip der „Keuschheit" (*'işmet*) ins Spiel.[66] Im Unterschied zu ihrer Schwester schafft es Peyker, diesem Grundsatz treu zu bleiben und es nicht zu einem Betrug an ihrem Ehemann Nihat kommen zu lassen – und das, obwohl sie sich von den Avancen Behlüls durchaus angesprochen fühlt.[67] Moralische Bedenken bestehen auch hinsichtlich Behlüls Verführung von Nihal, der Tochter von Bihters Gatten Adnan aus dessen erster Ehe. Zumindest Behlüls Unaufrichtigkeit der unreifen Nihal gegenüber verstößt gegen moralische Gebote. Die zahlreichen amourösen Eskapaden Behlüls in Beyoğlu können dagegen nicht unbedingt als moralverletzend bezeichnet werden. Denn wie gezeigt worden ist, stellt der Roman diese ephemeren Liebschaften nicht als moralisches Problem dar. Da zumindest einige der in diesem Bereich von Behlül aufgesuchten und/oder gefundenen Damen keine muslimischen Osmaninnen sind, liegen sie gewissermaßen außerhalb der Reichweite der in *Aşk-ı Memnu* geltenden Moralvorstellungen.

Dadurch, daß Behlül im Verhältnis zu drei zentralen weiblichen Protagonisten (Bihter, Peyker, Nihal – eine Beziehung zu Firdevs wäre wohl aus Altersgründen höchstens unfreiwillig komisch gewesen) als treibende Kraft bei der versuchten oder

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[64] Uşaklıgil 2006: 255.
[65] Uşaklıgil 2006: 256.
[66] Uşaklıgil 2006: 175.
[67] Uşaklıgil 2006: 175.

vollendeten Übertretung sexualmoralischer Regularien auftritt, macht ihn Uşaklıgil zu derjenigen Figur, die dem Leser am deutlichsten die Realität der „verbotenen Liebe" im Sinne einer moralisch illegitimen Beziehung vor Augen führt. Wie wir in den vorausgehenden Kapiteln gesehen haben, ist dieser moralische Aspekt keineswegs die einzige Interpretation des vielschichtigen Themas *aşk-ı memnu*. Tatsächlich dient diese dreifache Betonung der Moralverletzung daher nicht dazu, den moralischen Aspekt zu einem Hauptgegenstand von *Aşk-ı Memnu* zu machen. Vielmehr ist die starke Fokussierung auf Behlüls Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber den moralischen Schranken ein erzählerisches Mittel, mit dem Uşaklıgil auf eine ganz andere Seite dieser sexuellen Moral aufmerksam macht, die er wiederum anhand der Figur des Behlül aufzeigt. Dieser unerwartete Aspekt des Moralsystems kann nur dadurch so stark zutage treten, daß zuvor immer wieder die Beziehung Behlüls zur konventionellen, offensichtlichen Seite des Moralsystems dargestellt worden ist, die darin besteht, mittels Regeln und Verboten das gesellschaftliche Zusammenleben von Mann und Frau zu bestimmen.

Die überraschende Wendung in der Beziehung Behlüls zu den sexualmoralischen Regeln besteht darin, daß diese etwa ab der Mitte des Romans nicht mehr nur als *Hindernisse* beim Ausleben seiner Casanova-Ader erscheinen, sondern im Gegenteil als *Stimuli*. Bezeichnenderweise tritt diese Umkehr in genau der Liebesbeziehung auf, die die moralischen Regeln am stärksten verletzt, nämlich der ehebrecherischen Beziehung zu Bihter. Indem er die stimulierende Seite der Unmoral ausgerechnet an dieser in hohem Maße moralwidrigen Affäre demonstriert, betont Uşaklıgil in kunst- und effektvoller Weise den inhärenten Widerspruch, den beide Seiten des Moralbegriffes bilden. Dabei läßt Uşaklıgil Behlül zweimal über die aufreizende Wirkung moralischer Verbote nachdenken: einmal vor und einmal nach dem Vollzug des Ehebruchs mit Bihter. Vorher betont Behlül in einer Passage, die ziemlich genau in der Mitte des Textes von *Aşk-ı Memnu* steht,[68] daß gerade das Verbotene seines Verhältnisses zu Bihter seinen skrupellosen sexuellen Jagdinstinkt erst richtig herausfordere.[69] Knappe hundert Seiten später läßt der Schriftsteller Behlül nach dem Ehebruch noch einmal ausführlich auf dieses Thema zurückkommen. Zwar betont Behlül auch hier zunächst, daß für ihn erst die „Gefahren" (*tehlikeler*) den Reiz der Liebesbeziehung zu Bihter ausmachten, womit er seinen Gedankengang von zuvor in einer anderen Formulierung wiederholt.[70] Wenig überraschend stellt er fest, daß er nun, nach dem Vollzug des Geschlechtsverkehrs mit der verheirateten Bihter, überhaupt keine Begierde mehr verspüre.[71] Während aber bisher unklar war, ob sich der Reiz des Verbotenen für Behlül aus den äußerlichen Begleitumständen der gesellschaftlichen Ächtung des Ehebruchs – also der Notwendigkeit, sich zu verstecken, zu lügen und der Abenteuerlichkeit des ganzen Verhältnisses – ergibt, wird nun unmißverständlich klar, daß dies keinesfalls nur eine Frage von Äußerlichkeiten ist. Denn nicht die Interaktion mit der Außenwelt und ihren moralischen Vorschriften erkennt Behlül nach

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[68]   S. 253 von 499 Textseiten in der Ausgabe Uşaklıgil 2006.
[69]   Uşaklıgil 2006: 253.
[70]   Uşaklıgil 2006: 344.
[71]   Uşaklıgil 2006: 344.

dem Ehebruch als das gravierendste Problem, sondern seine infolge des Vollzugs kollabierende Selbstwahrnehmung als Mann. Das Ausbleiben seiner Lust auf Bihter zerstört vor allen Dingen sein männliches Selbstbewußtsein. Der Text stellt dies ausdrücklich fest:

> „Obwohl es nicht sehr deutlich geschah, begann Behlül festzustellen, daß in den Händen dieser Frau [Bihters – M. H.] er selbst, ja, daß eigentlich er selbst anfing, *den Rang einer Frau* einzunehmen.“[72]

Die vollzogene Überschreitung der durch die Moral vorgegebenen Grenzen offenbart sich hier also nicht, wie zuvor, in ihrer Qualität als Verletzung der weiblichen Reinheit und Anständigkeit und als Affront gegenüber den gesellschaftlich akzeptierten Wertvorstellungen. Vielmehr geht der Blick nach innen. Dort sind die Folgen für Behlül noch tiefgreifender als in der äußeren, sozialen Welt. Denn sie korrodieren die Grundlage seines sexuellen Begehrens *als Mann* in einer für ihn ebenso unausweichlichen wie unerträglichen Weise.

Mit der zuletzt zitierten Stelle gelingt Uşaklıgil die plastische Offenlegung einer normalerweise geheimen Dimension der traditionell-islamischen, auf Geschlechtertrennung fußenden Sexualmoral. Diese gesellschaftlichen Verbote, die neben dem Verbot des Ehebruchs auch die räumliche Segregation und die Kleidungsvorschriften (*tesettür*) einschließen, schützen demzufolge also nicht nur vor den potentiellen Folgen ungezügelten sexuellen Begehrens (was die konservative Lesart von Sinn und Zweck derartiger Normen wäre), sondern *erzeugen* das (männliche!) Verlangen erst.[73] Die Aufrechterhaltung dieses Normensystems erscheint somit als ein Mechanismus weniger zum Schutze der weiblichen Unversehrtheit, was islam(ist)ische Diskurse bis heute nicht müde werden zu behaupten, als vielmehr zum Erhalt der Männlichkeit der Männer. Das Durchbrechen und Überschreiten der Tabugrenzen ist, so das unausweichliche Resultat von Behlüls Enttäuschung, mehr eine Attacke auf die Virilität und Maskulinität als alles andere.

Interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang, wie Behlüls Enttäuschung im einzelnen begründet wird. Es ist nämlich nicht nur Behlüls eigene aktive Rolle bei der illegalen und illegitimen Eroberung Bihters, die durch das Verletzen der Grenzen des Schicklichen die Langweiligkeit des Begehrens offenbart und dieses dadurch subvertiert. Daß Bihter als Objekt der Begierde uninteressant wird, liegt vielmehr auch an ihrem eigenen Verhalten. Der Text bezeichnet dieses als „Unterlegenheit und Nachgeben“ (*mağlubiyetle muvafakat*).[74] Es ist eine Haltung, die jede Form von Widerstand aufgegeben hat und sich vollkommen unterwirft. Eine Frau, die diese Haltung einnimmt und dadurch dem eroberungswilligen Mann keinerlei Widerstand, aber auch keinerlei Befriedigung seines Jagdtriebes bietet, zerstört dessen männlichen „Respekt“ (*muhteremiyet*).[75] Mit anderen Worten ruft die Passivität der Frau

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[72] *Behlül, pek sarih olmamakla beraber, bu kadının elinde kendisinin evet, asıl kendisinin bir kadın hükmünde kalmaya başladığını fark eder oluyordu.* (Uşaklıgil 2006: 344; Hervorhebung in der Übersetzung von M. H.)

[73] Vgl. den Titel von Ze'evi 2006.

[74] Uşaklıgil 2006: 344f.

[75] Uşaklıgil 2006: 344f.

den sozialen Tod des Mannes hervor. Behlül sieht diesen Zusammenhang glasklar, und er haßt bei Frauen das, was er leicht bekommen kann. Sein Dilemma angesichts der völligen Widerstandslosigkeit von Bihter wird im Text folgendermaßen umschrieben:

> „Behlül wurde nichts abgeschlagen, kein einziger seiner Wünsche wurde als übertrieben erachtet. Dabei war er doch darauf angewiesen, zurückgewiesen zu werden, zu betteln und darauf, daraus Lust zu gewinnen, daß das Objekt seines Wollens mit Gewalt erworben worden war.“[76]

Weiblichkeit, verstanden als bewußtes Nachgeben und Unterliegen, wird hier also als eine weitaus stärkere Attacke auf das Männliche dargestellt als offener Widerstand. Zweifelsohne schwingt hierbei erneut die klassisch-islamische Idee der weiblichen *fitna* mit.[77] Die von Uşaklıgil beschriebene psychologische Entwicklung Behlüls kann dabei als Bestätigung der von Martine Gozlan analysierten *fitna*-Theorie konservativ-islamischer Theologen des ausgehenden 20. Jahrhunderts angesehen werden. Gozlan kommt ebenfalls zu der Konklusion, daß das Wesen derartiger religiös verkleideter sexueller Tabus nicht der Schutz der Weiblichkeit, sondern vielmehr der – bei Gozlan als „pornographisch“ bezeichneten – männlichen Gier bestimmter konservativer Kreise sei.[78] Es ist die männliche Begehrensfähigkeit und somit die vermeintliche Grundlage des Mann-Seins selbst, die – zumindest aus der Sicht der konservativen islamischen Männer – durch die moralischen Gebote geschützt werden soll; selbstverständlich werden in der patriarchalischen Gesellschaftsstruktur des Islams durch diese ‚Männlichkeit‘ auch konkrete soziale und wirtschaftliche Privilegien legitimiert.

Uşaklıgil treibt das Schreckgespenst der Entmännlichung des Mannes in *Aşk-ı Memnu* schließlich noch zu einem weiteren Extrem. Er läßt Behlül nach dem Ehebruch mit Bihter nämlich nicht nur die sich daraus für Behlüls Wahrnehmung der Frauen ergebenden Konsequenzen analysieren. Vielmehr wird sich Behlül auch bewußt, daß die aus dem Verlust von *muhteremiyet* resultierende Inversion der Geschlechterrollen auch seine eigene Wahrnehmung *durch* die Frauen in einer dem konservativ-patriarchalischen Verständnis unter keinen Umständen akzeptablen Weise so verändert, daß er in der Beziehung zu Bihter nunmehr nicht den Part des Begehrenden, sondern des *Objektes der Begierde* einzunehmen hat. Nach dem klassischen patriarchalischen Rollenverständnis, das der islamischen Kultur – wie im übrigen auch der altrömischen – zugrundeliegt, ist dies gleichbedeutend mit dem Verlust jeglicher Männlichkeit und der ultimativen Form der sozialen Ächtung. Objekt der Begierde zu sein, wird gleichgesetzt mit Objekt der sexuellen Penetration zu sein, was in der patriarchalischen Welt den absoluten Gefrierpunkt der sozialen Werteskala markiert, auf dem sich Frauen und Homosexuelle befinden. Sich selbst so „in den Rang einer Frau“ (*bir kadın hükmünde*)[79] versetzt zu

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[76]   *Behlül'e hiçbir şey reddedilmiyordu, onun hiçbir arzusu fazla bulunmuyordu; halbuki reddedilmeye, yalvarmaya, istenen şeyin zor istihsal edilmiş olmasından lezzet almaya muhtaç idi.* (Uşaklıgil 2006: 345)
[77]   Siehe oben S. 20.
[78]   Siehe Gozlan 2004: 117ff.
[79]   Uşaklıgil 2006: 344; vgl. die Besprechung dieses Zitats weiter oben S. 22.

sehen, begreift Behlül dementsprechend auch als „Erniedrigung" (*zillet*), und voller Horror visualisiert er die Folgen:

> „Derjenige, der in seinem Zimmer aufgesucht wurde, der bei jedem Aufkommen eines Begehrens geholt und in Beschlag genommen wurde, das war nun er selbst."[80]

Dieses Zitat könnte ja, wäre es auf eine weibliche Person bezogen, eine konzise Definition der Rolle der Frau in traditionell-mittelalterlich geprägten islamischen Gesellschaften abgeben. Daß sie sich auf Behlül bezieht, ist Ausdruck der von ihm empfundenen Perversion der Rolle der Geschlechter. Kein Wunder, daß er zu dem Zeitpunkt, da diese Äußerung fällt, bereits im Begriff ist, sich von Bihter loszusagen. Bevor Uşaklıgil ihn dies tatsächlich tun läßt, damit sich Behlül seinem nächsten Liebesabenteuer (mit Nihal) zuwenden kann, plaziert der Autor eine weitere längere Reflexion Behlüls, in der zum ersten Mal der Titel des Romans in fast wörtlicher Form (*memnu aşk*) auftaucht.[81] Hier läßt sich *memnu aşk* mit beiden der genannten Bedeutungen lesen, die sich aus dem Verhältnis Behlüls zu Bihter ergeben. Zum einen handelt es sich also um eine gesellschaftlich, zum anderen auch um eine in einem psychologischen Sinne verbotene Liebe. Ihr Vollzug untergräbt die Grundlagen der sozialen Ordnung und zugleich die des männlichen Selbstbewußtseins:

> „Bihter hatte Behlül nicht einmal die Zeit gelassen, um seine Kunst zur Anwendung zu bringen. So verblüfft wie ein Künstler, dem auf der Bühne applaudiert worden war, ohne daß er die Zeit gefunden hatte, irgendein Kunststück zu zeigen, hatte er sich auf einmal mit Bihter in den Armen wiedergefunden. Diese Frau, die so leicht gefallen war, gab ihm ihre gesamte Liebe mit genau derselben Leichtigkeit auch weiterhin. Selbst jener kurze Anfall eines Gewissensbisses, der auf den ersten Sturz gefolgt war, kam Behlül vor wie eine halbfertige, schlecht inszenierte Komödie, über die auf einmal der Vorhang gefallen war. Seit diesem Augenblick verspürte Bihter anscheinend keine Spur mehr von der Erniedrigung und Schande dieses Liebesverhältnisses. Doch diese Erniedrigung, diese Schande spürte nun die ganze Zeit Behlül. Wie oft hatte er, während er in ihren Armen gelegen hatte, den Wunsch verspürt, sich plötzlich loszureißen und zu rufen: ‚Aber spüren Sie denn nicht, daß diese Liebe etwas Beflecktes ist!' Er verzieh sich selbst, und die Gründe, die sich einfanden, um sich selbst zu verzeihen, wurden allesamt zu Mitteln, um Bihter mehr Schuld zuzuweisen. Diese Frau, die gekommen war und ihn eingenommen hatte, setzte ihr Kommen und Einnehmen ja immer noch fort, und in ihren Händen betrachtete er sich so unschuldig wie ein schuldloses Instrument eines Verbrechens.
>
> Während er so seinen Geist mit dem Nachforschen über die Verantwortlichkeit für diese *verbotene Liebe* beschäftigt sah, gebot er der Fortsetzung seiner Selbstreflexion plötzlich Einhalt und fand einen Satz, der seine Liebe gegen seine Gedanken verteidigen sollte:
>
> ‚So sind sie eben, die Männer', sagte er, ‚sie sind niemals zufrieden. Wenn sie nicht mehr lieben wollen, dann suchen sie, nachdem sie ein Mittel gefunden haben, um die Schuld für

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[80] *Odasında gelinip aranılan, her arzu olundukça alınıp tasarruf edilen kendisiydi.* (Uşaklıgil 2006: 344)

[81] *Memnu aşk* kann nach den Regeln der osmanischen Grammatik als Synonym von *aşk-ı memnu* aufgefaßt werden. In beiden Fällen handelt es sich um ein Nominalgefüge, bei dem das Substantiv *aşk* „Liebe" das Determinatum und das Adjektiv *memnu* „verboten, verhindert" das Determinans ist. Dabei wird die grammatische Determination im Falle von *memnu aşk* nach türkischem Muster, bei *aşk-ı memnu* mit Hilfe der aus dem Persischen entlehnten İżāfe-Konstruktion ausgedrückt.

den ganzen Sturz und Überdruß den Frauen aufzuladen, auch noch Dinge, die die Ärmsten erniedrigen sollen, um diesen auch noch die Schuld dafür zu überlassen, daß sie nicht mehr lieben.' "[82]

Der sozial verwerfliche Charakter der Liebesbeziehung zwischen beiden kommt im ersten Abschnitt des Zitats klar zum Tragen, indem zweimal von der daraus resultierenden „Erniedrigung" und „Schande" die Rede ist. Parallel dazu wird ein Übergang Bihters von einer passiven in eine aktive Rolle beschrieben. Am Anfang „fällt" sie zwar mit Leichtigkeit, doch am Ende des ersten Absatzes ist sie die Aktive, die „gekommen war und ihn eingenommen hatte". Behlül, der Mann, ist dagegen nur noch ein „Instrument". Die Mißachtung der sozialen Normen wird also im selben Atemzug vollzogen wie die Pervertierung der klassischen Rollenverteilung zwischen Mann und Frau.

5. Mehrdeutige Verhüllung

Ähnlich feinsinnig wie Uşaklıgil die mögliche Invertierung der klassischen Rollenverteilung von Mann und Frau am Beispiel von Behlül und Bihter darstellt, arbeitet er auch den ambivalenten Charakter der zur Verhüllung und Verschleierung der Frauen dienenden Kleidungsstücke heraus. Das im Eingangskapitel beschriebene, für islamische Kulturen seit der Frühzeit charakteristische und durch sozialen Druck erzwungene Tragen von *tesettür* durch Frauen in der Öffentlichkeit[83] blieb für die osmanische Kultur auch nach dem Beginn der Tanẓīmāt-Ära (1839) und bis zum Ende des Reiches verbindlich, so daß es auch in *Aşk-ı Memnu* als gesellschaftliche Vorschrift vorkommt. Analog zur Beschreibung der allgemeinen sexualmoralischen Vorstellungen im Roman beschränkt sich die Rolle, welche verhüllende Kleidungsstücke darin spielen,[84] nicht auf diese äußerliche und konventionelle Funktion. Vielmehr spielen sie eine mindestens ebenso wichtige Rolle als Markierungen sexueller Entwicklungsstufen und sozialer Unterschiede. Insgesamt kann man drei

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[82] *Bihter, Behlül'e maharetini istimal için vakit bile bırakmamıştı. Kendisini, hüner sahnesinde hiçbir sanat eseri göstermeye henüz zaman bulmadan alkışlanan bir sanatkâr kadar alıklaşmış olarak, kollarında Bihter'le buluvermiş idi. O kadar kolay düşen bu kadın bütün aşkını vermekte yine o kolaylıkla devam ediyordu. İlk sukutu takip eden o kısa vicdan devresi azabı bile Behlül'ün nazarında birden perdesi düşüveren yarım kalmış, fena tertip olunmuş bir mudhike hükmünde idi; o zamandan beri Bihter bu muaşakanın züllünü, aybını hiç hissetmiyor gibiydi. Lakin o züllü, o ayıbı [sic – M. H.] şimdi Behlül duyuyordu. Kaç kereler o, kollarının arasında iken, birden silkinmek, «Lakin hissetmiyor musunuz ki bu aşk mülevves bir şeydir!» demek arzularını hissetmiş idi. Kendisini affediyordu ve kendisini affetmek için bulunan sebepler bütün Bihter için fazla bir töhmet vesilesi oluyordu. Onu gelip alan kadın hâlâ gelip almakta devam ediyordu, onun ellerinde kendisini günahsız bir cinayet aleti masumiyetiyle görüyordu.*

Böyle, bu memnu aşk*ın mesuliyetini araştırmakla zihnini meşgul görürken birden kendisini muhakemeyi takipten meneder ve düşüncelerine karşı aşkını müdafaa edecek bir cümle bulurdu:*

–İşte erkekler, derdi, asla memnun değildirler, artık sevmemek isterlerse bütün sukutun, gınanın kabahatlerini kadınlara yükletmek için çare bulduktan sonra sevmemek kabahatini de onlara bırakmak için biçareleri tezlil edecek şeyler ararlar. (Uşaklıgil 2006: 348f.; die Anmerkungen des Herausgebers wurden weggelassen; Hervorhebung von M. H.)

[83] Zu diesem Aspekt der Verschleierung im Islam vgl. Heller/ Mosbahi 1993, Maier 2001: 151, s.v. *Schleier*.
[84] Siehe oben Abschnitt 3.

Funktionen dieser Textilien voneinander unterscheiden: konventionell-moralisch, entwicklungspsychologisch-sozial und erotisch.

Die *konventionell-moralische* Funktion des *tesettür* spielt in *Aşk-ı Memnu* nur eine untergeordnete Rolle. Sie wird nicht explizit thematisiert, was das Fehlen affirmativer oder kritisch-negativer Beurteilungen einschließt. Wenn irgendeine der weiblichen Figuren des Romans das Haus verläßt, legt sie zwar selbstverständlich Kleidungsstücke an, die den geltenden moralischen Vorstellungen entsprechen.[85] Für die Entwicklung der Romanfiguren und -handlung hat dieser konventionell-moralische Aspekt jedoch keine weitere Bedeutung. *Aşk-ı Memnu* ist kein Roman, der sich mit der Stellung der Frau in der Gesellschaft auseinandersetzt oder gar zu den Vorläufern der Frauenemanzipations- und Feminismusliteratur gerechnet werden dürfte. Die „Kopftuchfrage“ ist darin noch nicht aktuell.

Demgegenüber tritt die Bedeutung traditionell-islamischer Kleidung auf der *entwicklungspsychologisch-sozialen* Ebene in dem Roman klar hervor. Das Doppeladjektiv „entwicklungspsychologisch-sozial“ ist dabei angebracht, weil ein Kleidungsstück wie Nihals erster *çarşaf* sowohl eine neue Stufe der individuellen Entwicklung markiert als auch mit einer Veränderung des sozialen Status verbunden ist. Dadurch daß Nihal dieses für sie so ersehnte Kleidungsstück anzieht, vollzieht sie den entscheidenden *rite de passage* vom Mädchen zur Frau. Das Anziehen des *çarşaf* fällt sowohl mit dem Erwachen ihres sexuellen Interesses als auch mit dem Erwerb einer neuen Stellung in der Gesellschaft zusammen – beides vermittelt durch ihre Freundin und Mentorin Bihter. Nihals *çarşaf* ist also aus ihrer subjektiven Perspektive das genaue Gegenteil seiner konventionell-moralischen Funktion, die sich theroetisch darin erschöpfen soll, ein Mittel zur Limitierung des sozialen Status und der Bewegungsfreiheit der islamischen Frau bereitzustellen oder (was auf dasselbe hinausläuft), der Frau ‚freie‘ Bewegung in einem von religiösen Dogmen beherrschten (und damit per se unfreien) öffentlichen Raum zu ermöglichen. Tatsächlich ist das Anlegen des *çarşaf* für Nihal das für alle sichtbare Mittel, um ein voll akzeptiertes Mitglied der Gesellschaft zu werden, und zugleich dessen symbolischer Ausdruck. Ohne ihn fühlt sie sich auf der Straße „nackt“.[86] Der *çarşaf* ist für sie ein Prestigeobjekt.

Direkt verbunden mit dieser entwicklungspsychologisch-sozialen Bedeutung der Verhüllung ist ihre *erotische*. Dieser letzte Aspekt ist der in *Aşk-ı Memnu* am stärksten hervortretende Aspekt von *tesettür*. Im Falle von Nihal wird die erotische Seite der Verhüllung bereits dadurch angedeutet, daß dieselbe Person, Bihter, die ihr mit Hilfe des *çarşaf*s den Weg in das soziale Leben weist, auch die Lehrmeisterin ihres sexuellen Erwachens ist. Daß der *çarşaf* nicht nur Träger der Hoffnungen und Erwartungen Nihals bezüglich ihres Erwachsenwerdens und ihrer Akzeptanz in der Gesellschaft ist (was die entwicklungspsychologisch-soziale sowie die konventionell-moralische Seite abdeckt), sondern auch Projektionsfläche sexueller Anziehungskraft, wird im Text explizit festgestellt. Als Nihal mit Bihter zum Einkaufen dieses Kleidungsstücks nach Beyoğlu fährt, wendet sie sich nämlich mit folgenden begeisterten Worten an ihre Stiefmutter:

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[85] Siehe beispielsweise Uşaklıgil 2006: 149–154 (bezogen auf Nihal).
[86] Uşaklıgil 2006: 150 (*kendini sokakta çıplak zannediyordu*).

> „Dies wird der erste *çarşaf* sein, und daher muß man etwas finden, das ins Auge fällt, eine Farbe, die die Blicke der Vorbeigehenden mit Gewalt auf sich zieht."[87]

Obwohl die Form des *çarşaf* traditionell vorgegeben ist, wird hier die Möglichkeit des Individuums beschrieben, diese traditionelle Vorgabe eigenen Wünschen und Vorlieben entsprechend im vorgegebenen Rahmen zu modifizieren. Die *Farbe* ist nämlich durch die Tradition offensichtlich nicht eindeutig vorgeschrieben. So kann Nihal durch die Wahl eines erotisch stimulierenden Tones den *çarşaf* zu einem Mittel machen, ihre sexuellen Reize nach außen hin auszuspielen. Somit wird der ursprüngliche, durch den Koran vorgegebene Sinn derartiger Kleidungsstücke[88] subvertiert oder sogar in sein exaktes Gegenteil umgekehrt. Statt ein Mittel zu sein, das die Frauen angeblich vor den in ihrer sexuellen Gier unbeherrschbaren Blicken der Männer schützt und damit die Aufrechterhaltung der religiös-patriarchalischen Ordnung mitgarantiert, erscheint der *çarşaf* hier als Instrument der Ausübung von *fitna*. Selbst in den spärlichen Worten des oben wiedergegebenen Zitates kommt die Ausstattung des *çarşaf*s mit *fitna* durch die Erwähnung von „Auge" (*göz*) und „Blick" (*nazar*) unzweifelhaft zum Ausdruck. Denn dieser Bezug ruft die in der zu Uşaklıgils Zeit noch produktiven mittelalterlichen islamischen Literatur (Diwan-Literatur) allgegenwärtige Vorstellung von der im weiblichen Blick, insbesondere dem koketten Blick (osm. *ġamze*), stets lauernden Kraft der *fitna* ab.[89] Ganz besonders deutlich tritt der *fitna*-Charakter an der Textstelle dadurch hervor, daß Nihal hofft, die Blicke von Passanten durch die stimulierende Farbe des *çarşaf*s „mit Gewalt" (*zorla*) anzuziehen. Weibliche erotische Verführung wird hier aus der Perspektive einer Frau als aktive und zugleich gefährliche, gewaltsame Kraft imaginiert. Hier wird deutlich, daß die Frauen mit Hilfe ihrer *fitna* erzeugenden Kleidungsstücke tatsächlich an der Machtausübung in der islamischen Gesellschaft beteiligt sind und nicht nur deren passive Opfer darstellen. Der Ausdruck *zorla* ist nicht zufällig ein wörtlicher Anklang an die Beschreibung der Verführungskraft Behlüls, der ebenfalls daran gewohnt ist, die Objekte seiner Gelüste mit „Gewalt" (*zor*) gefügig zu machen.[90]

Genau wie im Verhältnis zwischen Behlül und Bihter[91] wird auch bei der Behandlung von Nihals *çarşaf* die Rollenverteilung zwischen Mann und Frau im erotischen Aufeinandertreffen differenziert dargestellt. Das Kleidungsstück ist nicht ein neutraler und im wesentlichen folgenloser Bestandteil allgemeiner sozialer Normen oder gar ein Mittel, um den Aktionsradius der Frau einzuschränken, sondern es dient den Frauen als Mittel, um ihre Persönlichkeit, ihren sozialen Status und ihre Sexualität weiterzuentwickeln und wirkungsvoll anzuwenden.

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[87] *Bu ilk çarşaf olacak, şu halde göze çarpar bir şey bulmalı, bir renk ki geçenlerin zorla nazarını celp etsin.* (Uşaklıgil 2006: 149)
[88] Siehe etwa Koran 24: 31, 33: 59.
[89] Fatima Mernissi, nach Fischer-Tahir 2003: 33. Vgl. Ritter 2003: 373, 451–456 und Gozlan 2004: 125, 128 etc. – Zu *ġamze* in der klassischen osmanischen Literatur siehe Pala 1998: 147, s.v. *gamze*.
[90] Siehe oben Fußnote 76 und Textzitat.
[91] Siehe Kapitel 4.

6. Geschlossene und geöffnete Türen: Andeutungen lesbischer Liebe in *Aşk-ı Memnu*

Bevor im letzten Kapitel (7.) eine kurze Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse präsentiert wird, soll noch auf die Frage der lesbischen Liebe in *Aşk-ı Memnu* eingegangen werden.

Vor der Behandlung dieses in allen islamischen Gesellschaften (und weit darüber hinaus) mit umfangreichen Tabus belegten Themas ist es sinnvoll, sich noch einmal die stilistischen Restriktionen in Erinnerung zu rufen, denen sich Uşaklıgil bei der Darstellung *jeglicher* sexueller Vorgehensweisen in dem Roman unterwirft.[92] Obwohl sexuelle Beziehungen das Hauptthema von *Aşk-ı Memnu* sind, gibt es im gesamten Roman nämlich nicht eine einzige direkte Benennung oder Beschreibung eines konkreten Liebesaktes. Diese Prüderie speist sich aus zwei Quellen. Zum einen beruht sie auf traditionell-islamischen Vorstellungen, die die öffentliche Beschreibung und Zurschaustellung sexueller Handlungen kategorisch untersagen. Dies geht auf koranische Weisungen zurück, die unter anderem die Verschleierung von Frauen in der Öffentlichkeit empfehlen.[93] Ausnahmen von diesem Darstellungsverbot waren nur in bestimmten Bereichen möglich. Dazu gehörten medizinische Texte, Literatur über Traumdeutung, aber auch das *Karagöz*-Schattentheater.[94] Die Zurückhaltung bei der Darstellung sexueller Aktivitäten in Uşaklıgils Roman hat aber noch eine andere Quelle, und zwar den Einfluß damals aktueller europäischer Moralvorstellungen, welche Uşaklıgil durch seine Rezeption der französischen Literatur kennenlernte.[95] Diese erlaubten die Präsentation sexueller Themen in der Literatur allenfalls in Form verdeckter Anspielungen. Vor dem Hintergrund beider Restriktionen – infolge der islamischen und der europäischen Kultur der Zeit – darf daher aus der Abwesenheit expliziter Liebesszenen in *Aşk-ı Memnu* nicht gefolgert werden, daß die entsprechenden Liebesakte nicht stattgefunden hätten. Dies gilt gerade auch für lesbische Liebesbeziehungen, die ja nicht nur dem allgemeinen Tabu der Sexualität in beiden Kulturen unterlagen, sondern noch zusätzlich als ‚widernatürlich‘ stigmatisiert waren.

Vor diesem Hintergrund sind diejenigen Szenen in *Aşk-ı Memnu* zu beurteilen, die möglicherweise so interpretiert werden können, daß sie eine lesbische Liebesbeziehung andeuten. Lesbische Liebe spielte sich in mittelalterlichen islamischen Gesellschaften so gut wie stets im Verborgenen ab. Dies war nicht nur eine Folge der unter religiös-moralischem Gesichtspunkt negativen oder zumindest zweifelnden Beurteilung von weiblicher Homoerotik. Noch stärker als die moralische Ablehnung wirkte sich wohl das *Desinteresse* des islamischen Moralsystems der *ʿulemā* an sexuellen Beziehungen aus, bei denen es keine Penetration gab. Versuchte oder vollzogene Penetration war das zentrale Merkmal, an dem sich so gut wie alle Vorschriften der osmanischen Scharia zur Klassifikation sexueller ‚Abweichungen‘

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[92] Vgl. oben S. 14.
[93] Siehe etwa Koran 24: 31.
[94] Siehe Ze'evi 2006.
[95] Vgl. Önertoy 1999: 1f.

orientierten.[96] Dadurch, daß bei der Liebe von Frau zu Frau dieses Merkmal fehlte (sofern nicht auf Hilfsmittel zurückgegriffen wurde), fiel die Klassifikation im Kanon der sexuellen Vergehen schwer. Dies hatte wiederum zur Folge, daß entsprechende Verbotsbestimmungen in der *šerī'at* praktisch so gut wie nicht zu finden sind.

Diese allgemeine Rechtslage mußte dazu führen, daß sich lesbische Liebesbeziehungen in der osmanischen Welt zwar nur im privaten, unzugänglichen Bereich aufrechterhalten ließen, daß sie dort aber anderseits relativ ungestört ausgelebt werden konnten. Als Beleg für diese Position der lesbischen Liebe kann man den vielleicht frühesten belletristischen Text der osmanischen Literatur zitieren, der sich diesem Thema widmet. Aḥmed Rāsims (1865–1932) kurze Erzählung *Ülfet* behandelt explizit homoerotische Liebesbeziehungen unter Frauen in der traditionell geprägten osmanischen Oberschicht Istanbuls im 19. Jahrhundert.[97] In späteren Ausgaben des Textes wird dies insofern berücksichtigt, als diese den Titel mit *Hamamcı Ülfet* „Ülfet die Lesbe" zitieren.[98] Die 1898/1899, also etwa ein Jahr vor *Aşk-ı Memnu*, erschienene,[99] je nach Druckformat etwa vierzig bis siebzig Seiten umfassende Geschichte berichtet von der Frauenliebe einerseits in einem Ton sensationalistischer Enthüllung, was eine Antwort auf das noch immer ungebrochene Tabu war. Auf der anderen Seite belegen die verschiedenen lesbischen Beziehungen, die zwischen den weiblichen Hauptfiguren in *Ülfet* geknüpft werden, sowie die darin dargestellten institutionalisierten Formen lesbischen Stelldicheins wie die mietbaren Frauen-Tanztruppen und Frauenabteilungen der türkischen Bäder, daß es sich bei diesen Beziehungen keineswegs um einmalige oder seltene Ausnahmen handelt. Obwohl *Ülfet* ein fiktionaler Text ist, dokumentiert er somit, daß lesbische Liebe in bestimmten Istanbuler Kreisen damals gang und gäbe war. Die in *Ülfet* auftretenden Hochzeitsmusiker und -tänzerinnen (*çengi*) sowie die transvestitischen Tanztruppen (*köçek*) sind beispielsweise auch unabhängig von diesem literarischen Text historisch als feste Bestandteile des Istanbuler Kulturlebens im 19. Jahrhundert belegt.[100] Der prominenten Rolle, die das türkische Bad (*hamam*) in *Ülfet* spielt, dürfte sich auch die spätere Modifikation des Titels zu *Hamamcı Ülfet* zumindest teilweise verdanken. Dabei ist das als Adjektiv und Substantiv interpretierbare Wort *hamamcı* mit einer Polysemie ausgestattet, die die verschiedenen Facetten der von der Hauptfigur Ülfet und den anderen Frauen im Text durchlebten erotischen Aventüren ins Gedächtnis ruft. Es bezeichnet dem grammatischen Sinn nach jemanden, der in nicht näher bestimmter Weise mit ei-

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[96]   Siehe Ze'evi 2006 passim.
[97]   Textausgaben: Aḥmed Rāsim 1338 H, Ahmet Rasim 1968. – Zu Ahmet Rasim allgemein vgl. Yücebaş 1957, Hızarcı 1965, Günyol 1983, Björkman 1986, Akalioğlu 1987, Özkırımlı 1987: 61, Aktaş 1987, Mitler 1988: 18f., Kurdakul 1989: 28f. (unzuverlässig), Yakın 1988, Aktaş 1990: 258, Akbayar 1994, Altınkaynak 1996.
[98]   Z. B. Aḥmed Rāsim 1338 H, Ahmet Rasim 1968.
[99]   Nach Aḥmed Rāsims eigenen Angaben in dem autobiographischen Bericht *Gecelerim* („Meine Nächte") ist das Ersterscheinungsjahr 1316 H (beginnt am 22. Mai 1898, endet am 11. Mai 1899; siehe Ahmet Rasim 1987: 12). Özkırımlı 1987: 61 und Aktaş 1990: 258 legen sich innerhalb dieses Hidschrajahres auf das christliche Jahr 1899 fest.
[100]   Siehe Altuntaş 1994, And 1994.

nem Hamam zu tun hat. Dies kann ebenso eine Lesbe sein wie jemand, der im kanonisch-islamischen Sinne als unrein infolge bestimmter körperlich-sexueller Handlungen wie Geschlechtsverkehr, Samenerguß oder Menstruation gilt. Der Text von *Ülfet* kann in seiner Gesamtheit als Beleg für die Heimlichkeit und zugleich die weite Verbreitung der weiblichen Homosexualität im Istanbul des 19. Jahrhunderts angesehen werden.

