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In Memoriam
Frithiof Rundgren (1921–2006)

One of our giants of erudition and acumen has left us for ever. Frithiof Rundgren was Professor of Semitic languages at Uppsala University for twenty-four years, 1964–87, and during the whole of his active life was an internationally distinguished research figure. His activities spanned a wide range. Like two previous holders of his chair at Uppsala, K.V. Zetterstéen and H.S. Nyberg, he dealt with problems within both Iranistics and Turkology, and pursued further studies within Egyptology, Comparative Indo-European Studies, and General Linguistics. However, the work that above all bore the stamp of his particular genius was an uncompromising investigation into the linguistic foundations of Semitic Studies. To Rundgren this was a deeply humanistic project. According to his own scientific programme, linguistics is la science pilote, the vanguard for all knowledge about the human being.

Early on Frithiof displayed a talent for languages and studied Latin at what then was Stockholm College. To study Greek, however, he had to travel to Uppsala. There, in the early nineteen-forties, with a world war raging, he also attended lectures by the famous H.S. Nyberg, who after a time spoke the words: ‘I think Rundgren should come over to me.’ And so he did. In 1942–43 he began studying Semitic languages under Nyberg who would come to be his teacher not only in Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic, but also in the Iranian languages. In 1964 it was Frithiof’s turn to shoulder the responsibility for the chair of Semitic languages. He was subsequently dean of the then Linguistics Section 1971–78, member of the Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities, and member of many learned societies such as Société de Linguistique in Paris. Not least in importance were the many years he served as editor of Orientalia Suecana. He was the sole publisher of volumes 13 to 37 during the years 1964–1988, with the exception of the triple volume 33–35, a festschrift on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. This latter volume contains a bibliography of his academic publications, which was supplemented in vol. 45–46 (1996–97). During this long period of editing the journal he managed — with little means and at personal sacrifice — to sustain a flow of publication holding high academic standards.

Rundgren discovered his distinctive path as a researcher in the linguistic analysis of the Semitic languages. He went his own way, guided only by the great luminaries of linguistics such as de Saussure, Hjelmslev, and Kuryłowicz. Above all it was his investigation of the Semitic verb that established his world-wide reputation. In Das althebräische Verbum: Abriss der Aspektlehre (1961) Rundgren introduced the concept of aspect into both Hebrew and general grammar in an independent fashion.

This and later writings such as Erneuerung des Verbalaspekts im Semitischen (1963) made the doctrine of aspect internationally known, and the concept of aspect in Semitic languages came to be especially associated with Uppsala.

Frithiof Rundgren’s bibliography reveals the supreme mastery with which he treated problems within Arabic and its dialects, Classical Arabic, the various branches of Aramaic, the tangle of Ethiopian tongues, and Accadian etymologies. Alongside the often puzzling Semitic verb system, he devoted his research efforts with a remarkable intensity to the nature of the linguistic sign and the linguistics of the text using an entirely original approach. What he sought was the ultimate preconditions of language in the human being, and nothing could be more deeply rooted in the human being – as human being – than language. Hence in his later work the nature of thought and the special character of the linguistic sign became ways to investigate what is most deeply human. Two later works using this approach are Principia linguistica semitica (1981) and The word and the text (1992). Another line of his research touches on mediaeval Arabic philosophy (e.g. Avicenna on Love, 1979).

We who studied under Frithiof Rundgren remember him as a man of remarkable learning, but also as a profound and independent thinker. He undertook the task of nurturing doctoral students into good Semiticists with the utmost seriousness. We especially remember the Ethiopian and Syrian years, when he painstakingly went through the entire grammar on the blackboard, together with his own comparative and historical explanations. He was never careless with his preparations, whether concerning text or language history. In this way he established a norm for what constitutes thorough philological and linguistic analysis. And in the midst of all his duties – not least a heavy administrative burden – he could show his personal side from time to time with encouraging words, or delight after a successful examination. Those of us who had the good fortune to study under Frithiof Rundgren know that he drew on a great reservoir of Orientalistic knowledge, and that his viewpoints were nuggets of gold to be preserved in our ongoing research. The following stanzas by Gunnar Ekelöf – often commented on at our Semitic seminars – express the importance of constantly returning to the fundamentals of one’s research field, and in so doing to also tangent one’s wellspring as a human being. They illustrate the world of ideas of Frithiof Rundgren – researcher, thinker, and educator.

Det är inte konstverket man gör  
Det är sig själv  
Och man måste alltid börja från grunden  
åter och åter börja från grunden  
Den fasta grunden är detta brottstykke  
denna stympade hand, detta söndrade ansikte  
som aldrig kan sammanfogas till sin helhet  
anatt ån inifrån  
anatt ån genom ursprunget …

Mats Eshkult  
Bo Isaksson
Defining movement within a case of VSO typology

C. Belkacemi
Manchester

It has been argued that some languages such as Arabic and Gaelic project a similar surface structure in that they exhibit a similar typological order: VSO. It has also been pointed out that any attempt to classify languages along typological lines should take into consideration the properties of functional categories rather than those of substantives (Ouhalla 1991: 105). It is the particular operations which are triggered by movements that result in the language structure being what it is at the level of surface structure. It was established through X-bar theory that V is the Head, and an interesting consequence of this theory is that most nodes dominate no more than two branches, a phenomenon known as binary branching. For VSO languages, this has the consequences of splitting V from its complement. It is this characteristic that leads us to investigate whether the subject is base generated as a VP internal element and that the alternative order is simply a matter of subject raising or V-lowering, or whether Arabic is underlyingly an SVO language with a surface display of VSO order triggered by a movement which plays a crucial role in not preserving head-initiality. Various views have been expressed on the subject, some of which will be discussed below.

On the generality of typology, Greenberg has observed that VSO languages typically display an alternative word order pattern, namely SVO. He formulates this observation in terms of a generalisation known as Universal 6 reproduced here as: all languages with VSO order have SVO as an alternative. (Celtic languages may be an exception.)

Ouhalla (1991: 107, 114 and 1999: 140) attributes this particularity to the fact that, although considered to be archetypal examples of VSO languages, Celtic languages nevertheless fail to offer the SVO order alternative that languages like Arabic and Berber offer due to the difference in the nature of their inflectional categories. Celtic languages are predicted to have AGR inside TNS which is specific to VSO order, but instead they display an AGR outside TNS which is essentially the order displayed by SVO languages. This particularity of inflectional Heads explains why Celtic languages do not possess the alternative SVO order available in Arabic.

Subject Generation

Koopman and Sportiche (1991) propose the idea that in VSO languages, the subject is not generated in the specifier of TP, but instead is generated in the specifier of VP under what was called the VP-internal subject hypothesis. By having subjects gener-
ated inside the VP we can make the assumption that theta roles are assigned entities within the VP by Category Selection given that the subject here is in a lower position than its verb. Assuming Koopman’s hypothesis of subject generation to be accurate, the derivation of VSO order will involve a straightforward movement of the verb from its position to that of T in order to check its agreement while the subject remains in Spec-VP (Carnie 2002: 204-205).

This derives the VSO order as illustrated above and exemplified by the following from Ouhalla:

1. **raaa**
   saw (3 m.s)
   The boys saw Zayd
   el ‘awlaadu the boys (3 m.pl) Nom Zayd
   Ouhalla (1999: 338)

2. **jaaat**
   came (3 f.s)
   The girls came
   al banaatu the-girls (3 f.pl) NOM
   Ouhalla (1991: 124)

3. **Jaa**
   Came (3 m.s)
   The boys came
   el awladu the boys (3 m.pl) NOM
   Ouhalla (1991:125)

Orientalia Succana LV (2006)
Ouhalla (1999: 335), for his part, characterises VSO as those languages where the most natural or unmarked position for the subject is to immediately follow the finite verb. However, there are significant differences in that some VSO languages, like Standard Arabic, allow SVO alternative order in neutral finite sentences.

What is noticeably unusual, compared to standard SVO, is that VP constituents, in particular the verb and its complements, are discontinuous in VSO languages with the subject intervening between them.

Arabic, which is primarily a VSO language, shows that AGR is triggered by movement. This movement can be either of the subject being raised to [spec, AGR] or of the verb being lowered from TP to VP.

Following Carnie (2002: 200), most linguists consider VSO languages to simply be exceptions to X-bar theory. They propose that these languages have a flat structure as illustrated below:

![Fig. 2](image)

This structure is called flat because there are no hierarchical differences between subjects, objects, and the verb. In other words, there is no structural distinction between complements, adjuncts, and specifiers, unlike SVO where theta theory is fully observed with the single node dominating both the verb and its complement under Category Selection and excluding the subject NP, which is instead accommodated by the Semantic Selection restrictions.

The question of interest is whether a VP constituent like X' predicts is found in other languages. Since in VSO two nouns (subject and object) are in succession pretty much like the dative movement in English, the hierarchical distinction between them in Arabic is the same as for all native English speakers. However, because of the strong case marking Arabic exhibits, an example like:

4 The driver gave the policeman his licence

with two NPs in successive order has its cases distinguished regardless of positioning.

Movement

Attempts have been made by scholars to explain the difference in typology and the order that results from it. All hypotheses revolve around the question of whether lan-
guages are identical at the level of base structure, thus making their diversity an issue of mere surface structure, or whether there is a deeper gap. Emonds (1980), for instance, proposes that VS (XP) order in VSO languages is derived from raising the verb to C (via I) from an underlying structure which is identical to that of English in relevant respects. This proposal derives from the universalist idea that all languages have a common underlying sentence structure, and that the difference in order is the result of movements.

Sproat (1985: 336-337), on the other hand, attributes this property of VSO languages to a parameterised restriction on the directionality of nominative case assignment to the subject by finite I. For I to be able to assign case rightward under government, it has to raise to C located to the left of the subject. Raising the verb to C along with finite I is needed to lexically support I, either for purely morphological reasons or in order to enable finite I to assign case: in this instance nominative case to the subject rightward under government.

Mohammad (1989) also posits the argument that the agreement between subjects and AGR in SVO sentences implies that the subject is in a spec-head relation with I and therefore located in Spec-IP as illustrated by the following:

![Diagram](image)

Fig. 3

The lack of number agreement between Subject and AGR suggests a VSO order where the subject is not in Spec-head relation with I and therefore not located in Spec-IP. In VSO the subject remains inside VP where it is base-generated according to the subject inside VP-Hypothesis (Ouhalla 1999: chp.8).
Mohammad's analysis attributes the VSO order to a failure on the part of the subject to move to Spec-IP. Apparently such a movement triggers the derivation of the SVO order as indicated by fig. 3.

Radford (1997: 320 and 349) also supports the assumption of the VP-internal subject hypothesis in that he posits that subjects originate in spec-VP and raise from Spec VP to spec-TP in order to check their (strong) case feature. Given that a moved constituent leaves behind a trace in any position from which it moves, it follows that subjects which move from spec-VP to spec-TP will leave behind a trace in the spec-VP position. Radford regards this as empirical evidence which is essentially similar in character to that used to support the postulation of a PRO subject in control structure.

Analysis

In the light of the various views expressed above, we shall start by exploring the alternative word orders – VSO and SVO – in Arabic and attempt to define the impact of AGR and TNS positioning on the language.

We shall assume a structure where the verb and its complement form a VP and are adjacent at DS. Underlying this attempt is the idea that all languages have a unique underlying sentence structure and that order differences involving specifiers are merely surface phenomena resulting from the application of certain movement processes in some languages but not in others (Ouhalla 1999: 336).
For economy and on the grounds that VSO represents only a small percentage in the typology of languages as indicated in Carnie (2002: 202), we shall hypothesise that VSO languages are underlingly SVO (at DS level) and that the order VSO is derived from SVO through movement.

The question which arises, however, is which movement accomplishes this order? There are two possible heads: V-raising or I-lowering. Arabic is a pro-drop language which means that its feature-marking is strong and by necessity the two components of IP (AGR and TNS) have to be overtly expressed. Consequently it will be a simpler move for V to rise to IP, than for IP (AGR and TNS) to lower to V, and acquire its finite character as illustrated by the following.

DS
IP e [vp Spec, V ..........

LF
[IP V [vp Spec, e..........

It can be observed that this movement triggers partial agreement involving gender only represented by AGR in the schema below. Given that no tense agreement is triggered at this stage, we can presume that AGR is lower than TNS in Arabic, and split INFL into its 2 components, putting TNS above AGR.

The V-features of T [AGR] are invariably strong in standard Arabic with the consequence that the verb raises overtly to AGR. With V in AGR, failure of the subject to move to [Spec-AGR] results in the derivation of the VSO order.

```
CP
  Spec
    C'
      C
        AGRP
          AGR'
            V-AGR
              VP
                NP
                  V
                    O

Fig. 5
```
With lexical subjects remaining in post-verbal position in Arabic, this has the consequence of deriving the order VSO at SS. From the INFL perspective, this quite obviously suggests the theory that the VSO variant in Arabic allows only partial agreement. Until the subject is in a Spec-IP relation with I, number agreement with the subject is not expected (Ouhalla 1999: 337-9) as illustrated by the following examples

5  tadribu                      el-bintu              el walada
   tadribu (3 f.s)              el-bintu (3 f.s)     el walada
   The girl hit the boy

6  tadribu                      el-bana:t             el walada
   tadribu (3 f.s)              el-bana:t (3 f.pl)    el walada
   The girls hit the boy

7  jadribu                      el waladu             el binta
   jadribu (3 m.s)              el waladu (3 m.s)     el walada
   The boy hit the girl

8  jadribu                      el 'awladu            el walada
   jadribu (3 m.s)              el 'awladu (3 m.pl)   el walada
   The boys hit the girl

Now, let us look at SVO order to shed light on other order-related issues.

**SVO**

The subject, as indicated earlier, moves to Spec-AGR resulting in the VSO order. Its present position – between Tense and Agreement – still obstructs the verb from checking its tense inflection which explains the gender-only agreement outlined earlier. To enable a complete agreement of the verb with both inflectional heads, another move is required from the subject. This time, it moves from Spec-AGR to Spec-TP, the last of the components of INFL, allowing the verb to move from AGR to T as illustrated below. There being no obstruction for the verb, the latter moves to TNS to check its inflection and a full AGR and TNS agreement with V is triggered. The operation is thus considered complete. V and Subject moves are illustrated respectively by fig. 6a and 6b below.

The subject can be assumed to move to [Spec, AGRP] at LF, thus establishing a semantic predication selection with the verb and its object.

This shows a correlation between order and subject agreement in Standard Arabic. While in the VSO order the verb shows default agreement features usually associated with expletive subjects, irrespective of the agreement features of the post-verbal subject, in SVO order the movement of the subject to [Spec-AGRP] permits the INFL full agreement with the verb.

Accordingly, the Standard Arabic examples show the different representations

9  el 'awlaadu     ra'au     Zaydan
   the boys (3m.pl)  saw (3m.pl)  Zayd
   The boys saw Zayd

10  ra'aa           el 'awlaadu     Zaydan
     saw (3 m.s)     the boys (3 m.pl) Nom  Zayd
     The boys saw Zayd

On the evidence of the difference in agreement shown by V in examples (9) and (10) above, we are compelled to conclude that in Arabic, preverbal subjects do occupy the Spec position of AGRP and show its marking (9), but in post-verbal instances, it can be implied that the subject is in a rather different position and is not governed by AGR, hence the lack of marking (10).
Conclusion

Arabic, like all languages with strong INFL marking has a flexible order. It exhibits VSO mainly in Standard forms and SVO in Modern spoken forms. There seems to be a correlation between the order of AGR/ TNS and the surface position of the subject. When the subject is in [Spec-VP] there is obstruction to AGR, and so to enable the verb to check its INFL, the subject in accordance with the principle of locality moves up to the nearest location AGRP and gets positioned in [Spec-AGRP]. The verb is then enabled to move up and check its INFL in AGR. The latter is triggered, but with the subject still lower than Tense, the resulting subject-verb agreement is weak and remains confined to gender only. The order is VSO. Tense (higher than AGR) still missing from the verb inflection triggers another subject movement in order to allow V to reach it. The subject moves, this time to [Spec-TP]. There being no obstruction, the verb moves to check the remaining part of its inflection. Now that the subject is in [Spec-IP] there is full agreement with the verb bearing both TNS and AGR marking and the order is SVO.

References


Beiträge zur Pahlavi-Lexikographie I

Alberto Cantera
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Phl. 𐎣𐎦𐎫 (cānīz)


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1 Davon ist auch eine Variante 𐎣𐎦𐎫 bezeugt. Sie kommt immer an erster Stelle im Hauptsatz hinter einem konditionalen Nebensatz vor. Sichere Belege sind V 5.4, 7.35 und 7.77.

2 Die einzige Ausnahme dürfte V 4.43B sein (s. u.).

Die Speisen, die von einer menstruierenden Frau übrig bleiben, sind für gar keinen weiteren Gebrauch (tauglich) und man darf sie nicht (verwenden).

Dieser Ausdruck ist mit pad čiš-iz kær nē sāyēd (v. B. Šnš 2,75, s. u.) unmittelbar zu vergleichen. Daher ist eine gewisse Bedeutungs- und Funktionsähnlichkeit zwischen čāniz und čiš-iz zu erschließen.

Dasselbe Wort kommt aber auch mit anderen Substantiven vor:

V 7,48
[A] y AMT BYN tpn-l14 lwdyn' HNHTWN-t PWN gyw`k LALA YHYTYWN-yt A-ṣ AHL 50 ŠNT ṭw15 ṭy od hw`l`ṣyt16 nkylsm17 BRA OBYDWN-x18 ʿ-š ʿwṣ ṭm19 LOYT A-ṣ²⁰ AHL KLBA BRA nm`dšn` A-ṣ k`l PWN 2 GBRA QDM OBYDWN-ṣn2¹
ay ka andar tabn-e röyên nihâd pad gyag ul āwarêd u-s pas panjâb sâl ô(h) abâyêd tâ xwarêd nigarîn bê kunêd a-s S[4]mân ar nêst u-s pas sag be nimâyisn u-s kâr pad dê mard abar kunişn

D.h. wenn (die Leiche) in einem bronzenen Gefäß22 niedergelegt ist, bringt man sie auf der Stelle heraus, aber danach müssen fünfzig Jahre vergehen, bis man die Aussetzung an die Sonne durchführen darf. (Weitere) Bemerkungen darüber gibt es nicht. Ein Hund ist dann zu zeigen und die Aufgabe ist von zwei Menschen auszuführen.