Was nun *Aşk-ı Memnu* betrifft, so besteht die erste Andeutung einer lesbischen Liebesbeziehung darin in der Annäherung von Nihal an die neue Gattin ihres Vaters, Bihter. Uşaklıgil drückt die erotische Hingezogenheit Nihals zu Bihter verklausuliert im Bild der sich schließenden und öffnenden Türen (Sg. *kapı*) aus. Damit sind einerseits die realen Türen im *yalı* gemeint, und deren Öffnen und Sichschließen bezieht sich auf die Neuordnung der Zimmer, welche dort nach dem Einzug Bihters durchgeführt wird.[101] Auf der anderen Seite werden diese Türen durch zusätzliche Attribute aus dem Bereich der Erotik ausgeschmückt, so daß sie als sexuelle Metaphern lesbar werden:

> „Für sie [sc. Nihal – M. H.] besaß nur eine einzige Sache Bedeutung: daß, während zwischen ihrem Vater und ihr selbst eine Tür geschlossen wurde, zwischen ihr und einer fremden Frau eine *zarte* Tür, welche mit *blauen Atlasstoffen und Lagen weißen Tülls ausgeschmückt* war, geöffnet worden war…"[102]

Die bereits in dieser Passage deutlich vernehmbaren erotischen Untertöne konkretisiert Uşaklıgil hinsichtlich ihres homoerotischen Gehaltes weiter durch einen sehr eleganten erzählerischen Kunstgriff. Während der durch den Einzug Bihters erforderlich gewordenen Umverteilung der Wohnräume in dem *yalı* findet Nihals Bruder Bülent nämlich zufällig ein Schultertuch (*omuz atkısı*), das bei den Umräumarbeiten vergessen worden und liegengeblieben ist. Indem er während des Aufräumens dieses Kleidungsstück anzieht, schlüpft er scherzhaft in die Rolle einer Frau:

> „Bülent ergriff nun ein leichtes Schultertuch aus Seidenstoff mit weißen Bändern, das auf dem Sofa vergessen worden war, und legte es sich über die Schultern. Er bewegte sich, ganz klein von Wuchs, wie er war, kokettierend herum, ließ seine runden Augen schmachtend durch die Gegend schweifen und wirbelte mit wiegenden Bewegungen durch das Zimmer."[103]

Genau dieses Schultertuch fällt Nihal unmittelbar im Anschluß an ihre Meditation über die sich schließende und die sich öffnende Tür[104] wieder ein. Der spielerisch-scherzhafte Geschlechtertausch Bülents gerät durch diese Assoziation in Verbindung zu der „Tür", mit der Nihal ihre eben erst erwachte Zuneigung zu Bihter ausdrückt. Die kurzzeitige Travestie Bülents kann somit als Chiffre für die lesbische Zuneigung zwischen Nihal und Bihter gelesen werden, die ja gleichfalls eine Ver-

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[101] Beschrieben in Uşaklıgil 2006: 132–134.
[102] *Onun için yalnız bir şeyin ehemmiyeti vardı: Babasıyla kendisinin arasında bir kapı kapanırken onunla bir yabancı kadının arasında mavi atlaslarla, beyaz tüllerle müzeyyen zarif bir kapının açılmış olması…* (Uşaklıgil 2006: 139; Hervorhebungen von M. H.)
[103] *Bülent, şimdi kanepenin üstünde unutulmuş, beyaz kurdelerle ipek bir kumaştan hafif bir omuz atkısını alarak sırtına koyuyor, küçücük boyuyla kırıştırarak, yumuk gözlerini süzerek çalkana çalkana odanın içinde dolaşıyordu.* (Uşaklıgil 2006: 132f.)
[104] Siehe oben.

tauschung der normalen Gender-Rollen impliziert. Das Schultertuch ist, wie die „Tür", der symbolische Ausdruck dieser besonderen Liebesform:

> „Nach diesem Tag hatte sie [sc. Nihal – M. H.] jene Räume nie wieder betreten; aber das weiße Schultertuch, welches Bülent an jenem Tag gefunden hatte, konnte sie nicht vergessen. Sooft sie Fußgeräusche und leises Gelächter von der anderen Seite der Tür hörte, erschien vor ihren Augen immer jenes Schultertuch. Was war das nur, mein Gott! Drang dieses Schultertuch, welches sich so des kindlichen Gemüts bemächtigt hatte, nun auch bis in ihre Träume vor?"[105]

In den nachfolgenden Passagen des Romans wird das Verhältnis zwischen Nihal und Bihter dann immer enger. Begünstigt wird diese Annäherung durch die Unterstützung Adnans, dem an einem harmonischen Verhältnis zwischen seiner Tochter und seiner zweiten Ehefrau gelegen ist. Er geht sogar so weit, daß er bewußt vom Versuch einer Aussöhnung mit der ihm immer noch grollenden Nihal absieht, um das harmonische Verhältnis zwischen ihr und Bihter weiter zu fördern.[106] Nihal und Bihter verzichten zunächst auf das ansonsten auch im familieninternen Umgang miteinander obligatorische Siezen. Sie werden „immer informeller" (*daha teklifsiz*), und der Erzähler kennzeichnet ihr Verhältnis schließlich als das von „Freundinnen" (*dost*) und „Gefährtinnen" (*refika*).[107] Den Höhepunkt der sexuellen Anziehung, die von Bihter erwidert wird, stellt schließlich eine leidenschaftliche Kußszene dar. In ihr offenbart sich auch das Nebeneinander zwischen der Pervasivität und subjektiv empfundenen Natürlichkeit der lesbischen Liebe und ihrer sozialen Ächtung. In dem Augenblick, in dem die Möglichkeit des Bekanntwerdens in Erwägung gezogen wird, wird das bis dahin absolut unbekümmerte und genußvolle gegenseitige Küssen nämlich urplötzlich zu einer beängstigenden, bedrohlichen und unangenehmen Erfahrung. Für sie hält der Text die Bilder des „kalten Zitterns" (*soğuk raşe*), des Erschauderns eines in fremde Umgebung verschlagenen Vogels (*yabancı bir ufka düşmüş bir kuş tevahhuşu*) und einer „vergiftenden Brise" (*müsemmim nesim*) bereit.[108] Es ist die fremde, von außen kommende soziale Kontrolle, welche die aus der klassischen islamischen Liebesliteratur übernommenen erotischen Symbole des Vogels und des Windes – die beide als Boten zwischen den Geliebten fungieren – bedroht, erkalten läßt und vergiftet.[109] Sowohl das „kalte" und brutale Eindringen der sozialen Kontrolle als auch die an Motive der islamischen Ghaselenliteratur anklingende Liebessymbolik lassen kaum einen Zweifel daran, daß sich zwischen Nihal und Bihter zuvor eine erotische Beziehung entwickelt hat.

Für das Verständnis dieser lesbischen Zuneigung ist es interessant, einen Schritt zurückzugehen und die Quelle dieser Annäherung zu untersuchen. Zu Beginn ist sie eine Folge von Nihals Haß auf ihren Vater Adnan, dem sie vorwirft, Nihals Mutter,

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[105] *O günden sonra bir daha o odalara girmemişti; fakat o gün Bülent'in bulduğu beyaz omuz atkısını unutamıyordu. Kapının ötesinden ayak sesleri, ufak gülüşler işitirken gözlerinin önüne hep o omuz atkısı geliyordu. Nedir, yarabbi! Bu omuz atkısı ki çocuğun dimağına böyle musallat olmuş, uykularına karışıyordu?..* (Uşaklıgil 2006: 139)

[106] Uşaklıgil 2006: 140.

[107] Uşaklıgil 2006: 140f.

[108] Zitate aus Uşaklıgil 2006: 143.

[109] Zur Vogel- und Windsymbolik in der klassischen osmanischen Literatur vgl. Pala 1998: 75, s.v. *bülbül* und Pala 1998: 75, s.v. *nesîm*.

also Adnans Frau aus erster Ehe, allzu rasch zugunsten der neuen Frau (Bihter) zu vergessen. Durch diese Motivation weist Uşaklıgil der weiblichen Homosexualität zwei Charakteristika zu. Zum einen wird die lesbische Neigung, die Nihal zu Bihter entwickelt, als nicht angeboren oder sonstwie vorgegeben angesehen, sondern als eine im Laufe der Zeit erst aufgrund äußerer Ereignisse erworbene Eigenschaft. Zum anderen vollzieht sich deren Herausbildung in einer negativen Dialektik: treibende Kraft ist nämlich nicht die *Zu*neigung Nihals *zu* ihrer Partnerin in der homoerotischen Beziehung, sondern die *Ab*neigung Nihals *gegen* eine andere, in diesem Falle männliche, Person. Dieses Muster der weiblichen Homosexualität als Folge einer Abneigung zu heterosexuellen Beziehungen beziehungsweise zu nicht-gleichgeschlechtlichen Partnern zu erklären, ist für islamische Gesellschaften nichts Ungewöhnliches. So geht Dror Ze'evi davon aus, daß ein erheblicher Teil der männlichen Homoerotik in islamischen Gesellschaften sich aus einer Flucht vor der Begegnung der Männer mit dem weiblichen Geschlecht ergebe.[110] Ein analoges Erklärungsmuster gibt es auch in *Hamamcı Ülfet*. Dort entwickelt die Figur der Pakize ihre eigenen homoerotischen Neigungen ebenfalls erst nach einer Enttäuschung durch eine männliche Figur, in diesem Fall ihren Ehemann.[111]

All dies zeigt, daß Uşaklıgil zu den weiter oben behandelten verschiedenen Spielarten des *aşk-ı memnu* in dem gleichnamigen Roman sehr wahrscheinlich auch noch die lesbische Liebe hinzugefügt hat.

7. Zusammenfassung und Ausblick

Der vieldeutige Romantitel *Aşk-ı Memnu* umfaßt einerseits emotional unbefriedigende Liebesbeziehungen (Firdevs, Bihter), wobei er am treffendsten mit „verhinderte Liebe" übersetzt werden kann. Von der emotionalen Seite derartiger gescheiterter Liebesverhältnisse kann aber nicht die soziale Komponente getrennt werden, die ebenfalls bei beiden Figuren zutage tritt (Bihters sozialer Abstieg infolge ihres Ehebruchs wird nur dadurch verhindert, daß sie sich selbst tötet). Auch die dem Alltagsverständnis am nächsten liegende Interpretation von *aşk-ı memnu* als „(im moralischen Sinne) verbotene Liebe" spielt in dem Roman eine wichtige Rolle, etwa in der geheimen Zuneigung Nihals zu Bihter und in den endlosen Liebesabenteuern Behlüls. Doch wird dieses – sowohl aufgrund der traditionellen islamischen Kultur als auch der Einflüsse aus Europa, denen Uşaklıgil beim Schreiben des Romans ausgesetzt war – naheliegende Verständnis von *aşk-ı memnu* zugleich einer Deutung unterzogen, die als tiefenpsychologisch *avant la lettre* bezeichnet werden kann. Dabei wird unter der platten Lesart der sexuell restriktiven Moralvorstellungen als angeblich die Gesellschaft strukturierender und zusammenhaltender Gesetzmäßigkeiten als deren wahrer Grund die Angst der Männer vor Impotenz infolge fehlenden Widerstandes sichtbar.

Uşaklıgils Roman greift durch die Vielfalt der von ihm durchgespielten Variationen des Themas ‚Liebe und Restriktion' sowohl auf islamisch-orientalische als auch

[110] Ze'evi 2006: 4.
[111] Aḥmed Rāsim 1338 H: 27ff.

europäische Vorstellungen zurück. Während der Rückgriff auf europäische Quellen durch explizite Referenzen auf die französische Sprache, Literatur und Musik sowohl im Romantext selber als auch in Uşaklıgils Biographie selbstevident ist,[112] repliziert die zuletzt beschriebene ‚Tiefen'-Lesart ohne explizite Nennung den das ganze islamische und insbesondere auch das osmanische Mittelalter beherrschenden Gegensatz zwischen Scharia-Anhängern und ihren Gegnern. Uşaklıgil erscheint hier als Meister der Verschmelzung der – vor allem später – oft als gegensätzlich verstandenen osmanischen (später türkischen) und europäischen Kultur im Lichte eines übergreifenden mehrdeutigen Themas.

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[112] Vgl. erneut Önertoy 1999: 1–9.

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Some Remarks on Language Use and Arabic Dialects in Eastern Turkey

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1. Introduction

Questions of language, minorities, and ethnicity are extremely complex. The essence of the terms themselves is open to discussion and, consequently, consideration of their relationships is fraught with difficulties.[1] The complexity of the mentioned issues increases when matters of religion and identity are involved. In this case study I will describe the problems connected with a small minority living side by side with a larger one, describe the consequences of this kind of interaction between groups on ethnicity, and account for its consequences on language.

In this study Arabs represent the small minority and Kurds the larger one. The State of Turkey represents the majority. It is needless to mention that all three groups belong to different ethnicities, whatever this may mean, and speak different languages. In Tillo, a village in South-eastern Turkey, both minorities live together, and the Turkish state is represented by officials and by all forms of mass media.

The main source of the data analyzed for this study is a corpus consisting of ca. 18 hours of tape-recorded material and interviews with people, mainly Arabs, from October 2000 and onwards. 20 informants are interviewed, three of whom are female: a 12-year-old schoolgirl, a 37-year-old unmarried woman living with her parents, and a 55-year-old housewife. The male informants are between 20 and 65 years old. Their levels of education show a great disparity. The 20-year-old informant works at a wholesale dealer's in Istanbul. A 21-year-old informant studied (in November 2000) to become a mullah in Tillo. A 33-year-old informant started training to become a pilot in the Turkish air force, but never finished. At the present time he owns a linen-draper's shop in the town of Siirt, some 9 km from Tillo. A 33-year-old informant works as a car-park attendant in Istanbul. A 39-year-old informant is an imam in Tillo. A 60-year-old informant is a mullah in Tillo. The rest have various professions, such as a circumciser, a hotel owner (in Istanbul), a wholesale dealer (in Istanbul) etc. The final interviews with Arabs in Tillo were made by telephone in April 2005.

2. Background

Before dealing with the question of these two minorities it may be of some importance to clarify the origin of these Arabs. When starting to carry out this task, I quickly learned that the Arabs of this region have been little investigated as far as

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[1] Edwards 1985, 1.

their original homeland is concerned. Regardless of the fact that there are studies concerning the multiplicity of the different ethnic groups in today's Turkey, no one, as far as I know, has written about the origin of the Arabs of Siirt.[2] There are, however, studies on the group's confession of Islam, its size, areas of settlement etc.

During the expansion of Islam, Siirt was apparently not an important city strategically; the Arab sources say almost nothing about it.[3] In the 9th century al-Shabushti says that there was a monastery housing 400 monks.[4] Starting in the 11th century the city was under the rule of various local Muslim dynasties: Marwanids, Artukids, and Ayyubids – the last of which held it until 1462. Thereafter for a short time Siirt was under the sway of the Safawid Shah Ismail I. In 1513 it fell under Ottoman rule.[5]

In a situation like this, where written sources are completely absent, the Arabs' own perception of their origin might be of some significance. Among the Arabs, there is an undisputed conception concerning the early Arabs in the vicinity of Siirt. It is agreed that the Arabs of Tillo belong to two tribes, *ʕāʾila* Xālidiyya and *ʕāʾila* ʕAbbāsiyya. The Xālidi tribe claims that their ancestors came to Tillo from Ḥəmṣ in Syria about 700 years ago, and the ʕAbbāsi tribe says that their ancestors came to Tillo via Iraq from Saudi Arabia about 400 years ago. Both families are Sunni Muslims and belong to the Shāfiʕi school. The ʕAbbāsis proudly showed a family tree as documentation. The stem of the family tree is the first ʕAbbās and the many branches document the lineage until the present generation. One informant, named Ahmat, says that there are forty fathers between him and ʕAbbās. Ahmat's own words are presented in Example 1.

Before going into Example 1 it is essential to give the major reason for presenting the examples in the original language/dialect. I am of the opinion that no matter how good a translation is, it will never be able to render the exact nuances and feelings that are embedded in words and utterances. In this matter Mühlhäusler writes that:

> Each language renders potentially a specific picture of reality apprehension or conception of the world and multiplicity constitutes "a source of alternative philosophies, scientific metaphors and manners of living.[6]

1. *fəl-arbˤīn app alḥaq əl-ˤAbbās raḍiya llāhu ˤanhu. yaˤni mawğūt uww ạwn. əs-saḥ maktūbīn ənne kəlla. Aḥmad əbən malla Naṣrulla, malla Naṣrulla əbən malla ˤAbdəll ˤAzīz, malla ˤAbdəll ˤAzīz əbən malla Aḥmat, malla Aḥmat əbən malla Fahīm trō hēke hayyā l-arbˤīn app.*

"There are 40 fathers between me and Abbas, may God be pleased with him. This is documented. All this is documented. Ahmad son of mullah Nasrulla, mullah Nasrulla son of mullah Abdul Aziz, mullah Abdul Aziz son of mullah Ahmat, mullah Ahmat son of mullah Fahim and so on until 40 fathers."

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[2] Andrews 1989, 148–151; Svanberg 1989a, 1989b and 1997.
[3] Seert in Fiey 1977, 244 and Witakowski 2000, 392-393, Siˤird in Bosworth 1997, 573.
[4] Bosworth 1997, 574.
[5] Fiey 1977, 244 and Bosworth 1997, 574.
[6] Mühlhäusler 1986, 52.

In order to acquire some idea of why these Arabs came to Tillo, the following questions were posed to some informants: Have you heard from your father or grandfather why their ancestors came to Tillo? The answer was as in 2a:

2a   *məšxāṭar l-islāmiyye, məšxāṭar l-islāmiyye təzdäät.*

     "For the sake of Islam, for the spreading of Islam."

And the attendant question was: Were they nomad tribes or soldiers? The answer was as in 2b:

2b   *lā, lā kēnu faqah, mudarrəsīn.*

     "No, no, they were experts in Islamic law, teachers."

Considering the assertion above and also the lack of written sources, we can assume that the first Arabs that came to Tillo were missionaries, and hence, were learned and acquainted with both the Arabic language and the Koran. This may have given the Arabs special status in the society, and as a result the society may have been divided into classes. Even today, it is still of great importance to show that you belong to a family or a tribe with a lineage. This is the reason why intermarriage between Arabs and Kurds was previously considered impossible when the female partner was Arab. This social division is obvious when one hears how the people of Tillo are described in the recordings. Three families are mentioned in the material, two that have ancestral lines and one that has none. The people of the third family are *kurmānč* "Kurds". The exact words used are presented in 3:

3 - ... *yaʕne bəla nasap ʕāyla wāḥida. ʕāylat kurmānč, nqūl kurmānč, akrāt. mutafarriqa, kəll wāḥəd ğā mən makān.*

     "...without lineage there is one family, *kurmānč*, we say *kurmānč*, Kurds. They are scattered. Everyone has come from a different place."

Example 4 is a passage from a text that describes how the Arabs viewed the first Kurds in the region:

4   *ạw əl-kurmānč lay kəğ-ğaw mən qabəl taḥt īd Faqīru llāh w šayx Mğāhəd, yəxdəmūwən ạwnak.*

     "These Kurds who emigrated (to Tillo, came) for the sake of being servants of Faqiru llah and sheikh Muğahid, to serve them there."

3. The situation today

The circumstances today are different. Kurds constitute the overwhelming majority in the region, and Kurdish is spoken more or less by all the Arabs of Tillo, also by small children before school age. However the reverse is not the case; not many Kurds speak Arabic. Since Turkish is the official language, and the only language taught in school, at least until recent times, everyone has to learn Turkish. Thus the Arabs of Tillo are multilingual.

Due to the geographical circumstances, the Arabs of Tillo and their language have been isolated from direct contact with other Arabs. They form a sort of ethnic and linguistic island. They are cut off, for instance, from the standard Arabic that flows through radio and television in all Arabic-speaking countries. The only proper language for these Arabs remains the language of the Koran. In February 1997 Koran schools were closed and teaching in the Koran was forbidden in the region.

Arnold describes the situation of Arabic in Turkey as follows:

> Arabic has a hard time like all minority languages in Turkey. It is completely banished from public life and therefore the teaching of Arabic, singing of Arabic songs in public and use of Arabic personal names are forbidden by the government. Children in school are, for example, beaten by the teachers if they speak Arabic, even during breaks.[7]

Kurdish, on the other hand, has developed in another direction. A strong national feeling over decades has favored the growth and development of the language. That there is connection between ethnicity and nationalism is indisputable. Edwards declares that many of the criteria that are applied for ethnicity are also relevant for nationalism. He points out that nationalism can be seen as "intentional ethnicity", or "organized ethnocultural solidarity" or that ethnic awareness can be a "pre-nationalistic state".[8] Also indisputable is the connection between ethnicity and language. One general definition of ethnicity, according to Hyltenstam and Stroud is: "a feeling of group-belongingness that is based on common characteristics, such as language, race and religion".[9]

This view is reinforced by Edwards who states:

> Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group – large or small, socially dominant or subordinate – with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.) or by more subjective contributions to a sense of 'groupness', or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachment must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past.[10]

One of the characteristics mentioned above, namely religion, helped the Kurdish elite to gain non-Kurdish followers. It was almost shocking to hear a group of middle-aged men, in the region of Sasson, also in South-eastern Turkey, say that they were Kurds although they had Arabic origins. And how is that possible, one may ask. The answer was simple: our forefathers were Arabs but now we are Kurds. It is

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[7] Arnold 2000, 357.
[8] Edwards 1985, 10f.
[9] Hyltenstam and Stroud 1990, 25.
[10] Edwards 1985, 10.

as simple as that. It is difficult to determine whether these men really meant what they said or if they were afraid for some reason. But if we assume that they did mean what they said, this will add another of the characteristics to the ones mentioned above, namely 'subjective contribution to a sense of 'groupness'. Now what may have encouraged this 'subjective groupness' could be dissatisfaction with and opposition to the state. This dissatisfaction was observable all over South-eastern Turkey, since the whole region is economically neglected and the living conditions are bad. People complained that the state shows up in different harvesting periods to buy the produce at absurd prices and takes it to be processed in the big cities in the West. No investments whatever are made or planned for the region. Hence the PKK[11] struggle for independence may have meant a kind of economic salvation promising inhabitants of the region better living standards.[12]

The Arabs of Tillo, on the other hand, are still proud of being Arabs. Two of the most famous saints in the region originate from Tillo, and as mentioned in 4, the first Kurds who came to Tillo were servants of Faqiru llah and sheikh Muǧahid, a fact that makes it more difficult for these Arabs to unify themselves with the Kurds. For these Arabs the situation is different. The national feeling among the larger minority deliberately endeavours to create a homogenous group within the boundaries of its region. Assimilation of the smaller minority may be the consequence.[13] A concerned informant describes the situation as hopeless. Since he could not manage it any longer, he left Tillo in the mid-nineties and settled down in Istanbul. He describes the situation as in 5a and 5b:

5a   *əl-akrāt baqa ytabʕu ḥaqqan. ysaw rōḥan mudāfaʕa. nəḥne mō ntīq. mō tīq aʾūl lā … aṃa ənne ġade baʕda də-ysawawa, ənne ġade baʕ.., ġade də-ysawawa.*

   "the Kurds have started to follow up their rights. They defend themselves. (But) we cannot. I cannot say … but they, sooner or later, will do it, they, sooner or later, will do it."

5b   *fī äävi s-sōn kəš-šī nṭafa, ntammat Təllo, ntammat. də-nənsi rōḥna. aṣəlna də-nənsīyu w də-nrō. də-yənqəṭəḥ yaʕne n-nəsal.*

   "These last years everything has become dark, Tillo is finished, finished. We shall forget ourselves. We shall forget our origin and we shall vanish. The lineage will come to an end."

Because of fear of the larger minority, people were not willing to tape-record all their opinions. It was obvious that these people were afraid. When not recording one could hear utterances such as 'the Kurds are expanding rapidly', 'there are no more jobs for us' 'we have nothing against the state so why should we fight', etc. Note-

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[11] Kurdistan Workers Party (Kurdish: Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan).
[12] Asserting this I rely only on the observations I made while traveling in the region and on the contents of my data, which reveal the feelings of the inhabitants of the region. Consequently no study was made to see whether these feelings are legitimate or not.
[13] Hyltenstam and Stroud 1990, 29.

worthy is that this phenomenon was also observed in north-western Syria. In 2002, during a field trip to Syria, we came across a village just on the border to Hatay, where we wanted to tape-record some samples of the Arabic dialect spoken there. After some time, and a couple of teas, the oldest son of the family was willing to give us an interview. But when his mother saw the tape-recorder, she almost fell on her knees begging, with fear in her eyes, not to make any tape-recordings. She excused herself by saying:

"We are not many left here, my son, and we have no one to protect us."

In a bordering village another surprising feature puzzled us. In a house where the father accepted to give an interview, he suddenly started speaking Kurdish, even though he knew that our interest concerned his Arabic dialect. He said that it was all the same, and we were all brothers, and there was no difference between us, etc.

4. Language and nationalism

According to Hyltenstam and Stroud, for a language to be a 'real language' it has to serve as 'national language' for a group of people though they do not necessarily have to be the governing majority. It is enough that it be spoken by a large part of the group, it be extensively used in daily communication and it be a symbol of ethnic and national identity. At the same time there must be a certain degree of standardization for the language to be understood as a 'real language' so that it can potentially serve as an official language in a state or other autonomous area.[14]

Concerning this phenomenon, attempts to standardize Northern Kurdish, *kur manji,* started as early as in the 1930s. The attempts were doomed to fail, since the state did not allow any minority language to be used or taught in schools. It was not until 1987 that a sort of language committee was founded at the Kurdish Institute in Paris. This committee publishes a journal twice a year that is distributed in the Diaspora. Now that Turkey is applying for membership in the European Union, many of the strict national laws have been changed in a way that may favor Northern Kurdish.

The real language standardization, in this sense, was done by the majority, i.e. the state of Turkey. A planned policy aiming towards the homogenization of the people within the country's boundaries was carried out supported by a language committee that continuously worked to purify Turkish from foreign words. This is being carried out despite the fact that the idea of keeping one's language 'pure' and free from foreign taint reveals a profound misunderstanding of the dynamics of all natural languages.[15] Nevertheless, it seems that this concept has proved attractive, since the link between linguistic nationalism and language purity and preservation is, unsurprisingly, a strong one.[16] In this matter Kedourie writes:

[14] Hyltenstam and Stroud 1990, 46.
[15] Edwards 1985, 27.
[16] Edwards 1985, 27.

nationalism from its modern inception was inextricably bound up with language; language was seen as 'an outward sign of a group's peculiar identity and a significant means of ensuring its continuation' [17]

The deliberate plan of spreading Turkish to all parts of the country was about to be executed. It is well known that, historically, the connection between a group of people, a language and the State was the foundation of nationalism as an ideology - one people, one language, one nation.[18] In the late 1940s the young Turkish State started a process of building schools in South-eastern Turkey. Within 20 years schools came to almost every village, and access to education, once a privilege, now became a right. Children had the chance to learn how to read and write. Nevertheless, in states where nationalism is strong, schools can apparently serve as an instrument of ethnic and national policy. Kedourie declares:

> On nationalist theory … the purpose of education is not to transmit knowledge, traditional wisdom, and the ways devised by a society for attending to the common concerns; its purpose rather is wholly political, to bend the will of the young to the will of the nation. Schools are instruments of state policy, like the army, the police, and the exchequer.[19]

This took place at a time when Kurdish dominance, at least linguistically, was growing stronger in the region. It was a time when entire non-Kurdish villages shifted completely to Kurdish. As an example one can mention the Neo-Aramaic villages in the Tur Abdin area. *Kafro*, a village in the district of Midyat, was in the process of making a complete transition to Kurdish. In the early 1940s only people older than 40 years could understand and speak some Neo-Aramaic.[20] Another village is *kar borān*, also in the district of Midyat. No one from this village speaks Neo-Aramaic at the present time. Today, there is a community of *karborān*-people living in Västerås in Sweden. The children in this community who are born in Sweden have Kurmanji as their mother tongue. The adults attend the Sunday mass that is held in Kurmanji, although they are ethnically not Kurds but members of the Syriac Orthodox Church. It is worth mentioning that there are no Christian Kurds, I myself have never met any.

Turkish subsequently became the official language. Television came to the region already in the 1970s, though only to the cities. Today, a television set is a part of the standard furnishing of a household in the villages. All television programs are either in Turkish or are dubbed into Turkish. Radio programs are broadcast in Turkish and all newspapers are written in Turkish. Turkish became the language of educated people and consequently gained higher status. Those who spoke good Turkish were considered to be educated and hence they had higher social status in the community.

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[17] Kedourie 1961, 71.
[18] Hyltenstam and Stroud 1990, 29.
[19] Keduorie 1960, 83-84.
[20] My father was born in this village. When he was 16 years old, in the early 1940s, he left the village for Syria. At that time he did not speak Neo-Aramaic. Kurdish was the only language that he understood. His parents could speak and understand some Neo-Aramaic.

5. Language decline

Turning back to Tillo, we find that the situation is changing rapidly. The size of the Kurdish population is steadily increasing, while the number of Arabs is swiftly decreasing in the villages. To give an idea of this change, in November 2000 there were still about 3000 Arabs living in Tillo. In a telephone interview of 9 of April 2005 with an informant from Tillo, it was revealed that there are now less than 1000 left.[21] This means that in less than four and a half years more than two thirds of the Arabic population left the village. This same informant avowed in November 2000 that he would never leave Tillo, the home of Faqiru llah and Sheikh Muğahid; now he has moved to Siirt. Most of the Arabs remaining in the village are elderly. This migration is occurring so rapidly that the Arabs are worried that soon no Arabs will remain in their home village and that both the language and culture will vanish. The Arabs of Tillo are well aware that if the entire Arabic population moves to big cities like Istanbul, both their language and culture are doomed to die out. The anxiety they feel is often observed in the recorded material. To illustrate this anxiety some passages from an interview with an informant now living in Istanbul are presented in 6a and 6b:

6a   *ana aʿalləm bənti ʿarabi ē baʿəd bənti əšš tə-ysīr? əl-lōm bənti təqri fəl-maktap ēkəm lay maʿa kəlla tərk ənne.*

   "I am teaching my daughter Arabic, but after her what will happen? Now my daughter goes to school where everyone else is Turkish."

6b   *əs-saḥ ana lī faff banēt. əl-faff banēt ənn ka-ġade ənne am ṣārlan kəl-me wəḥde arbaḥt awlād āy fnaḥš. kəl-wāḥəd də-yrō mawqaḥ āk əč-čēx. ē ana d-anxalaṭ maḥ ət-təriki. ana d-anxəlaṭ maḥ ət-tərki əšš tə-ysīr āk əč-čēx?*

   "Now I have three daughters. These three daughters, if they in the future have four children each, this will make them twelve. Everyone will then leave for a different place. In such a situation we will get mixed with the Turks. We will get mixed with Turks and then what will happen?"

Edwards states that the fortunes of language are bound up with those of its users, and if languages decline or 'die' it is simply because the circumstances of their speakers have changed. The most common scenario here is that involving language contact and conflict: one language supplants another.[22] Haugen asserts that a language is endangered when there are no monolinguals alive within the speech community.[23] This idea is opposed by Fishman who states that multilingualism does not necessarily lead to language shift, especially in those societies where there are clear limits between the domains of each language.[24] Denison, on the other hand notes

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[21] These figures are provided by people still living in Tillo and they are confirmed by people now living in Istanbul.
[22] Edwards 1985, 49.
[23] Haugen 1953, 370.
[24] Fishman 1972, 115.

that the *direct* cause of language death is the lack of transmission of an original language from parents to children.[25]

In a language-contact situation a minority – often over some generations – may shift to using the language of the majority, especially if the majority's language is the official language of the country, the language that is taught in schools, and the language with higher status. Eight years after moving from Tillo to Istanbul, informants between 20 and 55 years of age use plentiful Turkish borrowings in their everyday speech. In an interview where a male informant M is interviewing his mother Ḥ, he questions her frequent use of Turkish and asks as in 7a:

7a   M- *ặk gari šayš kəl-ġayyərtənu ēke, gari l-ʿarabi?*

    "Why have you (c.pl.) changed the language (lit. speech), Arabic?"

The mother's answer is:

7b   Ḥ- *əšš aʿraf? ặwn fī Ṣṭanbūl lay ēke yəgraw nəḥne əmmən sayna[26] kər-rāḥ ēke. ḥalbuki[27] garīna l-ʿarabi uww akfar akwēs. uww aḥsēn. ặwn lay yəgraw ēke nəḥne am sēna kər-rā ēke kamēhen.*

    "How do I know? Because (everyone) here in Istanbul talks like this, we also do so (lit. our tongue got used). Whereas our Arabic language is better. It is nicer. But because everyone else here speaks in this way, we also do like them."

During an interview with a middle-aged male informant, his 7-year-old daughter came in and asked him for some money. A short dialogue in Turkish took place between them. When the daughter had left, the father went on talking about the critical situation of the Arabic of Tillo. This shows how decisive the situation is: although he is aware of the looming death of his mother tongue he cannot stop a 'natural' course of events. In this respect Edwards writes:

> Indeed, while we lament the decline of some contemporary minority language we often forget that if we took a long enough perspective we would see that virtually all groups have language shift somewhere in their past.[28]

Another important phenomenon is that the Arabs of Tillo not only avoid speaking Arabic in public, but they also try to speak the Istanbul dialect of Turkish and not the Turkish dialect that is spoken in South-eastern Turkey. The reason, according to two informants now living in Istanbul, is that if they are stopped on the street by the police it is important not to let the policemen know their original hometown. Otherwise the police will ask for identification papers and their first question after knowing that they are from the region of Siirt would be: *tərrōr mısın?* "are you a terrorist" which means 'a member of the PKK'.

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[25] Denison 1977, 21; quoted from Edwards 1985, 52.
[26] Cf. *(l)sēna* "our tongue".
[27] Cf. Turk. *halbuki* "whereas, however, nevertheless".
[28] Edwards 1985, 96.

6. Conclusion

To sum up, the Arabs of Tillo feel that life in the home village seems to be unbeara-
ble. The larger minority is fighting for a sort of autonomy and hence is working hard
to unify the whole region as Kurdish. One of the results of this kind of struggle is a
rapid migration to the big cities. Since Arabic has already stagnated, its area of use
shrinks even more in the big cities. For Tillo Arabic this fact may mean that it faces
an even faster death. Since the relationship between language and ethnicity is
strong, the death of a language may also mean the death of an ethnicity. A homoge-
nous population is the result, and hence nationalism 'wins'. In this case it is the na-
tionalism of both the majority and the larger minority. Small minorities seem to
have little chance of survival. It is obvious, at least in this case study, that the size of
the population plays a key role, which makes one wonder if this too is a deliberate
cause. I mean a planned growth of the ethnic group, i.e. the larger minority.

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Iranian Minority Languages

Edited by Agnes Korn, Frankfurt a. M.

Introduction

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This collection of articles is based on a selection of papers presented at a panel entitled "Iranian minority languages"[1] which was held at the *30th German Congress of Orientalists* at Freiburg i.Br. University in September 2007.[2] For the present collection, the selected papers have been substantially enlarged and/or revised. Also included is an article whose authors could not attend the 2007 panel.

The title "Iranian minority languages" is here interpreted rather broadly to refer to Iranian minority languages and dialects spoken in Iran today, and to Iranian varieties which are, or were, spoken in other countries. (The term "Iranian varieties" will occasionally be used in this collection to include the notions of "language" and "dialect".) In spite of the geographical distance between the languages encompassed by this term – reaching from Iraqi Kurdistan, Eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus via Iran and Afghanistan to the Pamir – most of them share a number of features. For instance, the absence of a standard language and/or orthography has important consequences for those who try to use the language for writing, teaching, etc. The investigation of the history of Iranian languages has shown that the influence of interregional or national languages is by no means limited to modern times. However, the speed and pervasiveness of such influence has markedly increased by their predominant or even exclusive use in schools and the media, and has reached more or less all speakers of Iranian languages today. Television is a crucial element in this process, as it disseminates the knowledge of national languages in their standard, rather than their local form, as e.g. in the case of Persian, where – by way of Iranian TV broadcasts – Tehrani Farsi has replaced Dari as an influential language in Afghanistan, and local varieties of Persian within Iran.

Some Iranian varieties (among them Pamir languages as well as as various minority languages and dialects in Iran) qualify for the category of endangered languages in its narrow definition, as they are spoken by only a very small number of people today. However, many other Iranian languages and dialects such as Mazenderani, Balochi, or Sistani may be labelled "medium endangered"; while the number of their speakers is not yet particularly low at present, it seems questionable whether children will continue to use them – and if they do not, these languages could quite well be lost in one or two generations.

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[1] See http://webdoc.urz.uni-halle.de/dot2007/programm.php?ID=118
[2] Some of the presentation manuscripts are published in the online proceedings volume (Rainer BRUNNER, Jens Peter LAUT, Maurus REINKOWSKI (eds.): *XXX. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Freiburg, 24.-28. September 2007. Ausgewählte Vorträge*) at http://webdoc.urz.uni-halle.de/dot2007/publikation.php

This makes it specifically important to collect data from minority languages and dialects, many of which are still imperfectly known, and to investigate them. The description of their grammatical structures is also important for both typological purposes, as Iranian varieties show many interesting features, and for the historical perspective, as the data of today may shed light on those points in the history of Iranian that are not reflected in the documents that have come down to us. Conversely, surviving texts from older stages and from extinct Iranian languages offer precious material for comparison, often helping to explain parallel patterns of contemporary languages.

For Iranologists the synchronic description of the languages and dialects is clearly the first task. The article by Farideh Okati, Abbas Ali Ahangar, and Carina Jahani about the variety of Sistani spoken in the Zabol region in Iran contributes to this: it investigates the pronunciation of the vowel which has been described as back and rounded (corresponding to classical New Persian /ū/). The authors show that this vowel is [ʉ] (with an allophone [ʏ] in certain environments) in Iranian Sistani.

Saloumeh Gholami's article is a syntactic description: it studies case marking and agreement associated with the past stem of the verb in the Middle Iranian language Bactrian. The earlier texts show a case distinction of the nouns that is lost in the later ones (while usually preserving verbal agreement with the object), which has important consequences for the original ergative construction and the interpretation of the resulting patterns.

The same loss of case distinctions has also taken place in contemporary Sorani Kurdish. As Thomas Jügel demonstrates, the use of pronominal clitics has changed to regular marking of the agent in the past domain, independent of the presence of an overt agent. In combination with changes in the functions of the personal endings, this renders the pattern a nominative-accusative construction.

Bactrian and Sorani Kurdish thus illustrate the typologically remarkable variation of the broad range of peri-, semi-, and ex-ergative constructions within Iranian.

The pronominal clitics indexing ergative agents, objects, etc. in many Iranian languages have also generally been used to divide Western Iranian languages into two groups depending on whether their 3rd singular clitic goes back to *-hai or *-šai (originally variants of the same clitic). Agnes Korn's article attempts to argue against this isogloss, also challenging the uniform derivation from the Old Iranian genitive/dative clitics. While some remarkable archaisms appear to be preserved in the Western Iranian pronominals, it seems questionable how much the various forms imply for a sub-grouping of Western Iranian.

The Pamir languages are another group of Iranian varieties which are more adequately described in areal rather than in genetic terms. Antje Wendtland surveys the isoglosses suggested for the subgrouping of these varieties, and those connecting some or several of them with other Eastern Iranian languages, and concludes that no isoglosses establish the Pamir languages as a genetic group, and that the division of Eastern Iranian into a Northern and a Southern branch does not appear to be well-founded either.

I am grateful to the Freiburg organizers of the *30th German Congress of Orientalists* for their organizational assistance in convening this panel, to Prof. em.

Gunilla Gren-Eklund for welcoming this collection to an issue of *Orientalia Suecana*, and to Dr Christian Rammer for the Sistan maps. To the referees I am indebted for their critical reading of the papers and for offering valuable suggestions in their anonymous reviews. The greatest share of thanks is of course due to the authors for submitting their articles and for carefully working their way through many editorial comments. It is my hope that the present collection will contribute to our better knowledge of Iranian minority languages and stimulate further research in this field.

May 2009

Fronting of /u/ in Iranian Sistani

Farideh Okati, Abbas Ali Ahangar
Zahedan
Carina Jahani
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Abstract

The subject of this study is fronting of the back rounded vowel /u/ in the Iranian Sistani dialect. A close rounded vowel with central-to-front pronunciation is described by Grjunberg (1963) for the Sistani spoken in Turkmenistan. Field studies show that there is also a central vowel [ʉ] in the Iranian dialect of Sistani. This article describes the pronunciation [ʉ] as a general fronting of *u* > *ʉ*, which is the main realization of this phoneme in Iranian Sistani, and a further fronting of *ʉ* to [ʏ] as an allophonic variant in contact with coronal consonants. Among educated speakers living in urban areas however, there is occasionally a pronunciation close to [u] under the influence of Persian. Vowel harmony is another phenomenon that can be observed in the dialect under investigation. It will briefly be described insofar as it is relevant for the vowels under discussion.[1]

1. Introduction

Sistani is spoken in the Sistan region of Afghanistan, in the south of Turkmenistan, and in the southeast of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Nowadays there are also many Sistani speakers living in the Golestan province of Iran. The Iranian Sistani dialect is spoken by 90% of a total of about 350,000 inhabitants in the Sistan region of the province of Sistan and Baluchestan.[2]

Although Iranian Sistani is spoken with very slight dialect variations in the different parts of Iranian Sistan (so minor that they can be ignored in this study), the data for this investigation were gathered from all five districts in order to obtain more certain and accurate results.

This paper is concerned with the analysis of fronting of *u* in Iranian Sistani. Field studies suggest the absence of a back vowel [u] in the vowel series of this dialect, and the presence of the central vowel [ʉ] instead. Furthermore, it seems that *ʉ* has moved towards a front vowel [ʏ] in certain environments, namely in contact with dental, alveolar, and post-alveolar consonants [+coronal]. The fronting in Iranian Sistani thus involves both a general fronting of *u* to *ʉ*, which is the main realization of this phoneme, and also a further fronting to [ʏ] in certain environments (allophonic variation). However, the argument in the article is on a phonetic rather than on a phonological level, and there will be no attempt at describing the full vowel inventory of Sistani in this article.
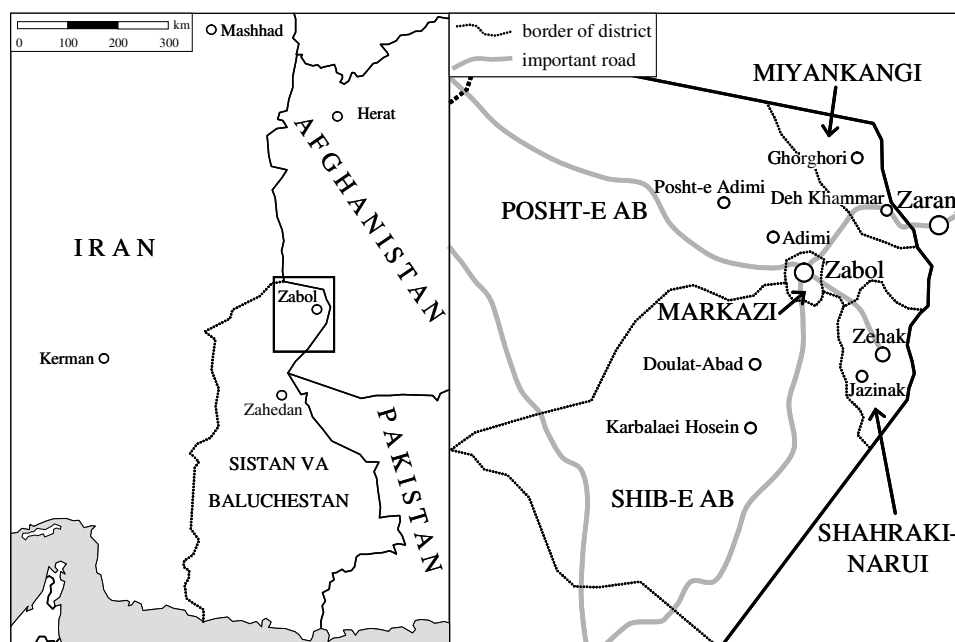
Map 1: Iranian Sistan and Places of Interview

One might ask if there is a fronting process involved or if this vowel was a central /ʉ/ originally. However, since Sistani is regarded as a dialect of Persian (WINDFUHR 1989: 248, BEARMAN et al. 2003: 427), which (synchronically as well as historically) has /u/, but no */ʉ/ in its vowel system, it is reasonable to assume that /ʉ/ cannot be original to Sistani. Furthermore, a vowel /u/ has been claimed for Sistani itself (thus GRJUNBERG 1963 on the vowel system of the Sistani dialect spoken in Sarakhs of Turkmenistan, see Section 2). Another argument for *u*-fronting is that this phenomenon is also encountered in some other Iranian languages and dialects (see Section 3).

The data corpus for this investigation was gathered during the summer of 2007 by elicitation and by interviewing 16 speakers (10 males and 6 females) aged between 40 and 102, from the five districts Markazi (in the centre; data from Zabol), Posht-e Ab (in the northwest; data from Adimi and Posht-e Adimi), Shib-e Ab (in the southwest; Karbalaei Hosein, Tutti, Doulat-Abad), Miyankangi (in the northeast; villages of Sadaki, Ghorghori, Takht-e Edalat, Deh Khammar), and Shahraki-Narui (in the southeast; Vaselo, Jazinak) (see Map 1).

During the interview, the informants were asked in guided conversation to produce the relevant sounds. Free conversation and telling life stories were other ways of assembling data. The data were recorded on an MP3 player or directly into the computer.

2. Previous Studies

Several studies of Sistani have been made in different areas of Sistan, e.g. by Lazard (1974) and Weryho (1962). Ahangar (2003) describes the Sakva dialect of Shib-e Ab, Dusti (2001) the dialect of Posht-e Ab, Barjasteh Delforooz (1996) the one of the Markazi region, Omrani (1996, 1999) the variety of the town of Zabol. In none of these works is the fronting of /u/ to a central ʉ mentioned. Glossaries are another kind of works that indicate pronunciation, but the matter of fronting of /u/ is not evident in the transliteration of the Sistani words in the available glossaries (e.g. Parvaz 1980, Mohammadi Khomak 2000, and Bahari 2004).

In his description of the Sistani spoken in Sarakhs of Turkmenistan, Grjunberg (1963) recognizes three u-vowels, which he notes as /u/, /ŭ/ and /ü/; i.e. he believes that there is also a high rounded vowel that is not articulated at the back of the oral cavity. He describes /u/ as a close back slightly rounded vowel, historically corresponding to both /ū/ and /ō/, e.g. /suz/ "burning"; /ŭ/ as a close-mid back slightly rounded vowel, which corresponds to the historical /ŭ/ (i.e. to the literary modern Persian o), e.g. (examples in Grjunberg's notation) /bŭz/ "goat" and /gŭl/ "flower"; and /ü/ as a close rounded vowel which has a range of pronunciation between the central and front rows, where the central variant is found after labial plosives and in unstressed positions, e.g. /pül/ "money", /büd/ "was", /kü'ča/ "lane", and a more open variant [ʏ] realized in other positions, e.g. /tüt/ [tʏt] "berry" (Grjunberg 1963: 77–78).[3]

3. Theoretical Aspects of Fronting

Fronting is one of the natural phonological processes that take place in many languages. It can be either a general process, or it can be conditioned both by other vowels and by consonants. One common conditioning factor is the occurrence of front vowels in neighbouring syllables (Burquest 2001: 122–124), a kind of vowel harmony. Such vowel assimilation may be either regressive or progressive. "The regressive form can be illustrated by the Germanic i-umlaut, which shows a process of fronting. In this process back vowels in general become fronted before a following /i/ or /j/, normally with one or more consonants intervening" (Lass 1988: 171).

Fronting of back vowels has been observed in many languages. For instance, "coronals can condition fronting of vowels. Cantonese, as an example, has a maximal system of vowels contrasting front and back rounded vowels, but back rounded vowels cannot appear between coronal consonants: /tyt/ 'to take off' *\/tut/, /tøn/ 'a shield' *\/ton/. This distributional restriction can be understood as resulting from fronting of vowels between coronals" (Flemming 2003: 335). In Slavic languages, fronting of back vowels in contact with palatal consonants has been observed (Rubach 2005).

In other languages, fronting of a certain vowel occurs as a general process which affects a sound in all its environments without any obvious conditioning factors.

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[3] Sincere thanks to Dr. Serge Axenov for translating Grjunberg's description of these vowels into English for us.

Language contact can, of course, contribute to explaining such a general fronting process.

HARRINGTON et al. (2007) investigate /u/-fronting in Southern British English Received Pronunciation (RP). Their studies showed that /u/ has become fronted in the last 50 years in Southern British English RP.

Fronting has been observed for various other Iranian languages as well, such as Mazandarani, Semnani and Sorkhei (LECOQ 1989: 250). For instance, in the Delvari dialect spoken in Delvar, in the Bushehr province of the southwest of Iran, there is evidence of fronting of /u/ to /i/. In KORD ZAFARANLU KAMBUZIA / MAMASANI's opinion (2006: 88), the change of /u/ to /i/ happens because of the common features which these two vowels share, e.g., [+high], [+tense]. Some examples of this alternation are /puk/ → /pik/ "hollow", /su'zan/ → /si'zan/ "needle", /dur/ → /dir/ "far", /pah'lu/ → /pah'li/ "beside".

This kind of change also exists in other languages and dialects spoken in the south and east of Iran, e.g. in Dashtestani and Liravi, which are neighbouring dialects of Delvari and are very similar to it (AKBARZADE 2002: 27 cited by KORD ZAFARANLU KAMBUZIA / MAMASANI 2006: 88), in Lari,[4] and in Southern Balochi (ELFENBEIN 1990: X).

ABBASI (2007: 65, 68, 85) investigated vowel change in the dialects spoken in the regions of Birjand, such as Nehbandani, which is located in southern Khorasan, to the north of Sistan. He showed that in Nehbandani /u/ has moved forward towards /i/ and in some places to /e/, e.g. /'nabud/ → /'nabid/ "was not", /'budam/ → /'bidam, 'bedam/ "I was", /pul/ → /pil/ "money", /ga'lu/ → /ga'li/ "throat". He also points out that the V+C combination /ow/ has moved forward and changed to /ej/, e.g. /dow'lat/ → /dej'lat/ "government".

4. Data analysis

4.1 Spectrograms and formants

Spectrograms are "a way of making visible the patterns of energy in the acoustic signal" (*Handbook* 1999: 5). In the spectrum of the sound waves, some parts of the columns are darker than others. The darker areas or bands occur at the frequencies of high energy and are called formants (LAVER 1994: 103, ESTAJI 2006: 151). The shape or colour of a sound is determined by the placement of its formants.

The spectrograms in Fig. 1 show the formants of cardinal vowels (male speaker), indicated by arrows for [i] and [u]. For a male speaker, the lowest possible position for the first formant, F1, is about 150–200 Hz and the highest is about 900–1000 Hz. The lowest possible F2 is about 550–600 Hz and the highest possible F2 is about 2300–2500 Hz. For instance, in a front high vowel such as [i], F1 is low (below 500 Hz) and F2 is high (2500 Hz). In the back high vowel [u], F1 is low and F2 is also low so that F1 and F2 tend to merge into one "fat" formant around 500 Hz. In back rounded vowels, any formants above 1000 Hz (below 5000 Hz) tend to be very weak.

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[4] Field observations by Carina Jahani, March 2009. See also KAMIOKA / YAMADA (1979: xii).

Cardinal vowels 1 through 8
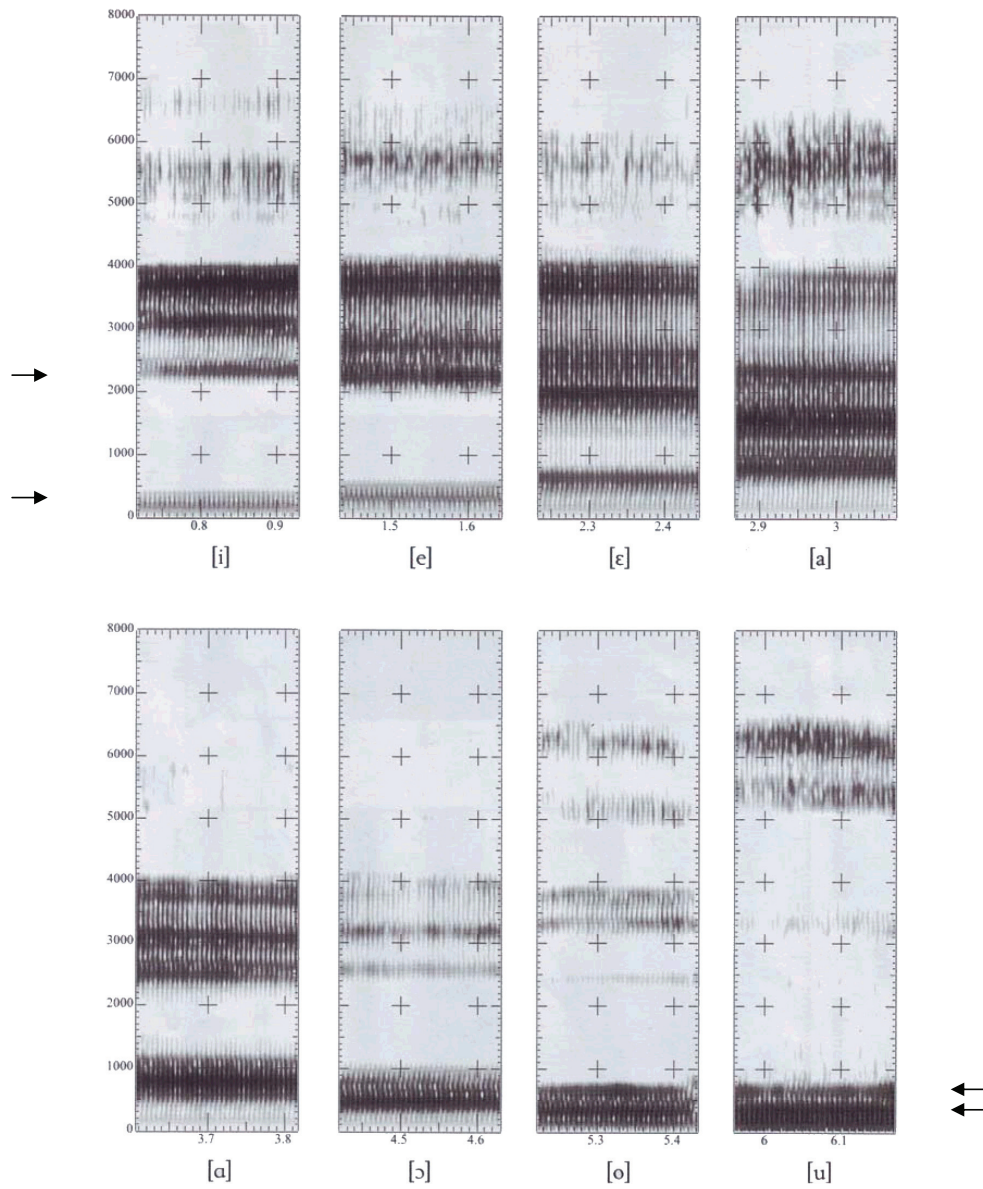
Fig. 1: Spectrograms of cardinal vowels[5]

Fig. 2–4 show the spectrograms of [ʉ] and [ʏ] for comparison.[6]
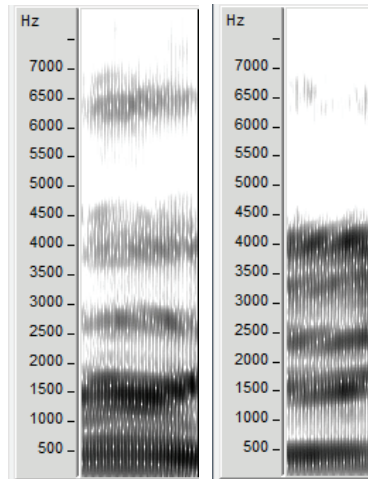
Fig. 2:   [ʉ]   [ʏ]
(scale of 7000)

Fig. 3:   [ʉ]   [ʏ]
(scale of 3600)
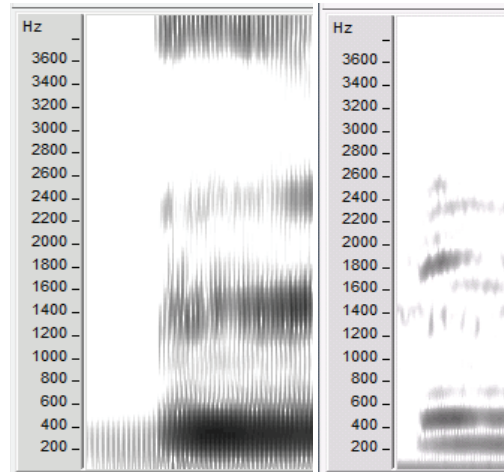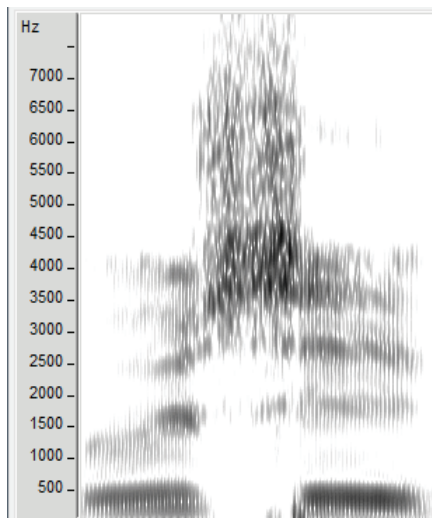
          [ʉ]   [ʏ]
Fig. 4: *ʉːsʉ* [ˈʉːsʏ] "that direction"

[6] Fig. 2a and 3b are from female speakers, the others from males. There seems to be no gender related difference in the pronunciation of [ʉ] and [ʏ] in Iranian Sistani. Both scalings of 3600 and 7000 are represented to allow comparison with the sample words in Section 4.3.

4.2 Analysis

First of all, an auditory analysis of the data was carried out. To complement this analysis, an acoustic analysis by means of the software WaveSurfer[7] was also used, in order to obtain more accurate judgements. This program shows the spectrogram of audio input that is fed into it. By means of these spectrograms the sounds in question can be identified. We have thus carried out both auditory and acoustic analyses of the data.

For the analysis of the sound under investigation, the same words spoken by both male and female informants were analysed, and their spectrograms were tested to see whether the pronunciation of this sound is [ʉ] or [ʏ], or rather [u] or [   ]. Some of these spectrograms will be shown in Section 4.3.

As mentioned in Section 4.1, the first and the second formants merge at about 500 Hz in the back rounded vowel /u/. So if /u/ has moved towards the centre in Sistani, i.e. away from the back rounded articulation, the formants should not be in this position. The spectrograms of the analysed words (demonstrated in Section 4.3) show that F1 and F2 are not merged as a fat formant around 500 Hz, but that F2 is higher than 500 Hz. (F2 is even higher when [ʉ] moves further to [ʏ].) The height of the formants in the back vowel [u] obviously implies an absence of energy above 1000 Hz, but since these spectrograms indicate a formant in this area, they indicate the presence of a central vowel [ʉ] rather than a back vowel [u]. This supports the hypothesis that a process of *u*-fronting has happened in Iranian Sistani (OKATI 2008: 70, 133). In fact, the auditory analysis also confirms that the vowel under study is a central vowel ʉ in this dialect.

Depending on the phonological environment, ʉ undergoes further changes:

• It moves further towards the front and becomes [ʏ] when it is adjacent to, and especially preceded by, coronals, e.g. [ʃʏl] "basket", [tʃʰʏʃk] (a certain bird), [tʰʏ] "inside", [dʏzˈzi] "theft", [lʏlˈlak] "insect", [rʏnmɑːˈi] "gift". This can be described as an allophonic variation [ʏ] ~ [ʉ].

• As a result of vowel harmony, the pronunciation of ʉ in certain environments is sometimes different from what has just been stated, e.g. [bʉˈrʏ] ~ [bʉˈrʉ] "out", [kʰʉtˈrʏ] ~ [kʰʉtˈrʉ] "puppy". In both examples, although [ʏ] occurs after a coronal, it moves back towards the centre to the same place of articulation as the first vowel in the word. The assimilation is sometimes progressive and sometimes regressive. This process may also cause variants of one and the same word. For instance, in words like /arʉˈsi/ ~ /ariˈsi/ "wedding", /ˈiːsʉ/ ~ /ˈiːsi/ "this direction", /biˈrʉ/ ~ /bʉˈrʉ/ "out", /sʉˈzi/ ~ /sʉˈzʉ/ "needle", there is a tendency to harmonize the two vowels, but the non-harmonic variant is also heard.[8]

• ʉ may be pronounced somewhat towards the back of the mouth (but not as far back as to the positions of [ɯ] or [u]) when it is preceded by velars, especially in an open syllable, in the speech of some younger informants who are educated or live in more

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[7] WaveSurfer is an Open Source program, see http://www.speech.kth.se/wavesurfer/.

[8] Vowel harmony also occurs for vowels other than ʉ in Sistani. However, our discussion is limited to describing it where it occurs in connection with the issue of fronting.

urbanized areas. This suggests that the phenomenon should be analysed as a slight backing of ʉ (towards its original position, if one assumes an underlying phoneme /u/), rather than as an absence of the fronting process.

In all other environments (i.e., except when an additional fronting to [ʏ] occurs, and except for a more general backing by some educated speakers), the pronunciation is [ʉ], e.g., [pʰʉl] "money", [bʉˈda] "has been", [mʉʃ] "mouse".

Syllable patterns and stress apparently do not play any role for the two phonetic realizations, for both [ʉ] and [ʏ] can occur in different syllabic patterns with or without stress. Table 1 shows ʉ in different environments and syllable patterns.

Table 1. Sistani ʉ in various environments and syllable patterns.			
example		syllable pattern	conditioning feature
[tʰʏ]	"inside"	CV	[+coronal]
[xʉː]	"blood"	CV	[-coronal]
[ʃʏl]	"basket"	CVC	[+coronal]
[dʏzz]	"thief"	CVC	[+coronal]
[xʉk]	"pig"	CVC	[-coronal]
[gʉɹ]	"fire"	CVC	[-coronal]
[pʰʉɹ]	"to fly"	CVC	[-coronal]
[ɣʉp]	"sound of falling"	CVC	[-coronal]
[pʰaːˈlʏ]	"beside"	CV.CV	[+coronal]
[sʏˈzʏ]	"needle"	CV.CV	[+coronal]
[bʉˈrʏ]~[bʉˈrʉ]	"out"	CV.CV	[+coronal]~harmony
[aː ˈɣʉ]	"bishop's weed"	VC.CV	[-coronal]
[ʉnˈdʏ]	"Hindu"	VC.CV	[+coronal], initial position
[ʉˈɣʉʏ]	"salary"	V.CVC	[-coronal], initial position
[ˈ ʰʏʃk]	(a kind of bird)	CVCC	[+coronal]
[ʉʃˈpʰʉl]	"whistle"	VC.CVC	[-coronal], initial position
[lɑːmˈpʰʉ]	"a ring pierced into the nose of animals"	CVC.CV	[-coronal]
[kʰʉtˈrʏ]~[kʰʉtˈrʉ]	"poppy"	CVC.CV	[+coronal]~harmony
[lʏlˈlak]	"insect"	CVC.CVC	[+coronal]
[rʏnmɑːˈi]	"gift"	CVC.CV.V	[+coronal]

4.3 Sample spectrograms

In this section, examples of different words (from male and female informants, and from all five regions of Iranian Sistan) containing [ʉ] and [ʏ] are represented in the form of spectrograms (Fig. 5–15).[9] All these words show fronting of /u/ (> ʉ), and also the further fronting discussed in Section 4.2.

The duration of the long vowels in comparison with the short ones can be seen in the "time axis". The formants of short and long forms of a vowel are the same, i.e. the only difference between them is their duration.

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 [9] Owing to the different methods of recording employed, some of these are in the scaling of 3600 Hz while others use 7000 Hz. For comparison of the formants, see Fig. 2–3.

Fig. 5–15: Spectrograms of ʉ and its allophone [ʏ] in some sample words

Fig. 5–12, female speakers

(The part of the lexical item which is not included in the spectrogram is placed in brackets.)
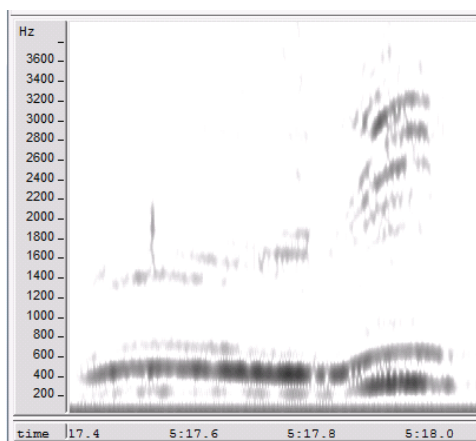
Fig. 5: *bʉːˈrʉ* [bʉːˈrʏ] "out"
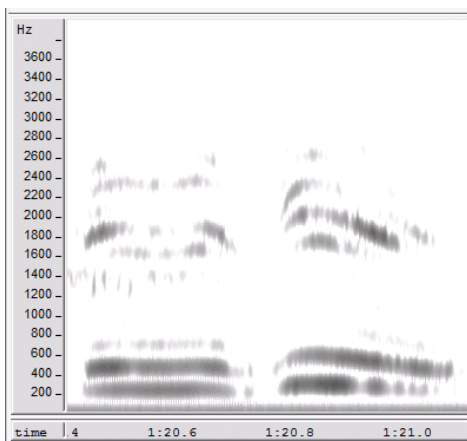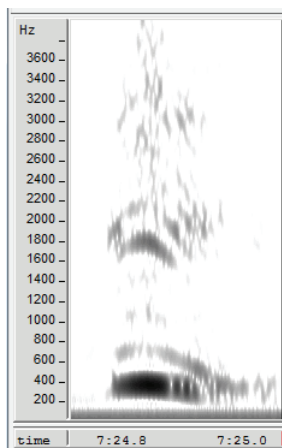
Fig. 6: *sʉːˈzʉ* [sʏːˈzʏ] "needle"

Fig. 7: *dʉzz* [dʏzz] "thief"

Fig. 8: *zʉll* [zʏll] "wood"

Fig. 9: *dʉːr* [dʏːɹ] "far"

Fig. 10: *ʉʃ/pʉl* "whistle"

Fig. 11: *ʉːr* "fairy"
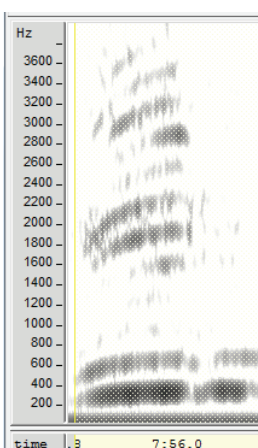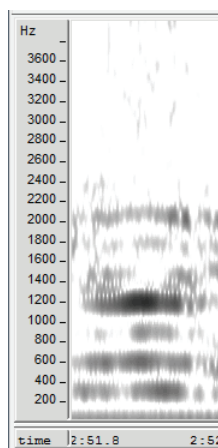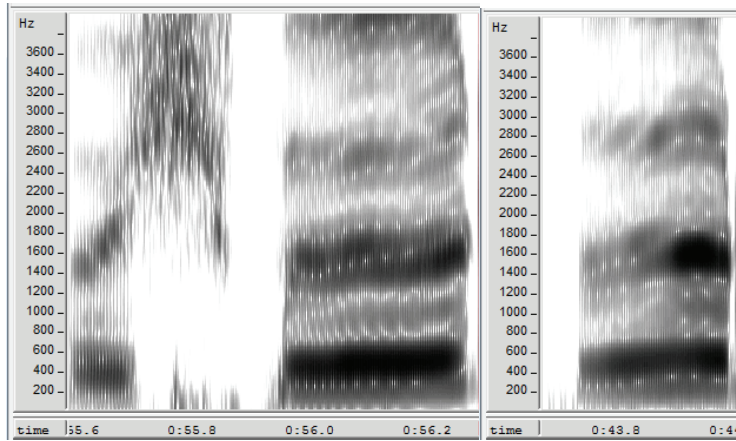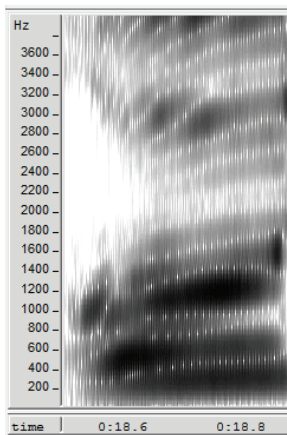
Fig. 12: *ɣʉː(t)* "food"

Spectrograms of slightly backed *ʉ*

Fig. 13–15, male speakers

The following spectrograms show the pronunciation of *ʉ* towards the back of the oral cavity that occurs in the speech of some educated people. There is a fat formant almost around 500 Hz and weak formants above 1000 Hz. These features are close to the characteristics of a back [u].
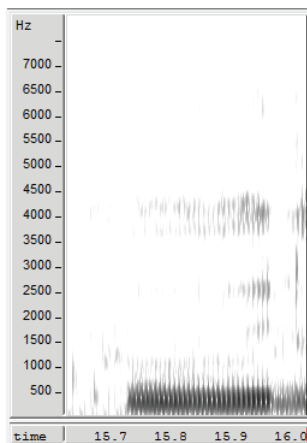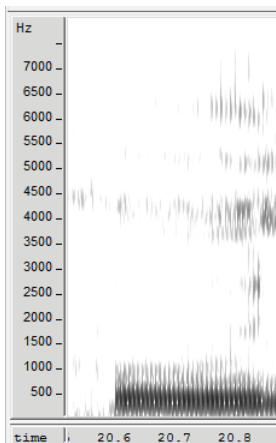
Fig. 13: *kʉ:('la)* "small house" Fig. 14: *xʉ:('ni)* "bloody" Fig. 15: *xʉ:('ni)* "bloody"
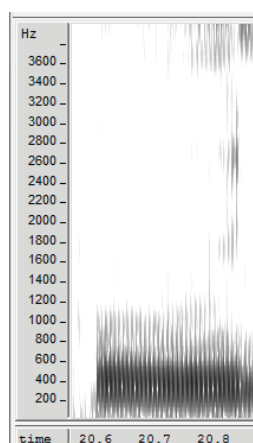
5. Conclusion

The auditory pretest and the technical analysis resulted in support for the hypothesis that the position of the vowel under investigation is central in the Iranian Sistani dialect, namely [ʉ]. Comparison with other Iranian languages, and the fact that fronting seems to be a common phenomenon in the area where Sistani is spoken, makes us conclude that we are dealing with fronting of /u/. Due to the lack of sources for the pronunciation of Sistani older than about 50 years, it is, however, impossible to determine when and under what circumstances this fronting took place, and if it is to be seen as a language-internal or a contact-induced phenomenon.

The analysis further shows that different environments can cause further fronting of the central *ʉ*. Coronal consonants, e.g. dentals, alveolars, and post-alveolars, make it move more towards the front of the oral cavity ([ʏ]). The fronted variant [ʏ] is analysed as an allophone of *ʉ*.

A vowel rather near to the close back cardinal vowel [u] is sometimes heard in the pronunciation of younger educated language informants living in towns, a phenomenon that can hardly be attributed to anything but influence from Standard Persian.

Vowel harmony is another phenomenon observed in Sistani. A deeper investigation of vowel harmony would be an interesting subject for a future study.

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Ergativity in Bactrian

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Abstract

The Middle Iranian language Bactrian is described as having an ergative construction for past transitive verbs, while the present system patterns nominatively. The aim of this article is to show the specific forms of ergativity in Bactrian. The focus will be on the different forms of subject and object marking, including the function of the preposition αβο "to" to mark the object. I will argue that apart from canonical ergative constructions, Bactrian shows neutral and tripartite patterns. These can be seen as signs of a transition of the ergative into the nominative construction.[1]

1. Introduction

Bactrian belongs to the Eastern Middle Iranian language group and was originally spoken in northern Afghanistan. It is the only Iranian language that is known to be written with the Greek alphabet. "As the language of the Kushan kings, Bactrian must have been widely known throughout a great empire, in Afghanistan, Northern India and parts of Central Asia."[2] This language is attested in sources such as coins, seals, and a few inscriptions of the Kushan period "(first to third centuries AD)"[3] and also by many economic and legal documents such as lists, accounts, and letters perhaps from the fourth to the eighth or ninth century AD.

A number of Iranian languages, such as Middle Persian, Pashto, Kurdish, and Hawrami, are described as having an ergative construction. According to Dixon, ergativity is a grammatical pattern in which "the subject of an intransitive clause is treated in the same way as the object of a transitive clause, and differently from transitive subject."[4] It should be noted that Iranian languages generally exhibit what is known as "split ergativity",[5] since the ergative construction is found only in clauses based on the past stem of the verb. It derives from constructions based on the Old Iranian perfect participle in -*ta*, which are called the "*manā kartam* construction". This construction is interpreted by some scholars as passive[6] while others prefer to see it as possessive[7] or call it free genitive.[8] The question of whether the ergative is to be interpreted as passive or possessive will not be discussed here.

Instead, the characteristics of the ergative construction and its typical features in

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[1] I would like to thank Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams for valuable corrections and comments.
[2] SIMS-WILLIAMS 1997.
[3] SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989: 344.
[4] DIXON 1994: 1.
[5] See DIXON 1994: 14.
[6] See SKJÆRVØ 1985: 211–227 and CARDONA 1970: 1–12.
[7] See BENVENISTE 1966: 176–186 and ANDERSON 1977: 317–363.
[8] See HAIG 2008: 27–29.

the Bactrian language will be presented, and the patterns of case marking will be analysed. The text corpus used for this investigation comprises the texts edited by SIMS-WILLIAMS as *BD* I (legal and economic documents) and *BD* II (letters), the Rabatak inscription edited by SIMS-WILLIAMS and CRIBB (1996),[9] and the Kanishka inscription of Surkh Kotal (see LAZARD, GRENET and DE LAMBERTERIE 1984).[10]

2. Morphological notes[11]

2.1 Case marking[12]

The older Bactrian texts show a nominal system of two cases and two numbers. However, the distinction between direct (DIR) and oblique (OBL) case in the singular can only be seen in a few instances in the inscriptions. In the economic documents, legal documents, letters, and Buddhist texts, singular nouns are found in what used to be the direct case (-o) while plural nouns are found almost exclusively in the oblique. So the plural oblique case is generalized, and the morpheme -ανο indicates the plural, leaving a system where nouns are essentially unmarked for case (uninflected, UFL).

In the texts used for this investigation, examples of case distinction are extremely rare, and we can conclude that at this stage, no real case distinction is found in nouns anymore.

2.2 Pronouns

Personal pronouns only distinguish a direct and oblique form in the singular. For the 3rd person, demonstrative pronouns are used. Table 1 shows the most common forms of pronouns in the researched documents.

Table 1. Pronouns.			
	direct	oblique	enclitic
1s	αζο	μανο	=μο =μαγο with preposition
2s	το (τοι, τοο, τογο, τοουο)	ταο (ταοι, ταοο)	=δηιο =φαγο with preposition
3s	ειμο, ειδο		=ηιο
1p	αμαχο	αμαχο, ιαμαχο	=μηνο
2p		τωμαχο, τομαχο, ταμαχο	=δηνο
3p	ειμι	ειμοανο, ειμουανο εδουανο	=ηνο, =ιηνο

As in other languages the enclitic pronouns function exclusively as oblique. They usually function as:

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[9] See also SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998.
[10] See also SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985: 111ff. and 1996: 635–638, 650.
[11] For a morphological sketch of Bactrian, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 40–49.
[12] See also SIMS-WILLIAMS / CRIBB 1996: 89.

(i) subject of transitive verbs in the past

1) οτο=μηνο   αγγιτ-ινδο   ι   οαυαγο   οισπο   ασποριγο
    and=we.CP   receive.PST-3p   ART   price   all   complete
    "And we received the price all complete." (L 21–22)[13]

(ii) object of transitive verbs in the present:

2) κιδ-ανο   αβα=φαγο   ζηρο ...   αþκαρ-αδο
    who-PAR   to=you.s.CP   PN   pursue.PRS-SBJV.3s
    "who might pursue you, Zer" (F 12–13)[14]

(iii) pronominal possessive on noun

3) χοβο=μο   πιριþτο
    own=I.CP   inheritance
    "my own inheritance" (C 7)[15]

(iv) recipient / indirect object

4) φαρα=φαγο   πιδοοησημο
    for=you.s.CP   declare.PRS-1s
    "I declare [it] to you." (C 5–6)[16]

(v) governed by a preposition

5) ασα=φαγο
    from=you.s.CP
    "from you" (A 10)[17]

The demonstratives are used both in singular and plural forms in the extant material, but they show a case distinction only in the plural in the inscriptions. In the texts in *BD* I and II we only have one form; the oblique plural form is generalized. There are also other demonstrative pronouns in Bactrian such as ειο, οο, and μο. The plural forms of these demonstratives are not used in the extant material.[18]

3. Ergativity in Bactrian

I now turn to the past transitive or ergative constructions. Bactrian shows split ergativity with agreement of the verb with the object in person and number. Bactrian ergative constructions show the subject in the oblique and the object in the direct case. "In principle transitive forms derived from the past stem agree with the direct object."[19] But in *BD* I and II, nouns do not show a case distinction (see Section 2.1).