V 7.4


ay ên pad çawarîn ā-s gâh i pêş padiş andar ayêd gyag ud kadag ud mard rêman nê kunêd |B] pad abârîg çis êdôn bawêd çîyon nasâ i sag dîd |C| ka gâh i pêş padiş andar ayêd êdôn bawêd çîyon ka-s gyân andar an zamân šud hê |D| abarag guft ay S[4]mân çis abar handâzisn gûguşasp guft ay ôh handâzisn


Ähnlich aufzufassen dürfte auch .setProgression in V 18.30 sein, obwohl hier die Wortstellung anders ist und die Ergänzung einer Ezäfe notwendig scheint. Es handelt sich um die PÜ und die darauffolgende Glossen für av. *druxš ax’ābāre:

\[
\text{dlwc y } \text{’hw’} \text{lyh [AYK-t nykwkh } <y> \text{ sp } \text{ ’cš LOYT} \\
\text{druz } \text{i axwārīh } [kī-t nēkih } <i> \text{ sp } \text{ aziš } nēsti \\
\text{Druz des Nichtwohlstandes [d.h. du hast daraus gar keine Freude]}
\]


Obwohl diese Herleitung wegen der engen Beziehung von čāniz zu čē-iz sehr anprechend ist, stößt sie auf einige Schwierigkeiten, vor allem auf die Tatsache, daß die Endung *ni weder im Avestischen noch im Altpersischen für Pronomina belegt ist. Wahrscheinlicher scheint mir deswegen eine Zurückführung entweder auf *ciyāt-na-ca, wobei *ciyāt die Entsprechung von ap. ciyāt in ciyākaram\(^\text{39}\) bzw. mmp. c\(^\text{39}\) in c\(^\text{39}\) „wie“ (< *ciyāt-gaunam\(^\text{40}\) wäre, oder auf *čē-na-ca, mit čē als Umgestaltung von kā nach G.Sg. cahja. In beiden Fällen dürfte -na- das von Klingenschmitt (1972:100ff.) ermittelte Suffix sein, das u.a. in plh. ēn < *ajum-na- und ān < *hāu-na- vorliegt. Wenn eine dieser Deutungen stimmt, ist diese Form als čāniz zu lesen.

Es bleibt jedoch eine ganze Gruppe von Belegen, die mit dieser Deutung nicht ohne weiteres erklärt werden können. Es handelt sich um die Belege des häufigsten Ausdrucks, das dieses Wort enthält, nämlich spēs nēst. In diesen Belegen scheinen diese zwei Wörter ein technischer Ausdruck mit der Bedeutung „es ist nicht tauglich (für eine bestimmte oder gar keine Handlung, weil es nicht rein ist)“ zu sein:

\[
\text{V 5.4J} \\
[\text{J}] \text{tl AMT}^{41} \text{lwst YKOYMWN-} \text{yt}^{42} \text{AP-š ns}^{3} \text{y QDM}^{43} \text{YHM} \text{TWN-} \text{yt}^{42} \text{sp } \text{LOYT} \\
\text{W AMT-š hyhr QDM YHM} \text{TWN-} \text{yt AMT pyt’k }^{3} \text{sp }^{44} \text{c-š BRA OBYDWN-} \text{šn’} \\
\text{AMT LA }^{2} \text{sp } \text{LOYT} \\
[\text{J}] \text{tarr ka rust ēstēd u-š nasā} \text{ abar rasēd a-čānīz nēst} \text{ ud ka-d hixr abar rasēd ka} \\
\text{paydāg a-š az-ās bē kunīn ka nē a-čānīz nēst}
\]

\(^{38}\) Anders Bartholomae (1922 11): „d.h. es kommt von dir nicht irgend was gutes“.

\(^{39}\) Neben ciyakaram.


\(^{41}\) L4a; E10 MNW.

\(^{42}\) F1 lihht AP-š ns/y QDM YHM T WN-yt sp LOYT W aus.

\(^{43}\) Dps <LA>.

\(^{44}\) F10, M3, Jmp; L4a, E10, Dps pyt’kyh.
[J] Frisches Holz, wenn es noch wächst und eine Leiche (nasā) es erreicht, ist nicht tauglich (für die Benutzung als Brennholz). Wenn Exkrement (hixr) es erreicht, sobald festgestellt, ist es zu beseitigen; wenn es nicht (beseitigt wird), ist es nicht tauglich.

V 7.35

|E| W bl y 'pz z pt46 YKOYWMYN-yt ?ytwn'-c YHWWN-yt cygwZ KBYN kwin47 48 W ZK <y> LA PWN pz'p49 YKOYWMYN-yt' AMT-S50 QDM YHMWTN-yt ^-SP63 LOYT |

|E| ud bar ī pazzāft ēstēd ēdôn-iz hawēd ēyôn ān andar kunag (?) ud ān ī nē pād pazzāb ēstēd ka-š ārēd ā-čāniz nēst 

Ist die Frucht reif, dann geschieht so wie in der Knolle (?)52. Ist sie nicht zur Reife53 gelangt, dann, wenn (eine Leiche) sie erreicht, ist sie nicht tauglich54.

45 D.h. wenn es noch nicht gefällt ist.
46 E10, T44; F10 pz'pyt; P2 BRE zp't; K1, M3, DPS pz'p; Jmp pztyk; IM pz'pyt.
47 E10 kwdn.
48 E10 läßt W ZK y LA PWN aus.
49 K1, M3, DPS pz'p; Jmp pztyk; IM pz'pyt; MU1 pyz'pt; E10, F10, P2, T44 pz'pt.
50 E10 AM-š.
51 K1, M3, Dps; Jmp 'y-c'nc.


54 Vgl. Sn 2.123:

ānār ud wātrang ud bēh ud sēb ud ambrud ud ahrāg mēwag pad bar u-š pazzābīn ābar paydāg ka-š nasā ābar rasēd u-š sōy-ē nēst ka-š pazzābīn ābar nē paydāg a-š sōy ēdôn ēyôn jordā wātrang hamē pazzābīn abāg

Granapfēl, Zitrone, Quiche, Apfēl, Birne und weitere Obst in Frucht, wenn bei ihnen die Frute sichtbar wird und eine Leiche zu ihnen gelangt, gibt es für sie keine Läuterung. Wenn die Frute nicht sichtbar ist, ist keine Läuterung wie die des Getreide. Die Zitrone ist immer in Reife.

Die Behandlung der Getreide in Sn 2.119 dargelegt:

pad jordā hamdādestān būd hēnd kū ān and gvd ānd-ās nasā ābar rasēd rēman ān <İ> andar gūbān parwastak ayāb xwast ud ān ī oan gyāg <İ> ēstēd juddādestānī sūsāns guft hād ān <İ> and gyāg rēman ānd-ās nasā ābar mad du gōgušnas guft hād hamāg rēman kāh hamāg rēman

Über das Getreide waren sie einverstanden, daß soviel Platz wie die Leiche dazu gelangt, ist unrein. (Über) das (Getreide), welches in Sehungen eingeschlossen war oder gedroschen und dieses, welches zu einem anderen Ort gesammelt (?) wurde, besteht Meinungsverschiedenheit. Sūsāns sagte, daß soviel Platz unrein ist, wie die Leiche dazu gelangt. Gōgušnas sagte, daß alles unrein ist. (Mit) Stroh ist alles unrein.
V 7.77
[C] AMT 55 ḳpwst 56 OŠTEN-ty' wck LWTE 58 AM PWN ptm'nk DKYA BRA YHWWN-ty W AMT-š 59 pys 60 MN ṣpwyh OŠTEN-t 61 YKOYMWN-ty' PWN ptm'nk DKYA YHWWN-ty W AMT 62 LOYN 63 MN ṣpwyh OŠTEN-t 64 YKOYMWN-ty' wck 65 AMT 66 BRA YLYDN-ty 2-DKYA 67 |D| AMT gwšn OŠTEN-t YKOYMWN-ty' ṣ-šq-s LOYT 71
[C] ka ābustan xward ēstēd waččag abāg mād pad paymānag pāk bē bawēd ūd ka-š pēd az āhūšīn xward ēstēd pad paymānag pāk bawēd ka pēš az āhūšīn xward ēstēd waččag ka bē zāyēd ā- pāk |D| ka gwšn xward ēstēd ā-čāmiz nēst

V 16.7
MNW LWTE NYŠE <y> 68 ḳst'n' hmklpk YHWWN-ty 2-š tn' W wstlg PWN gwmyz W MYA BRA ḥwšn' MNW tn' LWTE wstlg W wstlg LWTE wstlg BRA PWN ęʾštk y 69 swyyns ęʾšr 70 LOYT kē abāg zan i dašīn hamkirbag bawēd ā-š tan ūd wastaraq pad gōmēz ud āb be šōyīn ūd kē tan abāg wastaraq ūd wastaraq abāg wastaraq be pad čātTag i sōšyans ęʾšr nēst

55 Jmp <BYN>.
56 E10 ḳpwst'n; F10, P2, M3 ṣpwyh ; P2 <OL>.
57 K1, E10, P2; M3 OŠTEN-ty; F10 OŠTEN-ty.
58 L4a, M3 <wck>; Dps <ZK y>.
59 E10 MNW.
60 K1, E10, Jmp LOYN; F10 läßt es aus.
61 F10 OŠTEN-ty.
62 E10 MNW.
63 K1, M3; E10, F10 pys; P2 läßt es aus.
64 F10 OŠTEN-ty.
65 F10 <ęʾšr>.
66 M3 läßt es aus.
67 K1, M3; E10 ḳp'k; F10, P2 DKYA.
68 K1 deest.
69 K1 deest.
70 Jmp <k'ī>.
71 Ankslesarias (1949;332) Übersetzung ist ganz anders: „He, who makes defiling-contact with a woman in menses, shall wash the clothing on body with bull's urine and water, that body with clothing. Except according to the teaching of Sōšyans, it is not also otherwise“. Unsere Stelle ist nur verständlich unter Heranziehung von Šnš 3.13, wo die Lehre von Sōšyans, die in V 16.7 erwähnt wird, dargelegt ist:
Schwierig ist für mich das Verständnis dieses Ausdrucks in V 5.49l. In V 5.49F–J wird das Verfahren geschildert, wenn ein Fötus im Mutterleib tot und herauszunehmen ist:


[F] Wehšābuhr sagte, daß man durch das Schütteln (?!) nicht (unrein) wird, weil

kas ka ṭ wastarag ud jāmag pahikōbēd sōyans guft ay ān and gyāg pad gōmēz ud āḥ šōyišn ka wastarag i ān-āš ṭ wastarag i kas pahikōbēd rēman nē kunēd

Wenn jemand zum Kleid und Kleidung (einer menstruirenden Frau) stößt, sagte Sōyans, daß soviel Platz (seines Körpers wie in Kontakt mit dem Kleid der menstruirenden Frau war) mit Rinderrind und Wasser zu waschen ist. Wenn ihr Kleid (der menstruirenden Frau) zum Kleid jemanden anderen stößt, macht (das Kleid der Frau das andere Kleid) nicht unrein.

Aus dem Vergleich beider Stellen geht es deutlich hervor, daß die Abweichung der Lehre Sōyans gegenüber der üblichen daraus besteht, daß nach Sōyans die Kleider der menstruirenden Frau andere Kleider durch Kontakt nicht verunreinigen.

²⁷ F10
²⁸ L4a, L14a, Dps lassen es aus.
²⁹ L4a, L14a, P2 ṣlt’ F10.
³⁰ K1 läßt wydąśhpwl gwpt ’y PWN xweyhyn’ LA YHWWN-yt aus.
³¹ E10 läßt es aus.
³² E10 MNW.
³³ L4a, P2 tn-H; F10 tn-H; E10 M3 tn’.
³⁴ E10 läßt es aus.
³⁵ L4a, F10, P2 NTWN-šn’; M3 šn’.
³⁶ Dps; K1, L4a, E10, P2, M3, Jmp DLNY; IM 2.
³⁷ M3 läßt es aus.
³⁸ K1, L4a, E10, Jmp, F10, P2 bslwm; M3, Dps blsm.
³⁹ L4a, F10, P2 PWN.
⁴⁰ E10 läßt es aus.
⁴¹ P2 läßt ywtdl LOTY’ aus.
⁴² F10 <2>.
⁴³ L4a, F10, P2; E10 ṣlt’; M3 tn’-1.
⁴⁴ L4a, E10, F10, P2 ṣ’t’; M3 ṣlt’.
⁴⁵ M3; E10, F10, P2, L4a lassen es aus.
⁴⁶ E10, P2 hmkltg; L4a ṣlt’ F10; M3 hm klkt.
⁴⁷ E10 läßt es aus.
⁴⁸ L4a, F10 klkt-¹; E10, P2, M3 klkt.
⁴⁹ F10 C̱u; K1 thyk; L4a, E10 C̱u, Dps twśk; P2 twśk; M3 k.
⁵₀ L4a, F10, P2, M3; E10 OBYDWN-d.

Aus diesen Stellen (bis auf V 5.49 I) wäre für ḍārīšnās eine Bedeutung „tauglich“ o. ä. zu vermuten. Jedoch ist sie mit der Bestimmung desselben Wortes als Beiwort von Substantiven kaum in Übereinstimmung zu bringen. Die Tatsache aber, daß in beiden Verwendungen ḍārīšnās (fast) ausschließlich in negativen Sätzen vorkommt, macht die Vermutung, es könne sich um zwei verschiedene Wörter handeln, eher unwahrscheinlich. Dagegen halte ich es für möglich, daß der Ausdruck čāniz ḏērīš, der wortwörtlich „es ist nicht irgende was“ → „es ist gar nichts“ bedeutete, als technischer abgekürzter Ausdruck in der spezialisierten Bedeutung „es ist gar nicht (tauglich für eine bestimmte Handlung wegen der Unreinheit)“ verwendet wurde. Eine vergleichbare verkürzte Ausdrucksform kommt in der spanischen Umgangsprache vor. Man benutzt lo que no es „was nicht ist“ für das, was in der Situation nicht das Richtige ist.

Eine weitere Verwendung des Wortes čāniz finden wir in V 5.49 C. Dort kommt es im Ausdruck pad čāniz nē ḍārīšnās vor:

[A] ṭlg gwpt ʿyīm nyw mḥk ʿywp100 BYRH-k101 k]102 LOYT ME ṭpwstn y nswyīh103 PWN ṭywlyh104 YHWWN-yt105 [B] OD106 ṭyw1 Y DOYTWN-d107 AYK ṭpwstn HWE-m108 hmʿk AMT-š109 MNDOM-111 ṭpyt k1 YHWWN-yt ʿy HWE m108 PWN HNA YHSNN-šn AYK MN dšt ʿn112 [C] AMT111 ṭyw1 Y DOYTWN-d112 AYK

Die Lesung und Deutung dieses Verbs ist sehr unsicher. Aus dem Zusammenhang erschließt man eine Bedeutung „Wenn (der Fötus) im Körper (der Mutter) eingeklebt ist, dann ...“. Jedoch ist es ein solches Verb sonst aus der Phil.-Literatur nicht bekannt. Deswegen verbessert es Jamasp (1907 190) in <ʾiytw>, PPP von ḍhidan „moderieren werden“.

Für sagdid.

96 Die Lesung und Deutung dieses Verbs ist sehr unsicher. Aus dem Zusammenhang erschließt man eine Bedeutung „Wenn (der Fötus) im Körper (der Mutter) eingeklebt ist, dann ...“. Jedoch ist es ein solches Verb sonst aus der Phil.-Literatur nicht bekannt. Deswegen verbessert es Jamasp (1907 190) in <ʾiytw>, PPP von ḍhidan „moderieren werden“.

97 Für sagdid.

98 K1, M3, JMP: Dps mḥ; L4a, E10, P2; BYRH-k; F10 BYRH.

99 E10; F10 W; L4a, P2, M3 lassen es aus.

100 L4a, E10, P2; K1, M3, JMP, Dps mḥ; F10 BYRH.

101 E10 <ʾcṣ>.

102 M3, Dps; JMP nnsyh; K1 nnsyhyh; L4a, E10, F10, P2-ḥnaʃ [].

103 E10 ṭyw1.

104 M3 ḍārīšnā.

105 F10 läßt es aus.

106 K1, M3, JMP, Dps; P2 dʿnd; L4a, E10 YHWWN-d (Fehler für dʿnd).

107 P2 hm; M3 HWE.

108 F10 <ʾyw1>.

109 F10 MNDOM.

110 JMP, Dps; K1, L4a, E10, M3, IM AMT-t; F10, P2 MNW.

111 K1, M3, JMP, Dps; F10, P2 dʿnd; L4a, E10 YHWWN-d (Fehler für dʿnd).
Abarag sagte, daß es keine Frage ist, ob (der Fötus) ein Monat oder zehn Monate alt ist, denn die Schwangerschaft einer Leiche ist ohne weiteres kenntlich. Bis man mit Gewißheit weiß: „Ich bin schwanger“, soll alles, was

113 P2 hm.
114 K1, M3, Jmp, Dps; L4a, E10, F10, P2 d’nd.
115 Jmp <ZK>.
116 M3 PW.
117 L4a, E10, F10, Jmp, Dps; K1, M3, lassen es aus.
118 K1, L4a, E10, Dps; Jmp läßt es aus; P2 ٖ-ٓح-ٓل; M3 wI’wmndylh-1.
119 P2 KN HNA; M3 HNA KN HNA.
120 K1, L4a, E10, P2, M3; Dps tyšk-‘y; Jmp xgwštkyh; F10ٓٓٓ-ٓٓٓٓٓٓ.
121 3 BRA BRA.
122 L4a, E10, F10, P2, M3, Jmp; Dps YHYTYWN-yt.
123 E10, P2 LMYTYWN-yt.
124 L4a, E10, F10, P2, Jmp; IM ‘wi; K1, M3, Dps KN.
125 K1, M3, F10; L4a, E10, P2, Jmp, Dps spyth.
126 F10 ٓٓ.
127 K1, M3, IM; L4a, Dps taecō; DJR teca; P2 tecō; F10 tamečō.
128 K1, Jmp; L4a yā. gar; P2 yāgara; Dps yā.gara; F10 yāgr.
129 L4a, E10, F10, Dps, Jmp; IM ‘wi; K1, M3 OL; P2 läßt es aus.
130 D.h. Fehlgebrurt.
132 Eine andere Auffassung scheint jedoch in einem zweifellos späteren avestischen Text, Vd 19, zu Tage zu treten. Obwohl die Interpretation der Stelle schwierig ist, ist kaum zu verkennen, daß hier ein Unterschied gemacht wird, je nachdem ob der Fötus bereits vier Monate alt ist oder nicht. Im ersten Fall müssen vierzig Tage vergangen, bis die Frau wieder rein ist, d.h. dieselbe Zeit, die man nach der Geburt braucht; im zweiten Fall hingegen reichen zehn Tage. Dieselbe Angabe begegnet uns im Rivaiat von

Die Formulierung tā pad čaniz nē dārīšn ist direkt mit dem Ausdruck tā-š pad ān dārīšn in Šns 3.15

zan i zādāg avāb nasā tā čehel rōz hamē ka rēman wēnēd be ka ēwar dānēd kū az dadātān tā-š pad ān dārīšn ud az čehel rōz frāz be ka ēwar dānēd kū az ān tā-š pad daštān dārīšn

Die Frau, die ein Kind oder einen Fötus (geboren hat), bis vierzig Tage, immer wenn sie Unreinheiten sieht, sind (diese Unreinheiten) dafür (d.h. für Leiche) zu halten, außer wenn man sicher weiß, daß sie aus der Menstruation stammen. Vom vierzigsten Tag ab sind (diese Unreinheiten) für Menstruation zu halten, außer wenn man sicher weiß, daß sie aus der (Leiche) stammen.

und in der parallelen Stelle in RiHA 35:

passos hangirdq ēn kū zan i nō-zādāg andar čehel rōz har ān i aziš ayēd bē agar ēwar paydag kū daštān tā pad ān dārīšn pas <az> čehel rōz bē agar ēwar paydag kū ān tā pad daštān dārīšn

Die vollständige Antwort ist folgende: eine Frau, die gerade ein Kind geboren hat, alles was in vierzig Tagen aus ihr kommt, außer wenn mit Sicherheit offensichtlich ist, daß es Menstruation ist, muß für Leiche gehalten werden. Nach vierzig Tagen, außer wenn es mit Sicherheit offensichtlich ist, daß es Leiche ist, muß es für Menstruation gehalten werden.

Kāma Bohra (MU 1 228.9). Diese Diskussion berücksichtigt zwei unterschiedliche Aspekte: einerseits die Behandlung der Mutter, die ja verschieden sein kann je nach der Auffassung des Fötus; andererseits die Behandlung des Fötus selbst. Kāmin Šapuhr oder Šapuhr Bhrūči, z. B., ziehen das Alter des Fötus für die Behandlung der Mutter nicht in Betracht (PRipv MU 1 230.5; MU 1 234.Ende). Was nun den Fötus selbst betrifft, (PRipv MU 1 233 Z. 11–15; MU 1 234), ist er über vier Monate alt, verdient er dieselbe Behandlung wie jede andere Leiche auch; nicht dagegen, wenn er weniger als 4 Monate und 10 Tage alt ist. Nach Kāma Bohra ist auch die Behandlung der Mutter unterschiedlich.  

132 D.h. als Leiche; s. Kommentar zu V 5.41.
133 Wahrscheinlich wurde das Gerinnel ins Wasser geworfen. Wenn es nicht schwamm, wurde es für schwer gehalten.
134 Dieselbe Prozedur wird etwas ausführlicher im neupersischen Rivāyat von Kāma Bohra beschrieben (PRipv MU 1 228, Zeile 9 ff.).
Aus dem Vergleich mit diesen Stellen geht hervor, daß āniz in V 5.49C in der selben Funktion wie ān in Šnš und RiHA gebraucht wird. Dementsprechend wäre V 5.49C wie folgt zu übersetzen: „Wenn man mit Gewißheit weiß: „Ich bin schwanger“, außer wenn sie mit Gewißheit wissen, daß es eine Leiche ist, soll es auch nicht für ... (āniz)\textsuperscript{136} gehalten werden“. Es stellt sich die Frage, ob diese Bedeutung auch in V 5.49I vorliegen könnte. In diesem Fall wäre die Übersetzung von V 5.49I folgende: „Wenn (der Fötus) im Körper nicht sichtbar ist, ist er nicht so etwas (nämlich Fötus)“.

Phl. hamīn „Sommer“ neben hāmīn

Für die „warme Jahreszeit“ finden wir im manichäischen Mittelpersischen die Bezeichnung hāmīn \(<h^\prime\text{myn}>\)\textsuperscript{137}. Im Pahlavi ist dieselbe Form hamīn \(<h^\prime\text{myn}>\) reichlich belegt\textsuperscript{138}. Daneben kommt in diesem auch eine adjektivische Ableitung davon, nämlich hāmīnīg \(<h^\prime\text{mynyk}>\) „sommerlich“ (s. MacKenzie 1971: 41), vor\textsuperscript{139}. Im Avestischen finden wir ein Adjektiv hqmīnā- „sommerlich“ (Bartholomae 1904: 1809), V 1.3:

\[
dasa.\ amaθra.\ manayθo.\ zaiia.\ duua.\ hqmīna.\]

Dort sind zehn Monate wintertätig und zwei Monate sommerlich\textsuperscript{140}.

Daneben kommt aber auch ein neutrales Substantiv hqmīna- in Y 65.5:

\[
aθhāsca.\ mē.\ aθuəuəhə.\ āpō.\ hamə Theodore.\ aθua.\ baraitt.\ hqmīnəmeca.\ zaiia.\ amec.\]

(Der Abfluß) dieses einen Wassers von mir kommt gleichmäßig im Sommer und im Winter herunter.

\textsuperscript{136} D.h. als Leiche; s. Kommentar zu V 5.41.

\textsuperscript{137} z.B. S 7981 Vi (Andreas-Henning 1932: 17 s., M. Boyce 1975: 69, § y 28):

\[
\text{wd p}s\ yw s\ r\ pd dw zhih m\ thyg m\ n\ hmpdc\ dwzh\ xt\ pd\ wh\ r\ \text{wd h}\ myn\ p\ d\ z\ \text{wd dmyst\ n}\ hmbx\ syye\ \text{wd p}\ gy\ qwnd}
\]

Er teilt das Jahr und läßt es erscheinen in zwölf Monaten, den zwölf Zodiakalzeichen entsprechend, und in Frühling, Sommer, Herbst und Winter.

\textsuperscript{138} z. B. PRDd.2.4 (Williams 1990: I 41, II 6):

\[
wlny\ LA\ s\ h\ yst\ PWN\ h^\prime\ myn\ \text{OD}\ \text{HD BYRH}\ b\ <w>n\ nk\ BRA\ YHWWN\ y\ t\ PWN\ zmyst\ n\ \text{OD}\ 9\ LLYA\ b\ <w>n\ nk\ BRA\ YHWWN\ y\ \text{8} k\ L\ A\ pl\ y\ s\ n\]

Ungekochte Speisen dürfen im Sommer nicht benutzt werden bis ein Monat vollendet ist; gekochte Speisen dürfen im Winter nicht benutzt werden bis neun Tage vollendet sind.

\textsuperscript{139} z. B. GrBd.25.4 (TD2 158.4 ss.):

\[
yWm\ y\ h^\prime\ myn\ y\ zmyst\ nc\ d\ y\ zmyst\ yr\ ds\ y\ LLYA\ y\ zmyst\ nc\ zmyst\ nc\ d\ y\ h^\prime\ myn\ ksst\]

Der längste Sommer (ist) so lang wie zwei von den kürzesten Wintertagen. Die längste Winter (ist) so lang wie zwei von den kürzesten Sommermächten.


die PŪ weicht leicht davon ab. Wir lesen:

\[
10\ BYRH\ TME\ zmyst\ n\ 2\ BYRH\ h^\prime\ mynh\ (K\ θ\ hb\ mynh).\]

Zehn Monate sind dort Winter, zwei Monate sind Sommer.


MacKenzie setzt das Pahlavi-Wort für „Sommer“ als hāmīn an und verzeichnet nur eine Schreibung <h’myn>. Jedoch zeigt eine genaue Betrachtung der Beleglage dieses Wortes in der Pahlavi-Literatur einen ganz anderen Befund. In der PÜ ist phl. hāmīn <h’myn> die übliche Übersetzung von av. hāmīna-: in PV 1.3 zeigen sowohl die Jamasp-Ausgabe als auch die Hss. L4a, K3a und K3b hāmīnīh <h’mynh> als Übersetzung von av. hāmīna; av. hāmīnām wird in Y 65.5 durch pad hāmīn <PWN h’myn> (Dhabhar, K5) wiedergegeben.

In der PÜ erscheint dieses Wort weiterhin in den Glossen und Kommentaren der Pahlavi-Version von Videvdād. Dort finden wir zwei unterschiedliche Schreibungen:

<h’myn>: 5.42 (L4a, K1, Jmp, Dps)
15.45 (L4, K1, IM141)
16.12 (L4, K1, Jmp)

<h’myn>: 9.6 (L4, Jmp, DPS)
9,9142 (L4a, Jmp, Dps)
15.44 (Jmp)
16.12 (IM)

In der PÜ des Avesta ist also neben h’myn ‘eine weitere Schreibung hmyń’ vertreten. Die besten Handschriften vom Pahlavi-Videvdād (nämlich K1, L4) zeigen beide Lesarten. Dort, wo das Phl-Wort av. hāmīna- übersetzt, scheint die Lesart <h’myn> zu überwiegen. Ansonsten muß an jeder Stelle der Fall neu entschieden werden, aber oft ist die Lesart <h’myn> wenigstens so gut vertreten wie <h’myn>, wenn nicht besser.

Ganz eindeutig ist die Beleglage im Dēnkard. Dort ist, soweit ich feststellen konnte, ausschließlich die Form hāmīn <hmyń> belegt, und zwar an folgenden Stellen: 3.288 [M143 299.12, D 604.11], 3.375 [M 356.18, D 557.11], 3.375 [M 357.1, D 557.15], 3.419 [M 404.1, D 517.5], 8.7.10 [M 683], 8.7.21 [M 684.12], 8.27.3 [M 733.1, D 273.21], 8.27.10 [M 733.12, D 272.7], 8.41.30 [M 770.16, D 253.12], 8.41.30 [M 770.18, D 253.13]. Belegt ist auch dreimal ein Adjektiv hāmīnīg <hmynyk> „sommerlich“, Ableitung aus hāmīn, so wie phl. hāmīnīg „sommerlich“ eine Ableitung aus hāmīn ist: Dk.3.419 [M 404.17, D 517.18], 8.41.19 [M 769.11, D 254.11], 8.41.19 [M 769.13, D 254.12].

141 Nach den Angaben von Jmp.
142 Sowohl L4 als auch K1 haben an dieser Stelle eine Lücke. Im Fall von L4 zeigt die spätere Handschrift L4a eine Lesart <h’myn>, die uns keine Information über die ursprüngliche Lesart von L4 ermittelt.
143 M steht für die Madan-Ausgabe und D für die Dresden-Ausgabe.
Im Dadestān ī mēnōg ī xrad kommt das Wort zweimal vor (MX 44.19, 49.26). Nach der Ausgabe von Sanjana (1895) findet sich an beiden Stellen die Graphie \(<h'ymn'>\) ohne Varianten. Diese Angabe wurde im Fall der Handschrift K 43 verifiziert, und sie zeigt in der Tat an beiden Stellen die Schreibung \(<h'ymn'>\): K 43 164v.5 (= 44.19), K 43 167r.11 (= 49.26).

In anderen Texten finden wir hingegen ausschließlich die Schreibung \(<h'ymn'>\). Dazu gehören die Wizidaiğiā ī Žādspram (34. 29 \(<h'ymn'>\)), Husraw ī Kawādān ud rēdag (39 \(<h'ymn'>\)) und das Pahlavi Rivāyat, wo das Wort fünfmal vorkommt und immer die Schreibung \(<h'ymn'>\) aufweist: PRDd.2.3, 2.4, 37a7, 46.15, 48.14.

Komplizierter ist die Lage im Bundahišn. Dort ist das Wort für „Sommer“ häufig belegt. Wir finden fast ausschließlich die Schreibung \(<h'ymn'>\): 144: 5b4 (TD1 22v.4, TD2 56.1, DH 174r.2), 25.7 (TD1 66r.1), 25.8 (TD1 66r.4, TD2 158.14), 25.9 (TD1 66r.5, TD2 158.15), 25.16 (TD1 66v.7, TD2 160.4), 25.17 (TD1 66v.7, TD2 160.6), 25.18 (TD1 66v.12, TD2 160.8), 25.18 (TD1 66v.14, TD2 160.10), 25.19 (TD1 66v.17, TD2 160.13), 25.20 (TD1 67r.1, TD2 160.15), 25.24 (TD1 67r.6, TD2 161.51), 31.4 [TD2 205.8], 31.4 [205.9]. Aber auch die Form \(<h'ymn'>\) ist in den Handschriften wenigstens zweimal belegt: 25.11 (TD2 158.11), 25.17 (TD1 66v.11). Obwohl sie nur zweimal belegt ist, kann aus folgendem Grund vermutet werden, daß auch im GrBd die Graphie \(<h'ymn'>\) zuhause war. An zwei Stellen, wo die Handschriften die Schreibung \(<AMT>\) zeigen, erkannte Anklesaria eine ursprüngliche Form \(hamīn\). Es handelt sich um GrBd.25.11 und 25.17. Die Tatsache, daß in GrBd.25.17 TD1 \(<h'ymn'>\) zeigt, bestätigt die Verbesserung von Anklesaria.

Es ist also nicht von der Hand zu weisen, daß im Pahlavi neben der Form \(hāmūn\) \(<h'ymn'>\) „Sommer“ auch eine Nebenform \(hamin\) \(<h'ymn'>\) vorhanden war, die genauso oft, wenn nicht häufiger, vorkommt. Diese Form hat auch Entsprechungen in anderen iranischen Sprachen. Auf eine Vorform \(*hāmīna-ka\) geht pšt. \(mōnai\) „Herbst“ zurück und wahrscheinlich auch Yazghulāmi \(amang\), Sariqōlī \(menj\) „Sommer“. 145

Sprachwissenschaftlich sind sowohl urir. \(hamīna-\) als auch \(hāmīna-\) zu ermitteln. Erstere Form ist als eine Ableitung aus \(ham-\) „Sommer“ mit dem Suffix -\(īnā\) zu beurteilen, das u.a. Adjektive der Zeitdauer bildet, z.B. av. \(uṣadīna-\) „morgendämmerig“, ai. \(parivatsarīna-, samvatsarīna-\) „jährlich“, \(māsīna-\) „monatlich“, usw. Im Altindischen kommen daneben auch vṛddhierte Formen vor, deren Anzahl in der klassischen Sprache ständig wächst. Diese Tatsache macht die Vermutung nahelegend, dass aus urir. \(hamīna-\) „sommerlich“\(māmīna, das in skr. \(cāmīna-\) „jährig“ eine Entsprechung hat, ein gleichbedeutendes urir. \(*hāmīna-\) entstanden sei. Beide Formen erzeugen dann ein substantivisches Neutraum \(*hamīna-\) bzw. \(*hāmīna-\) „Sommer“. In den meisten iranischen Sprachen ist ja die eine oder die andere Form fortgesetzt, im Pahlavi finden wir offensichtlich Nachfolger von beiden.

144 Alle Angaben beziehen sich auf das Große oder Iransche Bundahišn.
145 Nicht sicher zu ermitteln ist die ursprüngliche Quantität von Chwariesmisch \(mnk\) „Sommer“ (Benzing and Tarař 1983 54).
Phl. *garā* „schwer“

Phl. *garā* <g(y)l’y>\(^{146}\) wird weder von MacKenzie noch von Nyberg in ihren Glossaren verzeichnet, jedoch ist dieses Wort in der PÜ des Vidēvdād sehr häufig belegt. Außerhalb der PÜ sind die Belege eher spärlich und meistens auf den Einfluß der PÜ zurückzuführen. Dies ist unverkennbar in den zwei wichtigsten Quellen für die Belege dieses Wortes: das achte Buch des Dēnkard (Dk 8.44.32 [M 780.14], Dk 8.44.33 [M 780.18]) und Kapitel 31 des iranischen Bundahišn, das vom ersten Kapitel des Vidēvdād stark abhängig ist (z. B. GrBd 31.34 [TD2 208.10], GrBd 31.36 [TD2 208.13], GrBd 31.38 [TD2 209.1]). Es finden sich aber auch selten Belege, die nicht ohne weiteres auf eine Vorlage in der PÜ zurückzuführen sind, z. B. Dk 5.24.19b.