In the legal and economic documents and the inscriptions, the animate object is

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[13] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 66.
[14] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 46.
[15] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 39.
[16] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 39.
[17] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 33.
[18] For the demonstratives in Bactrian see GHOLAMI (forthc.).
[19] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 46.

usually in the third person, whereas in the letters there are also examples in which the object is in the first or second person.

The preposition αβο is also used as marker of a direct object which is animate and human with verbs in the past or the present domain.[20] It can also be used with an indirect object (ex. 13). Here is an example from the economic and legal documents:

6) κοοαδο   αμαχο   αβο   ραλικο   χοαδο   ζιþτο
    that   we.UFL   to   PN   own   request.PST.3s
    "that we ourselves have requested Ralik" (A 23–24)[21]

Classification of the past transitive constructions[22]

According to the material available at present, two main types of ergative constructions can be distinguished. The first type can be further divided into seven subtypes. The main difference is the marking of the object and the word classes involved. The first group has no marker for the object, whereas in the second group the direct object is marked by the preposition αβο.

Type I: Direct object DIR or UFL, or indicated by verbal ending

Examples 7–8 and 12 show the general structure of the ergative construction, in which the subject stands in the oblique case, and the object is in the direct case or indicated by the verbal ending. The subject may be an enclitic (exx. 7–9), a full personal pronoun (exx. 10–11, 13), or a noun (exx. 12, 14–15). The object may be a noun (exx. 9-10, 13–14), a noun with demonstrative (exx. 11–12) or article (ex. 1), or a full personal pronoun (ex. 7).

	Subject		**Object**		
(a1)	CP		PRON.DIR		

7) οτο=μο   το   ζηρο   αζαδο ...   υιρτ-ηιο
    and=I.CP   you.s.DIR   PN   free   set.PST-2s
    "I released you, Zer." (F 7–8)[23]

(a2)	CP	Verbal ending indicates the object

In ex. 8 the verb is third person plural, while the subject is first person plural and the verb agrees with the object.

8) σιδο=μηνο   αβο   αστοργο   ρωβο[ ]   φαρο   χοηο   οαστ-ινδο
    which=we.CP   to   great   PN   for   lord   take.PST-3p
    "which [= two sheep] we took to great Rob for the lord" (ef 7–8)[24]

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[20] Sims-Williams 1998: 86.
[21] Sims-Williams 2000: 34.
[22] Some of these constructions are also mentioned by Tremblay 2003: 128 (using other terminology). According to information received from Xavier Tremblay, a paper presented by Nicholas Sims-Williams at the 7th Conference of the *Societas Iranologica Europaea* 2007 in Vienna discussed issues related to those mentioned in this paper, among these, dialectal variation of Bactrian sentence patterns.
[23] Sims-Williams 2000: 44.
[24] Sims-Williams 2007a: 119.

(b)   CP   N.UFL[25]

9) ταδο=μο   ωσο ...   οαυαγο   σποριγο   αγγιτο
    so=I.CP   now   price   complete   receive.PST.3s
    "So now, I received the full price." (F 6)[26]

(c1) PRON.OBL+ N.UFL   N.UFL

10) μισιδο   πιδοροβδο   μανο   μοζ[δο ι χαρα]γανο ...   ιαοι
     now   receive.PST.3s I.OBL   PN   grain
     "Now I, Muz[dkhara]gan, received … grain." (G 2–5)[27]

(c2) PRON.OBL + N.UFL   DEM + N.UFL

11) μισιδο   ζιþτο   μανο   βαγοφαρνο ...   ειο   ζινο
     now   request.PST.3s I.OBL   PN   DEM   woman
     "Now: I, Bag-Farn, requested this woman." (A 10–11)[28]

(d)   N.OBL   DEM + N.DIR

12) þαφαρε   καραλραγγε   κιρδο   ειο   βαγολαγγο
     PN.OBL   lord of the marches.OBL make.PST.3s DEM   sanctuary
     "Shafar the lord of the marches made this sanctuary" (inscription of Rabatak l. 15)[29]

(e)   PRON.UFL   N.UFL

13) ταδο   μαχο   ωσο   λαδο   αβο=φαγο   βηκο   βονο   οαρζιαδ
     so   we.UFL now   give.PST.3s to=you.s.CP PN   land   farming
     "So now we gave the farming of the state to you, Bek." (U 6–7)[30]

(f)   N.UFL   N.UFL[31]

14) δανομανο   μαρδο   ζιγο   βηλαδδιιο   κιρδο
     such-and-such   man   damage   unlawful   do.PST.3s
     "Such-and-such persons did the damage [and] unlawful (acts)." (X 23')[32]

(g)   N.UFL   Verbal ending indicates the object

In ex. 15 the "steward" is the subject, and the verb agrees with the object, which is
first person singular.

15) ταδο   φρομαλαρο   πιδο   Δηβαυρο   αγιτ-ιμο
     so   steward   with   anger   hold.PST-1s
     "Then the steward arrested me." (jh 6)[33]

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[25] See also example 1 and the third clause of 22.
[26] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 45.
[27] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 49.
[28] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 33.
[29] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2008: 57.
[30] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 107.
[31] This pattern is even found in texts that use an obl.sg. in some instances (TREMBLAY 2003: 128 note 23).
[32] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 141.
[33] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 137.

Type II: Direct object marked by αβο
In Bactrian the preposition αβο, originally meaning "to, in, according to, etc.", is occasionally used to mark a definite direct object. It is also described as marking animate objects only. This can co-occur with agreement of the verb with the so-marked object (see ex. 17).[34]

	Subject	**Object**
(a)	CP	αβο + N.UFL

16) κοοαδο=μο   αβο   ζηρο ...   χιρδο
    that=I.CP   to   PN   buy.PST.3s
    "that I had [formerly] bought [you], Zer" (F 4–6)[35]

17) ταδο=μο   πιδο   ταμαχο   σαχοανο   αβο   ρωβιγο   βαστ-ινδο
    so=I.CP   with   you.p.OBL   statement   to   of.Rob   bind.PST-3p
    "so because of your statement, I bound the men of Rob." (cm 9–10)[36]

(b)	PRON.UFL	αβο + N.UFL[37]

18) αγγιτιδο   αμαχο   μανο   βαβο   οδο   πιδοκο   αβο   ραλικο   ολο
    receive.PST.3s   we.UFL   I.OBL   PN   and   PN   to   PN   wife
    "We received – I, Bab, and [I,] Piduk – Ralik [as our] wife." (A 15–16)[38]

(c)	POSS + N.UFL	αβο + N.UFL

In ex. 19 δαθβομαρηγο βραδο and βραυριγο are the objects, and the verb agrees with the last of them (or with them together if they were seen as a collective):

19) οτ-ανο   ταοι   χοβαν-ανο   αβο   δαθβομαρηγο   βραδο
    so-PAR   your.s   shepherd-PL   to   PN   brother

    οδ-αβο   βραυριγο   ζιδο
    and-to   nephew   strike.PST.3s

    "And your shepherds struck Dathsh-mareg's brother and nephew." (ba 6–7)[39]

The αβο construction is comparable with the use of prepositions in some Pamir languages like, for instance, *az* in Shughni-Roshani and *ž* in Yazghulami. These prepositions originally had the meaning "from" and are used in similar constructions to mark the direct object.[40] These constructions are restricted to personal pronouns in these languages.

   According to Payne one possible development in the decay of ergativity is the "grammaticalization of prepositions or postpositions as object-marker".[41]

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[34] See e.g. Sims-Williams 1998: 86.
[35] Sims-Williams 2000: 45.
[36] Sims-Williams 2007a: 91.
[37] See also example 6.
[38] Sims-Williams 2000: 33.
[39] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
[40] Wendtland 2008: 418–419.
[41] Payne 1998: 557.

Type III: Indirect object indicated by verbal ending

(a1) CP   Verbal ending indicates the indirect object

20) ταδο=μο   πιδο   ι   ναβιχτ-ηιο
    so=I.CP   with   DEM   write.PST-2s
    "So I have written to you regarding this." (bh 8–9)[42]

ναβιχτ- is a transitive preterite verb and therefore one would expect it to agree with the direct object. But instead it agrees with the indirect object, which is second person singular.

    In ex. 21, the verb is first person singular and agrees with the indirect object "I".

21) ταδο=μο   ναγατο   σαγωνδο   ναβιχτ-ημο
    so=I.CP   hear.PST.3s   how   write.PST-1s
    "So I have heard how (your lordship) has written to me." (ci 4)[43]

(a2) PRON.OBL   Verbal ending indicates the indirect object

22) ασο=μαγο   ιωβιγο   βραδο   πιδο   χαγγαρο   ζιδδ-ιμο
    through=I.CP   PN   brother   with   sword   strike.PST-1s

    οδο   ταοο   βραμαρζο   αβισταοοαγο   κιρδδ-ημο
    and   you.s.OBL   PN   disloyal   do.PST-1s

    ταδο   παþτο   ναυαþτ-αμο   χοαδο
    so   agreement   fix.PST-1p   self

    "I, Yobig, struck (your) brother with a sword, and you, Bramarz, outlawed me.
    So we ourselves have made a pact." (O 7–9)[44]

According to Sims-Williams, the second clause in ex. 22 displays "the third possible construction of the transitive preterite, where the verb agrees neither with the subject nor with the direct object but with the indirect object".[45]

    Yoshida mentions this example as another instance of the so-called "indirect affectee":[46]

23) ηβοδαλαγγο   τωγγο   ζαρο   οδο   ποσο   αβαυαγαδδ-ιμο
    Hephthalite   tax   gold   and   sheep   charge.PST-1s
    "[And they] have charged me gold and sheep for the Hephthalite tax." (Ii 7)[47]

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[42] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 67.
[43] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 85.
[44] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007b: 11. The points of dispute this text attempts to solve, and thence several sentences mentioning them, have been variously interpreted, see e.g. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 80, 2007b, forthc., and TREMBLAY 2003: 129–131.
[45] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2005: 24.
[46] YOSHIDA 2003: 157.
[47] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 53.

4. Conclusion

The discussion above has revealed a variety of case marking patterns in the surveyed Bactrian material. Table 2 presents the results of the case uses in different constructions such as ergative, neutral, and tripartite constructions.[48]

Table 2. Case marking patterns in Bactrian.			
Type	transitive subject	object	pattern
Ia	OBL: pronoun (CP)	DIR: pronoun	ergative
Ib	OBL: pronoun (CP)	UFL: noun	ergative
Ic	OBL: pronoun + noun	UFL: noun	ergative
Id	OBL: noun	DIR: noun	ergative
Ie	UFL: pronoun	UFL: noun	neutral
If	UFL: noun	UFL: noun	neutral
Ig	UFL	verbal ending	ergative
IIa	OBL: pronoun (CP)	with preposition	tripartite
IIb	UFL: pronoun	with preposition	nominative
IIc	UFL: noun	with preposition	nominative

There are four main constructions in Bactrian. The first group is ergative, in which the subject is in the oblique and object is in the direct case or uninflected (Ia, Ib, Ic, Id). The object may also be indicated by a verbal ending (Ig).

There are also some contexts in which the subject and the object of transitive verbs, and the subject of intransitive verbs, are marked identically. This pattern is called neutral (Ie, If). It arises as a consequence of the loss of case distinction (see Section 2.2).

The third group is "tripartite", in which the transitive subject, object, and subject are in different cases: in IIa the transitive subject is in the oblique and the subject of an intransitive verb in the direct case, whereas the object is marked by the preposition αβο. This function of αβο is rare in the extant inscriptions, but common in the letters. If the transitive subject is unmarked for case owing to the loss of case distinctions, the pattern is nominative as far as case marking is concerned, since the transitive and intransitive subjects are marked identically. However, the verb still agrees with the object, not with the transitive subject.

Otherwise it is not easy to be very precise about the development of the ergative construction in Bactrian. Because of a lack of more inscriptions, the number of inscriptional ergative constructions is rather low.

From the above information we can conclude that Bactrian shows a mixture of the nominative and ergative construction. The existence of mixed constructions in the past domain can show the transition from the ergative to the nominative construction. The variety of patterns is parallel to that displayed by other Iranian languages.[49]

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[48] This terminology follows COMRIE 1978.
[49] Cf. KORN 2008: 269–272.

Abbreviations

ART	Article
BD I	SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000
BD II	SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a
CP	Enclitic Pronoun
DEM	Demonstrative pronom
DIR	Direct case
N	Noun
OBL	Oblique case
PAR	Particle
PL	Plural
PN	Personal or place name
POSS	Possessive
PRON	Pronoun
PRS	Present stem
PST	Past stem
SBJV	Subjunctive
SG	Singular
UFL	Uninflected
1s / 2s / 3s	1st / 2nd / 3rd person singular
1p / 2p / 3p	1st / 2nd / 3rd person plural

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Ergative Remnants in Sorani Kurdish?[1]

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Abstract

BYNON (1980: 160) states: "Given the loss of ergative agreement marking in the verb, the clitic must, it would seem, now definitely be analyzed as a marker of agreement with the agent-subject despite its anomalous position in the sentence", and concludes that "in spite of its various no longer functional traces of ergativity, Suleimaniye must be considered to have ceased to be ergative."

However, ergativity is still claimed for Sorani Kurdish.[2] Recently HAIG rejected BYNON's analysis and stated (2008: 302) "The O is only occasionally overtly cross-referenced […]. However, when it is cross-referenced, then exclusively on the verb, and using the same set of suffixes that cross-reference an S."*

In this article I argue in favour of BYNON (1979, 1980) and show that there is no agreement of the object and the verb. The personal endings used in the past tense of transitive verbs take over the various functions of enclitic pronouns. On the other hand, enclitic pronouns used in the past tense of transitive verbs are, in fact, subject agreement markers, personal endings, so to speak.

After a short introduction to ergativity and relevant terminology (Section 1), I will give a brief survey of the historical development of the ergative construction in Iranian (Sections 2 and 3). A comparison of Middle Persian and Sorani Kurdish (Section 4) is made to understand the differences between the past tense constructions of these two languages which look so similar at first glance. In Section 5, I propose an explanation of the development in Sorani Kurdish and then discuss the function of personal markers, which are in my view not as complicated as HAIG (2008: 295) puts it (Section 6).

* In the printed version of this article I erroneously claimed that HAIG states ergativity for Sorani Kurdish. I apologize for this mistake. (24/09/2010).

1. Introduction

It is well known that the past stem of nearly all of the New Iranian languages goes back to the Old Iranian past participle,[3] and that the introduction of this nominal form into the verbal paradigm led to an untypical system of case assignment to the

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[1] In this paper, the term "Sorani Kurdish" refers to standard Central Kurdish, which is spoken in Iraq and Iran, and which is based on the dialect of Sulaimaniya (Kurdish: *Sɫēmānī*), cf. KREYENBROEK (2005: Section "Sōrānī poetry"). The sources which were investigated for this article (ʿĀRIF 1986, JĀF 1970, OMAR 1993a–b, PĪRAMĒRD 1935, around 1939) represent examples of this standard. The variations in these sources (e.g. the durative prefix *da-* vs. *a-*; the spelling of *r-* beside *ṙ-*, etc.) are irrelevant to the grammatical relations which are the topic of this article. Concerning the encoding properties of A and O in the past tense of transitive verbs, my sources behave similarly as far as I can tell. The same holds true for the data discussed by BYNON (1979, 1980) and HAIG (2008), which are not drawn from the standard language, but from dialects spoken in the Sulaimaniya region (plus some data from other regions also). For details of the dialects see, e.g., HAIG (2008) and MACKENZIE (1961).

I wish to express my gratitude to Agnes Korn and to the anonymous reviewers for many critical comments and suggestions which helped enormously to improve this article.

[2] LAZARD (2005: 84) notes ergative alignment for Sorani Kurdish.

[3] Yaghnobi is the only exception known to me; here the past participle is still a past participle. For the simple past (or "aorist") and the imperfect, the (diachronically speaking) augmented present stem, is used. The past participle is used for the analytic constructions of the perfect and pluperfect; i.e., the Old Iranian synthetic forms of the perfect and aorist disappeared even in Yaghnobi.

grammatical relations (such as A, O, S).[4] There has been a long discussion about the interpretation of this past participle construction. The proposals suggested so far are the passive, the possessive, the ergative, and the agential construction. The following description refers to ergativity as it is found in fully ergative languages.[5]

Table 1. Accusative vs. ergative pattern.			
accusative language		ergative language	
A	**O**	**A**	O
S		S	

In an accusative patterning language, a transitive verb assigns nominative case to its logical subject and accusative case to its logical object. In a description of a fully ergative language the term "subject" is problematic, and so A and S are used instead. A stands for the subject of a transitive verb, O for the object of a transitive verb and S for the subject of an intransitive verb. In an accusative language (also called nominative) A and S are treated in the same manner with respect to case assignment and/ or agreement, while O is marked differently, that is to say it is assigned accusative case. In an ergative language, on the other hand, O and S are treated in the same manner while A is marked differently, viz. it is assigned ergative case. If there is no separate ergative case, an oblique case is used. For example, in Hindi the case of the agent goes back to the instrumental,[6] while OP uses the genitive/dative.[7]

Table 2. Diatheses in relation to acc. and erg. pattern.			
	active	passive	antipassive
accusative language	AOV ✓	OV marked	AV inherent
ergative language	AOV ✓	OV inherent	AV marked

To form the diathesis passive in a prototypically accusative language, so that O is promoted while A is demoted, a marked construction is necessary (referred to as "marked" in Table 2). In a prototypically ergative language, on the other hand, there is no need for a passive because O is the primary actant anyway, and A the secondary. The passive is, so to speak, inherent in the active construction in a prototypically ergative language. Hence an active of an ergative language can be interpreted as an active or as a passive of an accusative language depending on the context. The diathesis to promote A and demote O is called antipassive.[8]

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[4] See, e.g., Skjærvø 1985, Lazard 1984. For the term "grammatical relation" see Palmer (1994).
[5] Languages with split ergativity differ in many respects from prototypical ergative languages.
[6] Bynon (2005: 6ff.), Bubeník (1998: 137).
[7] In OP the functions of the genitive and the dative have coalesced, the form of which is the genitive.
[8] Iranian languages that show ergative patterns exhibit split ergativity; i.e., ergativity appears only in a subdomain, namely in all verbal forms derived from the former past participle. The continuous decline of the possibility of a passive interpretation as one can observe it, e.g., in MP, is surely connected with the occurrence of new passive forms.

2. Interpretation of the past participle construction

Geiger (1893) introduced the term "passive construction" for the past participle construction. He obviously chose this term because in the Iranian languages which usually pattern accusatively, the A in a past participle construction is assigned oblique case and the O is assigned direct case (cf. Old Persian ex. 1). This is the coding pattern of a passive in an accusative language. It was not considered a problem that at least in the New Iranian languages this construction is by no means a passive.[9]

1) *awaθā*   *-šām*   *hamaranam*   *kṛtam*[10]
OP   there   3pl.EP   battle   done
                Gen./Dat.   Nom.sg.n   Nom.sg.n
        "There they have fought a battle." (DB II 27)

Benveniste (1952) emphasized the structural similarity of the possessive construction of the *mihi est* type[11] and the past participle construction in Old Persian (OP): in OP the possessor is assigned genitive/dative case, just like the A in a past participle construction. The possessum is assigned nominative case, just like the O in a past participle construction. The past participle could be interpreted syntactically as an attribute of O. Furthermore he remarked that some languages use auxiliaries to construct the perfect: *to be* originally for intransitive verbs, and *to have* originally for transitive verbs. Now, according to him, it is structurally the same in OP. OP, however, does not have a verb *to have*, and uses the possessive construction of the *mihi est* type instead. Hence OP makes use of the possessive construction (instead of *to have*) also for constructing the perfect of transitive verbs. And that is why the past participle construction is to be interpreted as a possessive construction and should be called accordingly. Cardona (1970) refuted a rather marginal argument of Benveniste.[12] Although he did not discuss Benveniste's other observations, Benveniste's approach has been abandoned and its designation and interpretation as a "passive construction" celebrated a revival, e.g., in Bynon 1979 & 1980 (but differently 2005). Finally Lazard (1984) combined the arguments of both sides and expressed it succinctly (2005: 81 note 1):

> On a discuté la question de savoir si cette construction est possessive ou passive. Vaine querelle. C'est, en iranien, une périphrase fonctionellement active, formée d'un participe passif et d'un complément possessif représentant l'agent […].

He dismissed the term "passive construction" with the argument that the past participle construction is the only way to express the perfect in OP (1984: 241f.). In other words, since there is no opposition active vs. passive, the motivation for the exist-

[9] According to Steiner (1976: 231) this problem is simply of no importance; he suggests that it only concerns bilingual speakers. I fail to see the logic of this claim.
[10] Underlyingly, the finite verb is *asti* (3sg. of "to be"), which is usually omitted.
[11] In this possessive construction the possessor stands in an oblique case, and the possessum in the direct case.
[12] Benveniste's statement in question was that the agent in a passive construction had to be expressed by a prepositional phrase headed by *hacā*. But in DB V 15/16 we find enclitic pronouns in the genitive/dative in this function (DB V 31/32 is restituted). Skjærvø (1985: 215f.) considers the postposition *rādi* possible in this function as well.

ence of a passive grows thin. Furthermore, Skjærvø (1985: 217) mentioned that the past participle construction co-occurs with the imperfect active and passive. So the question of diathesis is a question of interpretation depending on the context. Hence we find a construction which is indifferent to the diatheses active and passive of an accusative language. This means that there is good reason to refer to the past participle construction in OP as an ergative construction (cf. Table 2).

To sum up, the past participle construction in OP is an ergative construction when O and S occur in the direct case and the verb agrees with them, and A occurs in an oblique case, but the construction does not function as a passive. That a passive interpretation is nevertheless sometimes possible is not only no counter argument, but, quite on the contrary, it is to be expected in an ergative setting (see the discussion for Table 2 above).

There is still one more term which has to be mentioned here: "agential construction". This was introduced by MacKenzie (1961) in his description of Central Kurdish (for a discussion see Section 4 below).

3. The past participle construction in Old Iranian

The OP verbal system underwent considerable changes. The past participle construction appears already as a fully grammaticalized verbal form for the perfect, and the aorist and the synthetic perfect are merely relics. Hence it is impossible to draw conclusions about the origin of the past participle construction by only looking at OP.

Avestan, at least Old Avestan, is more archaic than OP. The verbal system of Young Avestan seems to be already in a stage of change (cf. Kellens 1984: 376, 377) so that one cannot be sure whether the attested aorist and perfect forms are 1) morphologically correct, but perhaps obsolete, 2) morphologically correct, but used in the wrong way, 3) morphologically incorrect, but correctly used, or 4) archaic or artificial forms.

There are Avestan examples of a past participle which can quite well be interpreted as having verbal function, and even as active ones (cf. the translation of ex. 2 and ex. 3 by Kellens/Pirart 1988). In some cases an interpretation of the *mihi est* possessive type is possible (ex. 2: "this here is a found one to me" = "I have this found one here"),[13] rather not plausible (ex. 4: "whom our souls have as a worshipped one"), or rather excluded (ex. 3: †"what we have as an asked one", ex. 5: †"he has a Ratu-pleasing given one").[14]

2) *aēm*   *mōi*   *idā* *vistō*
OAv. this   EP1sg. here see.PP/find.PP
   Nom.sg.m Gen./Dat.   Nom.sg.m
   "Ici, j'ai trouvé celui-ci […]." (Y 29.8a)

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[13] "I have him as someone found here." Lit.: "This (one) is found (to) me here."
[14] The translations of the OAv. examples follow Kellens/Pirart (1988). All other translations are my own. The various editions of the Avesta diverge in many cases.

3) *pərəsā-čā*   *nə̄̌*   *yā*   *tōi*   *ə̄hmā*   *parštā*
OAv. ask.Imv-and   EP1pl.   Rel.   EP2sg.   1pl.Pron.   ask.PP
                   Acc.   Nom.pl.n   Gen./Dat.   Acc. or Instr.   Nom.pl.n

"[…] et demande-nous ce que tu nous as pourtant déjà demandé." (Y 43.10c)

4) *yā*   *nō*   *ištā*   *uruuōbiiō*
OAv. Rel.   EP1pl.   worship.PP   soul
     Nom.pl.f   Gen./Dat.   Nom.pl.f   Dat./Abl.pl.m

"[…] who are worshipped by our souls" (Y 56.2d=j, 63.2d=j)

5) *dātō*   *hē*   *miiazdō*   *ratufrīš*
YAv. give.PP   EP3sg.   sacrifice   Ratu-pleasing
     Nom.sg.m   Gen./Dat.   Nom.sg.m   Nom.sg.m

"It is given by him, the sacrificial meal which pleases the ratus." (Af 3.6g)

Looking only at OP, one could come to the conclusion that the past participle construction came into use because the aorist and perfect got lost. In OAv., however, the synthetic aorist and perfect forms are still in use (cf. Kellens, 1984: 376 ff., 412 ff.), so that one wonders what the motivation for the past participle construction might have been.[15]

Looking at exx. 2–5, it seems obvious that the origin of the past participle construction was a nominal clause: the past participle is used as a predicative noun and agrees with its O, which is the grammatical subject of the clause. The A of the later ergative construction might have resulted from an actant which originally could have had various thematic roles. There could have been an extension of meaning from dativus commodi to agentivity (cf. Delbrück 1893: 300 on the "Dativ der betheiligten Person"). Alternatively, the case may have been taken over from other non-canonical subject constructions (e.g. from the possessive construction of the *mihi est* type, cf. Haig 2008: 82f.). The Avestan instances give no clear picture: various cases appear to be used to index the same thematic role.[16] However, it is debatable whether the functions are indeed the same. Maybe the thematic roles of the verb triggered the choice of case, for instance, in the way that the actant was assigned instrumental case if it was an A lacking the feature [+control]; and was assigned genitive/dative case if the A was an agent.[17]

Probably this nominal clause filled a gap in the aspect-tense system. The synthetic perfect expressed a result of an action or process with respect to A (Brugmann 1916: 768). Perhaps the past participle construction expressed the result with respect to O (cf. Delbrück 1897: 484).

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[15] Compare: Y 29.1a *kə̄ mā tašaṭ* "Qui m'a charpenté?" (Kellens/Pirart 1988: 107), where *tašaṭ* is 3sg. active injunctive aorist; Y 51.8b *yə̄ aṣ̌əm dādrē* "qui a toujours soutenu l'Harmonie" (Kellens/Pirart 1988: 182), where *dādrē* is 3sg. middle indicative perfect (characterized by reduplication).
[16] In most instances, the agent is an enclitic pronoun in the genitive/dative (e.g. *mōi* in ex. 2). Possible examples with nouns have been interpreted in various ways; if interpreted as agent, cases used would include the genitive, the dative (e.g. *uruuōbiiō* in ex. 4: dative/ablative), and maybe also the instrumental (e.g. *ahū* in Y 29.6b).
[17] I will discuss this problem in detail in my PhD thesis.

4. Comparing Persian and Sorani Kurdish

In what follows I will compare Persian and Sorani Kurdish[18] to illustrate the similarities and differences between these two languages. From exx. 6a–9b one might conclude that Sorani Kurdish is a split ergative language: while in the present domain transitive verbs show accusative patterning (ex. 6a and ex. 8a), ex. 7a and ex. 9a[19] appear to suggest an ergative pattern similar to the one seen in other Iranian languages. In the present tense transitive and intransitive verbs behave alike. For both cases, the subject (A in ex. 6a, S in ex. 6b) agrees with the personal ending (*-yt* or *-īt*, respectively).[20] The same applies for the past tense of intransitive verbs (ex. 7b). In the past tense of transitive verbs, however, the verb shows no ending at all (ex. 7a). This could be interpreted as a zero ending, which would be the ending of the 3sg. So one could posit agreement of O and the verb. Since A is indexed by an enclitic pronoun (EP), which is an oblique form,[25] the construction appears to be ergative.[21]

present

6a)	*tō*	*kār*	*da-ka-yt*		6b)	*tō*	*da-xaw-īt*
SK	you	work	Dur-make.Prs.-2sg.		SK	you	Dur-sleep.Prs.-2sg.
	"You are working."					"You are sleeping."	

past

7a)	*tō*	*kār-ıt*	*kırd-Ø*[?]		7b)	*tō*	*xawt-īt*
SK	you	work-2sg.EP	make.Prt.-3sg.[?]		SK	you	sleep.Prt.-2sg.
	"You worked."					"You slept."	

Exx. 8–9 show a 3sg. as subject. The present tense patterns accusatively (ex. 8a and ex. 8b). Ex. 9b illustrates that the ending of the 3sg. in the past tense is zero. In ex. 9a the object of ex. 8a ("two teacups") occurs as personal ending. If one assumes pro-drop for O, one can posit agreement of O and the verb.

present

8a)	*aw*	*dū*	*pyāła*	*da-bā*		8b)	*aw*	*da-xaw-ē*
SK	Dem.	two	teacup	Dur-bring.Prs.3sg.		SK	Dem.	Dur-sleep.Prs.-3sg.
	"He/She is bringing two teacups."						"He/She is sleeping."	

past

9a)	*aw*	*Ø*[?]	*bırd-ın-ī*		9b)	*aw*	*xawt-Ø*
SK	Dem.	pro-drop[?]	carry.Prt.-3pl.-3sg.EP		SK	Dem.	sleep.Prt.-3sg.
	"He/She brought them."					"He/She slept."	

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[18] In the examples taken from the literature, the orthography has been standardized. Especially Pīramērd does not use diacritics for, e.g. /ō/ by <ﮊ>. Short vowels are often not written. The examples of *Šār* are counted in sentences or lines respectively from p. 56 on. This inconvenient way of quoting is due to the problem that I only have my notes of a copy of the pages 56–68 which I numbered in the way described.
[19] The full pronouns need not be present (pro-drop). Ø stands for a zero-ending or a dropped pronoun.
[20] There are no case distinctions in Sorani.
[21] The double occurrence of A in ex. 7a and ex. 9a – first as a full pronoun, then as an enclitic pronoun – could be explained as a way to emphasize A. However, Table 3 will show that this is not the case.

In ex. 9a O is expressed by the personal ending on the verb, but one can posit agreement of O and the verb only if one assumes pro-drop for O. However, a clause containing both O as a noun or personal pronoun and a personal ending indexing O does not occur in Sorani; the presence of one of these excludes the occurrence of the other (cf. exx. 10–21, where the full pronoun indexing O is highlighted). If O agreed with the verb in exx. 10–12, the clauses would be (10) †*tō-m nārd-īt*, (11) †*ēma-y hēnā-yn-a*, (12) †*mın-ıt hēnā-m-a*, which are all ungrammatical.

10) *wıt-ī*   *parīzād*   *har*   *awsāya*   *ka*   ***tō**-m*   *nārd*
SK   say.Prt.-3sg.EP   PN   every   then   when   you-1sg.EP   send.Prt.
     "She said: Parīzād, just when I sent **you**,…" (MZ p. 7, l. 12)

11) ***ēma**-y*   *hēnā-ya*   *sar*   *aw*   *qīn-a*   *ba*   *dwāzda*   *sıwār*
SK   we-3sg.EP   bring.Prt.-to   on   Dem.   hate-Def.   to   twelf   rider
     "He made **us** hate the twelve riders." (DSM p. 22, l. 13)

12) *āxırī*   ***mın**-ıt*   *hēnā-ya*   *sar*   *qīn-ī*
SK   finally   I-2sg.EP   bring.Prt.-to   on   hate-3sg.EP
     "Finally you made **me** hate him." (MZ p. 21, l. 6–7)

Exx. 13–16 are instances of personal endings (highlighted) indexing O, whence O cannot be represented by a noun or a pronoun. In ex. 13, O is indexed by the personal ending in all the three clauses, twice followed by an enclitic pronoun. In ex. 14 the enclitic pronoun is attached to the durative prefix.

13) *ŕašabā*   *hāt*   *pēčā-**m**-y-awa*   *lūl-ī*   *kırd-**ım***
SK   storm   come.Prt.   grab.Prt.-1sg.-3sg.EP-postv.   turned-3sg.EP   make.Prt.-1sg.

     *bırd-**ım**-ī*   *tā*   *čāw*   *bıŕ*   *a-kā*
     carry.Prt.-1sg.-3sg.EP   till   eye   part   Dur.-make.Prs.3sg.

     "A storm came, grabbed **me**, spun **me** around, (and) took **me** as far as the eye can see." (RD p. 72)

14) *kart-ī*   *duwam*   *la*   *nāx-awa*   *a-y-xwārd-**ım**-awa*
SK   part-EZ   second   from   inside-postp.   Dur.-3sg.EP-eat.Prt.-1sg.-postv.
     "The second part was eating **me** up from inside." (DŠN p. 90)

In ex. 15, -*y* indexing the agent is attached to the object *pyāła*. The personal ending is a complement of the preposition *bō* (so *bō …-ın* "for them"); it does not agree with the object. The personal ending of the following verb does not refer to the same referent, but to the aforementioned object "two teacups".

15) *dū*   *pyāła-y*   *bō*   *tē-kırd-ın-u*   *bırd-**ın**-ī-ya*   *žūr-awa*
SK   two   teacup-3sg.EP   for   in-make.Prt.-3pl.-and   carry.Prt.-3pl.-3sg.EP-to   room-postp.
     "She filled two teacups for them and brought **them** into the room." (Šār sentence 75)

In ex. 16 the agreement marker attaches to the object in all four instances: *ama-y*, *pōlīs-ī*, -*ım-yān*, and *ŕū-y*. -*y* in *hōdaka-y* "his room" is an example of a possessive use of enclitic pronouns in the past tense. The personal ending of *tē-kırd-ım* is a complement of the cliticized preposition *tē-*.

16) *ŕaīs-ī*   *dāīra*   *ka*   *am-a-y*   *dī-bū*
SK director-EZ   office   when   this-Def.-3sg.EP see.Prt.-be.Prt.

     ba ḥiddat-awa *pōlīs-ī*   *nārd*   *bırd-**ım**-yān*
     with anger-postp. police-3sg.EP send.Prt. carry.Prt.-1sg.-3pl.EP

     bō   *sarāka*   *čū-m-a*   *nāw*   *hōda-ka-y-u*
     to   headquarters go.Prt.-1sg.-to in   room-Def.-3sg.EP-and

     ba ḥiddat-awa   *ŕū-y*   *tē-kırd-ım*
     with anger-postp.   face-3sg.EP to-make.Prt.-1sg.

     "When the chief of the office saw this, he angrily sent the police. They brought **me** to the
     headquarters. I went into his room, and he looked at me angrily." (MW p. 28, l. 16–17)

A comparison of Middle Persian and Sorani Kurdish transitive verbs in the past
tense yields the pattern shown in Table 3. The unmarked word order is AOV in both
languages. In MP the enclitic pronouns as well as the full pronouns can be dropped
(pro-drop) while this is possible only for the full pronouns in Sorani Kurdish. In
Sorani Kurdish, the enclitic pronouns must always be present. The implication is
that A agrees with the enclitic pronouns in Sorani Kurdish.

Table 3. Clause structure of Middle Persian and Sorani Kurdish.

Middle Persian			Sorani Kurdish			
A	O	verb	A	O	function?	verb
N	N/Pron.	V	N	N/Pron.	EP	V
Pron.	N/Pron.	V	Pron.	N/Pron.	EP	V
EP	N/Pron.	V				
∅	N/Pron.	V	∅	N/Pron.	EP	V

The agreement of the enclitic pronouns with A has already been observed by Bynon
(1979: 217). Haig (2008: 288 ff.) agrees by speaking of "cross-reference" between
A and the enclitic pronouns. According to him, however, there is twofold agree-
ment: A with the enclitic pronouns, and O with the personal endings. So one can
group S with O in opposition to A, which yields the ergative pattern. As mentioned
above, O and the personal ending cannot co-occur. Therefore it is questionable
whether the term agreement is applicable. Even if one only takes into account the set
of personal markers in use (enclitic pronouns for A vs. personal endings for S and
O), one cannot group S and O together because the personal endings can also re-
place any other oblique form (cf. Section 6).[22] Their function in the past of transitive
verbs as pronouns is different from their function in the past of intransitive verbs
and in the present where they are true agreement markers.

    MacKenzie did not consider the co-occurrence of A and the enclitic pronouns to
be agreement, but stated that the enclitic pronouns "resume" (i.e.: index again) A
(MacKenzie 1961: 107 f.). That is why he called them agent markers in the past
tense of transitive verbs and the construction an "agential construction".

    Looking at Table 3, it is obvious that the term "agential construction" cannot be
transferred to the ergative construction of MP. In MP, the enclitic pronouns do not
agree with A (or "resume" it); unlike in Sorani Kurdish, they are not agent markers.

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[22] Furthermore, the sets of endings differ in the 3sg.: -*ē* in the present, and -∅ in the past, see Section 6.

Another difference is that O can still agree with the verb in MP while it does not do so in Sorani Kurdish. O is replaced by the personal ending. Hence the personal ending is pronominal. The enclitic pronouns and the verbal personal endings exchange their roles, so to speak. This raises the question of how to account for the situation in historical terms.

5. A proposal for Sorani Kurdish

To explain the situation in Sorani Kurdish it is helpful to look at the development of Persian: the nominal clause with a past participle as predicative noun becomes a verbal clause, yielding the two structures at stage 1 (Table 4).

Table 4. Persian stage 1.			
A (N/Pron.)	O (N/Pron.)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary "to be" (agreeing with O)
O (N/Pron.)	A (EP)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary "to be" (agreeing with O)

In MP the enclitic pronouns occur predominantly at the beginning of the clause, so that there is an AOV order (cf. stage 2a in Table 5).[23]

Table 5. Persian stage 2a.			
A (N/Pron.)	O (N/Pron.)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary "to be" (agreeing with O)
A (EP)[24]	O (N/Pron.)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary "to be" (agreeing with O)

Furthermore the case distinction is lost. The enclitic pronouns, which are *per se* oblique forms,[25] remain the only indicator of the ergative construction when they express A. In some cases the agreement of O and the verb still reveals the ergative encoding patterns. Hence, in the frequent case of a noun in the 3sg.[26] as both A and O, the ergative construction is invisible. And the restructuring of the past tenses must have started at this point.[27] In the subsequent development of New Persian the enclitic pronouns remain oblique forms and no longer index A or agree with it.[28]

Sorani Kurdish seems to have started out like the Persian stage 1 (Table 6).