Dieses Wort ist mit phl. *garān* „schwer“ bedeutungsgleich, wie u. a. aus dem Vergleich von V 5.40 mit Šnš 2.74–75 folgt:

\[O|^{147}\] Ps\(^{148}\) W\(^{149}\) BBA y\(^{150}\) MTA W ywd y\(^{151}\) hmyšk MYA\(^{152}\) AMT-še’ e y QDM mt ŠPYL-n’ pwlyywtks’ n’ PWN hmk\(^{153}\) BRA ŠBKWN-šn’ MN\(^{154}\) ZK BRA BBA <y> bytwm\(^{155}\) ṣşt’nyst’n’ PWN ZK dšt’nyst’n’ s’y’t\(^{158}\) ZK y dšt’nyst’n’ PWN ZK ḥz’n’ s’y’t g’l’y PWN ZK hw’tlt\(^{159}\) LA s’y’t

\[O|\] rāh ud dar i deh ud jōy i hamēšag āb kā-e nasā abar mad tehān pōryōtēšān pad hamkār bē hiliš az ān bē dar i hēdom ēdōn dar i xwēs dāh gāh pad ān daštānestān sāyēd ān i daštānestān pad ān hazzān sāyēd garāpad ān xwārtar nē sāyēd

\[O|\] Die Straße und das Tor eines Landes (deh), und der Wasserkanal, wo immer Wasser läuft, sind, wenn eine Leiche dahingelangt, gemäß dem guten Pōryōtēšān in ihrer Funktion zu belassen. Von diesem (Tor) bis zum äußersten Tor ist es so. Die Tür des eigenen Hauses ist dann als Tür des Menstruationszimmers zu benutzen. Die Tür des Menstruationszimmers ist dann als Tür eines Bestattungsortes (hazzān) zu benutzen. Eine schwere (Unreinheit) ist hingegen nicht für eine leich
tere zu benutzen.

\(^{146}\) Die Varianten mit <g(y)> in der ersten Silbe würden eher für eine Lesung *gerā* entsprechen, jedoch wäre der Ursprung dieses e etymologisch unklar.

\(^{147}\) E10 <MN>.

\(^{148}\) L4a, Jmp; Dps l’g.

\(^{149}\) F10, P2, Jmp; Dps y; L4a, E10, M3 lassen es aus.

\(^{150}\) Jmp, Dps; L4a, E10, F10, P2, M3 lassen es aus.

\(^{151}\) M3; die restlichen lassen es aus.

\(^{152}\) E10 YATWN-yt.

\(^{153}\) E10 hm’tl.

\(^{154}\) L4a, E10, F10, P2, M3, Dps; Jmp MNW.

\(^{155}\) F10, P2, M3, Jmp, Dps; L4a, E10 nytwm.

\(^{156}\) L4a, E10, Dps; Jmp xBRA; E10 <bwln>.\(^{157}\)

\(^{157}\) Vgl. Šnš. 2.75; L4a ṣdībāw; E10 ṣdībāw; F10 ṣdībāw; P2 ṣdībāw; M3 ṣdībāw; F10 <BYN>.

\(^{158}\) E10, F10, P2, Jmp, Dps; L4a ṣdībāw.

\(^{159}\) L4a, E10, P2, M3, Dps; Jmp ṣhw’ltl; F10 ṣhw’ltl.

Damit direkt vergleichbar ist Šnš 2.74–75:

2. 74 BBA-1 <MNW> ns’y-l ptš ptkwyp PWN BBA y MTA W štr’st’n hmd’tstn YHWWN-t HWE-d AYK PWN hmk’l BRA ŠBKWN-šn’ PWN BBA <y> bytwm ywdt d’tst’n YHWWN-t HWE-d gwgwssp gwpt ’y PWN hmk’l BRA ŠBKWN-šn’ ME š’ypt W swšyns gwpt ’y LA š’ypt PWN š’ryk BBA hmd’tst’n YHWWN-t HWE-d AYK LA š’ypt

2.75 BBA y hwys šh g’s PWN ZK dš’nst’n š’ypt W ZK <y> dš’nst’n PWN ZK <y> hzn’ š’ypt ZK y hzn’ PWN MNDOM-ye k’l LA š’ypt ZK hw’ltl PWN ZK [61] gl’ntl š’ypt

2.74 dar-e kē nasā-ē padiš pahikobēd pad dar ī deh ud sāhrestān ham-dādestān būd hēnd kū pad hamkār bē hilišn pad dar ī bēdom jūd-dādestān būd hēnd gōgušasp guft ay pad hamkār bē hilišn ē šāyēd ud sōṣyans guft ay nē šāyēd pad abārig dar hamādestān būd hēnd kū nē šāyēd

2.75 ī xwēš dah gāh pad ān daštānestān šāyēd ud ān <t> daštānestān pad ān <t> hazzān šāyēd ān ī hazzān pad tis-iz kār nē šāyēd ān xwārtar pad ān gārāntar šāyēd

2.74. (Über) die Tür, gegen die eine Leiche stößt: Im Fall des Tores des Landes oder der Stadt waren sich (die Gelehrten) einig, daß man sie in ihrer Funktion lassen kann. Im Fall der äußersten Tür waren sie sich hingegen nicht einig: Gōgušasp sagte, daß man sie in ihrer Funktion lassen kann, weil es erlaubt ist; Sōṣyans hingegen sagte, daß es nicht erlaubt ist. Im Fall der anderen Türen waren sie sich einig, daß es nicht erlaubt ist, (sie in ihrer Funktion zu lassen).


Hier wird das Problem einer Tür behandelt, die durch den Gebrauch an Isolierungs- kammern kontaminiert worden ist. Die Tür, die einer Kontaminationsquelle ausgesetzt wurde, darf nur stärkeren Kontaminationsquellen ausgesetzt werden, z. B. die Tür zur Isolierungs kammer der menstruierenden Frau darf dann nur alsTür der Kammer für die Aufbewahrung der Leiche benutzt werden. Die stärkere Kontamination wird in Pahlavi-Vidēvdād als garā und in Śāyest-nē-sāyest als gārāntar bezeichnet; die leichtere in beiden als xwārtar. Daraus geht hervor, daß phl. garā mit phl. gārāntar bedeutungsgleich ist [62].

[60] Statt dessen K20 <šyt>.

[61] K20 <k>.

[62] Dieselbe Gegenüberstellung garā :: xwārtar wird auch in anderen Texten gefunden, V 5.4.C:
[A] abarag guft ay ēn pursīšn pad īxir ud wizir pad nasā bē kard ē ka-s xward way hixr [B] mēdēmāh guft ay ēn pursīšn pad īxir ud wizir pad nasā bē kard ē tā gugārēd way, pad nasā [C] pad īxir dō chāstam hamādestān būd hēnd kū ka-sān pad ān garā kard a-s pad ān xwārtar kard bāved
[A] Abarag sagte, daß die Frage in bezug auf „Exkrement“ (hixr) gestellt, der Urteil hingegen in bezug auf „Leiche“ (nasā) gefaßt wurde, denn wenn der Vogel es schon gegessen hat, ist es „Exkrement“
Phl. garā wird sowohl substantivisch als auch adjektivisch verwendet. Als Substantiv zeigt es zwei eng zusammenhängende Bedeutungen: 1. „schwere Kontamination“, 2. „schwere Sünde“\textsuperscript{163}. Erstere Bedeutung ist in den oben erwähnten Stellen V 5.4C, O deutlich, aber es sind auch weitere Belege zu finden, z. B. V 5.34\textsuperscript{164}:

\[ |A| ay AMT-\textsuperscript{3}n\textsuperscript{165} gwlk-1 AYT' OD\textsuperscript{166} BRA LA NKWSWN-t\textsuperscript{167} >\textsuperscript{168} lynn' LA YHWWN-yt |B| wswn' gwpt ay ywtd\textsuperscript{169} MN LOYȘE\textsuperscript{170} |C| lwp'h\textsuperscript{171} W Ispwk\textsuperscript{172} W bwp lk <W> ns'y y zywndk'n\textsuperscript{173} W ns'y y dyw'sn'n\textsuperscript{174} gy'k W ktk\textsuperscript{177} W GBRA lynn' LA\textsuperscript{178} OBYDWN-x\textsuperscript{179} |D| lwp'h <W> ns'y y zywndk'n\textsuperscript{180} <W> dyw'sn'n\textsuperscript{181} wstlg lynn' LA OBYDWN-x\textsuperscript{182} |E| zwzk hmlyt KN OBYDWN-x W ptyt LA\textsuperscript{183} lwšnk\textsuperscript{184} AP-\textsuperscript{3}mā. ciš.\]


\[ radpassaq-sālarag wināh ud kirbag i frēzhānīg pādīsā kardan an i frēzhānīg ud garā xwārtar [pādīsā] pad ham-dādestānīh kardan pādīsā ast kē edōn gowēd ay hād garā xwārtar nē pādīsā xwārtar garā pad ham-dādestānīh pādīsā\]

Der Zeremonienmeister ist befugt, Sünde und erforderliche Verdienste zu bestimmen. Er ist also befugt, die (Sünde wegen Auslassung) der erforderlichen (Verdienste) und die schweren (Sünde) als leichtere (Sünde) zu bestimmen, wenn Meinungseinigkeit besteht. Es gibt (einen Kommentator), der sagt, daß er nicht befugt ist, die schwere (Sünde) als eine leichtere zu bestimmen; er ist aber befugt, die leichtere als eine schwere (Sünde) zu bestimmen, wenn Meinungseinigkeit besteht.

\textsuperscript{163} Die Entscheidung zwischen beiden Bedeutungen ist nicht immer leicht. Dies ist der Fall z. B. in V 6.40.

\textsuperscript{164} Weitere Belege dieser Bedeutung sind V 5.42 und 8.98.

\textsuperscript{165} K1, L4a, P2; E10 MNW-šn'; M3 AMT-šn'.

\textsuperscript{166} L4a.\textsuperscript{0}.

\textsuperscript{167} Jmp: K1 NKWSWN-t; L4a (yw\textsuperscript{169}); F10 (\textsuperscript{170}); M3 (\textsuperscript{171}) Dps NKWSWN-t; E10 ā-i\textsuperscript{172}.

\textsuperscript{168} F10, P2, M3; K1, L4a, E10 lassen es aus.

\textsuperscript{169} Jmp <in cygwn'>; IM <lšnr'>.

\textsuperscript{170} M3 qōdā.

\textsuperscript{171} Jmp: K1, L4a, E10, F10, M3, Dps NKWSWN-t.

\textsuperscript{172} K1, L4a, M3; Dps y'; Jmp x-y'; E10, P2 lassen es aus.

\textsuperscript{173} F10\textsuperscript{174}.

\textsuperscript{174} P2 Ispwk.

\textsuperscript{175} M3 wsws'; E10 AP-š ny sy cygwn' zyndk mltwm.

\textsuperscript{176} E10 \textsuperscript{177} wsws'.

\textsuperscript{177} L4a, E10, Dps: K1, Jmp kwtk; M3 wsws' statt ktk W GBRA.

\textsuperscript{178} P2 <OL>.

\textsuperscript{179} M3, P2; L4a, E10 OBYDWN-yt; F10 (\textsuperscript{181}) mltwm zyndk.

\textsuperscript{180} E10 cygwn' mltwm zyndk.

\textsuperscript{181} L4a, E110, F10, Dps: K1, M3, Jmp (dieser nach wstlg) dywysn'n'.

\textsuperscript{182} E10 OBYDWN-d.

\textsuperscript{183} K1 <OBYDWN-x1> (aber getilgt).

\textsuperscript{184} E10 lwšn'.

\textsuperscript{185} L4a laßt AP-š aus.

barō. aēuud. ptx 186 KN YHWWN-yt [F] lspwk 187 PWN 3 ysm 188 rai♀i♀i.xi 189 f ywk b 190 rai♀i♀i.xi 191 [G] AYT’ MNW 3 ytwn’ YMRNWN-yt 3 y ZK-c AMT-s 3 ywk b 192 swst’ rai♀i♀i.xi 193 194 [H] 3 pr♀y KRA ME 195 n’mcstyk LA gwpt YKOYMWN-yt LA 196 lw♯n 197 l lw♯n’ gwpt HWE-3’t 3 ytwn’ YHWWN-yt cygwn ZK 198 gl♀y PWN MYA W ’ths hwln 199 W Nk’ n’ krt 200 hm’ k 3 ytwn’ YHWWN-yr cygwn ZN gl♀y [J] wyšhpwli 201 gwpt 3 y KRA ME 202 gyw 3 ktk 203 W GBRA lym’ LA OBYDWN-x 204 BRA MN 3 g’m blswm 205 lymn’ LA OBYDWN-x 206 [K] d’tplhw gwpt 3 y KRA ME PWN MNDOM 207 y ns’y MN blswm 208 PWN 30 g’m YHSNN-śn’


Wenn es ein Wolf ist, so lange man ihn nicht tötet, wird man nicht unrein. [B] Rödn sagte (hingegen): „Schlachtet man (ihn) außer Kopf und Füße, dann wird man unrein.“ [C] Der Fuchs, der Wiesel, der Biber, die „Leiche der Lebendigen“

186 P2 190 K1, E10, F10, Jmp, Dps; L4a spwk.
187 K1, E10 ai♀i♀i.xi.
188 E10 3 YHWWN-śn’.
190 E10, F10, P2, Jmp; L4a 3 ywk b 1; K1 3 ywk b 1; Dps 3 ywb 1; IM 3 ywh; M3 3 ywk.
191 F10 qtaiai♀i♀i.xi; K1, L4a, E10 ai♀i♀i♀i; P2 anai♀i♀i♀i.
192 E10; K1, M3, Jmp, Dps 3 ywb 1; L4a, P2 HNA b 1; F10 3 y; E10 <gwmyc>.
193 L4a ai♀i♀i.xi; ai♀i♀i.xi.
194 K1, Jmp, Dps; L4a 3 ai♀i♀i.xi.
195 K1, L4a, Jmp, Dps; M3 k 1-c.
196 F10, P2, M3 lassen es aus.
197 K1, F10, P2, M3, Jmp, Dps; L4a, E10 lw♯n.
198 E10 n’.
199 E10, F10, P2; L4a 3 ywh; M3 OSTEEN-in’.
200 M3 3 ywh.
201 L4a, E10, P2 F10, M3, Dps K1, Jmp wšhpwli; F10 wy̱shpwhl.
202 L4a, F10, P2, Dps K1, M3, Jmp KRA-c; E10 KRA MNDOM-1.
203 M3; E10, F10, P2 BYTA.
204 M3; L4a, E10, P2 OBYDWN-śn’.
205 L4a, E10, F10, P2; Jmp blswm-c; K1, M3, Dps blsm.
206 K1, M3 lassen es aus; P2 OBYDWN-śn’.
207 L4a, E10, P2, Jmp MNDOM-yh; K1, M3 ME-yh; F10 3 ywh.
208 K1, L4a, E10, F10, P2, Jmp Dps blsm.
209 Der Begriff nasā i zindagān begegnet uns auch in den Np.-Rivāyats als نسائی زندگان. In MU I 82.6-12

und die Leichen der Dēw-Anbeter machen weder den Platz (wo sie sterben) noch das Haus noch den Menschen unrein. Der Fuchs und die „Leiche der Lebendigen“ und die Leiche der Dēw-Anbeter machen die Kleider nicht unrein.

E) Der Igel kann Quelle der direkten Kontamination sein; ob er Quelle der indirekten Kontamination (sein kann), ist nicht klar. Durch ihn kann jedoch ṭmā. cīs. barō. aēwēr.212 geschehen. F] Der Wiesel gilt auf den Brennhölzern als ṣaiβī. ymixtâ.213; für denjenigen, der ihn (tot) allein trägt,214 gilt er jedoch als ṭhamaβī. ymixtâ.215] Es gibt einen Kommentator, der sagte: „Wenn er (der ihn allein trägt) sich einmal wäschte, gilt (der Wiesel für ihn auch) als ṣaiβī. ymixtâ."

H] Alles andere, was nicht ausdrücklich aufgeführt worden ist (Ort, Haus, usw.),

wird berichtet, daß wenn nasā i zindagān zum Wasser oder Feuer gebracht werden, es dasselbe ist, als wenn man(nasā) az mardān hinbringt. Beispiele von nasā i zindagān werden in MU I 83.14-19 geliefert. Als nasā i zindagān werden z.B. erwähnt: ein ausgefallener Zahn, Blut, das aus einer Wunde herausfließt, herausgerissene Haut- oder Fleisch-Stücke, usw. Es handelt sich also um bestimmte Abfälle aus dem menschlichen Körper, die unter bestimmten Bedingungen als nasā und nicht als hîr betrachtet werden, s. PRDD 55.3.

210 S. V 5.35–37, vor allem V 5.37.
213 Av. aiβī. ymixtâ ist wiederum ein Terminus technicus aus der religiösen Sprache. Es fungiert als Epitheton der Nasū, die an einer Leiche haftet, und dadurch wird zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß die Nasū die Leiche verlassen hat und deswegen die Leiche eine geringere Kontaminationsquelle als eine normale Leiche darstellt. An allen Belegstellen (V 7.29, 30, 34, 8.36, 98) wird hinter diesem Wort eine Art Glossenhinzugefügt, nämlich: sūnō. va. karaβ.s.xarō. vaiło. va. ks.s.xarō. Wolff (1910 358) faßt diese Wörter als N.pl. und übersetzt sie folgt (V 7.30):

aat. yez. nasū. aiβī. ymixtā. sūnō. va. karaβ.s.xarō. vaiło. va. karaβ.s.xarō.

Aber der Leichnam angefressen (ist) – ausfressende Hunde oder ausfressende Vögel (sind es, die das tun) [Wolff]


214 Vgl. V 2.151, wo ek bar als Glosses von rist keš (av. iristō.kaṣa-) vorkommt.
ist nicht klar (ob es verunreinigt wird). |l| Röös sagte (hingegen): „Es ist so, als wenn man schwere Unreinheit (garā) zum Wasser oder Feuer bringt, oder (sie) ließ oder (sie) begreift: alles wird so wie die schwere Unreinheit.“ |l| Wehsābuhr sagte: „Das alles macht weder den Ort noch das Haus noch den Menschen unrein. Auch den Barsom machen sie nicht unrein, außer aus (einer Entfernung von) drei Schritten.“215 |K| Dädflarëx sagte (andererseits): „Alles, was etwas mit der Leiche zu tun hat, ist 30 Schritte von dem Barsom entfernt zu halten“.

Daneben kommt auch die Bedeutung „Sünde“ vor, z. B. V. 3.29216:


[a] bāstān ēdar abar ēstē pad ō any dar [t i kasān] xwarīšn pursišn rāy [kū tā-m dahād] |b| bāstān tō tarīst ṭāhāna-2t ō tāスタd xwarīšn barān [kū ō tāḥānač] |c| a-āt awēsān [xwarīšn az awēsān mardāmān] barān az awēsān ō tī ay āhādī] [kē-sān parrēxt hād ay āt ēdōn garā]

215 Man beachte, daß auch der Fuchs, dessen Leiche nicht mal die Kleider unrein macht, den Barsom unrein machen kann, wenn er näher als drei Schritte an die Leiche ist (s. PRDd 44.3).


217 L.4a, T.44; E.10, F.10, M.3 b‘stn.

218 L.4a, F.10, M.3; E.10 YKOYMWN-yt.

219 L.4a läßt es aus; T.44 OLE.

220 E.10, F.10, L.4a ZK-2-y.

221 E.10 <lpt>.

222 E.10 läßt es aus.

223 E.10, F.10, M.3, T.44; L.4a YHBWN-t.

224 T.44; E.10, L.4a, F.10, M.3 b‘lyst‘n‘.

225 L.4a; E.10 dḥqna‘; M.3 7-hati‘; T.44 7-sēsi‘.

226 Hss. stk; T.44 st; F.10 7-hati‘.

227 M.3, B.1, Jmp, Dps; L.4a, T.44 bĪš‘n‘; E.10 blśān‘ l‘d; M.3 7-hati‘.

228 E.10, F.10, M.3, Jmp, Dps; L.4a nywk‘hl; E.10 <bra>.

229 Jmp; L.4 b‘lnd; M.3, B.1, Dps YBLWN-2nd; YBLWN-xi; M.3, F.10 7-hati‘; T.44 BRA bl‘nnd.

230 E.10, L.4a YHYTYWN-d; F.10, M.3 YHYTYWN-d; T.44 7-hati‘.

231 E.10, F.10, M.3 MNW; T.44 läßt es aus.

232 F.10 7-hati‘.

233 F.10 MNW.

234 M.3 7-hati‘.

235 E.10, F.10, M.3 OLE.

236 E.10, F.10, M.3 läßt es aus.

237 E.10, F.10, M.3 AYK-s‘n‘; L.4 MNW; T.44 MN.

238 F.10, T.44; L.4 7-hati‘; E.10, M.3 MNW-s‘.

239 L.4, E.10, F.10, M.3, T.44; M.3 <YHBWN-yt>.

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V.3.29 oft stehst du an der Tür eines anderen [irgendeinen], um Lebensmittel zu erbitten [(denkend): „Bis er mir etwas gibt“], immer wird man dir die Speise von deinem Mund wegnahmen [d.h. man trägt das Gute (weg von dir) und bringt dir das Schlechte], und dir bringt man jene [Speisen von jenen Menschen] aus jenen Menschen, die ein großes Wohlergehen genießen [was ihnen übrig bleibt. Anmerkung: so etwas ist eine schwere Sünde].

Als Adjektiv steht garā häufig als Beiwort von hixr „Exkrement, Kot“ im technischen Ausdruck der Reinheitslehre hixr i garā „schwerer Kot“, eine Zwischenstufe der Unreinheit zwischen hixr und nasā „Leiche“. In dieser Verwendung kommt das Wort verhältnismässig häufig in der PÜ Vidēvdād vor, z.B. V 8.3⁴⁴⁰:

[A] ZNE MN 'pst'k pyt'k ZK YHWWN-yt AMT-s KLBA-1²⁴¹ 'ywp GBRA-1²⁴² BYN²⁴³ BRA wtylyt MN 2 'ywK KRA ME LOYN' BRA²⁴⁴ s'yt²⁴⁵ YBLWN-x-²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷²⁴⁷²⁴⁸ BRA YBLWN-s²⁴⁹ W h'n²⁴⁹ MN 'ndlw'n W bylw'n PWN 'thš BRA bwdynsn²⁵⁰ |B] AYT MNW MN 'ndlw'n PWN ptw²⁵¹ YMRRWN-yt |C| 9 šp²⁵² BYRH dlhn²⁵³ h'n²⁵⁴ 'ndlw'n²⁵⁵ W bylw'n hyhl <y> gl'y W KRA ME ZK gw²⁵⁶ K YKOYMWN-yt hyhl <y> gl'y ZK²⁵⁶ y AHL YHMRTWN-yt 'p'ty²⁵⁷ pyh²⁵⁷ |A] én az abestág paydág án bawéd ka-s sqag-é ayáb mard-é andar bē widerēd az dō ek har cē pēd bē šāyēd būrdan a barišn ud xān az andarōn ud bērōn pad ātāxš bē bōyēnišn |B] ast kē az andarōn pad paywāsag gōwēd |C| nō šabag māh drahńay xān andarōn ud bērōn hixr i garā ud har cē ãn ãy gìstēd hixr i garā ān ī pas rasēd apādyābīh


⁴⁴⁰ Weitere Belege sind 5.14C, 5.44G und 7.77A.
⁴⁴¹ M3, L4a, Jmp, Dps; K1 KLBA-HD; M3 KLBA-HD; E10, F10, P2 KLBA.
⁴⁴² K1, M3 GBRA-1; E10, F10 GBRA; P2 mlh.
⁴⁴³ Jmp <xmr'n>-1>.
⁴⁴⁴ L4a LOYN'BRA.
⁴⁴⁵ M3 āb-āb-āb-āb.
⁴⁴⁶ K1, M3, E10; F10, P2 YBLWN-d; L4a läßt von hier ab den Kommentar aus.
⁴⁴⁷ K1, Jmp, Dps 'y': M3 'w.
⁴⁴⁸ E10, F10 YBLWN-X; M3 blš'n'; P2 läßt BRA YBLWN-sn' aus.
⁴⁴⁹ E10 h'mk.
⁴⁵⁰ K1, M3; E10, F10, P2 bwdynmd.
⁴⁵¹ Jmp, Dps; E10, f10, M3, P2 pt'sk; K1 xary.
⁴⁵² K1, Njmps, Dps; M3, BU špkl.
⁴⁵³ F10 dlhn'.
⁴⁵⁴ E10 h'mk.
⁴⁵⁵ M3 dlwn'.
⁴⁵⁶ Jmp x ZKYA.
⁴⁵⁷ Dps; K1 aŋyd; Jmp 'p'tdy'pyh.
bzw. einen Monat lang (im Sommer) ist das Haus innerhalb und außerhalb schwerer Kot (hixr ī garā). Alles, was innerhalb ist, ist auch schwerer Kot (hixr ī garā). Das, was später dazu kommt, ist nicht opferrein.258

Auffällig ist die Verwendung dieses Adjektiv in GrBd 31. Dort erscheint es dreimal an Stellen, wo die PÜ von V 1, die eigentliche Quelle von GrBd 31, dafür das Adjektiv stahmag(tar) „kräftiger, heftiger“ zeigt. Es fungiert dann als Beiwort von daštān „Menstruation“, s. GrBd.31.32–34 [TD1 178.11–16; TD2 208.6–11]259:


258 Identisch mit V 5.44.G.
259 Ähnlich GrBd. 31.35-6 [TD1 178.16–179.2; TD2 208.11–13], Entsprechung von V 1.18. Mit dieser Verwendung ist Dk 5.24.19b zu vergleichen.
260 TD1, Dh w; TD2 wwl.
261 TD1 4-gwś; TD2 4-gwśyh.
262 TD1, TD2.
263 TD2 statt dessen hat <γ>.
264 Vgl. V 1.17:
[a] čahār dahom az g rápido ud rōstāgan ā-m pahlom frāz brēhēnīd man ohrmazd ham [b] warn ī čahārgōs [padišwārgar gēl ast kē kermān gōwēd u-š čahārgōsīh ēd kā rāh čahār andar bē ēstēd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ku sahrōstānī dar čahār ast] [c] kē ē ān zād frēdōn pad zanīn āz āi dahāqt [d] u-š pad ān ī û petāragīh frāz kūrīnīd gannāg mēnōg purmarg [e] ān-iz abārōn daštān [stahmag(tar) bawēd] anēr-iz dehān āb ārōstānīh [kē pad padišwārgar gōwēd sarm kē kermān gōwēd bārīč]

References

265 TD2 <a\v\x>
266 TD1 <a\v\x>
267 Vgl. V 1.19:
[a] sädahom az gyagân ud röstâgan â-m pahlom frâz brêhênd man ohrmazd ham [b] abar pad erton dâr
i arangistân [i hrôm] ke asâl arar mânîn hênd [kû zûd abâz eštênd ast ke êdôn göwêd ay swadây
pad swadây nê dârênd] [c] u-s pad an i ov petyäragû frâz kirêndê gannâmêng purmarg [d]
zemastân i déwân dâd [stahmagtar bawêd]
[a] Als sechzehnten der Orte und Regionen schuf ich, der ich Ohrmazd bin, das sehr gute (Land) [b] an
den erton von Arangistân [von Hrom], das ohne Autorität wohnt [d.h. sie geben (die Autorität)
schnell auf. Es gibt einen, der sagt, daß sie den Herrn nicht für Herrn halten [c] Da schuf Gannág
Mênôg, der viel Zerstörung hat, zu seinem Unglück [d] der von den dewas geschaffenen Winter [er ist
sehr hart].
268 Für die sprachwissenschaftliche Deutung dieser Formen s. Cantera (im Druck).
Cantera, A. (im Druck). "The accusative of the i- and u-stems with presuffixal full or large grade in Avestan", Fes'Emmerick.


Mehr als Worte sagen: Etymologische Betrachtungen zum Märtyrerbegriff des Islams

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Der folgende Beitrag besteht aus drei Teilen, die sich dem Thema „Etymologie des Märtyrerbegriffs“ jeweils aus einer Richtung nähern.


Im ersten Teil geht es in eher verallgemeinerter Form um theoretische und methodologische Probleme, wie sie bei etymologischen Arbeiten nicht nur mit dem Begriff „Märtyrer“ auftreten. Diese Schwierigkeiten werden anhand konkreten Wortmaterials illustriert, in deren Zentrum das griechische Wort märtyrs und der arabische Terminus šahīd stehen.

Die Auswahl ausgerechnet dieser beiden Begriffe ist dadurch zu rechtfertigen, daß es sich um die jeweils wichtigsten Termini für den Märtyrer in der christlichen und islamischen Kultur handelt. Ihre gemeinsame Besprechung ist schon aus dem Grunde legitim, daß das christliche Märtyrertum das historische Präzedens des islamischen darstellt.

Der zweite Teil setzt sich mit der semitischen Etymologie des arabischen šahīd auseinander, wobei linguistische Fragestellungen im Vordergrund stehen.

Im dritten Teil wird die Aktualität und Brisanz etymologischer Betrachtungen am Beispiel des Streits um die Abschiebung des Berliner islamischen Predigers Yakup Taşçı aufgewiesen, bei dem die mögliche Übersetzung eines bestimmten Terminus als „Märtyrertum“ eine wichtige Rolle gespielt hat.

1. Zur historischen Kontextualisierung von „Märtyrer“

Bei Diskussionen über Phänomene aktuellen Interesses wie dem Islam und den Märtyrern geht es automatisch, aber häufig nur stillschweigend, auch um Begriffsanalyse und Etymologie.

Das arabische Wort für „Märtyrer“, *ṣaḥīd*₂, gehört zum Verb *ṣaḥīda*. Dieses bedeutet „Zeuge sein, bezeugen“, aber auch „betrachten“³.


Die semantische Übereinstimmung zwischen dem arabischen und dem deutschen, englischen und französischen (etc.) Termin ist keineswegs zufällig. Vielmehr beruht sie auf historischen Übereinstimmungen und direkten Verbindungen.


Diese historische Gemeinsamkeit zwischen Christentum und Islam wird von der Fachwelt heute so gut wie einstimmig mit einer christlichen Substratwirkung auf den Islam erklärt⁷.


Ohne Rücksicht auf historische Hintergründe und Kontinuitäten Wortparallelen zu etablieren, kann sehr leicht zu Trugschlüssen führen, die in der Fachliteratur etymological fallacies heißen⁸.

Im vorliegenden Falle könnte eine solche etymological fallacy beispielsweise auf einem Regress in die Prähistorie des altgriechischen *mārtys* beruhen.

Das griechische Wort, so findet man dabei, soll von einer hypothetisch rekorn-

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² Dies ist eine wissenschaftliche Umschrift des arabischen Wortes (vgl. Wehr 1985: 678, s.v. *ṣaḥīd*). In der Literatur und Tagespresse ist die Form *ṣaḥīd* verbreitet, neben der anglisierenden *shahid*. Ich verwende die beiden letztgenannten Formen nicht, da sie zu Verwechslungen von *ṣaḥīd* mit dem arabischen Wort *ṣaḥīd*, das ausschließlich „Zeuge“ bedeutet, führen können.
³ Wehr 1985: 677, s.v. *ṣaḥīda*.

In dieser komparatistischen Perspektive erscheint mártys im ganz ursprünglichen Sinne als ein „Erinnerer“.

Erwagt man nun im Lichte dieser linguistischen Rekonstruktion, dass es im kaiserzeitlichen Römerreich Gedenkstätten für Märtyrer gab, die unter zwei Bezeichnungen, Martyrion (aus dem Griechischen) und Memoria (aus dem Lateinischen) bekannt waren, so könnte man diese Doppelbenennung mit der beiden Wörtern zu grundlegenden indoeuropäischen Wurzel *mer- zu erklären versuchen. Der ursprüngliche Sinn von Martyrion schiebe demzufolge gewissermaßen in der sprachlichen Selektion von Memoria als dessen Vollsynonym wieder auf, indem jede eine Stätte der Erinnerung an Märtyrer bezeichnen.

In diesem konkreten Einzelfall mag ein Rekurs auf die ursprünglichsten Schichten der Sprachgeschichte durchaus eine legitime Methode darstellen, um nicht unmittelbar evidente semantische Querverbindungen an die Oberfläche zu bringen und eine ätiologische Hypothese zu Martyrion/Memoria zu formulieren.


Als Indiz für die diachronische Limitiertheit der semantischen Wirkungskraft der rekonstruierten Wurzel *mer- mag in diesem Zusammenhang angeführt werden, daß sich bereits in den frühesten altgriechischen Belegen für mártys (bzw. dialektdiale Varianten dieses Lexems), nämlich bei Homer und Hesiod, offenbar keine starken und unzuweiligen Hinweise mehr auf die mutmaßliche indoeuropäische Grundbedeutung der Wurzel *mer- entdecken lassen.

Um „wissenschaftlich“ daherkommenden Amateuretymologien, die sich um Lückenlosigkeit in der Kette der sprachlichen Formen, deren exakte morphologische und semantische Übereinstimmung sowie angemessenes Einbeziehen der historischen, ethno- und geographischen Fakten wenig bekümmert, nicht unkritisch Glauben zu schenken, muß man sich stets vor Augen halten, daß jede mit einem simplen „entspricht“, „kommt von“ oder „geht zurück auf“ hergestellte Wortgleichung tat-

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9 Kluge 1999: 542, s.v. Marter.
10 Koch 2005: 876.
13 Sode 2005.

sächlich in ein umfangreiches Geflecht linguistischer und extralinguistischer Daten situiert werden muß.


2. Auf den semitischen Spuren des arabischen Märtyrers

Im ersten Teil standen generelle theoretische und methodologische Fragestellungen im Vordergrund, die die Etymologie des Begriffes Märtyrer betreffen, ebenso aber auch für andere Begriffe relevant sein dürften. Im folgenden wird die Perspektive in zweifacher Weise eingengt und konkretisiert. Einerseits geht es nurmehr um die Etymologie eines einzigen Wortes, und zwar des arabischen "sahid". Zum anderen soll die Etymologie dieses Wortes schwerpunktmäßig aus einem sprachwissenschaftlichen Blickwinkel betrachtet werden.

Selbst wenn man die historischen Begleitumstände nur minimal in die etymologische Analyse einbezieht und weitgehend mit linguistischen Methoden arbeitet, läßt die Etymologie des arabischen Wortes für Märtyrer (sahid) noch einige Fragen offen.

Das klassische und heutige Arabisch gehört zum südsemitischen Zweig der semitischen Sprachen, zusammen mit Sprachen wie dem Äthiopischen und Amharischen.

Ein weiterer Zweig der semitischen Sprachen sind die sogenannten nordwestsemitischen Sprachen, in die beispielsweise Aramäisch und das Hebräische der Bibel eingeordnet werden. Zum Aramäischen gehört das heute noch in der Osttürkei, im Irak und angrenzenden Gebieten gesprochene Neoaramäische oder Syrisch-Aramäische sowie dessen ältere Form, das Klassisch-Syrische.

Aus dieser Klassifikation folgt, daß zwischen dem Aramäischen (inklusive seiner Untersprachen und Dialekten) und Hebräischen genetisch betrachtet eine engere Beziehung besteht als zwischen diesen beiden und dem Arabischen.

Das (von der modernen Sprachforschung rekonstruierte) genetische Verhältnis zwischen den einzelnen semitischen Sprachen ist aber nicht der einzige Faktor, der für die Geschichte eines Wortes wie "sahid" eine Rolle spielt. Denn Wörter können von einer Sprachstufe in eine andere nicht nur durch einen abstammungsbüglichen Vorgang wandern (so wie etwa das deutsche Wort für „Vater“ mit dem Sanskritwort pitar zusammenhängt), sondern auch entlehnt werden. Bei der Entlehnung spielt es

keine Rolle, ob die Ausgangs- und die Zielsprache genetisch miteinander verwandt sind. Hierfür gibt es eine endlose Zahl von Beispielen, etwa die japanischen Wörter für „Brot“, *burendo* und *pan*, die aus dem Englischen (*bread*) und Französischen (*pain*) in die Sprache Nippons gewandert sind.