Table 6. Sorani Kurdish stage 1.			
A (N/Pron.)	O (N/Pron.)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary "to be" (agreeing with O)
O (N/Pron.)	A (EP)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary "to be" (agreeing with O)

Unlike in Persian, however, the enclitic pronouns were not moved to the position of the grammatical subject to yield AOV order. Instead, it seems that the agent was

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[23]   In my MP data base there are 3046 EP in the function of A, of which 251 EP occur after O, of which 52 O are not relative pronouns (as of April 2009).

[24]   When the EP comes first, it can be attached to, e.g., a conjunction.

[25]   See Nyberg (1974: 279). The Middle and New Iranian enclitic pronouns derive from the Old Iranian enclitic ones; these are used for various oblique cases.

[26]   In many instances the 3pl. is not resumed by an agreement marker either.

[27]   In my MP data base there are 6280 instances of transitive verbs, of which 2783 are marked as agreeing with O, 2651 as agreeing with A or O, 680 as not agreeing at all. Already 148 transitive verbs are marked as agreeing with A (as of April 2009).

[28]   Interestingly, the enclitic pronoun is used as an agreement marker of the 3sg. in the past tense of transitive as well as intransitive verbs in some New Persian dialects.

preposed to the clause, presumably in a hanging-topic position. Thus A seems to be doubled: A, OAV (stage 2b, Table 7).[29] The relation of the agent in the hanging-topic position and A in the form of an enclitic pronoun inside the clause can be viewed as topic agreement. This topic agreement was then reinterpreted as verbal agreement (stage 3, Table 8). The object-verb agreement does not necessarily have to be cancelled, but Sorani Kurdish abandoned it. Nevertheless, it retained the possibility of expressing the object as an enclitic pronoun if it does not occur as a nominal phrase, but in the form of a personal ending of the verb.

In the past tense of transitive verbs, the personal endings function as enclitic pronouns and can encode not only the object, but other oblique forms as well (cf. Section 6). They retain their morpho-syntactic restrictions; i.e., they can only occur in a position attached to the verbal stem.[30] Likewise, the enclitic pronouns functioning as personal endings in the past tense of transitive verbs retained their morpho-syntactic behaviour. They occur in the second position of their phrase. The fact that they cannot be attached to the grammatical subject in modern Sorani Kurdish could be explained by the subject not originally having been part of the clause because it appeared in a hanging-topic position.[31]

Table 7. Sorani Kurdish stage 2b.				
A (hanging topic)	O (N/Pron.)	A (EP)	main verb (as PP)	auxiliary "to be" (agreeing with O)

The auxiliary might have developed into a personal ending in stage 2b. This is connected to the development of the past participle into the past stem.

Table 8. Sorani Kurdish stage 3.				
A (N/Pron.)	O (N/Pron.)	EP (agreeing with A)	verb	–
A (N/Pron.)	X	EP (agreeing with A)	verb	O (personal ending)

One might want to relate stages 1–3 of Sorani Kurdish to historical periods. As we do not have Sorani Kurdish sources from these periods,[32] such an attempt can only be based on a comparison with the historical development of Persian. Stage 1 might refer to *Old Sorani Kurdish, stage 2b to *Middle Sorani Kurdish, and stage 3 to New Sorani Kurdish. Needless to say, this remains hypothetical, and it is of course

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[29] Cf. Bynon (1979, 1980). In these articles she considers a passive construction as the starting point of the past participle construction while she suggests a "modally marked evidential" as its origin in Bynon (2005: 1). The described hanging-topic construction (cf. Table 7) is still very common with transitive and intransitive verbs in Sorani Kurdish.

[30] When enclitic pronouns and personal endings appear together on the past tense stem, the order can vary (cf. Section 6).

[31] Cf. Haig (2008: 285): "In Suleimani, the general rule for clitic placement is that clitics attach to the leftmost constituent of their phrases." If one considers the subject to be outside the verbal phrase, one obtains an explanation of why the enclitic pronouns tend to occur at the beginning of the clause, but are never attached to the subject. I assume that they cannot even occur in front of the subject. However, further research is necessary to answer this question properly.

[32] The earliest authors who wrote in Sorani Kurdish are from the first half of the 19th century, and those who wrote in Kurmanji Kurdish are from the second half of the 16th century (Kreyenbroek 2005).

possible that the changes took place in the Kurdish of the Old or New Iranian period, unlike the development in Persian. At any rate, if Sorani Kurdish and Kurmanji Kurdish have a common predecessor, then they should have separated at stage 2b, at whatever time this stage is to be located.

6. Functions of personal markers in Sorani Kurdish

The functions of the personal markers (enclitic pronouns and personal endings) were already mentioned in the preceding sections. Here I will provide a more systematic overview both to illustrate their various functions in more detail and because Haig (2008: 290–301) devotes a long discussion to the issue.

There are two kinds of personal markers in Sorani Kurdish: enclitic pronouns and personal endings (see Table 9).

Table 9. Personal markers in Sorani Kurdish.[33]				
	enclitic pronouns		personal endings	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st	*-(ı)m*	*-(ı)mān*[34]	*-(ı)m*	*-īn/-yn*
2nd	*-(ı)t*	*-(ı)tān*	*-īt/-yt*[35]	*-(ı)n*[36]
3rd	*-ī/-y*	*-yān*	*-ē*[37]	

In all forms derived from the present stem, the personal endings function as agreement markers, and the enclitic pronouns function as any oblique form. In exx. 17–19, the enclitic pronoun is highlighted. It is attached to the durative prefix or the negation, and represents the object.

17) *nā-**m**-nās-īt?*
SK   Neg.-1sg.EP-know.Prs.-2sg.
     "Don't you know **me**?" (*Šār* sentence 131)

18) *mın   da-**y**-zān-ım*
SK   I   Dur.-3sg.EP-know.Prs.-1sg.
     "I know **him**." (MZ p. 15, l. 14)

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[33] The alternations of the suffixes are due to euphonic reasons.

[34] Haig (2008: 297) mentions that "in the dialects of Piždar and Mukri, the first person plural forms of the pronominal clitics (in most dialects =mān) are often replaced by a form -in [i.e. -ın], clearly reminiscent of the corresponding Set 2 agreement suffix [i.e. -īn]." Haig concludes (2008: 297): "the distinction between pronominal clitics and agreement suffixes has blurred, both functionally and phonologically." However, the 1pl. enclitic pronoun -ın is probably not an innovation ("replacing" an old form), but an archaism. Similarly, Middle Persian shows a 1pl. -n < Old Iranian *-năh (cf. Old Avestan -nā̊) in older texts, besides more common -mān, which is an innovation by adding the plural suffix -ān to the 1sg. enclitic pronoun -m. Hence, the personal markers do not tend to coincide. On the contrary, they tend to be more clearly distinguished (cf. Korn in this volume).

[35] The ending of the 2sg. imperative is usually -a. Some verbs have a special subjunctive stem which is occasionally used, e.g. "to do": Prt. kırd-, Prs. ka-, subjunctive stem kar-.

[36] Pro-drop is possible despite the 2pl. and 3pl. not being distinguished.

[37] There are a few verbs with a different 3sg. Verbs the present stem of which ends in °ē- do not take the ending -ē. One may assume a zero ending or a contraction of stem and ending. Verbs whose present stem ends in °a- end in °ā in the 3sg., e.g., da-ka-m "I do", da-kā "he/she/it does".

19) *ēstā   dā-**m**-a-nē-n*
SK   now   down-1sg.EP-Dur.-lay.Prs.-3pl.
     (here:) "Then they make **me** sit (again)." (MW p. 31, l. 3)

In ex. 20 the enclitic pronoun is a complement of the cliticized adposition *-ē*.

20) *key   da-**m**-de-yt-**ē**?*
SK   when   Dur.-1sg.EP-give.Prs.-2sg.-to
     "When will you give (it) **to me**?" (*Šār* sentence 67)

Furthermore, the enclitic pronouns can be used as possessive pronouns (for examples see MACKENZIE 1961: 76ff.).
    In the past tense of intransitive verbs the functions of the personal markers remain the same. Conversely, in the past tense of transitive verbs the subject always agrees with an agreement marker in the form of an enclitic pronoun. Additional enclitic pronouns can occur in the same sentence with their usual functions as possessive pronouns or as complements of prepositions[38] (cf. ex. 21):

21) *dwāyī   bāwk-**ıt**   pē-y-wut-īt*
SK   afterwards   father-2sg.EP   to-3sg.EP-say.Prt.-2sg.
     "Afterwards **your** father said to you, …" (*Šār* sentence 117)

There are two enclitic pronouns in this example: *-ıt* serving as a possessive pronoun (highlighted), and *-y-* as the agreement marker.
    Ex. 21 illustrates another change of function. As already explained, the personal ending can represent the object (cf. exx. 13–16). If this is not the case, the personal ending is free to represent any oblique form. In ex. 21, the personal ending *-īt* is governed by the prefixed preposition *pē-*: *pē-...-īt* "to you". In exx. 22 and 23, the personal endings represent possessors: *pal ...-īt* "your arms", *taqrīr ... -ım* "my report". The enclitic pronouns attached to the objects are the agreement markers. This change of function may be confusing at first glance.

22) *hāt-ın   pal-yān   bast-**īt**-awa*
SK   come.Prt.-3pl.   arm-3pl.EP   bind.Prt.-2sg.-postv.
     "They came (and) bound **your** arms." (DŠN p. 36)

23) *ḥāsıl   bırd-ım-yān   bō pōlīsxāna   lawē taqrīr-yān   wargırt-**ım***
SK   in short   carry.Prt.-1sg.-3pl.EP   to police station there report   receive.Prt.-1sg.
     "In short, they brought me to the police station. There they accepted **my** report." (MW p. 29, l. 22)

In the following examples the personal ending represents the complement of an adposition (both highlighted). In ex. 29 it is the circumposition *basar ...-dā* which governs the personal ending.

24) *mındāł-ēk-yān   jınēw-ī   **pē-dā-m**-u   tıf-ī   **lē-kırd-ım***
SK   child-Indef.-3pl.EP   abuse-3sg.EP   to-give.Prt.-1sg.-and   saliva-3sg.EP   to-make.Prt.-1sg.
     "One of their kids swore **at me** and spat **at me**." (*Šār* sentence 9)

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[38] The same holds true for Middle Persian with the only exception that the enclitic pronouns do not agree with A in the past tense but represent it (cf. BRUNNER 1977: 97ff.).

25) *dwāyī*   *bāwk-ıt*   ***pē̄-y-wut-īt***
SK   afterwards   father-2sg.EP   to-3sg.EP-say.Prt.-2sg.
     "Afterwards your father said **to you**, …" (*Šār* sentence 117)

26) *bı-zān-a*   *čon-ım*   ***bō̄*** *rāzāndū-yt-awa!*
SK   Subj.-know-Ipv.sg.   how-1sg.EP   for decorate.Prt.-2sg.-postv.
     "Have a look, how I decorated (it) **for you**!" (*Šār* sentence 197)

27) *mın-īš*   *šaw-ēk*   ***pē̄-m-wut-ın***
SK   I-too   night-Indef.   to-1sg.EP-say.Prt.-3pl.
     "And one night I said **to them**:…" (MW p. 21, l. 3–4)

28) *bałām*   *xwā*   *am-īš-ī*   *ba* *xēr* ***bō̄*** *na-gḗŕā-m*
SK   but   god   Dem.-too-3sg.EP   to   good   for   Neg.-turn.Prt.-1sg.
     "But God didn't turn this into good **for me**." (MW p. 28, l. 8)

29) *dast-ī*   ***ba-sar-dā***   *zāł*   *kırd-īn*
SK   hand-3sg.EP   to-on-postp.   dominant   make.Prt.-1pl.
     "He extended his dominance over us." (MZ p. 18, l. 18–19)

In ex. 30 the personal ending represents the benefactive.

30) *aw*   *xušk-ī*   *xō̄-y*   *pēškaš*   *kırd-**ım***
SK   Dem.   sister-EZ   self-3sg.EP[39]   present   make.Prt.-1sg.
     "He gave **me** his own sister as a present." (MZ p. 23, l. 12)

Ex. 31 mirrors ex. 20, which is in the present tense. In ex. 20 the complement of the cliticized preposition -*ē̄* is an enclitic pronoun attached to the durative prefix: *da-**m**-de-yt-**ē̄***; in ex. 31 it is the personal ending: *na-a-dā-**m**-**ē̄***.

31) *awsā*   *agar*   *ba-šīrīnī*   *qısa-m*   *na-kırd-āya*
SK   then   if   with-sweetness   word-1sg.EP   Neg.-make.Prt.-Irr.

     tūtın-aka-yān   *na-a-dā-**m**-**ē̄***
     tobacco-Def.-3pl.EP   Neg.-Dur.-give.Prt.-1sg.-to

     "Then, if I hadn't spoken friendly, they wouldn't have given **me** the tobacco."
     (MW p. 24, l. 22–23)

To clarify the change of function of the personal markers, Table 10 visualizes how the core arguments (subject and object) and various other oblique functions (e.g. benefactives, possessors, etc.) can be represented by personal markers depending on the verbal stem.

Table 10. Representation of constituents by personal markers.		
	subject	obliqui	object
present	personal ending	enclitic pronoun	
past	enclitic pronoun	personal ending	

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[39] خوى stands for خۆیى. The first ى represents the possessive pronoun and the second the enclitic pronoun, which functions as agreement marker of a transitive verb in the past tense.

The use of the enclitic pronouns for oblique forms in the past of transitive verbs is not surprising. It is the use of the personal endings for oblique forms which deserves attention. There are a few instances of this phenomenon in Middle Iranian.[40] A probable explanation of this phenomenon in Sorani may be the following: the personal endings functioned as agreement markers (agreeing with O). When the function of agreement was taken over by the enclitic pronouns (agreeing with A) in the way sketched in Section 5, the use of the personal endings was shifted to pronominal reference of O. Since the personal endings now had pronominal functions, their reference could be enlarged to include other oblique forms.

HAIG (2008) considers the personal endings in the past of transitive verbs as agreement markers. Thus, the sequence of personal markers in *dī-m-īt* "I saw you" (cf. ex. 32) is problematic for him (cf. HAIG 2008: 290ff.) and within his framework, the personal ending -*īt* should come first. Instead, the enclitic pronoun is attached to the past stem, followed by the personal ending.[41] Nevertheless, if one interprets the personal ending as a pronoun, and the enclitic pronoun as an agreement marker, the sequence matches the expectations.

32) *hēnda   nāsɪk   bū-yt   ka   dī-m-īt*
SK   so   lovely   be.Prt.-2sg.   when   see.Prt.-1sg.EP-2sg.
     "You were so lovely when I saw **you**." (RD p. 98)

On the other hand, the personal ending which represents O comes first when A is 3sg. (cf. ex. 33), and occasionally also when it is 3pl. (cf. exx. 16 and 23). For a detailed description, see HAIG (2008: 292).

33) *kɪrd-**īt**-y-a   mar̓*
SK   make.Prt.-2sg.-3sg.EP-to   sheep
     "He turned **you** into a sheep." (DŠN p. 34)

I think one can best explain the variations in the sequence of personal markers by assuming a conflict between form and function: in the past of transitive verbs, personal endings which represent O are formally endings but functionally pronouns. The enclitic pronouns which agree with A are formally pronouns but functionally endings. When form wins over function, the personal endings come first. Where the order is the other way around, function triumphs over form, i.e. agreement markers precede pronominals. It seems that the choice of the appropriate sequence is triggered by the degree of markedness of A. The most unmarked form is the 3sg. In such a case the form triggers the sequence of the personal markers. If A is a speech act participant (1st or 2nd person), the function triggers the sequence. If A is a 3pl.,

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[40] So far I have collected instances for Bactrian, Middle Persian, and Parthian. However, most of these examples would need a detailed discussion, so I only give one quite certain example from Middle Persian: *čē agar-im kāmag hād ēg-im rāh ī rāst nimūd hēnd* "because if it was desirable for me, then I would have shown them the right way" (*Škandgumānīg Wizār* Chapter 11, sentence 271), where *hēnd* is 3pl. and refers to the indirect object "them". The modal translation is due to the preceding if-clause; *nimūd hēnd* is formally a simple past. See also MACKENZIE (1964), TAFAZZOLI (1986), and YOSHIDA (2003: 157b) on this matter.
[41] I have not seen any instance of the enclitic pronoun attached to the conjunction *ka*, which would be the preferred pattern, e.g., in MP.

the sequence is arbitrary. It remains a task for futher investigation whether e.g. A as a 3pl. comes first when its referent is animate or human.

7. Conclusion

Sorani Kurdish is an accusative language without split ergativity. However, the en-clitic pronouns and the verbal personal endings exchange their roles in the past tense of transitive verbs. Agreement is achieved with enclitic pronouns. The personal end-ings function as pronouns and may refer to O or any other oblique form. This state of affairs reflects an earlier split ergativity system in Sorani Kurdish, which re-sembles the Middle Persian type. In contrast to Middle Persian, Sorani Kurdish grammaticalized topic agreement as verbal agreement. Hence, the crucial point is to figure out whether enclitic pronouns agree with A, or whether they are A them-selves. Their occurrence alone is no evidence of ergativity.

Abbrevations

A	= subject of a transitive verb, logical subject
abl.	= ablative
acc.	= accusative
Af	= Āfrīnagān
dat.	= dative
DB	= the OP inscription of Darius at Behistūn
Def.	= definiteness ending (occurring in the definite article in the singular: *-(a)k-a*, and together with the demonstrative pronouns *am-a* = "this" and *aw-a* = "that". In case of attribution it is suffixed to the referent, e.g.: *am pyāw-a* = "this man")
Dem.	= demonstrative pronoun
DSM	= PĪRAMĒRD (1935)
DŠN	= OMAR (1993b)
Dur.	= durative prefix (building present and imperfect: *(d)a-*)
EP	= enclitic pronoun
erg.	= ergative
ex(x).	= example(s)
EZ	= Ezafe
f.	= feminine
Indef.	= indefiniteness ending, singular ending respectively (functions as indefinit article: *-ēk, -yak*)
Imv.	= imperative
Instr.	= instrumental
Irr.	= irrealis
m.	= masculine
MP	= Middle Persian
MW	= JAF (1970)
MZ	= PĪRAMĒRD (around 1939)
n.	= neuter
N	= noun
Neg.	= negation (in the present: *nā-*, in the imperative: *ma-*, otherwise: *na-*)
Nom.	= nominative
O	= object of a transitive verb, logical object
OAv.	= Old Avestan
OP	= Old Persian

∅   = zero-ending or pro-drop
pl.   = plural
PN   = proper name
PP   = past participle
postp.   = postposition (-*dā* and -*(a)wa*)
postv.   = postverb (-*(a)wa*)
Pron.   = personal pronoun
Prs.   = present (present stem of the verb)
Prt.   = preterite (past stem of the verb)
RD   = Omar (1993a)
Rel.   = relative pronoun
S   = subject of an intransitive verb
sg.   = singular
SK   = Sorani Kurdish
Subj.   = subjunctive prefix (building subjunctive present and past and the imperative: *b(i)-*)
Šār   = ʿĀrif (1986)
V   = verb
Y   = Yasna
YAv.   = Young Avestan

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Western Iranian Pronominal Clitics

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Abstract

This article attempts to account for the derivation of pronominal clitics in contemporary Western Iranian languages. It argues against the common assumption (detailed in Section I) that all clitics derive from the genitive/dative ones of Old Iranian and explores the alternative possibility that some clitics in Western Iranian languages may derive from the OIr. accusative forms, or may represent a general oblique form resulting from a coalescence of the OIr. gen./dat. and acc. clitics (Section II). A derivation from such a general oblique is specifically plausible for the plural clitics in those Western Ir. varieties (discussed in Section III) whose pl. clitics are not derived from the sg. ones. This implies a revision of a morphological isogloss which has posited a certain grouping of the Western Iranian languages on the basis of the distribution of two variants of the 3rd sg. clitic, and suggests a more complex picture (Section IV). Although they do not belong to the Western Iranian group, data from Avestan and Sogdian will be used to broaden the basis for comparison with contemporary Ir. languages.[1]

I. Introduction

Most contemporary Western Iranian languages make use of enclitic pronouns, which have also been called "suffixed pronouns" and "pronominal clitics".[2] They are used as enclitic counterparts of the stressed personal pronouns in all oblique functions[3] including the marking of objects, the possessor,[4] and, in those Ir. varieties that show ergative patterns, the agent of ergative constructions.

The existence of pronominal clitics alongside the stressed pronouns is inherited from Old Iranian (and ultimately from Proto-Indo-European[5]). In ancient Indo-European languages, their paradigm differs from that of the stressed pronouns through their having fewer separate forms. For instance, there is only one clitic for the genitive and dative, while the full pronouns have separate forms for these cases. This situation is reflected in the OIr. languages Avestan and Old Persian (see Table 7).

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[1] I am very grateful to Thomas Jügel for his careful reading and commenting of a previous version, and to Nicholas Sims-Williams for advice on Sogdian. In this paper, Old Iranian forms marked by an asterisk refer to phonological forms underlying both Old Persian and Avestan, but disregarding their specificities. The actual forms of the Old Ir. clitics are found in Table 7.

[2] Among the WIr. languages, no such clitics are found in Sangesari, Zazaki, and Northern Kurdish (WINDFUHR 1975: 462).

[3] Broadly speaking, the oblique case of Western Middle and New Ir. languages derives from the OIr. genitive (cf. e.g. SALEMANN 1901: 275–276). Already within Old Iranian, the genitive and the dative cases merge (retaining the form of the genitive for both case functions). In some New Ir. varieties (including New Persian), the distinction of direct vs. oblique case has been lost, but even in these varieties, the pronominal clitics are still mostly used in the oblique functions.

[4] In some WIr. varieties, it is not the pronominal clitics that are used in possessive function, but forms that derive from combinations with a preposition (OIr. *hača "from, according to", e.g. Talyshi *čaman*, LECOQ 1989b: 299) in Northern Talyshi, Tati, Harzandi and also in remnants elsewhere (WINDFUHR 1975: 462). Parallel forms are also found in Eastern Ir. languages (see WENDTLAND in this volume).

[5] See e.g. FORTSON (2004: 129) for the PIE pronominal clitics.

The pronominal clitics for the singular in contemporary Ir. languages have generally been derived from the OIr. genitive/dative pronominal clitics, e.g. New Persian 1sg. *-am*, 2sg. *-at*, 3sg. *-aš* < Old Persian *-maiy, -taiy, -šaiy* (Table 1).[6]

Table 1. Derivation of New Persian pronominal clitics.[7]

		NP clitics	derivation	
sg.	1st	*-am*	< OP *-maiy*	: from OIr. gen./dat. clitics
	2nd	*-at*	< OP *-taiy*	
	3rd	*-aš*	< OP *-šaiy*	
pl.	1st	*-(e)mān*		
	2nd	*-(e)tān*	← sg. + pl. suffix *-ān*[8]	
	3rd	*-(e)šān*		

The New Persian forms are largely identical to those found in Middle Persian and Parthian (Table 2).

Table 2. Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian clitics.[9]

		Middle Persian	Parthian
sg.	1st	*-(u)m*	
	2nd	*-(u)t, -(u)d*	
	3rd	*-(i)š*	
pl.	1st	*-n* (rare), *-mān*	*-mān*
	2nd	*-(i)tān, -idān*	*-tān*
	3rd	*-(i)šān*	

The form of the 3sg. pronominal clitic has been considered a "long recognized Old Iranian isogloss" (WINDFUHR 1989: 259) defining the relationships within Western Iranian (Table 3). The 3sg. clitics have generally been held to derive from either OIr. *-šai*, as in Persian, or from *-hai*.[10] Both forms are variants of the same 3sg. pronominal clitic. In Proto-Iranian, *-šai* figures in phonological contexts summarized by the so-called "*ruki* rule", and *-hai* in other contexts, and this use can still be seen in Avestan.[11]

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[6] An alternative to this communis opinio has been suggested by Lecoq (see footnote 37). For the plural clitics, see Section III. There are also pronominal clitics that appear to derive from the copula or from verbal endings (for examples, see Table 9). These will be discussed elsewhere.
[7] Cf. e.g. RASTORGUEVA / MOLČANOVA (1981: 82). Here and in the following paradigms, forms with bracketed vowels imply the variants with vowel occurring after consonants and those without vowel after vowels (and occasionally also after sonorants).
[8] The suffix *-ān* derives from the OIr. gen.pl. ending *-ānām*.
[9] These forms are deduced from the transliterated ones given by SIMS-WILLIAMS (1981: 171–172, where more details can be found) and apply the observation by DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (2000: 169–172) that (specifically in Parthian) an orthographic variation <d> / <t> encodes /d/ where it is the Middle Ir. reflex of OIr. *t*, while word-internal /t/ is written <t>: the orthographic variation in the clitics of the 2nd person appears to suggest that there are two variants, one with /d/ (showing the development of OIr. *t* after vowel) and one with /t/ (maybe adjusted to the full pronoun of the 2sg.).
[10] See e.g. MACKENZIE (1961a: 83), Sims-Williams (in EMMERICK / SKJÆRVØ 1987: 74), WINDFUHR (1996: 365).
[11] See e.g. HOFFMANN / FORSSMAN (1996: 111, 162), BARTHOLOMAE (1904: 1726–1727).

Table 3. Isogloss grouping WIr. languages according to 3rd sg. pronominal clitics as assumed e.g. by TEDESCO (1921: 215–216), WINDFUHR (1975: 462, 469), LECOQ (1989a: 256–257, 263).

	< OIr. gen./dat. *-hai	< OIr. gen./dat. *-šai
Middle Ir.		Middle Persian, Parthian
New Ir.	Kurdish, Khuri, Kohrudi, Harzandi, Balochi, Bashkardi, Bandar Abbasi[12]	New Persian, remaining New Western Iranian

The derivation of the clitics from the OIr. genitive/dative form is confirmed by the fact that the stressed pronouns also derive from the corresponding OIr. genitive forms, as e.g. in Middle Persian (Table 4).

Table 4. Derivation of Middle Persian pronouns (oblique or sole form).[13]

		Middle Persian	< OIr. genitive
sg.	1st	*man*	OP *manā*
	2nd	*tō*	OP **tawā* (Av. *tauua*)
pl.	1st	*amā(h)*	OP *amāxam*
	2nd	*ašmā(h)*	OP **xšmāxam* (Av. *xšmākəm*)

Similarly, the oblique case markers of the nouns have been assumed to go back to the OIr. genitive ending (Table 5).

Table 5. Derivation of the nominal endings of *Early MP and Parthian.[14]

	direct case	oblique case	< OIr. genitive endings
sg.	-∅	-ē (> -∅)	**-ahya*
pl.		-ān (> pl. suffix)	**-ānām*

So one can say that the Western Middle Ir. (MP and Parthian) oblique forms of nouns and pronouns collectively derive from the corresponding OIr. genitive forms and endings.[15] This would fit with the general assumption that the clitics derive from the OIr. genitive/dative.

II. Clitics deriving from the OIr. accusative

However, in addition to the pronominal clitics going back to the OIr. genitive/dative, some Ir. languages also have forms deriving from the OIr. acc. forms. For instance, Sogdian has a 2sg. going back to the OIr. acc. clitic (Table 6).[16] The pl. forms are based on the sg. ones, as in New Persian.[17]

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[12] Khuri and Kohrudi belong to the so-called "central dialects". Harzandi is a Tati variety (see Section III).
[13] Cf. e.g. RASTORGUEVA / MOLČANOVA (1981: 81), KORN 2005b: 291 (also for the closely parallel Parthian system). For details about the 1pl. and 2pl. forms, see KLINGENSCHMITT (2000: 203 footnote 40).
[14] Cf. e.g. RASTORGUEVA / MOLČANOVA (1981: 58), SIMS-WILLIAMS (1981: 169 footnote 20), KORN (2005b: 296).
[15] The family terms pattern slightly differently, though, see SIMS-WILLIAMS (1981: 166–171), KORN (2005b: 295).
[16] In some Sogdian texts, the difference in case functions is preserved, while Manichean and Buddhist Sogdian use *-f(y)*, *-β(y)* "indiscriminately for both acc. and gen." (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985: 77).
[17] GERSHEVITCH (1942: 100) assumes the existence of a 1pl. acc. clitic *-n'* (< OIr. acc. **-nāh*), but the two or three alleged occurrences (all in the Buddhist text *Vessantara Jātaka*) can be interpreted differently (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996).

Table 6. Derivation of Sogdian pronominal clitics.

		forms[18]	derivation[19]
sg.	1st	-m(y)	< OIr. gen./dat. *-mai, acc. *-mā, abl. *-mad
	2nd	gen./dat. -t(y)	< OIr. gen./dat. *-tai
		acc./abl. -f(y), -β(y)	< OIr. acc. *-θwā, abl. *-θwad[20]
	3rd	gen./dat. -š(y)	< OIr. gen./dat. *-šai, acc. *-šīm
		acc. -šw	-š + nominal acc. ending[21]
pl.	1st	-mn	← sg. + -an (< *-anām < OIr. *-ānām)
	2nd	-tn	
		-fn, -βn	
	3rd	-šn	

The presence of such forms in Middle Iranian opens up the possibility that some pronominal clitics which have so far not been explained convincingly[22] could derive from OIr. acc. case forms, which are listed in Table 7.

Table 7. Pronominal clitics in Old Iranian and Old Indic.[23]

		Old Iranian		cf. Vedic
		genitive/dative	accusative	
sg.	1st	OP -maiy OAv. -mōi, YAv. -mē	OP, Av. -mā	gen./dat. -me acc. -mā
	2nd	OP -taiy OAv. -tōi, -tē, YAv. -tē	Av. -θβā	gen./dat. -te acc. -tvā
	3rd	OP -šaiy OAv. -hōi, YAv. -hē, -šē	m., f.: OP -šim, -dim; Av. -īm, -hīm, -dim; n.: Av. -ī̆t, -di̯t	acc. -īm, -sīm; n. -ī
pl.	1st	OAv. -nə̄, YAv. -nō[24]	OAv. -nə̄̃, YAv. -nō	obl. -nas
	2nd	OAv. -və̄, YAv. -vō	OAv. -və̄̃, YAv. -vō	obl. -vas
	3rd	OP -šām	m., f.: OP -šīš, -dīš; Av. -īš, -hīš, -dīš n.: Av. -ī, -dī	acc. -īm, -sīm; n. -ī

We will first turn to the 2sg. clitic, of which two different forms are found in Sogdian. Most New WIr. languages show a 2sg. pronominal clitic -(V)t, as does New Persian, but some varieties have other forms. Among these are the clitics found

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[18] GERSHEVITCH (1954: 202–205), SIMS-WILLIAMS (1985: 227, 233, 238).

[19] SIMS-WILLIAMS (1996: 161, 164). The -y in the sg. is likely to be "the secondary addition of the (nominal) oblique ending -y" (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 164 footnote 5).

[20] The variation -f- vs. -β- in the 2sg. acc./abl. form depends on the script employed: the Manichean and Christian texts have -f-, texts in Sogdian script -β- (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2004: 542).

[21] Nicholas Sims-Williams (p.c.).

[22] Cf. e.g. MOŠKALO (1991: 47): "The history of the Balochi enclitic pronouns is not easily and clearly traceable. Although it is to be assumed that they derive from the gen./dat. sg. of the corresponding Old Iranian enclitic pronouns, it is not possible to trace the history of their development, and they differ considerably from their predecessors in their form."

[23] The Avestan and Old Persian forms are quoted from HOFFMANN / FORSSMAN (1996: 160–162; hyphens for Avestan added), Old Persian also from BRANDENSTEIN / MAYRHOFER (1964: 66–67). OP clitics are not attested for all persons. For the distribution of the 3rd person clitics, see Section I. The Old Indic forms for the 3rd person given here are those that match the OIr. forms; they are relic forms already in Vedic, and both -īm and -sīm are not differentiated for number and gender (see KUPFER 2002: 128–150, 252–260, 315–323, 336–342 for a detailed analysis of these forms).

[24] The OAv. gen./dat. forms (and the YAv. acc. ones) derive from OIr. *-nah, *-wah, corresponding to the Old Indic forms. The OAv. acc. forms derive from *-nāh, *-wāh (HOFFMANN / FORSSMAN 1996: 160–161), so Young Avestan seems to show a generalization of the gen./dat. form (thus DE VAAN 2003: 9).

in some Sorani dialects (Table 8). These forms differ from those of Standard Sorani,[25] but appear particularly relevant for the discussion here.

Table 8. Pronominal clitics of some Sorani dialects.

		MacKenzie (1961: 76–77)[26]	derivation
sg.	1st	-(i)m	< OIr. gen./dat. *-mai (and/or acc. *-mā)
	2nd	-(i)t	< OIr. gen./dat. -tai
		-u[27]	< OIr. acc. *-θwā?
	3rd	-ē	< OIr. gen./dat. *-(V)hai?
		-ī	same as -ē, or < OIr. acc. *-(h)īm?[28]
pl.	1st	-(i)n[29]	< OIr. gen./dat. *-nah and/or acc. *nāh[30]
		-mān	← sg. + -ān
	2nd	-ū[29]	< OIr. gen./dat. *-wah (and/or acc. *wāh ?)[31]
		-tān	← sg. + -ān
	3rd	-yān	

For the 2sg. clitic -u, a derivation from the OIr. gen./dat. *-tai does not at all appear likely. Conversely, a derivation from the OIr. accusative *-θwā would provide a convenient explanation for the form, since the same development of the cluster *θw is seen in the Sorani numeral "four", which is čwār (< OIr. *čaθwārō), suggesting a regular change of OIr. *θw > w or u in Sorani.[32] The more common variant for the 2sg. clitic in Sorani is -(i)t. Unless -(i)t has been borrowed from Persian, Sorani dialects would even preserve reflexes of two different OIr. clitics, as does Sogdian. At any rate, Sorani does appear to preserve a reflex of an OIr. acc. clitic.

The Sorani 3sg. clitic is also markedly different from that of NP. Its variants, -ē and -ī, have been derived from OIr. *-hai (see Table 3). A development of OIr. *-hai to Sorani -ī or -ē is indeed quite possible because -ī and -ē are also the results of a similar sequence in the verbal ending of the 2sg. (which is likely to go back to *-ayahi or *-ahi).[33]

There is a problem, however, in that the OIr. verbal ending is a polysyllabic element, while a derivation of -ī or -ē from *-hai would have to assume a preservation of the word-final diphthong that seems to be without parallel in Western Iranian: it would be surprising if OIr. *-hai yielded -ī or -ē, whereas OIr. *-mai gives -m, and

[25] Standard Sorani has sg. -(i)m, -(i)t, -ī/y, pl. -mān, -tān, -yān (Blau 1980: 55).
[26] The dialects relevant here belong to MacKenzie's "Group 1" dialects. Cabolov (1978: 27) assumes that these clitics may have been present in more Kurdish varieties in an earlier period. He also assumes a 1sg. clitic -ō for that earlier system.
[27] MacKenzie (1961: 76) remarks -u / -w "is occasionally heard" in Sulaimaniya and Warmawa, adding that -o has been noted for the Sinai dialect in Mukri.
[28] Cf. Cabolov (1978: 26), who derives the 3sg. clitic "< Av. hīm, hē".
[29] "The Piž[dar]., Muk[ri]., and. less commonly, Sor[an]. forms Pl. 1 -in, Pl. 2 -ū alternate freely with the general forms -mān, -tān" (MacKenzie 1961: 77).
[30] Cabolov (1978: 27, giving the form OIr. -nah), MacKenzie (1978: 502, deriving the clitic from the OIr. clitic stem -na-).
[31] MacKenzie (1978: 502, deriving the clitic from the OIr. clitic stem *-wa-), while Cabolov (1978: 26) rather unconvincingly suggests a derivation from the (unattested) acc. of the full pronoun (Av. "yūšma-").
[32] The same change is seen in Zazaki çor (< *čewr) "four", çewres "forty" (Selcan 1998: 587). Note that the development of OIr. *θw in the numeral "four" and the pronominal clitic of the 2sg. may have been different from the development of the cluster in other contexts (cf. Sims-Williams 2004).
[33] Thus Rastorgueva / Molčanova (1981: 109) for Middle Persian -ē(h).

*-tai, *-šai* give *-t, -š*, respectively, in otherwise rather closely related New Ir. languages.

One could assume that *-h-* was lost in a sequence OIr. *V+-hai* (with V = *a* in most instances) and the vowels were contracted. This would surely be a possibility for Sorani, but it would not be particularly likely for other Ir. varieties that show *-ī* for the 3rd singular. For instance, the Balochi 3sg. clitics (see Table 9) include a form *-ī*, but in contrast to what was suggested by the isogloss in Table 3, *-ī* is not a regular outcome of OIr. *-ahya, *-ahai* or *-ayahi*. Such sequences yield Balochi *-ē* or *-ay* in the verbal ending of the 2sg. and other contexts.[34]

An alternative explanation may be seen in the derivation of the 3sg. *-ī* from one of the OIr. acc. clitics, maybe OIr. *-(h)īm*. Here, the word-final consonant might perhaps have prevented the syllable from being lost altogether, so that the *-ī* could have been preserved. If this is correct for Balochi, it might be an alternative assumption also for the derivation of *-ī* in Sorani and some other WIr. varieties (e.g. Harzandi, Abyanei and Bashkardi, which will be discussed in Section III).

Table 9. Pronominal clitics in Balochi.

		forms[35]	derivation
sg.	1st	*-um*	< OIr. gen./dat. *-mai* (and/or acc. *-mā*)
		-un, -ā̆, -ū̆	← verb?[36]
	2nd	*-it*	< OIr. gen./dat. *-tai*
		-ē	← verb?
	3rd	*-iš*	< OIr. gen./dat. *-šai* (and/or acc. *-šĭm*)
		-ī	< OIr. acc. *-(h)īm*?
		-ē	< OIr. gen./dat. *-hai*, or ← demonstrative pronoun *ē* (< *-ahya*)?[37]
pl.	1st	*-in*	< OIr. gen./dat. *-nah* and/or acc. *-nāh*[38]
		-ēn, -ā̆, -ū̆	← verb?
	2nd	*-ō*	< OIr. gen./dat. *-wah* (and/or acc. *-wāh*?)[38]
		-iš	← 3rd pl.?
	3rd	*-iš*	< OIr. gen./dat. *-šām* and/or acc. *-(h)īš, *-šĭš* or *-šĭm*?[39]
		-ēš	← demonstrative pronoun *ēš* (< *aišām*)?[37]
		-ē	← 3rd sg.?