Die altaramäischen und klassisch-syrischen Belege sind formal und semantisch überraschend nahe am koranischen Gebrauch. Zumindest was die materielle Basis der Wurzel und die semantische Komponente „bezeugen“ betrifft, könnte der koranische Terminus *šahīd* von einer dieser beiden Sprachen oder beiden beeinflußt worden sein.

Da die *Peshitta* mit einer vermutlichen Entstehungszeit im 2. oder 3. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert als erheblich älter als der Koran gilt, ist eine Beeinflussung der

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18 Nach Gesenius 1962: 564, s.v. *ʾed* liegt dem hebräischen Wort die Wurzel *ʾW-D* zugrunde.
koranischen Belegung von ʿahid mit der Bedeutung „Zwuge“ durch die analoge Semantik der Peshitta prinzipiell wahrscheinlicher als der umgekehrte Fall.

Alternativ dazu ist aber auch denkbar, daß die arabische Wurzel ʿ-S-H-D unabhängig von den aramäischen Formen ebenfalls schon immer die Bedeutung des Zeugen hatte. Die Ähnlichkeit zwischen den aramäischen und der arabischen Form beruhte in diesem Fall auf genetischer Verwandtschaft.


Die oben zusammengefaßten Daten zur sprachgeschichtlichen Beziehung zwischen dem arabischen ʿahid und seinen aramäischen Pendanten reichen nicht aus um zu entscheiden, wo genau die Grenzen zwischen Genetik und Entlehnung verlaufen. Die Klärung dieser Frage muß künftigen Forschungen von Spezialisten auf dem Gebiet der vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft überlassen werden.

3. Der Fall Taṣṣi als Austragungsort etymologischer Debatten

3.1. Der Hintergrund


Als Folge dieser Sendung entbrannte eine heftige Diskussion über Taṣṣi, weil er in dieser Sendung die Deutschen als „schmutzig“ bezeichnet habe. Der Imam wurde als „Halbfriediger“ qualifiziert, setzte aber später gerichtlich ein Verbot, ihn so zu nennen, durch.

Im April 2005 stellte die Berliner Ausländerbehörde unter Ehrhart Körting (SPD)
einen Antrag auf Ausweisung Taşci. Als Begründung für diesen Antrag verwies sie jedoch nicht auf die „Frontal 21“-Sendung, sondern auf eine öffentliche Äußerung des Predigers, die dieser am 12. Juni 2004 auf einer Demonstration in Kreuzzberg machte. Der Vorwurf lautete, daß die von Taşci damit gefeierten „Märtysrer“ islamistische Terroristen und Mörder seien und daß der Prediger in seiner Rede Selbstmordattentate im Nahen Osten gutgesehen habe. In der Presse wurde die Ausländerbehörde wörtlich folgendermaßen zitiert:

„Die von Ihnen [sc. Yakup Taşci – M.H.] als Märtysrer gepriesenen Täter in Israel und im Irak sind Mörder, die beinahe täglich auf unschuldige Personen ... Heimtückische Anschläge verüben."


3.2. Zur Etymologie des türkischen şehadet

Bevor die Auswirkungen der unterschiedlichen Übersetzungen von şehadet in der Taşci-Affäre diskutiert werden, ist eine kurze etymologische Betrachtung dieses Wortes angebracht.

Das Wort şehadet bzw. seine nicht-phonematische Dublette şahadet wird im als Standardreferenz geltenden Steuerwald-Wörterbuch mit vier Bedeutungen angegeben:

1. „Zeugenschaft, -beweis“
2. „Zeugnis“
3. „Ablegung des isl[amischen] Glaubensbekenntnisses“ und
4. „Tod auf dem Schlachtfeld od[er] bei Ausübung e[iner] Berufspflicht.“


Aus der Abwesenheit der religiösen Bedeutung „Märtysrerum/Martyrium“ in dem zitierten Wörterbuchbeitrag können indes kaum normative Schlußfolgerungen für etwaige Übersetzungen von şehadet ins Deutsche abgeleitet werden.

28 Emmerich 2005c.
30 Miller/Thomsen 2005.
31 Das türkische Wort kommt beispielsweise (in der orthographisch nicht korrekten, aber eindeutigen Form „şahadet“) im Text von Miller/Thomsen 2005 vor.
33 Steuerwald 1988: 1063, s.v. şahadet.
Daß diese religiösen Bedeutungen jedoch im Türkischen tatsächlich eine Rolle spielen, erweist eine Lektüre des Eintrages *şehit* im gleichen Wörterbuch. Dieses Wort wird mit „Märtner, Blutzeuge; auf dem Feld der Ehre Gefallener; in Erfüllung seiner Berufspflichten Getöteter“ (Hervorhebung von M.H.) wiedergegeben.34

Die Bedeutungen von *şahadet/şehadet* und *şehit* in Beziehung zueinander zu setzen, ist aus mindestens zwei Gründen legititim.

Zum einen besteht zwischen ihnen ein paradigmatisches Verhältnis, dadurch daß das Abstraktum *şahadet/şehadet* und das Substantivum *şehit* Derivate ein und derselben Wurzel sind.35 Beide Wörter sind aus dem Arabischen entlehnt und gehören zu der bereits oben besprochenen arabischen Wurzel ʾ-H-D bzw. dem zu ihr gehörigen Verbum *şahida*.36

Zum anderen gibt es zwischen den Wörtern auch außerparadigmatische Beziehungen. So werden einige mit *şahadet/şehadet* gebildete Redewendungen als synonym zu Idiomen mit *şehit* aufgeführt.37 Die mit *şahadet/şehadet* verbundenen semantischen Felder können also nicht völlig losgelöst von denjenigen betrachtet werden, die zu *şehit* gehören.

Daß in dem zuerst zitierten Wörterbucheintrag zu *şahadet* nicht von Märtyrertum und dergleichen die Rede ist, darf somit nicht so interpretiert werden, daß *şahadet* nicht tatsächlich auch als Märtyrertum interpretiert werden kann. Schon aufgrund der genannten synonymischen (paradigmatischen und idiomatischen) Beziehungen ist der Befund des Wörterbuchs vielmehr dässichend zu relativieren, daß das Wort *şahadet/şehadet* qua seiner Verbindung mit dem durch „Märtner“ übersetztenbaren *şehit* durchaus auch einen Bezug auf das Märtyrertum enthalten kann.

An dieser Stelle wird deutlich, daß die Beurteilung der Semantik von *şahadet/şehadet* nicht allein auf Grundlage mehr oder weniger stark normstiftender Wörterbucherfälle zu erfassen ist. Vielmehr müssen weitere Informationen zur Wortgeschichte hinzugezogen werden.

Unabhängig von der Frage, ob „Märtyrertum“ aus *şehadet* herausgelesen werden darf, kann hier sinnvollerweise danach gefragt werden, was dieser Begriff in einem islamischen und türkischen Kontext bzw. dem einer islamisch-türkischen Exilgemeinde in Berlin-Kreuzberg assoziiert.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist es unumgänglich sich in Erinnerung zu rufen, daß in der Geschichte des Islams zwei Interpretationen von Märtyrertum bestimmd geworden sind, die in ihrer Außenwirkung durchaus unterschiedlich sind.38

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34 Steuerwald 1988: 1071, s.v. *şehit*.
36 Vgl. Fußnote 3.
38 Als Einstieg in die beiden nachstehend beschriebenen Typen des islamischen Märtyrertums siehe die in Fußnote zitierte Literatur. Ein dritter Typus wäre der des mystischen Märtyrers (z.B. al-Halladsch), der im Kontext der Affäre Taşçı aber keine Rolle spielt.


Zusammenfassend ist zu betonen, daß die alleinige Analyse der im Steuerwald-Wörterbuch enthaltenen Bedeutungsangaben zu şahadet/şehadet und şehit keine Klarheit hinsichtlich der gegen Yakup Taşçı erhobenen Anschuldigung bringt, mit „Mörder“ zu sympathisieren. Dies gilt ohne Rücksicht auf die Frage, ob man şahadet/şehadet als religiösen Terminus versteht oder nicht. Wenn man also die Bedeutung des Wortes şahadet/şehadet in einem türkischen Text klären möchte, sollte man nicht in erster Linie nach einer Antwort auf die Frage suchen, ob es sich um


40 Siehe etwa die Homepage des Homepages des Vereins der Familien der Gefallenen (Şehit Aileleri Derneği) in Ankara (http://www.sehitler.org/).


42 Siehe beispielsweise die Auflistung lincker und linksradikaler şehits in http://www.devrimci.net/tf/.
einen religiösen oder säkularen Text handelt, sondern sich darauf konzentrieren, ob der Gebrauch von ṣahadet/ṣehadet gewalttames Vorgehen und aggressive Militanz impliziert oder nicht.

3.3 Die Polysemie von ṣahadet und ihre Folgen für die Auseinandersetzung um Taşçı

Die Übersetzung des türkischen Wortes ṣehadet war ein Streitpunkt in der juristischen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Taşçı und der Ausländerbehörde. Der Imam argumentierte, seine Predigt sei fehlerhaft ins Deutsche übersetzt worden⁴³.

Im Laufe der Auseinandersetzung wurden zwei Übersetzungen für den von diesem gebrauchten türkischen Ausdruck ṣehadet vorgeschlagen. Prof. Werner Schiffauer, der von Yakup Taşçı bzw. dessen Rechtsbeistand als Gutachter beauftragt worden war, übersetzte die inkriminierte Passage wie folgt:

„Vergib uns im Namen der Kriegsheimkehrer, die in der Verfolgung des Glaubens ihr Blut vergießen, vergib uns im Namen der Lämmer, die heute und früher in Jerusalem, in Bagdad, in Kerbela ihr Leben hingaben. (...) Wenn uns in diesem Land ... der Glaubenstod beschieden sein sollte ... dann gönn uns den schönsten Glaubenstod“⁴⁴.

In derselben Veröffentlichung wird dem eine konkurrierende Übersetzung durch den Verfassungsschutz gegenübergestellt:

„Gnade uns ... um der Märtyrer willen, die ihr Blut im Irak vergießen, um der Lämmer willen, die gestern und heute in Jerusalem und in Bagdad ihr Leben lassen. (...) Sollte uns ... in diesem Land ... der Märtyrertod vergönnt sein, dann lasse uns den schönsten Märtyrertods zuteil werden“⁴⁵.

Bei der zitierten Textpassage handelt sich um das Ende eines Bittebets, der Adressat ist also jeweils Allah.

Die Übersetzungen von Prof. Schiffauer und dem Verfassungsschutz weichen an zwei für die Märtyrerthematik relevanten Stellen voneinander ab.

Zum einen heißt es bei Schiffauer „Kriegsheimkehrer“, wo die Verfassungsschutzübersetzung von „Märtyrer“ spricht. Quellwort ist in beiden Fällen das türkische Wort gazi, wie aus der entsprechenden Pressemitteilung hervorgeht⁴⁶.


Zum Begriff gazi ist anzumerken, daß die Wiedergabe mit „Märtyrer“ durch den Verfassungsschutz als problematisch zu betrachten ist. Beispielsweise impliziert das türkische gazi nicht unbedingt den Tod des Betreffenden, was eine Übersetzung mit

⁴³ Emmerich 2005c.
⁴⁶ Miller/Thomsen 2005.
⁴⁷ Miller/Thomsen 2005.
„Märsrer“ jedoch stark nahelegt. Vielmehr gibt es zahlreiche Beispiele für gazi, die lebend aus ihren Kriegszügen zurückkehrten. Das im türkischen Kontext eindeutig prominenteste davon ist Mustaf<sub>48</sub> Kemal Atatürk, der Gazi schlechthin<sup>48</sup>.


Entsprechend der Themenstellung des vorliegenden Beitrags soll im folgenden der Schwerpunkt auf die Diskussion der Übersetzung von sehadet gelegt und die Problematik von gazi/gaza hintangestellt werden.


Ähnliches gilt andererseits auch für „Märsrer Tod“. Wie die etymologischen Be merkungen in Abschnitt 3.2. gezeigt haben, muß „Märsrer tum“ in der islamischen Kultur per se nicht mit aggressiver, nach außen gerichteter Gewalt verbunden sein. Sie schließt sie jedoch auch nicht von vorneherein vollkommen aus.

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<sup>48</sup> Mit dieser Titelbezeichnung ist der große Führer der Türken auch früh schon Stoff literarischer Bearbeitung geworden (Mikusch 1929).


<sup>51</sup> Diese Analyse stammt von den Journalisten Tobias Miller und Jan Thomsen (Miller/Thomsen 2005).


Beim gegenwärtigen Stand des juristischen Verfahrens um Taşçi (27. Januar 2006) scheint inzwischen selbst die Berliner Ausländerbehörde nicht mehr davon auszugehen, daß die oben zitierte Rede Taşçis einen hinreichenden Grund für die Ausweisung des Imams wegen gewaltverherrlichender Tendenzen liefern könnte.


54 Türk. kökendinci terör örgütü (Yılmaz/Babacan 2003: 11).
56 Einige davon sind zitiert in Schulz 2006.
57 Thomsen 2006.
die Juni-Rede Taşçı auf der Kreuzberger Demonstration in den Medien völlig unbeachtet geblieben. In diesem Zusammenhang könnte man über die Rolle der Medien bei der Entdeckung bzw. Erfindung islam(ist)ischer Bedrohungen debattieren, was hier aber zu weit führte.\footnote{Vgl. Napoleon 2006 über die Rolle der Medien bei der Entstehung des „Mythos al-Zarqawi“. Ferner sei summarisch auf Kepel 2004 verwiesen, wo die Bedeutung der Medien für den Aufstieg von al-Qaida und anderen islamistischen Organisationen ausführlich besprochen wird.}

Die im Zusammenhang mit dem oben in zweifacher Übersetzung wiedergegebenen şehadet-Zitat erhobenen Vorwürfe dürften das Ergebnis des Versuches darstellen, den aufgrund des Fernsehberichts unberechtigt gewordenen Imam, der aber nicht direkt deswegen zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden konnte, auf andere Weise zu belangen.

Der weitere Kontext der Vorwürfe ist die seit den Massenmorden vom 11. September 2001 kritischere Beurteilung islamistischer Organisationsformen seitens deutscher Behörden, darunter des Berliner Innensenats.\footnote{Zu dessen Position siehe Schomaker 2005.}


Eine Lehre aus dem Beispiel Taşçı könnte sein, daß man als feste Entsprechungen offerierten Übersetzungen bestimmter Begriffe aus anderen Kulturen grundsätzlich mißtrauen muß. Statt sie für bare Münze zu nehmen, sollte man sie ständig auf den spezifischen kulturellen Hintergrund, die Umstände der Äußerung und die Wirkabsichten sowohl des Originalautors als auch des Übersetzers befragen.

Die Fremdheit einer Sprache und Kultur machen vermittelnde Instanzen umgänglich. Selbst wenn diese Vermittler sich nach Kräften um Objektivität und angemessene Berücksichtigung der historischen Hintergründe und sonstigen Kontexte
bemühen (was im vorliegenden Beispiel nicht ohne weiteres angenommen werden kann), dürfte sich beim (hier deutschen) Zielpublikum nicht ohne weiteres eine problemfreie Rezeption ergeben.

Eine schrittweise Verringerung der Mißverständnisse dürfte auf Dauer nur durch eine Proliferierung des Wissens um die grundlegenden Elemente der jeweils fremden Kultur erzielt werden können.

Die Lösung allein von „richtigen“ oder „falschen Übersetzungen“ zu erwarten, scheint jedenfalls keine produktive Lösung zu sein. So geht selbst die ausgebildete Dolmetscherin und Migrationsexpertin der Linkspartei, Evrim Baba, davon aus, daß die von Taşçı gehaltenen Reden nicht eindeutig zu übersetzen seien.

4. Fazit und Ausblick

Die auf den ersten Blick disparaten Untersuchungsfelder der vorangegangenen Untersuchung haben an die Probleme der Übertragung und Übertragbarkeit fremdsprachiger Begriffe aus anderen Kulturen und/oder Zeiten erinnert.

Hinter scheinbar eindeutigen Entsprechungen und geradlinigen Entwicklungen verbergen sich komplexe sprachliche, literarische und historische Beziehungen, die nicht immer voll rekonstruierbar bzw. abrufbar sind.

Die Suche nach normativer Abgrenzung eines Begriffes wie „Martyrer“/şahit kollidiert immer wieder mit der Lückenhaftigkeit der Überlieferung, der simultanen Existenz verschiedener Deutungen und nicht zuletzt der Nichtexistenz absoluter Bezugsgrößen, die die interessegeleiteten Partikularinterpretationen aufwiesen könn-
ten.

Vergleicht man die drei vorgestellten Untersuchungsbereiche, so erscheinen sie weniger als methodologisch und inhaltlich scharf trennbare Felder denn vielmehr als Ausschnitte aus einem einzigen umfassenden Kontinuum. Allen drei Themenbe-
reichen ist einerseits gemeinsam, daß sie früher oder später, wenn das verfügbare Material und Wissen sich erschöpft, an ihre Grenzen stoßen. Andererseits sind diese Grenzen (zwischen historisch-vergleichender und synchroner Sprachwissenschaft, literaturwissenschaftlicher Interpretation und historischer Einordnung) wechsel-
seitig durchlässig, wodurch sich neue Perspektiven einer Interpretation mit kombinierten Methoden ergeben.

Es stellt eine besondere Herausforderung dar, wenn die Analyse eines Wortes oder Textes das Überqueren sprachlicher und kultureller Grenzen erfordert. Das Be-
wußtsein kultureller Hintergründe und sprachlicher wie literarischer Semanti-
sierungen kann dazu beitragen, den Reibungsverlust und die Anteile an Mißver-
ständnissen bei diesem Transferprozeß zu minimalisieren.
Literatur


'Antara b. Shaddād relinquishes his sword: a classical poet’s image in modern Arabic poetry – the case of Nizār Qabbānī

Jeries Naim Khoury
Haifa

Since the end of the Second World War Arab poets have engaged in a great deal of poetical experimentation, attempting to express their dissatisfaction with the ruling bourgeois régimes and their desire for sweeping change, in a way that would also reflect their own personalities and their aspiration to be free. In the wake of these experiments a new form of poetry arose; this was known at first as unrhymed (literally: free) verse (al-shī' r al-ḥurr) but later the now generally-accepted term metric verse (shī' r al-taʻīla) was adopted. This form of poetry was well-adapted for expressing Arabs’ longing for liberty in all aspects of their lives, including literature, since it did away with the structural mainstay of classical Arabic poetry and created the possibility of direct contact between poetry and other branches of literature. Thus began an extensive use of symbols and legends, accompanied by the adoption of narrative techniques, in poetry. These developments occurred contemporaneously with the recognition of the importance of folk literature, which began to be collected and studied intensively. Many modern poets felt the influence of folk literature; indeed, from the late 1950s or early 60s a clear, conscious and intensive trend can be discerned of using popular symbols as well as the contents or style of certain types of folk literature. Folk literature in the 1960s thus became one of the main sources of inspiration for Arab poets, who adopted for their own use the figures of popular oral and written texts; such figures resonated in the popular memory, and therefore enhanced a poem’s credibility and brought it closer to the masses.

The one popular figure who probably most clearly symbolized, and symbolizes still, the ideal Arab personality, its features, beliefs and desires, is 'Antara b. Shaddād. 'Antara appears in many of the poems which Nizār Qabbānī wrote over a period of thirty years, without having undergone any discernible change over this quite lengthy period of time. In most of Qabbānī’s poems 'Antara symbolizes the backward Arab, violent, unjust and ignorant, who knows nothing of the modern world, and lives in constant ignorance of and conflict with it. Qabbānī believes that this conflict exposes everything which is weak about the Arab personality, especially its adherence to tokens of nomadic life and ideals inherited from pre-Islamic times. The symbol of 'Antara has two aspects: on the one hand it serves as a fundamental technique in Qabbānī’s poetry and reveals the character of his poems, and on the other hand he uses it to show his basic attitude toward the issues of the Arab world. As far as the first aspect is concerned, to wit the character of the poems, we have already
pointed out that their symbolism shows little sign of evolution over time. Even though decades have passed between the earliest and latest of Qabbānī’s poems, ‘Antara continuously symbolizes the same disagreeable traits over a period of thirty years, although some slight changes can be discerned in some of Qabbānī’s latest poems, which do not, however, constitute a change in the figure’s basic symbolism. With respect to the second aspect, the symbol of ‘Antara is an excellent means for divining Qabbānī’s opinion on Arab culture, since in his poetry this figure represents the archetypical Arab personality, with all its characteristic traits, both ancient and modern. The poet’s critical attitude toward this personality and his ironic treatment of it in his poetry shows his basic rejection of both the personality of the Arabs and their culture, at least in their current traditional form, and his refusal to accept the presence of this primitive, traditional personality in the world of modern-day civilization.

Folk biographies: what are they?

Folk biographies are stories about popular heroes, based on historical figures which the popular imagination invests with fictional elements, into which the people’s feelings, beliefs, aspirations and expectations are interwoven. Such tales can be treated as factual historical sources after careful examination and identification of their historical basis. The tales we possess today are extensive texts, rich in events, people and descriptive detail, quite different from what must have been their initial aspect, when they apparently consisted of the telling of a particular heroic act performed by a certain historical figure. This kernel was then exaggerated by the popular imagination and filled with detail, until the hero became a legend. In the process various other personalities with some connection or other to the hero were added to the story, so that with time its dimensions grew. These stories were then collected and written down, at some time between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries CE.1 The act of collection, however, did not affect malleability of the tales, for they were still being narrated by storytellers, and the popular imagination was still adding further details to them, so that a number of versions of the same tale came into existence.2


Folk biographies: social and psychological significance

Tales of folk heroes are nearly the only popular record of ancient Arab national history. They provide the people with historical materials which enable them to identify with certain figures and events and thereby identify with their nation and take pride in the culture, values and beliefs which they have inherited. The heroes of these folk biographies are closely connected to lives of the ordinary men and occur frequently in popular proverbs and idioms, because popular memory over generations has woven legends around them, turning them into model Arabs in the eyes of society. What differentiates these heroes from those of fictional legends such as The Arabian Nights is that the former have their roots in historical fact, which makes the masses more inclined to believe in them and in their heroic deeds. Indeed, the heroes in question are usually themselves of humble origin and possess the same attributes, aspirations and dreams as today’s ordinary man, who can therefore identify more easily with them and their various trials and tribulations. This is very different from fairy tales and legends, in which the heroes are larger-than-life figures, perfect in every way, and capable of deeds beyond the strength of mere mortals. As a result the common people perceive such heroes as beings apart, and although their deeds may be admired and sympathy may be felt for their plight, identification with such perfect, sublime creatures is impossible. Any feelings towards such heroes must consist of a superficial emotion which may be called the “empathy of amazement”, which a reader may feel towards the strange characters and the strange world created


1 See: Beder 53; Qasim 35; Ni. Ibrāhīm 8, 34–5; Ḥarb 76–7, 191–2. Ḥamādī, in his study of the influence of folklore on the new Iraqi novel, discusses the general nature of folk biographies and concludes that although they are based on historical facts, folk biographies are a literary genre (Ḥamādī 63). Burhānī makes a historical study of Banī Hilāl and talks about the pre-literary origins of their biography (see: Burhānī 23–81; cf. Sh. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm, Sirat Banī Hilāl, pp. 5–12).


in fables, evoked by accounts of miraculous events and fabulous descriptions. In contrast, the empathy felt towards the hero of a folk biography has its source in the solidarity with and sympathy for an actual historical Arab hero, with whom the reader is able to identify, or even to imagine him/herself as taking part in the same dangerous adventures; such a reader's identification with the hero is passionately profound.\(^5\)

**Folk biographies and modern poetry**

In view of the discussion in the previous section it is not surprising to find that the characters in folk biographies function in modern poetry as a bridge between poet and reader, arousing in the latter an atmosphere of familiarity with the text. From an artistic point of view the use of such folk symbolism enriches the text, providing it with a concentrated profundity derived from the fact that a single popular hero is identified with a great number of concepts, events and sentiments, all of which are evoked during the process of reading without the poet having to make explicit mention of them.

Over the past few years I have been increasingly occupied with the study of the folk-literary sources of modern Arabic poetry, and specifically with the role of folk biographies within. The main results of my research are summarized in the following four paragraphs:

1. Folk biographies (and the heroes they deal with) are utilized in modern Arabic poetry less than other folkloristic materials (such as folksongs, folk sayings, etc.). The reasons for this, I believe, lie in political developments in the Arab world during the post-World War II period. After all, Arab folk biographies are epic poems which tell stories of Arab heroism, of the ability of Arabs to overcome danger, stand up to the enemy and reinstate the rights of the oppressed; in short, they extol Arab heroism. But in modern times the Arabs have lost their heroic character, at least in the view of modern Arab poets; they have suffered a series of humiliating military defeats and their societies have fallen into stagnation. The modern period is thus not one of Arab heroism, but rather of Arab defeat. For this reason Arab poets find it difficult to identify with folk tales of heroism or to invoke them in their descriptions of the present disappointing reality.\(^6\)


\(^6\) Most Arab intellectuals and thinkers have expressed disappointment with Arab regimes and spoken frankly about the serious influence of political events and Arab defeats on them. Most of them also think that these events are today considered major turning-points in the history of Arab thought, art and life in general. These events influenced their writings and changed their views. See, for example, what Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā (1919–1994) says about the effect of the 1948 defeat on him: J.I. Jabrā, *Yanābī al-Ru'yā*
2. As a result of the above, the few allusions to heroes of folk biographies that are found in modern Arabic poetry have an ironic character. Poets use them to level bitter scorn at their own heritage, including at the heroes themselves, or to attack the existing Arab regimes and the current state of the Arab people, which is in such stark contrast to the heroic period reflected in the biographies.

3. The folk biography which is alluded to most frequently in modern Arabic poetry is the Biography of 'Antara (Sirat 'Antara), a pre-Islamic hero (525–615 CE). This is not surprising, since he is by far the most popular and oft-mentioned hero of popular culture.

4. Of all modern Arabic poets Nizār Qabbānī (1923–1998 CE) most frequently alludes in his poetry to the heroes of folk biographies (in twenty-seven poems), especially to 'Antara (in sixteen poems). The allusions, it should be pointed out, are usually no more than that, i.e. superficial mentions, usually in an ironic vein.
The present study

The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of folk literature in providing artistic enrichment to modern Arabic poetry, by way of analyzing how the story of 'Antara b. Shaddād has affected the poetry of Nizār Qabbānī, one of the most important Arabic poets of modern times who has influenced the course of modern Arabic poetry to such a degree that only very few contemporary poets can be said to be unaffected by his writing. Qabbānī, as pointed out above, made unusually copious allusions to 'Antara, more than any other poet in recent times. These allusions span a period of some thirty years, from the first allusion in his "On the Margins of the Relapse" (1967) to the last in "Rachel and Her Sisters" (1996). This relatively long time span makes it possible to follow the evolution of Qabbānī's allusions to 'Antara and to analyze how this symbolism and artistic imagery developed over the years.

The life of 'Antara in modern poetry

'Antara, man and hero

'Antara b. Shaddād of the 'Abs tribe was a pre-Islamic poet, horseman and lover. Historians describe him as muscular, dark-skinned, the son of an Abyssinian slave-girl. He was thus born the slave of his father, until he gained his freedom by brute force. He fell in love with his cousin 'Abla, to whom he dedicated many a line of ardent poetry. Three basic qualities were united in this one man: 1) manliness and chivalry; 2) the attainment of glory by force of arms despite his poverty and lowly birth; 3) platonic and self-sacrificing love. These traits made him very popular among the masses, who were able to identify with various aspects of this hero's personality and deeds despite his lowly birth and dark color. In fact, his origins and the many meanings and the ambiguity of the former term, I chose the term "ilmā'/allusion", benefiting from a study done by Jābir Qmēḥa, and another by Sulaymān Jabrān, in which they use this term. (See: J. Qmēḥa, Al-Turāṭ al-Insān fī Shi‘r Amal Dunqul [Cairo: Hajīr-Tibā‘a wal-Nashr wal-Tawzi‘ wal-līlān, 1987] 50; Jabrān 223). Allusion is considered the most common poetic figure of speech. According to Genette's definition of "intertextuality", allusion is one type of intertextuality. Cuddon defines it as "an indirect reference to a literary or artistic work, or to a character or an event. This is a technique to draw the reader's attention to share the writer. Allusion can enrich the text with associations and this gives it more depth". (Cuddon 27; cf.: Haddād, Athar al-Turāṭ fī al-Shī‘r al-‘Iraqī al-Hādīth, (Baghdad: Dār al-Shu‘ā‘ al-Thaqāfīyya al-‘Amma, 1986) 86, 102; Qmēḥa 50; E. Miner, "Allusion", in: Primenger & Borgan [eds.], p. 39; Ḥ. Abū Ḥanīla, Rūḥat al-Baḥīth 'ān al-Turāṭ (Hayfīr: al-Wādi‘ lil-Tibā‘a wal-Nasr, 1994) 236–7, 242; Al-Alla‘iq 132; ‘A. Haddād, Bād al-Shā‘īr el-Sayyāb, Qirā‘a al-Ukrā‘, p. 122; I. Fāthī, Mu‘jam al-Muṣṭalḥāt al-Adabīyya [Cairo: Dār Sharqiyāt lil-Nashr wal-Tawzi‘, 2000] 51). Ben-Perot defines allusion as "the syncronic activity of two texts". Thus she considers allusion as "construction of intertextual moulds" on the one hand, and a directional sign on the other. Then she defines the central character in it. (U. Hebel, "Towards a Descriptive Poetics of Allusion", in: Plett, p. 136; cf. Z. Ben-Perot, "Ben Ţextu‘alūyū ‘Ha-Sīfūt 2, p. 172).


physical features, in addition to his many rivals for the love of 'Abla, may have played a role in his growing popularity and in his evolution into the legend of a man who achieved glory, power and recognition thanks to his strength and chivalry.\(^\text{11}\)

Popular imagination invested this figure with extraordinary features and ascribed it superhuman abilities; 'Antara was able, for example, to turn the tide of battle single-handedly in favor of his tribe the Banū 'Abs after they had been nearly annihilated. He became one of the most famous characters of legend, a model of chivalrous virility, frequently alluded to in everyday speech as a metaphor for heroism, whether used for boasting, in praise, or even in scorn.\(^\text{12}\)

\textit{Allusions to 'Antara in canonical literature}

Images of 'Antara as they appear in texts of canonical literature differ according to the authors' intentions. Some writers focused on the figure's heroic aspects and turned him into a symbol of the savior of the Arabs, who would come from the far past and revive their former glory and victories, by reminding them of their forefathers' exploits.\(^\text{13}\) Others emphasized 'Antara's manly virtues, as understood by Arabs at present, and turned him into a symbol of chivalry, assertiveness and strength, or alternatively one of backwardness and delusional heroism; the latter use can be seen especially where the author treated social and political issues, such as the status of women in Arab society or the arbitrary rule under which the Arab people lived.\(^\text{14}\)

\textit{Allusions to 'Antara in the post-1967 poetry of Nizār Qabbānī}

Qabbānī's views on Arab politics and society

Interestingly enough, Qabbānī does not appear to have shown any interest in 'Antara before the defeat of 1967, although other figures of folk biography do appear, albeit not very frequently, in works he wrote during the period in question. This provides yet another piece of evidence for the sharp turn taken by Qabbānī's poetry following the defeat of the Six Day War, to which the Arabs gave a special name, \textit{al-naksā} (“the Relapse”), due to the tremendous deleterious effect it had on Arab life and morale. Most scholarly studies of Qabbānī's poetry are in agreement that the events of 1967 constituted a watershed: before the “Relapse” Qabbānī mainly wrote rather licentious love poems, but after the defeat he turned more and more to writing poems with political themes.\(^\text{15}\) The political problems of the Arab world he usually treated


\(^{12}\) About 'Antara's character in folk biography, see: Dhihi, \textit{Sirat 'Antara}, pp. 204–277

\(^{13}\) Dhihi considers 'Antara to be an ideal symbol of the Arab peoples in their wars, victories, defeats and relations with the other peoples in their vicinity (Ibid., p. 270; cf.: Hamādi 80; Bdéer 22–6, 136; Harb 78).

\(^{14}\) Abū 'Amsha, on the other hand, assumes that this figure, in Palestinian poems, is a symbol of the Arab savior (see: "Abū 'Amsha, \textit{Shīr al-Imīfāda} (Jerusalem: Ithtād al-Kuttab al-Falaṣṭinīyyāt, 1991) 35.

\(^{15}\) Dhihi deals with the influence of 'Antara on some modern Arab writers (see: Dhihi, \textit{Sirat 'Antara}, pp. 324–337).

See: Qabbānī, vol. 7, pp. 430–4; al-Nābilsī 90, 115; R. Al-Naqqāsh, \textit{Thalāthīna 'Āman ma' al-Shīr
from a social perspective, for he believed that the political deterioration of the Arab world was the result of defective social relations within Arab societies. He was particularly critical of the attitude towards women in those societies, which he believed was not an acquired trait but was inherited by members of these societies, in which males were given control of women, and rulers possessed arbitrary powers over the ruled. As a result, whenever we find Qabbâni raging against the Arabs’ repeated defeats, the target of his rage is usually the Arabs themselves and the foundations of their culture, from whose legacy they have not been able to free themselves. Arabs, so he claims, have as a result become embroiled in a conflict with modernism, and are incapable of overcoming their “modern enemy”. His way of dealing with the Arabs’ political and social problems naturally led to the use of folk biographies, especially that of 'Antara b. Shaddâd, in a consistently ironic vein over a period of thirty years, as we shall show in detail below.

'Antara as a metaphor for backwardness

In his lengthy poem “Diary of a Heedless Woman” (“Yawmiyyât l‘Imra’a lâ Mubâliyya”) (1968) Qabbâni puts the following words in the mouth of Arab woman:

Do not criticize me, sir
If my handwriting is bad ...
For I write with the executioner behind my door
And outside the room the sound of wind and dogs ...
Sir!
'Antara al-'Absî is behind my door
He would slaughter me ...
If he saw my letter ...
He would behead me ...
If he saw my transparent garment

The woman is inside the room, in fear of a number of things lying in wait for her outside: the executioner, wind and dogs, and 'Antara. What all these have in common is savagery and violence. 'Antara, of whom Arabs from pre-Islamic times down to our days have been so proud, is for the poet just the average primitive traditional Arab male who believes in force and violence and demonstrates his heroism.