[34] Pace MACKENZIE (1961a: 83), who derives Bal. *-ī* from OIr. *-hai* (cf. KORN 2005a: 107–108). The *-ī* used as gen. ending on personal names in some Western Bal. dialects, on some pronouns, and on the gen.pl. ending *-ānī* is likely to be the adjective suffix *-ī*, and is thus not a case of *-ahya > *-ī* (cf. KORN 2005b: 292–294). Cases of *ē > ī* do occur in Balochi (cf. KORN 2005a: 199–200), but these are usually limited to a certain source or subdialect, and such a distribution does not apply to the 3sg. clitic *-ī*, which is used in all three main dialect groups (while the distribution of the variant *-ē* is more limited).

[35] GRIERSON (1921: 344), GILBERTSON (1923: 71, 117–118), FARRELL (1990: 54), NAWATA (1981: 13), BARKER / MENGAL (1969/I: 243–244), BARANZEHI (2003: 86), YŪSEFĪYĀN (1992: 54), in some cases adjusted to phonemic notation. The Balochi dialects diverge considerably as far as the actual use of the clitics is concerned; in some of them only the 3rd person is common.

[36] Cf. LECOQ (1989a: 257): "emprunté aux désinences?"

[37] The 3sg. clitic *-ē* might go back to OIr. *-hai* (thus agreeing with the isogloss in Table 3). However, if the 3pl. clitic is to be derived from the OIr. demonstrative gen.pl. *aišām* (Av. *aēšąm*, OInd. *eṣā́m*, HOFFMANN / FORSSMAN 1996: 168–168), the derivation of *-ē* from OIr. *-ahya* (Av. *ahiiā* etc., OInd. *asyá*), the gen.sg. of the same demonstrative, is an alternative possibility. This solution has been suggested for Balochi, Parachi and Ormuri by LECOQ (1989a: 257), who also derives the 1sg. and 2sg. clitics of the Ir. varieties of the "Hyrcanian" group from the OIr. full pronouns (cf. Table 4) while for the other groups (including NP and Kurdish), he agrees with the communis opinio in the derivation from the OIr. gen./dat. clitics.

If the Sorani 2sg. and one variety of the 3sg. clitic in several WIr. varieties go back to OIr. accusatives, one might reconsider the possibility that the 1sg. clitic also goes back to the OIr. acc. *-mā: both this form and *-mai would give New Ir. -m anyway; i.e. the acc. and the gen./dat. coalesced, resulting in a general oblique, parallel to the nouns (see Table 5). The same might also apply to the 3sg. clitic -š, which is likely to be the reflex of both the OIr. gen./dat. *-šai and the acc. *-šǐm (the *ruki* variant of *-(h)īm).[40]

III. The plural clitics

At this point, it is worthwhile looking at the plural forms. In Persian, the plural clitics are based on the singular ones by way of adding the pluralizing -ān (Table 1). The overwhelming majority of New Ir. varieties have this type of plural clitics, showing -ān in various modifications, very often with labialization of the vowel to -ōn or -ūn (as in Harzandi and North Bashkardi discussed below) and/or with loss of the nasal (and some with further developments). However, none of the Balochi plural clitics show this suffix (see Table 9); neither do all the Sorani ones (Table 8).[41] Both languages have a 1pl. and 2pl. variant that is likely to go back to the OIr. gen./dat. clitics 1pl. *-nah, 2pl. *-wah. In the 1pl., a derivation from the OIr. acc. *-nāh seems equally possible, and the assumption of a coalescence of both, parallel to the one suggested for some sg. clitics in the preceding paragraph, appears even more likely. It is somewhat less clear whether the 2pl. acc. *-wāh would have given ū or ō in Sorani and Balochi, respectively. On the other hand, the gen./dat. form could have developed into a general oblique *-wah in the predecessors of both languages as it did in Young Avestan (cf. footnote 24). If so, a general oblique *-nah is likely for the 1pl. as well.

Another noteworthy example of a plural clitic not based on the singular one is the 3pl. in the Tati dialect of Harzand (Table 10).

Table 10. Pronominal clitics in Harzandi Tati.[42]					
		agent clitic	derivation	other functions	derivation
sg.	1st	-ma	< gen./dat. *-mai (and/or acc. *-mā)	-īm	ī + *-mai etc.
	2nd	-la	< gen./dat. *-tai[43]	-īr	
	3rd	-ǰa	< gen./dat. *-šai (and/or acc. *-šǐm)[44]	-ī	< OIr. acc. *-(h)īm?
pl.	1st	-muna		-mun	← sg. + -ān
	2nd	-luna	← sg. + -ān	-lun	
	3rd	-ǰuna		-i	(! not †-iun or †-ǰun); cf. Av. *-(h)īm

[38] Cf. LECOQ (1989a: 257), who derives the 1pl. and 2pl. clitics of the Ir. varieties of the "Hyrcanian" group (see footnote 37) from OIr. *-nah, *-wah, which are also noted as the protoforms for the Bal. clitics by WINDFUHR (1989: 259).

[39] See Section III.

[40] Thus SIMS-WILLIAMS (1996: 161) for Middle Persian and Sogdian. HORN (1901: 119) considers this possibility for the 1sg. and 3sg. in NP.

[41] The languages mentioned in this section include all WIr. varieties known to me whose pl. clitics are not based on the sg. ones. Minor variations like the ones seen in Vafsi (1sg. -om / -im vs. 1pl. -oan < *-owan < *-Vmān) or Xunsari (2sg. -t/d vs. 2pl. -dun) are not discussed here.

[42] Forms from LECOQ (1989b: 302–303).

[43] l and r are the regular results of OIr. intervocalic t in Tati varieties (cf. GEIGER 1901: 355), cf. *vör* "wind", *žar* "struck", *jeru* "separate", *kerom* "which" (all examples from YARSHATER 1989: 242, in the orthography used there).

Harzandi has two sets of clitics: one for agents of ergative constructions, the other for the remaining oblique functions. The former set is characterized by showing an element -*a* throughout. In the second series, the 3pl. object clitic is -*i* in a remarkably asymmetrical system with the other pl. persons showing the pluralizing suffix (1pl. -*mun*, 2pl. -*lun*). If the 3sg. goes back to OIr. *-(h)īm* in some NIr. varieties, as suggested in Section II, the Harzandi 3pl. -*i* might perhaps be linked to OIr. *-(h)īm* as well, since -*īm* is used for both singular and plural in Vedic. This could perhaps also have applied to the OIr. variety to which Harzandi goes back.[45]

There is a similar situation in the central plateau dialect Abyanei (Table 11).

Table 11. Agent clitics in Abyanei.

		forms[46]	derivation
sg.	1st	-*m*	< OIr. gen./dat. *-*mai* (and/or acc. *-*mā*)
	2nd	-*d*	< OIr. gen./dat. *-*tai*
	3rd	-*i, -y*	< OIr. acc. *-(h)īm*?
pl.	1st	-*mi*	← sg. + -*ān*
	2nd	-*yi*	
	3rd	-*š(i)*	< OIr. gen./dat. *-*šām* (and/or acc. *-*šīš* or *-(h)īš*)?

Abyanei shows a contrast between the obligatory -*i* (corresponding to -*ān* in this variety)[47] in the 1pl. -*mi* and the 2pl. -*yi*, while the -*i* is optional in the 3pl. -*š(i)*. More importantly, the 3pl. is not derived from the 3sg. either. This might indicate that the 3pl. clitic has an origin other than -*š* plus -*ān*,[48] perhaps a form as seen in OP gen./dat.pl. -*šām* or the acc.pl. -*šīš* or OIr. *-(h)īš*. The -*i* may then have been optionally added in analogy with the other pl. persons.

The Bashkardi varieties are also interesting in this context, as is Koroshi, a Balochi dialect spoken in Fars province (Table 12).

Table 12. Pronominal clitics in Bashkardi[49] and Koroshi.[50]

		North Bashkardi	South Bashkardi	Koroshi
sg.	1st	-*(o)m*		
	2nd	-*(e)t*		
	3rd	-*i, -e, -h*		-*i*
pl.	1st	-*mōn/-mūn*	-*an*	-*en*
	2nd	-*tōn/-tūn*	-*o(x)*	-*u*
	3rd	-*šōn/-šūn*	-*(e)š*	-*eš*

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[44] *ǰ* is likely to have developed from *š* via *ž*; note that even OIr. *ž* yields *ǰ* in some North-Western Ir. varieties, e.g. *huž, hūǰ* "you (pl.)" vs. Av. *yūžəm* in some Semnani varieties (MORGENSTIERNE 1960: 103).

[45] A derivation from the Av. acc. n. -*ī* seems less plausible, as a vowel alone is less likely to be preserved.

[46] LECOQ (1989c: 318).

[47] Abyanei -*i* probably developed from -*ān* via -*ūn* and -*ū* > -*ü*.

[48] If the 3pl. -*š(i)* were borrowed from Persian -*šān*, one would expect a 2pl. -*ti* (or -*di*, cf. the 2sg. -*d*) as well. Such a system is indeed shown by Naini, which has (whether originally or borrowed) sg. -*m, -t, -š*; pl. -*mi, -ti, -ši* (LECOQ 1989c: 322).

[49] SKJÆRVØ (1989: 366). South Bashkardi shows a preservation of OIr. postvocalic voiceless stops (cf. SKJÆRVØ 1989: 366), which otherwise within Western Iranian is only seen in Balochi.

[50] SALĀMĪ (2005: 44). The data given by MAHAMEDI 1979 differ a bit from these: 1sg. -*əm*, 2sg. -*ət*; 1pl. -*ən* (p. 287), 2pl. -*ət* (sic) (pp. 287, 288, 295) and -*o* (quoted twice on p. 296), 3pl. -*əš* (p. 287). For -*ə*- he also variously notes -*e*- (pp. 295, 296 bottom). ʿEMĀDĪ 2005 notes two slightly different sets, one identical with the one in Table 12 (ʿEMĀDĪ 2005: 46, 50, 72), and another one (for "accusative" and "complement" uses, ʿEMĀDĪ 2005: 45, 49) with 1sg. -*am*, 2sg. -*at*, 3sg. -*ay*; 1pl. -*ayn*, 2pl. -*ow*, 3pl. -*aš*.

The 3sg. clitics of North Bashkardi include a variant -*i*, while the pl. is -*šōn* or -*šūn*, mirroring the NP type. The fact that the North Bashkardi 3pl. clitic does not match its 3sg. may hint at the possibility that the entire pl. series has been modelled on Persian and that North Bashkardi previously had a system like the one seen in South Bashkardi and Koroshi.

The pl. series of South Bashkardi and Koroshi correspond to the pl. clitics listed for Balochi in Table 9 (1pl. -*in*, 2pl. -*ō*, 3pl. -*iš*).[51] They are likely to go back to OIr. 1pl. *-*nah*, 2pl. *-*wah*, and one of the clitics discussed for the 3pl. in Abyanei above.

It is striking that all the WIr. varieties whose plural clitics are not based on the singular (listed in Table 13) have 3sg. clitics -*ī*, sometimes also -*ē*, but that none of these variants has only -*š*.[52]

Table 13. Patterns of sg. vs. pl. in New Western Iranian clitics.

	pl. clitics ≠ sg. + -*ān*:	3rd sg. clitic
Sorani dialects (Table 8):	1pl.–2pl.	-*ī*, -*ē*
Harzandi, Abyanei (Tables 10, 11):	3pl.	-*ī*
Koroshi (Table 12):		-*i*
South Bashkardi (Table 11):	1pl.–3pl.	-*i*, -*e*, -*h*
Balochi (Table 9):		-*ī*, -*ē*, -*iš*

IV. Conclusion

Summing up the discussion above, Table 14 groups New WIr. varieties according to the 2sg., 3sg., and 3pl. pronominal clitics.

Table 14. Distribution of 2sg., 3sg., and 3pl. pronominal clitics in New Western Iranian.

2sg.	< OIr. acc. *-*θwā*	< OIr. gen./dat. *-*tai*	
	-*u* in Sorani dialects	-(V)*t* (etc.) in remaining New Western Iranian	
3sg.	< OIr. acc. *-*(h)īm*	< OIr. gen./dat. *-*hai*	< OIr. gen./dat. *-*šai* and/or acc. *-*šĭm*
	probably: -*ī* in Balochi, Koroshi, Bashkardi; maybe: -*ī* in Sorani, Harzandi, Abyanei	-*ē* in Sorani, Balochi, Bashkardi (and others)	-*ja* in Harzandi, -*h* in Bashkardi; -(V)*š* in Balochi, New Persian and remaining New Western Ir.
3pl.	< OIr. acc. *-*(h)īm*?	< OIr. acc. *-*(h)īš*, *-*šĭš* and/or gen./dat. *-*šām*	sg. + -*ān* → pl.
	-*i* in Harzandi	-(i)*š* in Balochi, Koroshi, South Bashkardi; Abyanei -*š(i)*	remaining New Western Iranian

The first noteworthy point is that in contrast to all other New WIr. varieties, some Sorani dialects appear to have a 2sg. clitic which goes back to the OIr. accusative one. Sorani dialects might also show a 3sg. clitic deriving from the OIr. accusative. Here, it is joined by several other varieties, among them Balochi, Koroshi, and

[51] This assumption would be similar to the one made by Cabolov for Kurdish (see footnote 26).
[52] The reverse does not apply: there are New Ir. varieties with 3sg. clitic -*ī* whose pl. clitics are built on the singular, among these Standard Sorani (see footnote 25) and several Fars dialects (cf. SALĀMĪ 2004: 43, 198ff.).

South Bashkardi, for which a derivation from something like OIr. *-(h)īm appears even more probable than for Sorani.

As far as the 3pl. clitic of the latter three varieties is concerned, it is not quite clear which OIr. form they go back to: it could be either gen./dat. *-šām or acc. *-(h)īš,[53] *-šīš, *-šīm, from which -š might have been preserved. Derivations of the 3sg. and the 3pl. clitic from an OIr. acc. clitic would of course mutually support each other. The possibility of a coalescence of several forms (see the end of Section II) must also be kept in mind.

A derivation of the 3pl. clitic from *-šīm would show that the 3rd person clitics may be unmarked for number as they are in Vedic. This unmarkedness may also be present in the 3pl. -i in Harzandi if it derives from OIr. *-(h)īm, as does the 3rd singular.

While one Ir. variety seen in isolation does not seem to say much, all the varieties taken together present an interesting picture and, as a group, preserve a remarkable variety of OIr. pronominal clitics, also indicating that it is not only the 3sg. clitic which may be relevant for the grouping of Western Iranian. Indeed, it seems that not even the WIr. 3sg. clitics quite fit into the pattern outlined by Table 3: several varieties show more than one clitic, and there are more than two options that they could choose from.

The question remains what the distribution shown in Table 14 implies for a grouping of WIr. varieties. As discussed in KORN 2003, shared innovations would be particularly significant for such a grouping, while shared archaisms could be due to chance. However, contrary to isoglosses that have been used for grouping Ir. varieties according to phonological criteria, the parallel features observed here cannot be sorted into shared archaisms and shared innovations.

There is indeed a noteworthy innovation, viz. the formation of the plural clitics by the agglutinative method of suffixing -ān, originally the ending of the oblique plural,[54] to the appropriate form of the sg. clitic. Many New WIr. languages share this pattern with New Persian. However, it seems difficult or even impossible to exclude the possibility that most (if not all) New WIr. languages which have such plural clitics (including modifications like -ān > -ūn etc.) can have adopted them from Middle or New Persian in the way assumed for North Bashkardi in Section III above. On the other hand, the fact that Parthian also has such plural clitics may date the spreading of the innovation to a stage preceding Middle Iranian, all the more since the innovation stretches beyond Western Iranian and includes Bactrian[55] and Sogdian (see Table 6). There seems to be no way to decide whether the presence of such plural clitics in a given New Ir. variety indicates whether they are modelled on the Persian type or inherited from an earlier stage of Western Iranian. So there is no certain instance of a common innovation that would point to a particularly close relationship among the languages that show such pl. clitics.

Conversely, with regard to the extent of the presence of pl. clitics of the form:

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[53] A derivation of the 3pl. clitic from OIr. *-hīš is assumed by WINDFUHR (1989: 259).

[54] Note that the affixing of -ān in the pl. clitics is compatible both with an obl.pl. function of the suffix (as in early Middle Iranian, see Table 5) and with a general pl. marking function.

[55] For the forms of the Bactrian clitics, see GHOLAMI in this volume.

sg. + -*ān*, the preserved reflexes of the OIr. inflectional (not agglutinative) pl. clitics in Koroshi, South Bashkardi, Balochi, Sorani dialects, and maybe also Harzandi and Abyanei, are a shared archaism that is all the more remarkable. Indeed, were it not for New Ir. languages like these, the MP and Parthian clitics would lead one to believe that the innovation of the pattern 1sg. -*m* + -*ān* → 1pl. -*mān* etc. was generalized in Middle Western Iranian, and the only remnant of an OIr. pl. clitic is the MP 1pl. -*n*. While it is questionable whether a shared archaism says anything about the grouping of languages, it is worth noting that such pl. clitics are shared by Balochi, Koroshi, and South Bashkardi, which seem to have a particularly close relationship anyway, and furthermore by one variety each of Tati and the central plateau dialects, and some Sorani dialects.

So Tables 13 and 14 summarize the distribution of clitics in Western Iranian and in this sense attempt to revise Table 3 as far as the distribution of clitics is concerned. However, the results at the same time challenge the assumption that the distribution of the 3sg. clitics (or any pronominal clitics) in New WIr. languages allows conclusions on the grouping of Western Iranian.

Abbreviations

1sg.	1st sg. (other persons accordingly)
abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
Av.	Avestan
Bal.	Balochi
dat.	dative
f.	feminine
gen.	genitive
Ir.	Iranian
m.	masculine
MP	Middle Persian
n.	neuter
NP	New Persian
OAv.	Old Avestan
obl.	oblique case
OInd.	Old Indic
OIr.	Old Iranian
OP	Old Persian
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
pl.	plural
sg.	singular
V	any vowel
WIr.	Western Iranian
YAv.	Young Avestan

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The Position of the Pamir Languages
within East Iranian

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Abstract

The Pamir languages are a group of East Iranian languages which are linguistically quite diverse and cannot be traced back to a common ancestor. The term "Pamir languages" is based on their geographical position rather than on their genetic closeness. Their relation to other East Iranian languages is rarely studied. In this context the position of Yaghnobi, which is usually mostly compared with the Middle Iranian Sogdian language, might be of some interest. But Sogdian also shows traits found in some of the Pamir languages. Therefore it might be interesting to compare some phonological and morphological characteristics of individual Modern East Iranian and East Middle Iranian languages in order to find out if there are specific relations between them – and also to see if particular developments are innovations characteristic of Modern East Iranian or have already occurred in Middle Iranian.

1. Introduction

The classification of some of the Iranian languages still raises questions and cannot be said to have been completely resolved. The criteria for their affiliation to one group or another do not seem to be clear and agreed upon in every respect. As an especially striking example, one can mention Ormuri and Parachi, two Iranian languages spoken in Afghanistan, which have been classified as belonging to completely different branches of the Iranian languages despite usually being regarded as "South East Iranian".[1]

The term "South East Iranian" is not always used for these two languages alone. Sometimes Pashto and the Pamir languages are also classified as South East Iranian, whereas Ossetic and Yaghnobi are described as North East Iranian languages.[2] Even within East Iranian (broadly defined) one group is quite diverse in itself. The Pamir languages comprise about 15 different modern East Iranian languages spoken in the frontier area of Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and China.[3] It was soon found out that the languages of the so-called Shughni-Roshani group

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[1] After they were first held to be West Iranian by GRIERSON 1918: 49–52, a similar view was later advanced by other scholars like ORANSKIJ 1979a: 81–121, and EFIMOV 1986. But MORGENSTIERNE 1926: 28ff., who first studied these languages in detail, attributed them to the Eastern branch of the Iranian languages, in spite of a number of phonological characteristics that they share with West Iranian. He defined a South-East Iranian sub-group consisting of Ormuri and Parachi. Others, like KIEFFER 1989: 451ff., follow this classification in their grammatical descriptions. See also SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650.

[2] E.g. by Soviet scholars, in *Osnovy*; cf. also the genealogical tree of the Iranian languages at the site of the Institute of Indo-European Studies, University of Frankfurt, http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/idg/iran/iranstam.htm

[3] Their genetic relations were first extensively studied by MORGENSTIERNE 1938 and later, in more detail, by Russian scholars like SOKOLOVA 1967, 1973, PAHALINA 1969, 1983 and ÈDEL'MAN 1987a.

are closely related to Yazghulami and Sarikoli, whereas languages like Munji and Yidgha, or Wakhi seem to be more isolated. Although the genetic relations among the Pamir languages are not yet understood in full detail, it can be said that it is not possible to trace all of them back to a single common ancestor that would be unique to this group.[4]

Table 1. Genetic relations of the Pamir languages.[5]								
Shughni-Yazghulami group								
Shughni group								
Shughni	Roshani	Bartangi	Sarikoli	Yazghulami	Ishkashmi		Munji	Wakhi
Badzh.	Xufi	Roshorvi			Zebaki		Yidgha	
					Sanglechi			

Thus, the term "Pamir languages" is based on their geographical position rather than on their genetic proximity, and they have also been called a "Sprachbund" (linguistic area), which seems to be more appropriate.[6] Contrary to the "Balkan languages", which belong to various branches of Indo-European and are therefore more obviously defined as a linguistic area, a *sprachbund* of languages from one branch of a language family can easily be mistaken for a genetically closely related unit. For instance, the frequent use of the term "Pamir dialects" might create the impression of a dialect continuum with only small divergences.

Another language belonging to the Eastern branch of the Iranian languages is Yaghnobi. Its closeness to the Middle Iranian Sogdian language has often been pointed out, and when first studied it was even considered to be a kind of modern successor of Sogdian.[7] Others believe that a direct derivation of Yaghnobi from Sogdian is not possible because of a number of divergences in the phonology and morphology of these languages. One of the main arguments is the so-called Rhythmic Law, which shaped the phonological development of Sogdian but did not have an effect on the predecessor of the Yaghnobi language.[8] Yaghnobi is usually described as deriving from a dialect similar to Sogdian.[9] When one compares Yaghnobi with the Pamir languages, and some of the other East Middle Iranian languages, one can find a considerable number of similar phonological and morphological developments and isoglosses. Still, Yaghnobi is rarely compared with the Pamir languages.

All the Modern East Iranian languages (except Ossetic) contain many loanwords from Tajik or Dari, and their original vocabularies are very often imperfectly documented. Moreover, they all have dialects, which are not well studied and may show a wide range of lexical variation. One further important point is that in the study of these relatively diverse languages, similar sound changes – when viewed in isolation

[4] MORGENSTIERNE 1938: XVIII; STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1982: 3; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 651. Occasionally some of the languages are not classified as "Pamir" and are treated separately, e.g. Munji and Yidgha by PAYNE 1989a, as they are spoken outside the Pamir region.
[5] This presentation of the Shughni-Yazghulami group follows SOKOLOVA 1967: 124.
[6] GRJUNBERG 1980.
[7] E.g. ORANSKIJ 1963: 164.
[8] E.g. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989: 165.
[9] E.g. HROMOV 1987: 645.

– cannot be considered proof of common ancestry in every case.[10] There are a number of phonological and morphological characteristics which are commonly said to be typical of the East Iranian languages, although no universal traits distinguishing East Iranian from West Iranian have been found so far.[11] Below some phonological and morphological characteristics of the East Middle Iranian and Modern East Iranian will be discussed in order to see if some new insights into their genetic relations can be found.

2. Phonological characteristics

2.1 Old Iranian word-initial *č-

In most East Iranian languages Old Iranian *č was depalatalized and became *ts*,[12] as in Chorasmian, Bactrian, most of the Pamir languages, and Ossetic. In Khotanese it was depalatalized before non-palatals.[13] Only Sogdian did not take part in the development. Here *č was preserved.[14] Among the Modern East Iranian languages č was preserved in Parachi[15] and Yaghnobi,[16] and word-initially in Yazghulami and Munji.[17]

Table 2. Old Iranian *č-: *čaθu̯ār- "four"; *či- "what".[18]

Yaghn.	Shughni[19]	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Par.	Pashto	Oss.
(tufor)	cavür, cavōr	cavur	čer	cьfur	čfir, čfūr	cəbыr	čōr[20] Orm. cår	calor	cyppar / cuppar
čo	ca	ca	či	ce	Yidgha ce	cə	Par. če, Orm. ca	cə	cy

Bactr.		Chor.		Sogd.		Khot.	
σoφαρo [(t)sufar] σα-		cf'r [tsafār] c- [ts-]		ctβ'r, ctf'r, cf'r [ča(t)fār] c'- [č-]		tcohaurä (kye, ci etc.)	

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[10] One example may illustrate the dilemma: Middle Iranian Khotanese and Modern Wakhi share some remarkable phonological features, as was first described by MORGENSTIERNE 1975: 432f. Unlike in many other Ir. languages, Proto-Indo-European *ḱu̯ does not develop into *sp*, but into *ś* or *š*. Thus, in Khotanese the word for "horse", Persian *asp*, is *aśśa*, and in Wakhi *yaš*. But this does not mean that Wakhi can be derived directly from Khotanese or that it is possible to trace both languages back to a common ancestor. This becomes clear from some other developments: in some cases Middle Iranian Khotanese shows a more advanced development than Modern Iranian Wakhi (see SKJÆRVØ 1989a: 375). First, intervocalic stops, which have been lost in Khotanese, are still preserved in Wakhi, like in the word for "foot", Khotanese *pāa-* and Wakhi *pыd* < Old Iranian *pāda-*. Moreover, the Wakhi outcome of Old Iranian word-internal *θr (viz., *tr*) cannot be derived from Khotanese (-*r*), see Section 2.5.2.
[11] Pace SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650f., who lists a number of words which are held to be exclusively East Iranian. Most of these can also be found in West Iranian languages, e.g. Balochi *kutik* "dog" (see KORN 2005: 188, note 56) or Bal. *gar* "flank of a hill, abyss" (KORN 2005: 150).
[12] SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650.
[13] EMMERICK 1989: 213.
[14] SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a: 168.
[15] MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 34; EFIMOV 1997: 450f.
[16] HROMOV 1987: 656; LIVŠIC/HROMOV 1981: 450. For the special development of the numeral "4" in Yaghnobi, where *č develops to *t-*, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2004: 541f.
[17] GRJUNBERG 1987: 174; ÈDEL'MAN 1987b: 370.
[18] Forms from East Middle Iranian languages are given to illustrate specific relations between some of them and certain Modern East Iranian languages. The forms also show whether the discussed developments are innovations characteristic of Modern East Iranian or already occurred in Middle Iranian.
[19] "Shughni" in the tables stands for the whole Shughni group.
[20] For Ormuri and Parachi here the transcription used by KIEFFER and EFIMOV is used, which in some respects differs from that of MORGENSTIERNE.

2.2 Word-initial voiced stops

A further characteristic of most East Iranian languages is the development of initial voiced stops into fricatives. In Khotanese *g- remains unchanged, which is indicated by the spelling gg- as in ggara- "mountain", whereas the outcome of OIr. *b-, *d- is spelt b- and d-, which are mostly interpreted as fricatives.[21]

Both Yaghnobi and Ishkashmi as well as Zebaki and Sanglechi share the development of *d-. The stop seems to have been preserved, but d has been explained as a reverse development from *δ.[22] In Bactrian, Munji, Yidgha, and Pashto, Old Iranian *d became l – as well as in some Sogdian dialects.[23] The development to l may of course have occurred independently and at different periods.[24] Ossetic is divergent: *b- and *d- remain unchanged; *g- becomes γ- in Digor and then develops into q- in Iron.[25] In Parachi and Ormuri initial voiced stops are preserved, e.g. Par. dōs, Orm. das "ten"; Par. gir "stone"; Orm. girī "mountain"; Par. byā "brother"; Orm. bēš "rope" < *bastrā-.[26]

Table 3. Word-initial voiced stops:
*band- "to bind"; *dasa- "ten"; *gari- "mountain".

	Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Pashto	Oss.
*b-	vant-, vand-	vīnd-	vind-	van(d)-	vond-	vond-	vand-	wandanai "rope"	bæddyn / bæddun
*d-	das	δīs, δus, δos	δes	δůs	dos	Yidgha los	δas	las	dæs
*g-	γar	žīr, žēr "stone"	žer	γar, γarčug	– γu "cow"	γār	ɣ̌ar	γar	qarm / γarm "warm"

	Chor.	Sogdian	Bactrian	Khotanese
*b-	βrʾd	βrʾt	βραδο	brātar- [βrādar-]
*d-	δys	δs(ʾ)	λασο	daso [δaso]
*g-	γʾw "cow"	γr-	γαρο	ggara- [gara-]

2.3 Voicing of *xt and *ft

In most East Middle Iranian languages the consonant clusters *xt and *ft are voiced, as in Sogdian, Bactrian or Chorasmian.[27] In Khotanese they are simplified.[28]

Table 4. Development of Old Iranian *xt:
*duxtar- "daughter"; *taxta- "gone away".

Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Par.	Pashto	Oss.
			δoγd	wůδůγ(d), Sangl. wuδəγd	ləγda, Yidgha luγdo	δəɣ̌d	dot; Orm. dua, duka	lur	I. (xo)dyγd
uxta "went out"	tůyd-	tыyd-	tůγd-	tůγd-		taɣ̌d-		tə, təy	taγd

Bactr.	Sogd.	Chor.	Khot.
λογδο	δwγt(ʾ), δγwt	δγd	dūta, dūva

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[21] SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a: 168.
[22] PAYNE 1989b: 420. MORGENSTIERNE 1938: 303 explains the reversal as a result of Persian influence in Sanglechi and Ishkashmi.
[23] SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a: 168; LIVSHITZ 1970: 262.
[24] SKJÆRVØ 1989a: 376.
[25] ISAEV 1987: 568.
[26] MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 34, 329; KIEFFER 1989: 453.
[27] SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a: 167. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650 describes the Sogdian clusters as partly voiced to γt and βt, though, whereas GHARIB 1995: 21, 146 and LIVŠIC/HROMOV 1981: 395f., 402 consider them to be voiced.
[28] EMMERICK 1989: 215, where more examples can be found; *xt may develop into /d/, /γ/, /i̯/ or /u̯/.

In Pashto *xt may be reduced to y or zero,[29] whereas *ft may result in w or wd, as in owə "seven" or tawda "warmed" < *tafta-.[30] In Parachi x is lost, as in dot "daughter" or p'aråt- "to sell", which is derived from *parā-waxta- by MORGEN-STIERNE.[31] For Ormuri he concludes that x and f were assimilated early and the cluster resulted in t, which is lost, as e.g. in duka, dua "daughter" or ho, wo "seven".[32] In Yaghnobi *xt is represented as such, and is not voiced; *ft is voiced only in one dialect.[33]

Table 5. Development of Old Iranian *ft: *hafta- "seven".

Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Pashto	Par.	Oss.
aft (W), avd (E) ufta "slept" < *hufta-	(w)ūvd	ыvd	uvd	uvd	ovda	ыb	owə	hōt; Orm. ho, wo	avd

Sogd.	Chor.	Khot.	Bactr.
ʾβtʾ	ʾβd	hauda	πιδοροβδο "received" < *pati-gṛfta-

2.4 Old Iranian *θ

The preservation of the phoneme *θ is seen as one of the characteristics of the East Iranian languages.[34] The phoneme *θ is preserved in Sogdian and Chorasmian.[35] In Khotanese it is preserved in initial position only[36] while it becomes h in intervocalic position, as in ggāha- "song" < Old Iranian *gāθa-.[37] In Bactrian *θ becomes h, e.g. in ραυοβαναο "highway robbery" (< *rāθa-pāna-).[38] Wakhi, the Shughni group, Sarikoli, and Yazghulami preserve θ, whereas the development in Munji is different. Here the fricative yields x̌.[39] In Yaghnobi it became -t in one dialect, -s in the other.[40] In Ossetic *θ became t in both dialects,[41] while it develops into l in Pashto.[42] In Ishkashmi *θ becomes s, as in sav- "to burn" < *θav-.[43] In Sanglechi it usually results in t, as in təv- "to

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[29] For *xt > -w- or -y- see SKJÆRVØ 1989b: 402.

[30] GRJUNBERG/ÈDEL'MAN 1987: 30f. According to SKJÆRVØ, 1989: 377, table I and 1989: 378, in Parachi *xt becomes y and *ft becomes w, whereas both result in w or become zero in Ormuri.

[31] MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 38, 279 transcribes dut and pharât. *fra- would yield rh- (e.g. *fra-vaz- > rhāz- MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 38).

[32] MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 333 transcribed as dūa, duka and hō, wō.

[33] This has been explained as a reversal, see LIVŠIC/HROMOV 1981: 395, 402; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650.

[34] E.g. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650. Several of these languages do not have a phoneme θ, though, e.g. Yaghnobi, Sanglechi, Ishkashmi, Munji, Yidgha, Pashto, Ormuri, and Parachi. A. KORN has kindly drawn my attention to the development in Balochi, where (in contrast to the coalescence of *θ and *h > h common in West Iranian) *θ becomes t, cf. KORN 2005: 81.

[35] E.g. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 650.

[36] EMMERICK 1989: 213. Some scholars believe that the Iranian fricatives f, θ, and x reverted to aspirate stops through the influence of Indian languages like Sanskrit and Prakrit, e.g. EMMERICK 1989: 209; EMMERICK/PULLEYBLANK 1993.

[37] EMMERICK 1989: 214.

[38] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 259. The only word which seems to have preserved θ is ιθαο "thus, so".

[39] GRJUNBERG 1987: 177.

[40] HROMOV 1987: 655, 659.

[41] ISAEV 1987: 566.

[42] GRJUNBERG/ÈDEL'MAN 1987: 35.

[43] MORGENSTIERNE 1938: 305. For the derivation from *θav- see STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999: 374.

burn".[44] In Ormuri θ develops into y, as in $r\bar{a}y$ "way" < *$r\bar{a}\theta a$-.[45] The development in Parachi is not clear.[46]

Table 6. Old Iranian *θ: *$mai\theta a$- "day", etc.

Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Orm.	Pashto	Oss.
met, mes	$m\bar{e}\theta$, $m\bar{\imath}\theta$	$ma\theta$	$mi\theta$	*mi, may*, but *sav-* < *θav-; Sang. *mēi*	$m\bar{\imath}\check{x}$	θaw- "burn" < *θav-	$r\bar{a}y$ < *$r\bar{a}\theta a$- "way"	γele < *$gai\theta y\bar{a}$- "flocks"	*fætæn* "broad" < *$pa\theta ana$-

Sogdian		Chor.		Bactr.		Khot.			
$my\theta$, $my\delta$		$my\theta$		ραυο-		$gg\bar{a}ha$-			

2.5 The development of Old Iranian *θr-

2.5.1 Word-initial position

Old Iranian *θr shows quite divergent developments in the East Iranian languages, both initially and internally. In Sogdian, and partly also in Chorasmian and Parachi, *θr becomes $\check{s}$. In Yazghulami *θr is reduced to c.[47] In initial position the cluster is preseved as tr- in Wakhi, becomes dr- in Khotanese and Pashto, and tir- or sar- in Yaghnobi.[48] In Munji it becomes $\check{x}ir$-.[49] The development in Bactrian, the Shughni group, and Sarikoli can be compared. In Bactrian it becomes har-; in the languages of the Shughni group and in Sarikoli it results in ar-.[50] The Bactrian outcome of *θr matches the general development of *θ (cf. Section 2.4), whereas in the Shughni group it is divergent.

Table 7. Development of Old Iranian initial *θr-: *θrai̯ah "three".

Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Pashto	Par.	Oss.
tiray, saray	*aray*	*aroy*	$c\mathring{u}y$	$r\mathring{u}y$	*x̌iray;* Yidgha *x̌uroy*	*tru(y)*	*dre*	*ši;* Orm. *šo*	*ærtæ*

Bactr.			Khot.		Sogd.		Chor.		
υαρηιο [*harei*]			*drai*		*šy* [*šē/i*]		*šy*		

2.5.2 Word-internal position

In Khotanese, Bactrian, and Chorasmian, *-θr- is reduced to -r-.[51] Among the Modern East Iranian languages, a development to -r- can be found in Pashto and in Munji. In the Shughni group and Sarikoli we have -c like in Yazghulami. In Sogdian

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[44] MORGENSTIERNE 1938: 305, 313. In the word for "day", *mi, may,* it seems to have developed to y, but this has been explained as an "elision" of *θ by MORGENSTIERNE, who traces the word back to *$m\bar{a}\theta ya$-.

[45] EFIMOV 1991: 271. MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 405 derives the word from *$rai\theta ya$-.

[46] MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 44 transcribes $th\bar{\imath}$-; he writes that *θ may result in an aspirated stop, like in *t'i*- "to be burning" (see also STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999: 374). EFIMOV 1997: 459, 463 gives examples of intervocalic spirants developing into h.

[47] ÈDEL'MAN 1987b: 369.

[48] SKJÆRVØ 1989a: 375 and 377, table I.

[49] GRJUNBERG 1987: 177.

[50] SKJÆRVØ 1989a: 376.

[51] The development from *-θr- to -r- via *-hr- may be documented in Bactrian in γωυριγο "family" < *$gau\theta ra$-ka- (see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 207) and υαμογωυριγανο "relatives" (LEE/SIMS-WILLIAMS 2003: 170f.), otherwise -γωρο. The spelling -υρ- is also once attested in a pseudo-historical writing, in the word πηυρο "belief" (LEE/SIMS-WILLIAMS 2003: 170), otherwise πηρο (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 253).

and Parachi the internal *-θr- becomes -š- as in initial position. In Wakhi the development is more conservative: the cluster is preserved as -tr- as in initial position.[52] In Ossetic it becomes -rt-.[53]

In Yaghnobi there are only very few examples of the development of Old Iranian *-θr-.[54] GEIGER postulated that Old Iranian *-θr- in internal position developed into -l(l)- in Yaghnobi.[55] He mentioned ōl "fire" and pula "son" as examples of this development. This was doubted by LIVSHITZ who writes that ōl is only used in combination with the verb xaš in ōlxaš "to catch fire, to begin to burn", whereas the common word for fire, ōlōw, is borrowed from Tajik.[56] He points out that the common word for "son" in Yaghnobi is žūta, and pul(l)a is mainly used for "infant, child" in general. Therefore he concludes that it can be taken as a nursery word. Although these semantic considerations hardly seem convincing, since a word for "child" might as well have the meaning "son", LIVSHITZ puts forward another, much stronger argument. He remarks that *-δr- develops into -rδ- in Yaghnobi, as in mirδa "beads" from *muδraka- (as opposed to Sogdian mwẓ'kk), and concludes that *-θr- in Yaghnobi may be expected to yield *-rt- or -rs-. As an example to stress the plausibility of this argument one may mention Yaghnobi dirot, diros "sickle", which can be traced back to *dāθra-, cf. Ishkashmi dur, Bartangi and Roshorvi δōc, Yazghulami δac, Wakhi δыtr, δətr, Pashto lor, etc.[57] It therefore seems reasonable to follow LIVSHITZ' view that *-θr- might not have given -l(l)- as previously assumed.

Table 8. Development of Old Iranian word-internal *-θr-: *puθra- "son".

Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Pashto	Par.	Oss.
pulla or dirot, diros	puc	pыc, půc	poc	– usьr "ashes"; Sangl. wutɛr	pūr	pətr	– bur < *apuθrah "sonless"; or "fire"	poš; Orm. *meš[58] "sun"	fyrt

	Khot.		Bactr.		Chor.		Sogd.	
	pūra-		πορο [pur]		pr		-pšyy	

3. Morphological characteristics

3.1 Nouns: Plural suffixes

It has been mentioned that Sogdian and Yaghnobi share the same plural suffixes, -t in the direct case and -ti in the oblique.[59] These are the plural suffixes of the so-called heavy stems in Sogdian. Plural suffixes in -t are also found in Ossetic and in Yazghulami, which have -tæ and -aθ. Moreover, the Sogdian plural suffix -yšt, which is only found with animate nouns, has a parallel in Wakhi, where it is the normal plural suffix. The plural in -i in Munji was compared with the plural ending in Bactrian and Chorasmian.[60]

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[52] STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999: 31.
[53] ISAEV 1987: 571.
[54] GEIGER 1898–1901b: 336.
[55] GEIGER 1898–1901b: 336.
[56] LIVSHITZ 1970: 262f., note 28.
[57] STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999: 168.
[58] Attested in the dialect of Kāṇīgrām, see Efimov 1991: 269.
[59] SKJÆRVØ 1989a: 375.
[60] MORGENSTIERNE 1938: 122, follows Tedesco in deriving the plural ending from Old Iranian *-āh. SOKOLOVA 1973: 160–162 derives the ending from the pronominal flexion. See also GRJUNBERG 1987: 181f.

The plural in Pashto is more complex and shows a wide range of variation which also may involve ablaut.[61] The plural suffix in Parachi is *-ān*.[62] The plural *-i*, which is used for non-animates in Ormuri is traced back to *-aiah*.[63] The etymology of the plural ending used for animates, *-in*, does not seem to be clear.[64]

Table 9. Plural suffixes.[65]

	Yaghn.		Shugh.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Orm.	Oss.
dir.	*-t*		*-ēn*	*-aθ*	*-o*	*-i*	*-išt*	*-i*	*-tæ*
obl.	*-ti*					*-āf*[66]	*-əv*		

	Sogd.			Chor.	Bactr.
	heavy	light			
dir.	*-t*	*-tˀ*		*-i*	*-ανο, -ε*[67]
		-yšt, -yˀ	only animate		
obl.	*-ty*	*-tyˀ*		*-ˀn*	*-ανο*
		-yšty, -ˀn	only animate		

3.2 Verbs: 3rd plural ending

A further interesting feature is the verbal ending of the third person plural. In Yaghnobi the ending is *-or*, which differs significantly from that of Sogdian. It may be compared with the 3rd plural ending of Chorasmian, which also contains an *r,* and with the 3rd plural middle ending in Khotanese.[68]

Table 10. Verbal endings of the 3rd plural present.

Yaghn.	Shughni	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Pashto	Par.	Oss.
-or	*-ēn, -an*	*-(y)in*	*-an*	*-on*	*-āt*	*-ən*	*-i, -ī, -īn*	*-an*	*-uncæ / -ync*

Sogd.	Chor.	Khot.	Bactr.
-ˀnt	*-ri*	mid. *-āre*	*-ιυδο [-ind]*

3.3 The 2nd plural pronoun

A very interesting isogloss is found in Bactrian, the Shughni group, Yazghulami, Ishkashmi, and Sarikoli.[69] All these languages share a specific formation of the 2nd plural pronoun – different from Sogdian and Yaghnobi as well as from Munji and

[61] For details see SKJÆRVØ 1989b: 389–392 and GRJUNBERG/ÈDEL'MAN 1987: 44–58.
[62] MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 50 states that it cannot have been borrowed from Persian, as there also exists a genitive ending in *-āna*, and *-ān* also occurs with inanimate nouns; for more details, see EFIMOV 1997: 478ff.
[63] EFIMOV 1991: 281. It is compared with Pashto *-i* by MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 342, who transcribes it as *-ī*.
[64] EFIMOV 1991: 281 explains it as going back to the Old Iranian genitive ending of the *i*-stems, *-inām*.
[65] In Khotanese the categories of noun inflection have been preserved and can more readily be compared with Old Iranian languages than with the other Middle or Modern East Iranian languages. They are therefore not listed here. For an overview see EMMERICK 1989: 216–219.
[66] Cf. Rošorvī *-īf*, Sarikoli oblique plural *-ef*, PAYNE 1989b: 428.
[67] *-ε* is only attested in inscriptions.
[68] In Khotanese most verbs occur either with indicative or middle endings (see e.g. EMMERICK 1989: 220). The present subjunctive and optative active endings also contain *-r*: *-āru* and *-īru*.
[69] SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996: 651.

Wakhi. Before the Bactrian form became known it was thought to be a peculiarity of some Pamir languages, and was described as one of several characteristics alien to Iranian and therefore attributed to substratum influence.[70] The formation of the 2nd plural pronoun involves a form of the 2nd singular pronoun. Likewise the 2nd plural pronoun in Pashto seems to contain a form of the singular, whereas the second element of the word is not clear.[71] The Chorasmian 2nd plural pronoun also seems to be composed of an element -*β(y)* connected with the enclitic forms of the 2nd singular pronoun, *β*-, acc. -*β'*.[72]

Table 11. The 2nd plural pronoun.

Yaghn.	Shughni	Bart.	Sar.	Yazgh.	Ishk.	Munji	Wakhi	Par.	Pashto	Oss.
šumox	*tama*	*tamāš*	*tamaš*	*təmox*	*tьmьx*	*mof*[73]	*sa(y)-iš(t)*, obl. *sav*	*wå*; Orm.[74] *tyos, tos*	*tāse/o*	*symax / sumax*

Sogd.	Bactrian					Chor.		Khot.		
(ʾ)šmʾx(w)	τωμαχο, τομαχο, ταμαχο					*hβy*		*uhu*		

3.4 Demonstrative pronouns

Between the demonstrative systems of the East Iranian languages there are some noteworthy correspondences. Most of the Pamir languages, including Munji and Wakhi, possess a three-stem system with forms going back to Old Iranian **ima-*, **aita-*, and **aṷa-*, which function as near, medial, and distal demonstratives respectively. In Yazghulami only two forms are found, *du* and *yu*. Èdel'man derives *du* from **aita-*. The etymology of *yu* is less clear. Èdel'man assumes that *yu* goes back to the Old Iranian nominative **iṷam / ai̯am* originally representing the proximate deixis, whereas she derives the oblique form *way* from the distal demonstrative **aṷa-*.[75] In addition to the phonological problems of deriving *yu* from Old Iranian **ai̯am*, a contamination of different demonstrative stems representing virtually contradictory levels of deixis seems highly unlikely. Forms of two stems also occur in Yaghnobi, but here the direct forms *iš* and *ax* can be derived from Old Iranian **aiša-* and **haṷ*. The Yaghnobi forms have been compared with the demonstratives in Sogdian, where remnants of three stems can be found.[76] They go back to **ai̯am / ima-, *aiša- / aita-*, and **haṷ / aṷa-*.[77] In contrast to Yaghnobi, where the **aiša- / aita-* forms are preserved, the forms of the medial deixis disappear in Sogdian.[78]

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[70] Summarized by Payne 1989b: 423.
[71] For a summary of different etymological explanations of the second part of the pronoun see Grjunberg 1987: 75f.
[72] The *h-* is not clear. One might speculate that it is connected to the 3rd singular pronoun, *hy* "he, she, it", encl. *h*, i.e. "he and you". A similar formation was presumed by Geiger 1898–1901a: 217, for Pashto.
[73] Derived from **(yu)šmābyā*, see Grjunberg 1987: 189.
[74] Explained as loans from Pashto by Morgenstierne 2003: 84, who transcribes *tōs, tyōs*.
[75] Èdel'man 1987b: 390.
[76] Livšic/Hromov 1981: 465f.; Sims-Williams 1994.
[77] See Wendtland (forthcoming). Sims-Williams 1994: 49f. derives the oblique form from **ta-* instead of **aita-*.
[78] Only very few forms are attested: in the Ancient Letters, the Muγ documents, and one Buddhist text.

Table 12. Demonstratives.

Yaghnobi	Shughni	Yazgh.	Munji	Wakhi	Par.	Pashto	Oss.
–	*yam*, obl.m. *mi*, obl.f. *mam*		*ma*, obl.m. *mān*, obl.f. *māy*	*yəm*	*(h)ē;* Orm. *a*		*a-*
iš, it < OIr. **aiša- / aita-*	*yid*, obl.m. *di*, obl.f. *dam*	*du*, obl.	*ya*	*yət*		*dā, daγa*	
ax, aw < OIr. **hau̯ / au̯a-*	*yu, yā* (f.), obl.m. *wi*, obl.f. *wam*	*yu*, obl. *way*	*wa*	*ya(w)*	Par. *(h)ō;* Orm. *afṓ*	*haγa*	*u- /* *ie* (nom.), *uo-* (obl.)
Sogdian		Bactrian			Khot.		
yw, obl. *ʾmw, ʾmyn, ʾmy(H)* < OIr. **ai̯am / ima-*		ειο; ειμο			*ṣä*		
ʾšw, obl. *ʾtw* < OIr. **aiša- / aita-*		το, τι; ειδο, εδο			*ṣätä*		
(ʾ)xw, obl. *ʾw(w), ʾwyn, ʾwy(H)* < OIr. **hau̯- / au̯a-*					*ṣārä*		

Bactrian ειο "this" may be derived from **ai̯am*.[79] The form ειδο "this" represents a less proximate deixis and is sometimes connected to the 2nd person.[80] It is traced back to **aita-* by Sims-Williams.[81] He explains ειμο "this" as going back to **ima-* "with vocalization adapted to that of ειο."[82] So both ειο and ειμο would originate from the same demonstrative stem **ai̯am / ima-*, which seems probable because both forms represent proximal deixis. One form is said to go back to the nominative, the other to the stem forming the oblique cases. But there is no case difference between the forms. The function of the Bactrian demonstratives has not yet been studied in detail, but in the manuscripts ειο is mainly used anaphorically, whereas ειμο can be used cataphorically.[83] It has been presumed earlier that ειμο and ειδο might be compound forms of ειο, which seems quite probable considering the fact that two pronouns representing proximal deixis co-exist in Bactrian.[84] By now another demonstrative, το, τι, has been identified, which is derived from **ta-* and represents a second person deixis.[85] It is therefore probable that ειμο and ειδο are compound forms of ειο and μο and το respectively.

The system in Khotanese is completely different. There are newly developed forms which all go back to **aiša-* and **ta-*.[86] In Chorasmian some innovations have occurred as well. There are the forms *ny(n)* "this", plur. *nʾw* "these", *nʾwyr* "that",

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[79] See e.g. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 210.
[80] Examples SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000 (C1'), SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007 (ca5, xm5, ch6).
[81] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 191.
[82] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 191.
[83] Examples SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000, e.g. ειο in A11, C7, etc., and ειμο in C7, J12, etc.
[84] SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b: 235.
[85] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 269.
[86] EMMERICK 1989: 220.

which is also used as a 3rd singular pronoun, *nyš-k* "this, who/which" and *n'n* "that". They all have a prefix *n-* which is explained as a strengthening particle.[87] These developments show that already in Middle Iranian languages many changes and innovations have occurred. Tracing back forms of modern Iranian languages, especially those that only consist of one letter, may therefore be very difficult or impossible, as seen in the next example.

The Parachi distal demonstrative *(h)ō* goes back to Old Iranian **hāu̯*.[88] The etymology of Parachi *(h)e* is not certain. According to MORGENSTIERNE: "Av. *aēšō, aētaṭ*, and prob. *aēm*, would result in **ī*; but gen. sg. m. *ahē* (Gath. *ahyā*) > *ē?*".[89] EFIMOV also believes that it goes back to the old genitive-dative.[90] Ormuri *a* is derived from **ha-*; the origin of *-fo* is unclear.[91]

Pashto *dā* has been explained as going back to Old Iranian ** aita-*, and *ha-* in *haγa* is traced back to **ha-*.[92] Ossetic *a-* "this" is derived from Old Iranian **a-*, Iron *u-* from **au̯a-* or **hau̯*, and Digor *ie* is thought to go back to **ai̯am*.[93]

3.5 Personal pronouns with prefixes

In some East Iranian languages personal pronouns occur with prefixes or suffixes.[94] Examples can be found in Bactrian, e.g. ασαμαχο "from/by us",[95] in Chorasmian, e.g. *c-myk* "from me" or in Sogdian, but not in Yaghnobi. One example is Sogdian *c'm'(kH)* "from me" from **hačā* "from" and the enclitic personal pronoun of the 1st singular. A comparable formation can be found in Munji, e.g. *žāmox* "from us". Interestingly, only singular personal pronouns with prefixes are documented in Sogdian, whereas in Munji only the plural forms are prefixed. In Bactrian both singular and plural forms are attested (see Table 13 on the next page).

3.6 Demonstratives: pre- and suffixes

In Sogdian, forms of the demonstrative stems may occur with pre- and suffixes. Forms with the prefixes *c-* < ** hačā* "from", *δ-* < **hadā* "with", *n-* < **anu-* or **ana-* "to", and *pr-* < **upari* "on" are found.[96] There are two different suffixes, *-'nt* and

[87] BOGOLJUBOV 1963b: 102.
[88] MORGENSTIERNE 1974: 68 transcribes *œ, hœ*.
[89] MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 67 (MORGENSTIERNE's orthography).
[90] EFIMOV 1997: 439, 490.
[91] MORGENSTIERNE 1929: 350. EFIMOV 1991: 292 presents a less convincing etymology, deriving *afo* from a proximal demonstrative **hva-*. He presumes a development *f* < **hv-*, which he compares to Parth. *f* < **xᵛ-*, citing *farrah* < **xᵛarnah-* "glory". However, **xᵛ-* does not develop into *f-* in Parthian but into <wx> (maybe a devoiced *w*, see SUNDERMANN 1989: 122). Also, in the exceptional case of **xᵛarnah-* the relation between **xᵛ-* and *f* may be explained differently, see LUBOTSKY 1998.
[92] GRJUNBERG 1987: 78ff. The *h-* must of course be secondary as **h* is lost in Pashto.
[93] WEBER 1983: 86–88.
[94] Possessive forms in some languages of northwest Iran may be prefixed as well, see e.g. LECOQ 1989: 299, 302.
[95] SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 179 (Q20).
[96] LIVŠIC/HROMOV 1981: 461.

Table 13. Prefixed personal pronouns.

Sogdian			Bactrian	Munji		
1ˢᵗ sing.	2ⁿᵈ sing.			1ˢᵗ plur.	2ⁿᵈ plur.	
δᵓmᵓ(k) "with me"	δᵓfᵓ "with you"	δ- < *hadā "with"	αλαμαγο "with me"; αλαφαγο "with you"	dām ox "i/on us"	dām of "i/on you"	da "in" < *antara
prᵓmᵓk "for me"	prᵓβᵓk "for you"	pr- < *upari "for"		nām ox "(to) us"	nām of "(to) you"	na "to" < *ana
cᵓmᵓ(kH) "from me"	cᵓfᵓk(H) "from you"	c- < *hačā "from"	ασαφαγο "from you" 2ⁿᵈ sg.; ασαμαχο "from us"	žām ox "from us"	žām of "from you"	ž "from" < *hačā
tᵓmᵓ(kH) "me"	tᵓβᵓ(kH) "you"	marks the direct def. object, cf. prep. ᵓt(w) "to"	αβοφαγο, 2ⁿᵈ sg.; αβομαχο "us" dir. object	vām ox "us"	vām of "you"	marks the direct def. object, < *upa-, *apa-

-ᵓyδ, e.g. cywᵓnt "from that" and cyw(ᵓ)yδ "from that". They occur both in attributive and predicative position. The suffix -ᵓnt presumably goes back to *antara-.[97] The origin of -ᵓyδ is not clear. It has been compared with Roshani -aθ, -θ.[98]

In Shughni, morphologically similar formations occur, which function as local adverbs, like e.g. *azamand* "from there", with *az-* < *hačā "from", a form of the demonstrative, and *-and* (< *antara-, see above), and *azamard* "from there" with a suffix *-ard*,[99] which has been derived from *arda- "side".[100] The suffixes have different functions. Forms with *-and* are used to mark definite location, whereas those with *-ard* mark indefinite location. [101]

Table 14. Demonstratives with pre- and suffixes.

		Sogdian			Shughni		
dist.	c-	cywᵓnt	cyw(ᵓ)yδ	az	azamand	azam	azamard
med.			cytyδ		azedand	azed	azedard
prox.	"from"	cymᵓnt	cym(ᵓ)yδ	"from"	azŭdand	azŭd	azŭdard
dist.	δ-	δywᵓnt	δywᵓyδ	tar	taramand	taram	taramard
med.					taredand	tared	taredard
prox.	"with"	δymᵓnt	δymᵓyδ	"to"	tarŭdand	tarŭd	tarŭdard
dist.	n-	nywᵓnt	nywᵓyδ				
med.			nytyδ				
prox.	"to"		nymyδ				
dist.	pr-	prywynd	prᵓywᵓyδ				
med.			prytyδ				
prox.	"on"	prymnd	prymyδ				

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[97] LIVŠIC/HROMOV 1981: 466.
[98] BOGOLJUBOV 1963a: 9, note 2.
[99] Forms with -m-, which usually represent the proximal deixis, are used for distal deixis here, whereas the forms containing the distal demonstrative stem are used for proximal deixis. This also occurs in other languages of the Shughni group, e.g. in Xufi. This "switch" in deixis has not yet been explained.
[100] EDEL'MAN 1987a: 339f.
[101] KARAMŠOEV 1988: 56f.

3.7 Local adverbs

In Sogdian the suffix -*rδ* also occurs in local adverbs. As in Shughni (see Section 3.6), these adverbs mark indefinite location.[102] Among the Modern East Iranian languages forms with -*ard* are found in Xufi, a language closely related to Shughni: *amard, adard, udard*.[103] In Ossetic the local adverbs *ardæm* "here" and *ūrdæm* "there" (with *ærd*- "side") can be compared.[104] Similar morphological formations can be found in Sogdian and Bactrian. It has so far not been investigated whether they also have comparable functions in Bactrian.

Table 15. Local adverbs.								
Sogdian					Bactrian			Xufi
indef.	def.	known	unknown					
mrδ	*mδ*	*mδy*	*mδꜥyδ*	"here" prox.	μαρο	μαλο	μαληλο	*amard* "there"
trδ		*tδy*	*tδ̕yδ*	"there" med.			ταληλο	*adard* "there"
ꜥwrδ	*ꜥwδ*	*wδy*	*wδyδ*	"there" dist.	οαρο	οαλο		*udard* "here"

4. Conclusion

The East Iranian languages are linguistically extremely diverse. No phonological or morphological characteristics can be found which are shared by all of them. The isoglosses discussed in this paper can be summarized as shown in Table 16 on the next page.

Exclusive features by which the Pamir languages can be distinguished from all other East Iranian languages cannot be found either. Some traits, like the voicing of *xt* and *ft*, or the development of *b*-, *d*- ,*g*- to fricatives, are shared by the majority of the other East Iranian languages.

Conversely, the depalatalization of Old Iranian *č*- is found in many East Iranian languages but is not shared by Yazghulami, Munji, or Parachi.

The development of a *t*-plural in Yaghnobi and Ossetic, which was seen as a characteristic of a Northern branch (see Section 1) of the East Iranian languages by Oranskij, can also be found in Yazghulami. The preservation of the cluster *θr*, which he also mentions as a trait common to Yaghnobi (*tVr/sVr*) and Ossetic (*rt*), is also shared by Wakhi (*tr*) and partly by Sanglechi (-*tVr*) and Ishkashmi (-*sVr*).[105]

The formation of a 2nd person plural pronoun in combination with a form of the 2nd singular is shared by the Shughni group, Sarikoli, Yazghulami, and Ishkashmi, but not by Munji or Wakhi, whereas in Pashto or Chorasmian similar constructions can be found.

Some traits of certain Pamir languages, like the prefixing of personal pronouns in Munji, the formation of demonstratives with pre- and suffixes in Shughni, or the use

[102] WENDTLAND 2006.
[103] SOKOLOVA 1959: 112, 116, 267.
[104] BOGOLJUBOV 1963a: 4.
[105] ORANSKIJ 1979b: 179f.

of local adverbs in Xufi, have parallels in Sogdian or Bactrian. The Wakhi plural in
-*išt* is also attested in Sogdian.

The distribution of the characteristics discussed in this article supports the inter-
pretation of the Pamir languages as a *sprachbund*, and speaks against a distinction
between a Northern and a Southern branch of the East Iranian languages.

Table 16. Isoglosses in East Iranian languages (selection).

	shared by	no change (shared archaism)	different development
č- > *ts-, s-*	Shughni, Sarikoli, Ishkashmi, Yidgha, Wakhi; Ormuri, Pashto, Ossetic; Bactrian, Chorasmian, Khotanese	Yazghulami, Munji, Yaghnobi; Parachi; Sogdian	
b-, d-, g- > fricatives	Shughni, Sarikoli, Yazghulami, Wakhi; Sogdian, Chorasmian	Parachi, Ormuri, Ossetic; Khotanese *g-*	further development: Yaghnobi, Ishkashmi *d-*; Munji, Yidgha, Pashto, Bactrian, Sogdian dial. *l*
xt voiced	Yazghulami, Ishkashmi, Munji, Wakhi; Ossetic; Sogdian, Chorasmian, Bactrian	Yaghnobi	further simplified: Parachi, Ormuri; Shughni, Sarikoli; Khotanese, Pashto
ft voiced	Shughni, Sarikoli, Yazghulami, Ishkashmi, Munji, Yaghnobi (E dial.); Ossetic; Sogdian, Chorasmian, Bactrian	Yaghnobi (W dial.)	further simplified: Wakhi, Parachi, Ormuri; Pashto; Khotanese
θ preserved		Shughni, Sarikoli, Yazghulami, Wakhi; Sogdian, Chorasmian	Ishkashmi, Ormuri *y*; Yaghnobi, Ishkashmi *s*, Munji *x̌*, Yaghnobi, Ossetic *t*; Pashto *l*; Bactrian, Khotanese *h*
θr- > *š-, c-*	Yazghulami *c-*, Parachi, Ormuri, Sogdian, Chorasmian *š-*	Wakhi, Yaghnobi; Ossetic	Shughni, Sarikoli, Bactrian (*h*)*ar-*; Pashto, Khotanese *dr-*
-θr- > *š-, c-*	Shughni, Sarikoli, Yazghulami *c*, Parachi, Ormuri, Sogd. *š-*	Ishkashmi, Yaghnobi, Wakhi; Ossetic	further simplified: Munji; Pashto; Khotanese, Bactrian, Chorasmian
plural suffixes	*t*-plural: (Yazghulami,) Yaghnobi, Ossetic; Sogdian; -*išt*: Wakhi; Sogdian		plural in -*i* (-*e*): Munji, Ormuri, Bactrian, Chorasmian; obl. pl. in -*f/-v*: Roshorvi (Shughni group), Sarikoli, Munji, Wakhi
3rd plural			Munji; Ossetic "medial" ending: Yaghnobi, Chorasmian
2nd plural pronoun combination with 2nd sg.	Shughni, Sarikoli, Yazghulami, Ishkashmi; Pashto; Chorasmian	Yaghnobi; Ossetic; Sogdian	Munji, Wakhi; Parachi; Khotanese
demonstratives from same stems	Shughni, Yazghulami, Munji, Wakhi, Yaghnobi; Sogdian		Parachi, Ormuri, Pashto, Ossetic; Khotanese
prefixed pers. pron.	Munji; Sogdian, Bactrian		
demonstratives with pre- and suffixes	Shughni; Sogdian		
local adverbs with suffix	Xufi (Shughni group); Sogdian, Bactrian		

Table 17. Genetic relations of the Pamir languages and the other East Iranian languages.

Shughni-Yazghulami group						
Shughni group						
Shughni	Roshani	Bartangi	Sarikoli	Yazghulami	Ishkashmi	Munji
Badzh.	Xufi	Roshorvi			Zebaki	Yidgha
					Sanglechi	

Wakhi	Yaghnobi	Ossetic	Pashto	Parachi
				Omuri

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Book Reviews

Jahani, Carina, Agnes Korn and Paul Titus (eds.), *The Baloch and Others. Linguistic, Historical and Socio-Political Perspectives on Pluralism in Balochistan.* Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008, 399 pp.

This volume adds to the now considerable output from Uppsala University in Baloch studies. Both the conferences organized there over the years and the volumes of their proceedings have been welcome additions to the still meagre academic coverage of the Baloch and their relationship to the history and sociology of the region. One of the strengths of this program lies in its approach which is more comprehensive than the linguistic focus of the organizers. In general, however, the Baloch unfortunately continue to attract much less attention than they merit.

Baloch history covers an area from Bandar Abbas, Oman and the Emirates of the Persian Gulf to Karachi, south to Zanzibar and East Africa, and north through eastern Iran and western and northern Afghanistan into Turkmenistan. It poses questions about the development of society over the whole of this area as far back as thousand years ago. Although the Baloch appear to have entered history originally as nomads, by the 17th century they had established their own (pre-colonial) state. In the 19th century this was recognized as a Princely State by the British administration in Calcutta. The Baloch were important players in the later days of the British Raj, and more recently have made headlines in the West because of international connections that attracted global attention. True to their tradition of migrant labor and military service abroad in Oman and Khorasan, some Baloch took the opportunity to serve the interests of Iraq against the Shah's Iran, and more recently the CIA against the Islamic Republic. Baloch were among those implicated in the first World Trade Center explosion in 1994. Within Pakistan (into which their state was incorporated in 1948) some Baloch communities have been in open conflict with the national government almost continuously since the 1970s, and currently are in revolt over natural resources in the east (Marri-Bugti district) and over the development of a deep-water port at Gwadar in the west (the formerly Gichki district of Turbat). In Iran the Baloch have led one of the main movements of resistance against the post-revolutionary regime in Iran. As I write this paragraph thirteen of their current revolutionary movement Jundallah were just hanged in Zahedan. What does it take to attract academic attention?

This volume is from a conference on "Pluralism in Balochistan" which was held in August 2005 by Uppsala's Department of Linguistics and Philology. The subject matter is diverse in terms of subject matter, academic discipline and quality. It is organized in three parts: Language (six chapters and half the book); Sociology and Anthropology (four chapters); and Religion, History and Political Sciences (six chapters). Within each part the chapters are arranged in the alphabetical order of the authors' names, with no regard to subject matter. It is unfortunate that as a result of this editorial decision a chapter with an enticing title—"A Socioloinguistic Survey among the Jadgal..." by Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz—is placed first, because it turns out to be disappointing. In fact it represents a missed opportunity. The author appears not to know any Jadgali or to have collected any linguistic or ethnographic data during his very short period of field research (apparently less than a month). He seems to doubt the generally (and locally) accepted meaning of the name Jadgal (Jad=Jat, gal=speech), and relates them to

the Boledai rulers to the north, whereas in more recent times they were the people of the Sard-arzai Hakums (ruling family) who were the leaders of the Baloch freedom movement in Iran in the late 1950s-1960s. The second chapter, however, modestly entitled "Some Transitional Features of Eastern Balochi" by Elena Bashir, is an important contribution to the historical study of the Balochi language, and along with some other chapters will ensure a place for this book on any bibliography relating to Balochi language and history. It is well organized, rich in detail, and makes the historical relationship between the two major dialect groups of Balochi clearer than it has been since it was first identified in the 19th century. Chapter Three, "On Agent clitics in Balochi...," by Mohammad Dabir-Moghaddam, is comparative, dealing with variation in usage in different parts of Iranian Baluchistan in a context that includes several lo-cal languages of western Iran. It is similarly rich in linguistic detail. The fourth chapter, by Tim Farrell, on "...Metaphor in Balochi" is a ground-breaking study of Balochi usage and contains as an appendix a valuable transcription and translation of khotba by a Baloch Maulvi. In chap-ter five, Carina Jahani explores variation among Balochi dialects in the incidence of a pre-sumed Persian syntactical feature: the marking of the antecedent of restrictive relative clauses. This exercise provides the opportunity for analysis of an interesting array of Balochi sentences, but it is difficult to see what might be the general significance of any conclusions we could draw from it. There are also some methodological problems, having to do the variation over time in the nature of the relationship between different Balochi dialects and what we know as New Persian, and more importantly the fact that Balochi was never written until little more than a hundred years ago, and continues to be unimportant as a medium of literacy for the ma-jority of Baloch. We cannot reconstruct the spoken forms of the Persian language which earlier generations of Baloch would have known or the intensity of interaction with them. This lin-guistic half of the book ends with a synchronic study of Balochi nominal systems by Agnes Korn. This study also provides rich analysis, but ends in a conclusion that leaves open an im-portant question: in the study of a language community such as the Baloch, in which the lan-guage appears to have served as the major factor in the maintenance of its sense of cultural identity over a vast area for a number of centuries, is a synchronic approach that emphasizes differences as useful as a diachronic approach that would explain how the apparent differences fail to break up the community? I wonder also, having attempted this type of research in the field myself, to what extent some of the data may be reproducible: a larger sample might make the synchronic conclusions more convincing.

Part Two, Sociology and Anthropology, begins with an account of recent urban develop-ment and transformative modernization in the major urban conglomerations of Iranian Balo-chistan (Zahedan, Iranshahr and Chahbahar), by Hasan Afrakhteh. It is based mainly on statis-tical data, which is explained interestingly in terms of the change in government policy that has resulted from changes in the government's strategic thinking over the past three decades. This is followed by a discussion of time by Abbas Parvin. Some of the data here are published for the first time, but the chapter would have attracted wider readership if it were set in some sort of comparative context, relating it either to the measurement of time in Persianate civilization at large, or to the broader anthropological discussion of time outside the Western tradition. Next, under the heading of "plurilocality" Doreen Schindler discusses the distinctive features of the relationship between social and spatial organization among Iranian Baloch. This part ends with one of the most important chapters of the book: "Pluralism and Change in Iranian Balochistan," by Abdolhossein Yadegari (who along with the author of the chapter on time un-fortunately died before the book was published). In spite of its brevity (10 pp.) this chapter adds important details to what is known about the historical background to the current situa-tion. I hope others with access to similar sources will be inspired to continue this type of work. This type of material is currently receding from living memory and will soon be lost, to the Baloch as well Balochists.

Part Three collects together contributions from the other social sciences. The first chapter, by Martin Axmann, recounts the escalation of Baloch opposition to the Pakistani government

since 1999, with some attention to its historical context. It is well presented as a conflict be-tween the local socio-political interests of the Baloch and the larger strategic interests of the government in Islamabad. The second chapter, by Sabir Badalkhan, is the most comprehensive description of the Zikri confessional community in Makran yet to be published, and for this reason alone particularly valuable. It is an excellent account of the history, beliefs and practices of the Zikris, by an author already well known for his publications on Baloch culture. His last sentence is tantalising: "The only counterforce to Sunni fundamentalism... [in its opposition to the Zikris] is the Baloch nationalists, who see Zikrism as an integral part of Baloch national identity and, as such, worthy to be protected." The next chapter is the first publication on Ba-loch involvement in the East African slave trade, and is valuable for that reason, even though it is not as comprehensive as it might be. The fourth of this section, on Power and Religion, by Noraiee, introduces the radicalization and politicization of religion since the 1979 revolution, with some attention to its earlier history. Next is a well organized discussion, by Nina Swidler, of what can be known from historical sources about diversity in Baloch society in the pre-British period. Paul Titus ends the volume with an essay on External Influences on the Baloch National Movement that introduces some new details relating to the evolution of modern Ba-loch ethnic awareness.

It is a pleasure to read a collection of essays that bring out such a variety of different social and cultural features in a historical perspective of some three and a half centuries. However, I found the use of "pluralism" confusing. The concept is not directly discussed and no reference is given to the literature on pluralism in any discipline. Although the term can be used in var-ious senses it usually implies some degree of formal recognition of social difference and re-lated rights. The differences that are covered in the various chapters of this volume are not le-gally or otherwise formally recognized in either of the two countries. These chapters seem more concerned with informal variation and structured differentiation of various types than what is usually discussed under the heading of pluralism.

Was it self-consciousness over pluralism that led the editors to refer to "multiple religious faiths" in the Preface? Surely, only the Zikri phenomenon could be called a different faith. There was no mention of the presence of Hindus and Sikhs who had played an important econ-omic role in the region before the creation of Pakistan. There is much in this volume that the editors could have used to make the collection attractive to a wider audience beyond Baloch studies, and to get the Baloch out of their academic ghetto. Several of the authors could have given more attention to the relationship between what they were presenting and what was known from earlier publications, and the editors in their introduction could have set the whole in a larger context of Iranian and South Asian Studies, or other disciplinary interests, as well as theoretical issues such as pluralism or diversity in comparable societies.

Despite these comments, overall the editors deserve to be complimented on their success in producing a valuable volume with a rich diversity of material and authorship, including partici-pation of local scholars from Iran and Pakistan. There is enough valuable material here to re-ward the attention of anyone with an academic interest in the Baloch or their neighbors.

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Karimi, Simin, Vida Samiian and Donald Stilo (eds.), *Aspects of Iranian Linguis-tics*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008, 440 pp.

Aspects of Iranian Linguistics is a volume of twenty papers which were presented at the First International Conference with the same title held at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, Germany, June 17–19, 2005. The invited keynote speakers were Dr.

Gilbert Lazard and Dr. Mohammad Reza Bateni. The volume is dedicated to the latter for "…his impressive contribution to modern linguistics in Iran."(p. 1).

The volume contains papers from diverse branches of linguistics such as lexicography, computational linguistics, syntax, morphology, agrammatism, and historical issues, and that are written within different theoretical frameworks, e.g. descriptivism, functionalism, generativism, and typology. Out of these twenty papers, fifteen deal with an issue related to Persian (modern or ancient) and the rest with other Iranian languages. The titles of the papers and the names of their authors are as follows: "Recent advances in Persian lexicography" (Mohammad Reza Bateni), "A link grammar parser for Persian" (Jon Dehdari and Deryle Lonsdale), "Classifiers, plural and definiteness in Persian" (Lewis Gebhardt), "Optionality and variation: a stochastic OT analysis of M/p-echo reduplication in Colloquial Persian" (Saeed Ghaniabadi), "Markedness and bare nouns in Persian" (Jila Ghomeshi), "Expressions of future in Classical and Modern New Persian" (Carina Jahani), "Raising and control in Persian" (Simin Karimi), "Event structure of verbal nouns and light verbs" (Gholamhossein Karimi-Doostan), "Differential object marking in a Medieval Persian text" (Gregory Key), "Inversion and topicalization in Farsi discourse: A comparative study" (Shahrzad Mahootian), "Aspects of agrammatic language in Persian" (Reza Nilipour), "The individuating function of the Persian 'indefinite suffix'" (Daniel Paul), "Some remarks on the Persian suffix –râ as a general and historical issue" (Ludwig Paul), "Mood and modality in Persian" (Azita Taleghani), "The Ezafe as a head-marking inflectional suffix: evidence from Persian and Kurmanji Kurdish" (Pollet Samvelian), "The emergence of ergativity in Iranian: reanalysis or extension" (Geoffrey Haig), "The noun phrase in Hawrami" (Anders Holmberg and David Odden), "Marking of arguments in Balochi ergative and mixed constructions" (Agnes Korn), "Two sets of mobile verbal person agreement markers in the Northern Talyshi language" (Donald Stilo), and "On ergativity in Pamir languages" (Antje Wendtland). The papers are arranged alphabetically according to the author's last name. I think a more appropriate arrangement could have been on the basis of the theoretical framework of the papers or on the basis of those dealing with aspects of Persian and those which are concerned with aspects of other Iranian languages.

In this review, I will present a sketch of the contents of two papers, the first with a functional orientation dealing with an aspect of Persian, and the second with a typological perspective describing another Iranian language.

Shahrzad Mahootian begins with a description of inversion in English. Following Birner (1994) she suggests that "Inversion in English fronts a postverbal constituent, X, so that it precedes the verb, while the logical subject of the utterance appears in postverbal position. The resulting linear order is XVS."(p. 275). Sentence (1), example (3) in her article, shows inversion (ibid).

(1) *On the counter are loaves – whole wheat, cinnamon, raisin, oatmeal, rye, soy, sunflower, corn meal.*

Then, she presents the following "Farsi [Persian] sentence…which appears as the <u>first</u> [my emphasis] sentence in Ebrahimi's *Qeseye Golha-ye Qali* ("*The story of the Carpet's Design*")…"(p. 280, example 11). The transcription of the mid-front vowel in this and many other Persian examples in Mahootian's paper is unconventional.

(2) *dær dɛhkœdɛ –yɛ kučɛk-i   pir-ɛ   mœrd-i   zɛndɛgi   mikœrd*
    in   village-EZ   small-indef   old-EZ   man-indef   live   did
    'In a small village lived an old man.'

Mahootian conjectures that "Structurally, the linear order XSV in 11 [2 above] is identical to what has been shown to be topicalization in both Farsi [Persian] and English. Functionally, however, the ordering of X and S is the DN-DN [Discourse New] combination which is permitted in inversion but prohibited in topicalization." (ibid). As Persian is a scrambling language, the author should have first argued that what she calls inversion in Persian is distinct

from scrambling. I believe this is a serious shortcoming in this paper which casts doubt on her treatment of the Persian data.

The article by Donald Stilo is highly illuminating. It describes many issues surrounding his main objective which is an account of Person Agreement Markers in the Northern Talyshi. He first shows that "The verbal system of Northern Talyshi has two different sets of Person Agreement Markers that encode agreement with the subject/agent, corresponding to a tense-based split between Nominative-Accusative and Ergative-Absolutive alignments." (p.366). Examples (3)a and (3)b below, sentences (1)a and (1)b in the article, summarize this observation (p.378).

(3) a.   Nominative-Accusative:

æv	tolïši	zïvon-í	o-bæ-müt-é=Ø
He.DIR	Talyshi	Language-OBL	PREVERB-TAM-learn-INF =3S$_1$

"He'll learn Talyshi (language)."

b.   Ergative

æy	tolïši	zïvon-Ø=ïš	o-m'üt-ï
He.OBL	Talyshi	Language-DIR =3S$_2$	PREVERB-learn-?3S.AUX

"He learned Talyshi (language)."

Stilo's next highly interesting discussion is on "The leftward mobility of both Set1 and Set2 PAM [Person Agreement Markers] clitics."(p. 378). Earlier in the article he divides Set1 PAM into Set1a which "function solely as suffixes… in the verbal system…and are not at all mobile or detachable in any environment." And "Set1b, the enclitic forms, […] [that] are highly mobile and are commonly 'fronted'…" (p. 366). He presents many convincing examples to substantiate his fronting analysis (p. 378–383). However, the title of section 2.3 of the article is "Tense-by-Tense Documentation of the Fronting of Set1a Enclitics" (p. 385) which contradicts the above-quoted classification of the PAM – more specifically the fact that Set1a markers are solely suffixes in the verbal system.

All in all, the volume is a remarkable contribution to Iranian linguistics and it is certainly a source of inspiration for scholars and students interested in this promising research area.

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Macleod, Jenny (Hg.), *Gallipoli. Making History*. London, New York: Frank Cass. Ix, 194 Seiten.

Die im vorliegenden Band versammelten Einzelbeiträge beschäftigten sich mit der Wahrnehmung der Dardanellenschlachten (1915) durch die westlichen Alliierten des Ersten Weltkrieges. Ihn zeichnet eine breite Palette von dabei berücksichtigten Fachdisziplinen und Perspektiven aus. Während sich Martin Gilbert dem Thema aus einer biographischen Perspektive annähert und erneut die Rolle Winston Churchills bei der Planung und Durchführung des Angriffs beleuchtet, widmen sich andere Beiträge der Aufarbeitung der Rolle, die einzelne militärische Einheiten (in einem Überblick über mehrere Einheiten Helen MacCartney, über das das 4. Batallion des Royal Sussex Regiment Keith Grieves) oder die Soldaten bestimmter Na-

tionen insgesamt in den Kämpfen gespielt haben (Keith Jeffery: Irland, David Dutton: Frankreich). Während in den genannten Beiträgen sowohl die historischen Ereignisse als auch deren Wahrnehmung durch die Beteiligten selber und die Öffentlichkeit beschrieben werden und es sich dadurch um kombinierte historische und literaturwissenschaftliche Analysen handelt, sind Christopher Pugsleys „Stories of Anzac", Stuart Wards Auseinandersetzung mit australischen Filmen über Gallipoli, Jenny Macleods „The British Heroic-Romantic Myth of Gallipoli" und John McQuiltons neue thematische Blickwinkel eröffnendes Schlaglicht auf „Gallipoli as Contested Commemorative Space" klar auf die Rezeption und Wirkung der blutigen Schlachten fokussiert. So erläutert Pugsley den Ursprung und die verschiedenen Entwicklungsstufen der sogenannten *Anzac Legend*, der in den ersten fünf Jahrzehnten nach den Kämpfen überhaupt wirkungsmächtigsten Deutung der Schlachten im englischsprachigen Raum, die einem heroisch-nationalistischen Deutungsmuster folgt. In seinem von der Herausgeberin sinnvoll unmittelbar im Anschluß plazierten Artikel greift Stuart Ward dieses Thema auf und konkretisiert es durch eine Auswertung australischer Kinofilme, welche diese nachhaltig wirkende Legende auf unterschiedliche Weisen rezipiert haben. Im anschließenden Text stellt Jenny Macleod der *Anzac Legend* romantisierende, vor allem auf antike Muster und Figuren zurückgreifende britischen Formen der Dardanellen-Mythologisierung zur Seite, die während der Kämpfe und danach erzeugt wurden und in der Nachkriegszeit lange fortwirkten. Doch auch bei diesen zuletztgenannten, die *Wahrnehmung* der Kämpfe und nicht so sehr deren historische Details in den Vordergrund stellenden Beiträgen wird passagenweise eine Rekapitulation der Ereignisse geboten, so daß die Themen Rezeption und Nachwirkung hier nicht losgelöst von diesen dargeboten werden. So stellt Pugsley in seinen *Stories of Anzac* beispielsweise nicht nur die verschiedenen Etappen der Herausbildung der ANZAC-Legende dar, sondern widmet sich auch militärgeschichtlichen Fragen, wobei die Erforschung der Ursachen des Scheiterns der australisch-neuseeländischen Landeoperationen im Vordergrund steht. Umgekehrt spielen auch in den zuerst genannten, stärker ‚historischen' Beiträgen Fragen der Rezeption immer wieder eine wichtige Rolle, etwa an den Stellen, wo die Wahrnehmung der Leistungen der irischen Soldaten vor Gallipoli selbst wieder direkte Auswirkungen auf deren Kampfbereitschaft hat (Keith Jeffery). Alles in allem legen die bisher genannten Autoren die dem Thema sehr zuträgliche Fähigkeit an den Tage, sich in jeweils mehr als einer Disziplin zu bewegen, indem sie etwa die enge Verknüpfung und wechselseitige Rückwirkung historischer und literatur- beziehungsweise medienwissenschaftlicher Fragen berücksichtigen. Dahinter steckt die zwar nicht neue, aber in diesem Buch mit besonderer Klarheit hervortretende Erkenntnis, daß die Geschichte der Dardanellenschlachten nicht ohne eine Geschichte ihrer Mythisierungen geschrieben werden kann und umgekehrt. Bereits der doppeldeutige Titel des Bandes deutet diese methodologische Prämisse an, indem er *Geschichte schreiben* (*making history*) im emphatischen Sinne des Vollbringens historischer Taten nicht von Geschichtsschreibung und dem Schreiben von Geschichten scheidet. Aus diesem Rahmen, der in einem mehr oder weniger eng zusammengefügten Kontinuum historische Fakten und deren Fiktionalisierungen als wechselseitig interagierende Größen berücksichtigt, fällt nur ein einziger Beitrag durch seine klar eingegrenzte disziplinäre Fokussierung heraus. Dies ist der rein militärgeschichtliche Beitrag von Ian Speller zur militärwissenschaftlichen Aufarbeitung der amphibischen Operationen bei Gallipoli in der Zwischenkriegszeit. Dieser Spezialbeitrag fällt jedoch aus dem Gesamtbild ebenfalls nicht heraus, da er durch die in ihm zur Sprache gebrachten kulturwissenschaftlichen Aspekte an die übrigen Texte und ferner durch das Thema der Ursachenforschung für die alliierte Niederlage konkret an den Beitrag von Pugsley anknüpft.

Während die disziplinäre und methodologische Vielfalt des vorliegenden Bandes vorbildlich ist, leidet er an einer gewissen Einseitigkeit, was die nationalstaatliche und geographische Perspektivierung betrifft. Schon Anlaß, Aufbau und Teilnehmer der vorliegenden Publikation betonen die Sicht der westlichen, anglo-französischen Kriegsteilnehmer. Der Band beruht auf einem Symposion des Menzies Centre for Australian Studies am King's College in London, das im April 2001 stattfand. Mit Ausnahme des an der Universität Kopenhagen lehrenden

Stuart Ward stammen alle Mitwirkenden aus oder arbeiten in Großbritannien, Neuseeland oder Australien. Dies ist zwar einerseits ein legitimer Reflex der außerordentlichen Bedeutung, welche die Dardanellenschlachten für die moderne Geschichte Australiens, Neuseelands, und des britischen Empire gehabt haben. Schon aufgrund dieser Auswahl kann jedoch der an verschiedenen Stellen durch einzelne Autoren und nicht zuletzt durch die Herausgeberin Jenny Macleod in ihrer „Introduction" erhobene Anspruch, methodologisch-theoretische Gesamtfragen des Konflikts etwa im Rahmen kulturwissenschaftlicher Theorien oder philosophischer Prinzipien zu erörtern, nicht eingelöst werden. Daran hätte sich im übrigen auch dann nicht unbedingt etwas geändert, wenn Beiträge von Tim Travers und Edward Erickson auf dem Symposium und danach in den Band hätten aufgenommen werden können, was nach Macleod geplant gewesen sei (siehe S. 12 und Fußnote 59 auf Seite 162). Denn wenngleich es wahr ist, daß diese beiden Historiker osmanische („Turkish") Quellen auswerten, bietet beispielsweise Erickson als NATO-Armeeangehöriger mit expliziter Berufung auf und weitreichenden Kontakten zum türkischen Generalstab bei aller Detailfülle seiner Darstellung gleichfalls nur eine militärhistorisch fokussierte Perspektive, deren theoretisch-methodologischer Ansatz an keiner Stelle wesentlich über den Rahmen des hier Vorgelegten hinausgeht. Und gerade Erickson reproduziert, stellenweise unreflektiert, Stereotype, wie den vom ruhmreichen Rückzug im Januar 1916, abgesehen von seiner haarsträubend konstruierten nationalistische Diskurse bauchpinselnden Kontinuität der „Turkish Army", die angeblich von den alten Türken über die Eroberung Konstantinopels bis heute reichen soll (vgl. Erickson 2001, insbesondere xiv und xix). Daher könnte gerade Erickson *nicht* als Repräsentant einer alternativen Perspektive zu der im vorliegenden Band vorherrschenden eurozentrischen Sichtweise zitiert werden. Wenn das hier rezensierte Volumen somit etwas nicht leistet, dann ist es, den Anspruch einzulösen, mit frischem Wind neue, insbesondere trans- und interkulturelle Ansätze in das Thema zu bringen. Angesichts der allein schon durch die Zusammensetzung der Kombattanten von 1915 vorgegebenen Internationalität ist dies ein auffallender Mangel. So fehlt in der vorliegenden Darstellung nicht nur jeglicher Beitrag über osmanische Sichtweisen der Dinge, sondern auch die der Deutschen, die in der Person des Dardanellen-Oberkommandierenden Liman von Sanders und politischer Drahtzieher immerhin eine für den Verlauf der Kämpfe entscheidende Rolle spielten, ganz abgesehen von der ungestellt bleibenden Frage, ob beispielsweise die Gurkhas oder indischen Soldaten des Empire, analog zu den Australiern, Neuseeländern und Iren eventuell nicht auch ihre eigene spezifische Wahrnehmung und Aufarbeitung der Kriegsgeschehnisse haben. Ein weißer Fleck ist auch Rußland, das nur am Rande, und zwar in der Einleitung und in Gilberts Beitrag zu Churchill vorkommt. Dort werden Rußland und seine Einstellung zur Dardanellenfrage allerdings nur fragmentarisch und von außen, namentlich im Kontext der britischen und französischen diplomatischen Bemühungen um die Einbeziehung des Zarenreichs in die Dardanellenoffensive, behandelt. Da es analog zu den Arbeiten Ericksons auch hinsichtlich der russischen Perspektive auf die Dardanellen jedoch bereits entsprechende, auch in englischer Sprache erschienene, Vorarbeiten gibt (vgl. Bobroff 2006), hätte dieses Loch im kulturwissenschaftlichen und historischen Panorama wohl ohne unzumutbaren Aufwand geschlossen werden können. Letzten Endes folgt aus der Unterrepräsentierung der außerhalb des Empire und Frankreichs liegenden Nationen in „Gallipoli. Making history", daß die darin geschriebene ‚Geschichte' unbewußt und weitgehend unkritisch die in der britisch-französischen Kolonialzeit beheimateten und danach populär gebliebenen thematischen Gewichtungen und etliches an Stereotypen in die postmoderne Zeit transponiert. Es wäre ein eigenes interessantes Thema, zu erforschen, was diese aktuelle nationalitätenbezogene Beschränkung der Perspektive eigentlich determiniert, insbesondere vor dem Hintergrund einer langen angloxächsischen Historikertradition, die schon vor Jahrzehnten durchaus auch die anderen kriegsführenden Seiten zu berücksichtigen imstande gewesen ist (nur als Beispiel seien hier nur Trumpener 1968 und McLaughlin 1974 genannt). Sollte sich hier etwa die methodologische Diagnose des türkischen Historikers Erol Köroğlu bewahrheiten, der mangelnde Sprachkenntnis als Hauptfaktor für derartige nationale „Hierarchien" bei der Darstellung des

Ersten Weltkriegs ausgemacht hat, nach dem Motto „Wes Sprach' ich kann, des Geschichte ich schreib" (vgl. Köroğlu 2004)? Im übrigen böte das Werk von Köroğlu eine aktuelle und treffende Ergänzung der im vorliegenden Sammelband so limitierten Perspektive, deren Erweiterung auf alle kriegsbeteiligten Nationen die unabdingbare Voraussetzung für jedwede globale Theoretisierung der Dardanellenschlachten sein muß.

Neben dieser Unvollständigkeit im Hinblick auf die historischen Partizipanten und ihre Sicht auf die Geschehnisse bietet der bereits erwähnte Einführungsbeitrag von Jenny Macleod noch eine weitere methodologische Schwierigkeit. Die Einleitung positioniert die Beiträge der Symposiumsteilnehmer im Hinblick auf die Rezeption der Geschehnisse von 1915–1916. Macleod versucht dabei, die Augenzeugenberichte, wissenschaftlichen Darstellungen und mehr oder weniger stark fiktionalisierten Texte über die Dardanellenschlachten, welche die Quellengrundlage der Einzelanalysen darstellen, in der Kategorie „versions of events" gleichberechtigt zusammenzufassen. Sie verwendet dazu einen sich auf Maurice Halbwachs berufenden kulturwissenschaftlichen Ansatz, der die unterschiedlichen Traditionsmodi als äquivalente Formen der Verarbeitung würdigt, unabhängig von ihrem jeweiligen Fiktionalisierungsgrad oder der bei ihnen involvierten Interessensteuerung seitens des jeweiligen Autors. Während die wertneutrale Würdigung der verschiedensten Narrative über Gallipoli, von deren Vielfalt der vorliegende Band einen guten, wenngleich wie gesehen nicht erschöpfenden Eindruck vermittelt, ein überaus fruchtbares methodologisches Prinzip darstellt, muß man an der Tragfähigkeit der von Macleod hier postulierten Nivellierung des historischen Wertes von „*myths*" und anderen „*versions of events*" Zweifel anmelden. Die Autorin vermutet beispielsweise, daß „they [Mythen – M.H.] may be more profitably considered to be simplified versions of events, a particularly selective narrative of past events", nennt die Mythen im selben Atemzug dann in diesem Sinne „synonymous with what sociologicsts call 'collective memory'" (S. 2). Damit gibt sie faktisch jeglichen Unterschied zwischen historisch nachprüfbarer Überlieferung und Fiktionalisierung auf. Dies führt in der Konsequenz dazu, daß für Mecleod „all these things, empirical history, myth and collective memory" gleichgesetzt werden, denn sie seien „narratives of the past" und „they are all histories in the lower case" (S. 2). Aus dieser radikalen theoretischen Position ergäbe sich, würde man sie bis zum Ende durchdenken, potentiell die groteske Konsequenz einer Negierung der historischen Realität der Dardanellenschlachten mit einer geschätzten halben Million Toten und Verwundeten auf beiden Seiten und die Gleichsetzung dieses Massensterbens mit Poetisierungen wie beispielsweise John Masefields Propaganda-Klassiker „Gallipoli" aus dem Jahre 1916. Wenig überraschend wird dann aber in keinem einzigen der zehn Beiträge des vorliegenden Bandes, inklusive Macleods eigener Analyse des britischen heroisch-romantischen Mythos, diese theoretische Extremposition auch nur ansatzweise in die Tat umgesetzt. Vielmehr kommt es an keiner Stelle zu einer Relativierung der historischen Fakten mit Hilfe von „Mythen" oder einem Konstrukt wie dem „kollektivem Gedächtnis". Die unumgängliche Unterscheidung zwischen beiden Ebenen, die eine Voraussetzung jeder Annäherung an das Thema ist, bleibt stattdessen in ausnahmslos allen Beiträgen klar erkennbar. Als methodologische Stellungnahme ist das Einleitungskapitel Macleods daher nur bedingt zielführend. Abgesehen von dieser theoretisch-methodologischen Unebenheit bereitet das Einleitungskapitel in sehr instruktiver Weise auf die nachfolgenden Einzelkontributionen vor und sollte auch eher als eine praktische Hinführung auf diese Teilanalysen denn als theoretische Einstimmung oder Positionierung gelesen werden.

Auch Christopher Pugsleys Beitrag (S. 44–58) macht deutlich, daß es in dem vorliegenden Buch weniger um theoretisch-methodologische Grundsatzfragen als um die exemplarische Vorstellung von Einzelleistungen im Bereich der jüngeren Gallipoli-Forschung geht. Pugsley ist eine der Koryphäen auf dem Gebiet des ANZAC. Sein Text beginnt zwar hochdramatisch mit der tief-philosophischen Sentenz „Nothing is but thinking makes it so" (S. 44). Doch genau wie in der Einleitung Macleods wird nicht der Versuch unternommen, die allgemeine Gültigkeit dieses philosophischen Axioms zu verifizieren oder es gar in ein theoretisches Modell zu integrieren. In seiner an zenbuddhistische Koans erinnernden schroffen Absolutheit bleibt es

letzten Endes nur ein rhetorischer Hingucker ohne tatsächliche Entsprechung in der Heran-
gehensweise des Autors. Dessenungeachtet liefert Pugsley einen konzisen Beitrag, der die Le-
ser mit dem Ursprung und der Genese der ANZAC-Legende über das heroische Kämpfen und
Sterben an den Dardanellen vertraut macht. In einem lehrreichen Blick auf die näheren Um-
stände und Motive, die hinter dieser Legendenbildung standen, dekonstruiert er sie zugleich
als bewußt reduzierte, seitens interessengesteuerter Kriegsberichterstatter wie Ellis Ashmead-
Bartlett in die Welt gesetzte Romantik-Version einer Wirklichkeit unter Ausblendung von de-
ren elenden und grauenvollen Aspekten. Pugsley arbeitet dabei insbesondere den Unterschied
zwischen Ashmead-Bartlett und seinem Kollegen C. E. W. Bean überzeugend heraus – Bean
hatte es weitaus schwieriger, seine Frontberichte an den Mann zu bringen, da sie ab einer ge-
wissen Zeit einfach zu realistisch wurden. Pugsleys übersichtliche und gut lesbare Schilderung
der frühen alliierten Frontberichterstattung führen somit in wenigen Zügen das grundlegende
Dilemma der ANZAC-Legende vor Augen: die Schwierigkeit, das unbestreitbare Grauen des
Krieges mit dem Wunsch nach Heldenverehrung zu versöhnen. Breiten Raum verwendet
Pugsley auch auf die Suche nach den Gründen für die alliierte Niederlage. Daß er dabei eine
Analyse von vermeintlich während der Kämpfe von den australischen und neuseeländischen
Soldaten begangenen Fehlern („Anzac mistakes", S. 49) neben die Besprechung der Rezep-
tionsgeschichte stellt, etwa indem er die „heroic failure" der Alliierten an den Dardanellen im
Spiegel von Peter Weirs berühmtem Film „Gallipoli" und wissenschaftlich-historischen For-
schungsarbeiten darstellt, ist zwar illustrativ, methodologisch aber etwas verwirrend. Auf di-
ese Weise geht nämlich ein Teil der formalen und methodologischen Stringenz verloren, und
man weiß bisweilen nicht, wo die militärgeschichtliche Aufarbeitung des Einzelereignisses en-
det und wo die Beurteilung der Rezeptionsgeschichte anfängt. Besonders deutlich tritt diese
fehlende Trennschärfe am Ende des Beitrages zutage, wo der Autor sich die bekannte alliierte
Rationalisierung des im Januar 1916 in einer Nacht- und Nebelaktion erfolgten Abzugs als
„brilliant withdrawal" zu eigen macht (S. 58). Indem der folgende Absatz nämlich nahtlos zur
These übergeht, daß die Dardanellenoperation in der Öffentlichkeit Australiens und Neusee-
lands als „epic achievement" erschienen sei (ebenfalls S. 58), wird der Eindruck erweckt, als
gebe es zwischen der Ebene der militärisch-strategischen Operationen und deren Außenwahr-
nehmung keine feste Grenze, ebensowenig wie zwischen beidem und Pugsleys eigener Stel-
lungnahme. An dieser Stelle wäre eine kurzes theoretische Reflektieren angebracht gewesen.
So drängt sich der Eindruck auf, daß Pugsley, laut biographischer Skizze im Anhang Senior
Lecturer in War Studies an der Royal Military Academy, subjektiv insgesamt stark von Stereo-
typen bestimmt sei, die die Wahrnehmung der Dardanellenkämpfe auf alliierter Seite von An-
fang an und spätestens seit den großen apologetischen Schriften Churchills und Hamiltons be-
herrscht haben.

Zu den Vorzügen, die das Buch auch für Leser mit Vorwissen über die Dardanellenkämpfe
interessant macht, gehört die Mischung aus Wissensbrocken verschiedener Disziplinen, die in
dieser Zusammenstellung nirgends zu finden sind und teilweise schon als solche nicht allge-
mein bekannt sein dürften. Neben den bereits oben besprochenen Einzelbeiträgen wird im sehr
instruktiven Beitrag von Keith Jeffery die ansonsten nur selten beachtete Rolle der irischen
Truppen während der Dardanellenoffensive untersucht. Ebenfalls einen selten gewürdigten
Teil der Dardanellendramas nimmt sich der Beitrag David Duttons über die militärische und
politische Rolle Frankreichs an den Dardanellen sowie die Wahrnehmung der Operation im
französischen Mutterland vor. In einer schlüssigen Kontextualisierung mit dem französischen
Blick auf die Ereignisse an der Westfront kann Dutton nachweisen, was auch als ein Ergebnis
aller anderen Beiträge des Bandes mit Ausnahme der rein militärhistorischen Abhandlung Ian
Spellers festgehalten werden kann: daß die Wahrnehmung der Dardanellschlachten von Land
zu Land extremen Schwankungen unterworfen ist. Nur in diesem eingeschränkten Sinne einer
ubiquitären Determinierung des Geschehens durch die Perspektive des Betrachters könnte das
oben zitierte Apophthegma „Nothing is but thinking makes it so" übrigens seine Berechtigung
haben.

Einen außergewöhnlichen Blick auf die Dardanellenschlachten bietet auch Ian Spellers bereits erwähnter Beitrag. Er ist von allen im vorliegenden Band vereinten wahrscheinlich der technischste und stellt mit seinem eng eingegrenzten militärtheoretischen Thema „Amphibious Warfare in the Inter-War Period" dessen disziplinäre Vielfalt erneut unter Beweis. Dabei sind die Ergebnisse von Spellers konziser und auch für Fachfremde weitestgehend nachvollziehbarer Darlegung keinesfalls nur für Militärhistoriker relevant. Sie zeigen vielmehr auch kulturspezifische Mechanismen auf, die bei der Analyse dieser bedeutenden Einzelschlacht des Ersten Weltkriegs durch etliche der kriegführenden Mächte des Zweiten, darunter Großbritannien, Japan und die USA, ins Spiel gekommen sind. Konkret revidiert Speller die verbreitete These, daß die Niederlage an den Dardanellen zu einem geringeren Interesse der britischen Militärs an amphibischen Operationen und dadurch zu einer schlechten Vorbereitung auf sie geführt habe. Tatsächlich jedoch, so Speller, hätten die Briten aus Gallipoli die Lehre gezogen, daß amphibische Operationen mit Feindberührung in großem Stil durchaus erfolgversprechend seien, auch wenn in der breiten Öffentlichkeit diese positive Erkenntnis von der negativen Nachwirkung des Traumas von 1915 überschattet worden sei.

Ähnlich stark wie die Untersuchung Spellers ist der erste und bei weitem längste Beitrag (39 Seiten) von Martin Gilbert auf die britische Perspektive fokussiert, was angesichts seines Themas Winston Churchill natürlich unvermeidbar ist. Allerdings bringt die sehr ausführliche und mit vielen Zitaten gespickte Darlegung Martin Gilberts nichts wirklich Neues. Gilbert konzentriert sich auf die Frage der Wahl der verschiedenen Angriffsoptionen, die auf britischer Seite erwogen wurden (Land–See, nur See) und die Rolle Churchills dabei sowie die schon seit Jahrzehnten abgearbeitete Frage der Verantwortung für das Scheitern der Operation. Es fehlt dabei jedoch die Entwicklung einer eigenen kritischen Perspektive, die den Gehalt der Äußerungen Churchills und der anderen führenden Politiker und Militärs mit weiterreichenden Fakten und Ereignissen kontextualisieren würde.

Der einer interkulturellen und -nationalen Globalperspektive am nächsten kommende Text des Sammelbandes ist der von John McQuilton, der vielleicht aus diesem Grund ganz an den Schluß gesetzt worden ist. Teilweise unter Rückgriff auf eigene Beobachtungen schildert er, wie die vor und während der Kämpfe gezogenen nationalstaatlichen Grenzen im modernen Bewußtsein und der heutigen Gedächtniskultur fortleben. Der Beitrag eröffnet eine Perspektive auf eine noch ausstehende kulturvergleichende Beschreibung und Analyse der auf Gallipoli vorhandenen zahlreichen Gedenkstätten der am Krieg 1914–1918 beteiligten Nationen. Hier macht sich wie an keiner anderen Stelle das Fehlen einer türkischen Perspektive bemerkbar, die das notwendige Korrektiv zu den von McQuilton plastisch beschriebenen Distanz der modernen Gallipoli-Pilger insbesondere aus Australien wäre, deren Nonchalance gegenüber den Türken nicht selten die Grenze der Respektlosigkeit überschreitet.

Zu den Vorzügen des Bandes als gesamten gehören die über die verschiedenen Beiträge verteilten mannigfaltigen Detailbeobachtungen, die teilweise kaum Bekanntes erschließen. Dazu gehört der Hinweis auf das einzige Dardanellenschlacht-Memorial in Frankreich in der „Introduction" Macleods (S. 12) ebenso wie die vergleichend-kulturhistorisch interessante Beschreibung eines Veteranentreffens, bei dem Örtlichkeiten der Schlachten von 1915 in Form von Menügängen wie „Anafarta beef, Salt Lake potatoes, Chocolate Hill sprouts, Suvla pudding" im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes der Erinnerung und dem Gaumen aufgetischt wurden (S. 119 im Beitrag von Keith Grieves).

Der besprochene Band ist sehr sorgfältig ediert und enthält keine erkennbaren Fehler. Ein umfangreicher Endnotenteil (S. 159–184) bieten dem interessierten Leser eine hervorragende Gelegenheit, sich weiter in aktuelle Forschungsliteratur zum Thema zu vertiefen. Gemäß dem Anspruch, keine Einführung oder gar einen historischen Überblick über die Dardanellenschlachten zu geben, sondern Schlaglichter auf die von der Forschung der letzten Jahre eingeschlagenen Richtungen, ist das vorhandene knappe Schlagwortverzeichnis (S. 187–194) eine angemessene und sehr willkommene Ergänzung.

Der kleine, aber feine Band kann jedermann, der sich mit den Dardanellenschlachten aus-

einandersetzt, sei es nun als spezialisierter (Militär-)Historiker oder als Forscher mit über diese Diszplinen hinausgehenden kultur- oder literaturwissenschaftlichen Interessen, als Mittel zur Horizonterweiterung und Sprungbrett in einige Ergebnisse der jüngsten internationalen Forschung wärmstens ans Herz gelegt werden.

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Seeger, Ulrich, *Der arabische Dialekt der Dörfer um Ramallah. Teil 1: Texte.* (Semitica viva 44), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009, 479 pp.

In this book Ulrich Seeger presents 118 original texts and German translations. An accompanying glossary was published at the same time while a grammar volume is in preparation. The texts were tape-recorded in 50 villages in the vicinity of Ramallah on the West Bank. In a proper pedagogical manner, Seeger draws a map of the studied region and positions the villages on it, indicating the number of the texts from each village. The texts are in general folk-tales but some of them tell about particular occurrences that happened to some of the speakers. The data collection for this study started in 1998 and over the course of the years, Seeger visited ca. 160 villages in the region. At first, he used a questionnaire and tape-recordings, but before long he focused on just tape-recordings, which are the usual framework for these kinds of studies. As his assistant, Seeger found a Palestinian graduate student who had just finished his studies in English at Birzeit University. This man showed an interest in linguistics in general and Palestinian vernacular in particular, and was a gift from above, says Seeger.

Seeger points out that the younger generation in this region already speaks a kind of Koine that is drifting towards the city dialects. Seeking an authentic form of the dialect, which, in turn is heading towards extinction, the author sought out old people who were considered to have maintained the original diversity of the dialect. The texts in this book are hence from 66 speakers of whom the oldest is 104 years old and who have an average age of 66 years. One third of all the informants are women. The number of speakers and the fact that both sexes are represented makes the study well balanced. Nevertheless I have not found any information about the speakers' educational background. It is well known that educated people often include words and expressions from Modern Standard Arabic in their speech just for the sake of showing that they are educated.

The vernacular presented here belongs to the so-called Syro-palestinian dialect group. Palestinian dialects have been studied by a number of scholars over the years. For instance, one can mention the grammar of Leonhard Bauer *Das Palästinensische Arabisch – Die Dialekte des Städters und des Fellachen* (Leipzig 1926); Hans Schmidt and Paul Kahle's *Volkserzäh-*

lungen aus Palästina – gesammelt bei den Bauern von Bir Zet (Göttingen 1918/1930); Raphael Patai's *Arab folktales from Palestine* (Detroit 1965); Judith Rosenhouse *The Bedouin Arabic Dialects. General Problems and Close Analysis of Northern Israel Bedouin Dialects* (1984 Wiesbaden). Mentioning this does not necessarily mean that further studies are superfluous. On the contrary, these kinds of studies are necessary to document the status of dialects in different stages of their development, or in this case perhaps the final stage. The old, original form of the dialect is becoming extinct because, as mentioned above, the younger generations already speak a dialect that gives them an identity closer to that of the big cities. Consequently enlarging the already-existing textual materials on Palestinian Arabic in this way is more than welcome.

Documenting dialects in this way is significant for another important reason. Very often this kind of material is the only documentation about a group's ethnicity, culture, religion, and way of living its daily life. Folk-tales are often handed down orally from generation to generation, and by tape-recording and transcribing them, we ensure that they will not vanish when the dialect itself dies out. Furthermore, these texts may also have anthropological importance. One example of this is the study by Ingvar Svanberg, *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*. In this study, Svanberg refers exclusively to Otto Jastrow's publications when mentioning the Arabs of south-eastern Turkey, hence a dialectological work is the only source of knowledge about a certain ethnic group.

While listening to the original tape-recordings at the website of SemArch, *Semitisches Sprach-archiv des Lehrstuhls Semitistik an der Universität Heidelberg* (http://www.semarch.uni-hd.de) the following drew my attention:

In text 83 line 1, it is written *hān* "here" while in the recording it is *hēn*. In the glossary both forms are listed under HWN. It seems that both forms occur and /ā/ and /ē/ are in this case allophones of the same phoneme.

In text 115 line 2, it is written *imn il-balad* "from the city" while in the recording it is *ibn il-balad* "son of the city" in the sense of "from the city". Since both /b/ and /m/ are bilabial it is sometimes difficult to hear the difference between them. That the author chose to write *imn-* and not *ibn-* may be due to the fact that *imn-* suits the context better. Another possibility is that the speaker may have mispronounced the word. If so, I would have expected an explanation, maybe in a footnote.

In text 115 line 3, it is written *hān* "here" while in the recording it is *hāna*. The latter is a long form of the former. In the glossary both forms are presented under the same entry.

In this dialect an Old Arabic /q/ shifts as a rule to /k/ and an Old Arabic /k/ shifts very often to /č/. While listening to the recordings one finds, for example, that the word *ṭÿarīk* (cf. Old Arabic *ṭÿarīq*) "road, way", occurs with the pronunciations /k/ and /q/. The author has obviously chosen to transcribe this phoneme consistently with /k/.

The author provides a key that is helpful in reading the transcription. On the other hand I also would have appreciated a short grammatical survey at the beginning of the volume. This survey could include the most important features of phonology and morphology only. I believe that a short survey would have helped the reader to avoid confusion such as in the examples mentioned above. The "normal" procedure in these kinds of studies is for the grammar volume to be published before the text volume, and in that case the need for a grammatical survey would not have been so great.

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Utas, Bo, *Manuscript, Text and Literature. Collected essays on Middle and New Persian texts.* (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 29), ed. by Carina Jahani and Dariush Kargar, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2008, 272 pp.

The book under review is a collection of papers by Bo Utas, a most outstanding Swedish Iranist, dedicated to him on his 70th birthday. It starts with a paper by his talented pupil (who now holds the chair in Iranian studies at Uppsala) – Carina Jahani – consisting of a detailed description of the events of his life and a bibliography of his scholarly works. This bibliography includes 126 books and articles in Swedish, English, Persian, German, Danish, Russian, and French. One immediately singles out his brilliant translations from Persian into Swedish, including such chef-d'œuvres as the famous "Song of the Flute" (the opening of the famous *Mathnavi* by the great 13th-century Persian mystical poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī) and "The Blind Owl" (an outstanding story by the famous 20th-century Persian author Ṣādiq Hidāyat, in Persian entitled *Būf-i kūr*).

In the first paper, "On the composition of the Ayyātkār ī Zarērān", Utas follows Jamasp-Asana, Geiger, Nöldeke, Pagliaro, Benveniste, and Nyberg and reconstructs an epic poetic text (based on the extant fragment), systematically confronting and comparing it with the corresponding verses in the Persian epic poem *Šāhnāmah*. Bo Utas's conclusion is that this text without doubt functioned before it was written down in the 14th century.

The next paper is entitled "Non-religious Book Pahlavi literature as a source to the history of Central Asia". Here Utas tries to find specific data in four Middle Persian works which he investigates with a maximum of thoroughness. The paper "Jang u āštī: War and peace in Iran" contains textual and etymological analyses of words for these two phenomena in Persian, including Arabic loanwords. Utas underlines the greater prevalence of words for war rather than peace.

Then comes "The manuscript tradition of Miṣbāḥ ul-arvāḥ and the application of the stemmatic method to New Persian texts". Here Utas analyses the Sufi mathnavi *Miṣbāḥ ul-arvāḥ* and uses a stemmatic method to compare the existing manuscripts of this work. He does, however, raise a warning about this method, which may cause unsurpassable problems for larger texts such as the *Šāhnāmah*.

In the next article, "The *Munājāt* or *Ilāhī-nāmah* of 'Abdu'llāh Anṣārī", Utas underlines the difficulties arising in the process of interpreting the works of this Sufi master (d. 1089). It is known that Anṣārī himself did not write anything and that all texts attributed to him are either lecture notes taken by his pupils or were written by his pupils in his memory. Thus, we have at our disposal a considerable number of texts which show great differences in style. Utas pays due tribute to the leading specialist of the heritage of this great Sufi master, the monk Serge de Laugier de Beaurequeil (1917–2005), who wrote several works of paramount importance about Anṣārī.

The article "Towards a computerized method for the construction of stemmas of Persian manuscripts" shows its author from a rather unexpected side. Bo Utas is not only a first-class Orientalist, but also a highly qualified mathematician. In this article, he turns to the studies of G. P. Zarri about automatic computer analysis of texts to construct manuscript stemmas.

The next paper, "Some trends in modern Persian literature", discloses all the supreme qualities of Bo Utas as a first-class specialist in literature. Here he analyses the heritage of three of the 20th century's most outstanding Persian authors; Muḥammad 'Alī Jamālzādah, Ṣādiq Hidāyat and Ṣādiq Čūbak.

The paper "Did 'Adhrā remain a virgin?" proves that the legend about the two lovers Vāmiq and 'Adhrā comes from Middle Persian times and that its topic and heroes are very close to the Greek legend about Metiokhos and Parthenope. Utas here demonstrates his great skill in discovering Greek names written in Arabic script.

In the article "A journey to the other world according to the Lantern of Spirits", Utas again analyses the *Miṣbāḥ ul-arvāḥ*, and proves convincingly that it is one of the sources of Dante

Alighieri's *Divina commedia*. Moreover, this paper is enriched to a considerable extent by a brilliant English rendering of several parts of the text *Miṣbāḥ ul-arvāḥ*.

Then comes a series of articles in French first published in *Dictionnaire universel des littératures* about the great Sufi classics 'Aṭṭār, Rūmī, and Sanā'ī with informative bibliographies (till 1994). In the article in the same encyclopedia about Sufism, Bo Utas especially stresses the activities of two great theoreticians: Muḥammad Ghazālī (d. 1111) and Ibn 'Arabī (d. 1240). Many other great Sufi masters are mentioned as well, and in the section on Sufism today the author gives a broad perspective from Africa to China.

The article "Arabic and Iranian elements in New Persian prosody" contains a deep comparative analysis of two metric traditions in interaction, the Iranian tonic system based on word stress and the Arabic quantitative metre based on the distribution of heavy and light syllables. The next article contains a linguistic analysis of the Ṣavāniḥ of Aḥmad Ghazālī (d. 1126), the younger brother of the great philosopher and theologian Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ghazālī. Utas establishes a number of causes of semantic ambiguity in this work, among others the ambiguous reference of the pronouns, the multiple functions of the conjunction *kih*, the incomplete orthographic representation of the iẓāfah, and the multiple uses of the suffix *-ī*.

In the paper "The ardent lover and the virgin – a Greeek romance in Muslim lands", Utas analyses the legend of Vāmiq and 'Adhrā in the version given by the famous Orientalist from Vienna, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856). Bo Utas convincingly proves that this legend can be traced as far back as 'Unṣurī (d. ca. 1040), and that it has as its source the Ancient Greek story about Metiokhos and Parthenope. The next paper in the collection also deals with Perso-Greek contacts and attributes the (mythical?) invention of the lute (Pers. *barbat*, Ar. *'ūd*) to Hermes Trismegistos (Pers. Hurmuz).

The article "The aesthetic use of New Persian" belongs to the field of literary criticism. Utas here describes the New Persian language as a refined aesthetic tool, comparing New Persian aesthetics with the Indian and Arabic aesthetic traditions. The final paper in the collection, "'Genres' in Persian literature 900–1900", can be attributed to the same realm of study. Here we find a discussion on the concept of literature followed by a similar discussion about what a genre actually is. The article contains five classificatory trees and a discussion of genres in Persian literature, both oral and written. It also presents many learned and witty observations about New Persian terminology in the field of literary science and a detailed description of Iranian literary views.

At the end of the book there is an index of "primary sources" and names. The book clearly demonstrates Bo Utas's skills as a first-rank scholar in the field of Iranian philology. May he continue to work for many years!

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