16 About Qubbâni’s rejection of inherited Arab culture, history and conceptions, especially those related to sex and social relations, see: Qubbâni, vol. 7, pp. 426–432, 512–520, 567–9; Qubbâni, vol. 8, pp. 443–4. See also his poem “Târikhūna Laysa Siwâ Ishâ‘a‘/Our History is Nothing but a Rumor”, in his collection Hawâmiś ‘alâ al-Hawâmiś (1991) (N. Qubbâni, al-A‘mâl al-Siyâsiyya al-Kâmila [Beirut: Manshurât Nizâr Qubbâni, 1993] vol. 6) 555–576. In this poem he denies his relation to Arab culture and declares that all that he was taught and told about the Arabs’ greatness and heroism are illusions, rumors and lies, with no relation to fact. This poem is just one example of many of his poems which express the same view. Cf.: Naqâṣh 155–6; S. Fâdil, Nabûrât al-Khûtâb al-Shirî (Cairo: Dâr Qiḫâ’ lil-Tîbâ‘a wal-Nashr wal-Tawzi‘i, 1998) 19; Sh. Moreh, Modern Arabic Poetry 1800–1970 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976) 275–6.

by subjugating his women and treating them as slaves or as subjects of his own private kingdom where he can treat them as he wishes. This role reversal of the tradition figure of 'Antara we shall call “antithetical allusion”. In text theory, an allusion refers to a symbol from another text which is evoked transitorily in the text in question. For the purposes of the present study, however, we have coined the phrase “antithetical allusion”, which refers to an allusion which is used in the alluding text with a meaning that is contradictory to its meaning in the original text. Such an allusion creates a kind of dissonance between what is present in the reader’s mind and what appears in the text itself. In the case of 'Antara this dissonance has the effect of on the one hand turning this heroic figure into an object of ridicule, and on the other of creating a confrontation between the poet’s “novel” ideas and the popular memory of this folk hero. Through this confrontation the poet quite intentionally attacks what he sees as the shortcomings of traditional popular thinking based on, in his view superstitions and unjust principles. Consequently he confronts his “new model” 'Antara with the “old model”, the venerable symbol of heroism and virility. Of course, logic dictates that a model personality representing values which Arabs believed in fifteen-hundred years ago must have undergone some change since then; at the very least we would have expected the perception of such a model to have been modified to take modern developments into account. But no such change occurred, and as a result the very existence of this ancient model and its ancient values in this day and age constitutes a glaring irony, since the heroism of the past would today be considered folly, the virility of days gone, primitive tyranny, and the chivalry of the past, pure recklessness. The way in which Qabbānī confirms the modern view of proper behavior and values is by exaggerating what he considers 'Antara's unwanted traits, such as his “manly” violence, while ignoring such virtues as his platonic love and writing of poetry. The result is an unbalanced personality, given over to wanton violence and devoid of feelings or conscience. In this way the poet manages to produce an inflated model of those values he wants to present while at the same time maintaining cognitive contact with the reader. But this contact is one of confrontation, not of cooperation, since the model he uses consists of certain traits which are given exaggerated prominence, while others are completely obliterated. This is a clever way of using folk materials for the purpose of getting one's ideas across: Qabbānī evokes a traditional figure but invests it with new, unexpected meaning; and the more convincing this presentation, the greater the likelihood that the reader will accept it and keep it in his memory.

Such a novel presentation of traditional folk figures occurs repeatedly in most of the other poems in which Qabbānī alludes to personalities of this type. 'Antara occurs again and again as an antithetical allusion, here symbolizing the traditional Arab male (on the political, social and emotional levels), there standing for false heroism, and still again personifying some other aspect of ancient Arab heritage which the poet attacks because he considers it a sign of cultural and mental backwardness.19

18 See note n. 8 above.

'Antara and other folk figures – a blend of symbols
When traditional Arab heroism becomes nothing more than silly antics with which Arabs may be mocked, one folk hero begins to look like any other, since every one of them represents to a greater or lesser degree the traits which the poet rejects. Thus, when a number of such “heroes” are put into a single poem they symbolize the total rejection of, and an overt reaction against, what they represent: the imagined heroism of bygone times. Such a blend of symbols appears in three of Qabbānī’s poems written in the period in question: “The Complete File on a Case of Political Rape” (“al-Mahāar al-Kāmil li-Ḥadiṭhat Ightiṣāb Siyāsiyya”) in Anger-Arousing Poems (Qaṣā’id Maghāb ‘alayhā) (1986); “A Poem of Apology to Abū Tamīmān” (“Qaṣīdat l’tidhār li-Abī Tamām”) in Political Works (al-A’māl al-Siyāsiyya) (1981); and “Cashmere” (“Wabr al-Kashmīr”) in Illegally Poems (Ash’ār Khārijja ‘alā al-Qānūn) (1972). In the first of the above-mentioned poems Qabbānī alludes to al-Zīr Sālim (d. 531 CE), ‘Antara and Abū Zayd al-Hilālī; in the second and third he alludes to ‘Antara and Zīr. In all three poems the allusions refer to imaginary deeds of heroism representing the violence and backwardness of traditional culture and giving the lie to its claims to greatness:

Forgive us …
If we once killed our forefathers …
And doubted the tales of Abū Zayd al-Hilālī
And the personality of al-Zīr … and ‘Antara […]

These personalities remain in Qabbānī’s poetry symbols of backwardness and fantasy; they never become an integral part of the poem’s atmosphere or partake of its meaning, but only serve as examples which accompany the meaning or provide extra details which the reader does not really need in order to understand it.

‘Antara as a symbol of virility
‘Antara’s folk biography describes him as deeply in love with and absolutely true to ‘Abla, as befits his noble character and ethics. He is never described as having had any other romantic attachment or sexual contact. Nevertheless, Qabbānī saw in ‘Antara’s strength and courage, and perhaps in his dark complexion as well, significant indications of sexual prowess, as shown in his “A Bedouin Lover in Modern Times” (“Āshīq Badawī fi ‘Āṣr al-Ḥadāthā) in Nizār’s Various Poems about the Place of Love (Tanwī’ at Nizāriyya ‘alā Maqām al-‘Ishq) (1996):

I love you by my primal nature
As my body, my memory and my descent command me …

(‘Antara here wears the clothes of the backward oriental agent of the Arab regimes’ intelligence services, who chases the poet and restricts his freedom. He is also a symbol of traditional Arabic culture and heritage, which are obstacles for the Arab poet or thinker and restrict his creative ability. In this sense also the symbol of ‘Antara carries the same negative meaning mentioned above).
I am the Bedouin who has struck the wall of modernity
Who can no longer distinguish between the shape of a breast ...
And the shape of a dark truffle ... [...] 
Between the virility of 'Antara b. Shaddād ...
And the flaccidity of Michael Jackson

Here Qabbānī ascribes virility to 'Antara. A careful examination of this long poem makes it clear that the virility in question is not poetic, or chivalrous, but sexual in nature. This is made quite clear by the comparisons the poet makes throughout between the lover’s Bedouin Arab approach to love and the traits and features of civilized life. The world-famous performer Michael Jackson is contrasted with 'Antara, the spontaneous, rough, manly Bedouin, so different from Jackson. Since the ascription of sexual prowess, as we pointed out above, contradicts the commonly-held popular view of 'Antara, we must conclude that here the poet makes use of an antithetical allusion to his Bedouin virility which has retained its passionate fury despite the effects of modernity which have rendered men effeminate.

'Antara, symbol of Arab leaders

'Antara’s personality undergoes a certain evolution in the poem “Diary of a Furnished Flat” (“Min Yawmiyyāt Shaqqā Mafrūsha”) in Marginal Notes on the Margins (Hawāmish 'alā al-Hawāmish) (1991). While in this poem, too, the figure of 'Antara retains the overall unsavory character it possesses throughout Qabbānī’s poetry, here it is no longer just a single passing allusion which quickly gives way to other symbols, but rather a central element in the poem as a whole. The name 'Antara occurs twenty-four times in thirteen stanzas spread over fourteen pages, that is, more than one-and-a-half times per page and nearly twice per stanza. In fact, in no other modern Arabic poem does the name 'Antara occur so frequently. The poet does this on purpose, for 'Antara here symbolizes the modern Arab despot, who persecutes everyone, robs the people of their liberty, controls their thoughts and even enters their beds. He lets no one live as they wish and turns the world of the Arab into his private possession. This leader is present wherever an Arab goes; the repetition of 'Antara’s name thus serves the poet’s purpose, namely to express the idea of “Arab rulers' continual presence in and total hegemony over the lives of their people”. The poet very cleverly uses this technique in order to draw the reader into a climate of despotism which arouses in him the same feelings of oppression and annoyance which beset the poet himself, as well as any Arab living under the rule of a despot. The poem consists of separate images, all serving the same idea; the poem’s length is a function of the number of images chosen by the poet, not of the breadth of the idea itself. The entire poem, in fact, focuses on a single simple idea, but the expression of that idea is spread out over a number of images and descriptions, in which 'Antara plays a pivotal role. Here we shall quote a selection of stanzas from the poem, including the ending:

This land is a furnished flat
Owned by a man named ’Antara [...] 
Who fires at trees, and children,
And eyes, and breasts ...
And perfumed tresses ... [...] 

3
All the buildings here
Are occupied by ’Antara
All the windows
Have the image of ’Antara
All the squares here
Have the name of ’Antara ... [...] 

10
No one ...
Dares say “No” ...
To General ’Antara
No one ...
Dares ask the wise men of the city
If there was a Creator before ’Antara [...] 

13
Is it possible?
Is it possible?
For God to quit His Heavens
For the sun to die?
And the stars,
And the seas,
And the forests,
And the Messenger and the angels ...
And yet for ’Antara not to die?24

“And yet for ’Antara not to die?” is a scornful, indignant expression, reflecting the poet’s pain, disgust and anger at the never-ending despotism to which Arabs seem to be fated. In several places throughout the poem his anger is directed against the Arab people themselves, who from pre-Islamic times down to this day and age have been incapable of liberating themselves from the rule of despots and living as free men. ’Antara in this poem, it should be pointed out, possesses two distinct temporal dimensions, that of the historical past and that of the present, dimensions which the poet connects so as to demonstrate the deadly unchanging routine of despotic rule from early Arab history down to the present. Because the Arabs have been unable to change this situation, they have been doomed to live under present-day governments which are just as despotic as those of the past. The poet’s use of allusions to ’Antara has also contributed to the poem’s unified rhyming scheme. The word ’Antara dictates the stanzas’ external rhyme, with other rhymes in between. ’Antara thus not only rules the poem conceptually, but formally as well.

'Antara, symbol of the Emirs of the Persian Gulf

'Antara in the poem discussed above was but an evolved form of the figure which appeared in previous poems. However, the poem "Abū Jahl Buys Fleet Street" ("Abū Jahl Yashtari Fleet Street") in The Match Is in My Hand and Your Mini-States are Made of Paper (al-Kibrīt fi Yādī wa-Duwaylā'ūtum min Waraq) (1989) contains a symbol of another kind.

Throughout this poem the poet levels biting criticism at the rulers and the wealthy people of the Gulf States, who have abandoned their heritage and whose obscene wealth has led them, in his opinion, to become the slaves of their instincts and to travel abroad in order to squander their oil on singers, drinking and reveling. Similar criticism is also leveled at writers who have abandoned their mission in order to write the praises of these Emirs for monetary gain:

The Bedouin have crept into
Buckingham Palace,
And slept in the Queen's bed [...]  
Here they are, the Banū Taghib ...  
In Soho
And in Victoria Station ...  
Rolling up the tails of their traditional robes
And dancing to jazz ... [...]  
Has England begun
Walking on the pavement in sandals ... and Bedouin headband? [...]  
'Antara searches the whole night long for a European girl
White as cream
Or with legs smooth ... as the moon
He eats her like a boiled egg
Without salt, in the span of a minute
And then raises his trousers!! [...]  
These are the Banū 'Abs ... at the entrance to the Underground
They fill glasses of chilled beer
Snap a bite ...  
From the breast of every woman ...  
Have our greatest writers fallen
Into the Riyal exchange?
Has England become the capital of the Caliphs?
Is petroleum now walking as king
Through the streets of the press? [...]  
Oh honored chieftain,
Who buys women by the bushel ...  
And buys pens by the bushel ...  
We want nothing from you ...  
Marry your slave-girls as you wish
And slaughter your subjects as you wish [...]  
No one wants to rob you of the Caliph's robe ...  
Drink the wine of oil to the last dregs ...  
And leave us civilization ...25

25 Ibid., pp. 387-408.

Here 'Antara is one of the rich princes of the Persian Gulf, whose money can buy anything. He even tries to compete with the poet in the field of literature and culture. The poem contains many explicit phrases pointing at the object of criticism: petroleum, camels, desert, the Caliph's robe, the Bedouin robe, Riyal, as well as the address form “Oh honored chieftain” (“yā țawīl al-'umr”, literally: “Oh long living”, a Bedouin expression commonly used in the Gulf area to address the head of a clan or tribe). By means of these phrases the poet applies the symbolism of 'Antara to a certain group of Arabs, namely those in the Persian Gulf area or more precisely the rich princes and kings of that region who believe that their wealth gives them permission to do what they please, and who thus enter the advanced culture of the West with their traditional clothing and their mentality, which has not changed since the days of the Banū 'Abs, the pre-Islamic tribe to which 'Antara belonged. The incongruity between their appearance and thought and the Western environment in which they find themselves makes their defects and imperfections obvious, embarrassingly so, arousing in both poet and reader feelings of aversion and disgust. 'Antara is one of the symbols of the Banū 'Abs tribe and the latter, for the poet, constitute copies of 'Antara, the quintessential, traditional, boorish, reactionary, illiterate Bedouin who tries to insinuate himself into the rich culture of the modern world with his money, but only succeeds in making his own shortcomings glaringly apparent. The Saudis and, in general, the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf region, are all natives of the Arabian Peninsula and therefore, so runs the poet's logic, their homeland is the same as 'Antara's, and so is their reckless and violent Bedouin spirit, despite their attempts to hide it. But in their encounter with Western civilization "'Antara" becomes manifest beneath their clothing, and his savagery and uninhibited behavior overcomes them and they forget any civilized sentiments they may have possessed.
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Websites
Notes on actionality and aspect in Hindi

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Mainz

Hindi verb inflection is characterized by a rather complex morphology, in which various functional categories are involved. Categories encoded are actionality, aspect, tense and various classes of modality. Grammatical items that look similar in terms of morphology often belong to different categories. The functions of the different Hindi verb forms have often been misunderstood, which results in a picture even more complex and confusing than necessary. One factor that adds to the confusion is that for the categories involved, there exists a devastating variety of descriptive models of varying adequacy that are sometimes not properly understood by the researcher. This contribution attempts to shed some light on the main actional structures and aspectual categories involved in the Hindi verb system as well as the taxis readings resulting from their interaction. It offers a rough but rather transparent survey on the items involved and their functions. As a model of description, categories and notions developed by Johanson will be employed.

1. Introduction
For a thorough understanding of the Hindi verb system, various functional and semantic categories have to be distinguished:

**Actionality**

*Actionality* refers to the internal semantic structure of a given event and is represented by an *actional phrase* on the expression plane. Every actional phrase is characterized by a specific *Internal Phase Structure* (IPS; Johanson 2000a: 58–66), which results from the combined features of verb semantics, arguments, satellites and context. IPS features are critical for the interaction with aspect operators and concern transformativity, extension in time and dynamicity. Actional contents maximally comprise three phases: an initial limit (*terminus initialis, τ₁*), a *cursus* and a final limit (*terminus finalis, τ₂*). Actional phrases encode selected phases of the event referred to.

According to Johanson, an actional phrase may be *transformational* [+t] or *non-transformational* [−t]. Transformational actional phrases have a critical limit τ₁, which is the "natural evolitional turning point" (Johanson 2000a: 59), after transgression of which the actional content can be conceived of as having occurred. Depending on

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whether the initial or the final limit is critical, the phrase is *initio-transformative* [+ti] or *fini-transformative* [+tf]. Fini-transformative(154,239),(775,295) actional phrases may be *momentaneous* [+mom] or *non-momentaneous* [−mom]. Actional phrases with the feature [+tf, −mom] have a cursus leading to the final limit. Non-transformative actional phrases may be *dynamic* [+dyn] or *non-dynamic* [−dyn], whereas transformative phrases contain a dynamic momentum by definition. With non-transformative actional phrases, the relevant limit τ_k is the *terminus initialis*.

The IPS features according to Johanson can be summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>[+t]</th>
<th>[−t]</th>
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<tr>
<td>[+tf]</td>
<td>[+ti]</td>
<td>[−dyn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+mom]</td>
<td>[−mom]</td>
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Regarding the feature of dynamicity it should be noted that transformative actional phrases always have a dynamic momentum in their transformative phase.

It is my conviction that the criteria established by Johanson optimally classifies actional structures. In an earlier approach, Vendler (1967: 102–103) distinguished *activities, accomplishments, achievements and states* as “the most common time schemata implied by the use of English verbs” (Vendler 1967: 98–99). These four terms have been adapted and generalized beyond the scope of English by many scholars of what Sasse in his survey of recent aspect models refers to as the “post-Vendlerian aspectology” (2002: 214). According to Sasse (2002: 244, 253) the time schemata of Vendler are correlated with the following semantic features:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>durative</th>
<th>telic</th>
<th>static</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STATES</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCOMPLISHMENTS</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
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<td>ACHIEVEMENTS</td>
<td>−</td>
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Vendler himself did not distinguish between the semantic structure of the verb and the structure of the event referred to. However, this distinction is vital as the structure of a given event is always disputable and may be represented differently in language. E.g., the events of <sitting down> and <sitting> may be encoded in different verbs as e.g. in English (to sit down vs. to sit), German (sich setzen vs. sichzen) or Norwegian (å sette seg ned vs. å sitte), or in one verb as e.g. in Turkish (otur-) or Hindi (bait−h)². It is important to note that while Smith (1991: 28–33) re-interprets Vendler’s time schemata as “situation types” (i.e. a classification of the *relatum*), Johanson’s IPS features concern the structure of *linguistic* items, viz the actional phrase.

If we try to correlate the Vendlerian categories with Johanson’s phase structure features, we obtain roughly the following picture:

² Hindi verb lexemes will be quoted in their stem form in this contribution.
The gap at [+ti] in Vendler’s system is immediately obvious. Although initio-transformative verbs may be rather unobtrusive in English and many other European languages (Johanson 2000a: 63 mentions several examples of [+ti] in European languages, among other things the English verb to hide), they constitute an important class in many languages, e.g. Turkic, Mongolic and Indo-Aryan. In Hindi, as we will see below (2.1.), initio-transformatives are predominant over “states”.

Johanson’s classification gives priority to the distinction [tt] and consequently focusses on the terminal structure of the actional phrase. As the aspectual parameter aspect-viewpoint is defined by its relation to the limits of the actional phrase (see below), this is the fundamental distinction. The second distinction concerns the question which limit is the critical one. The criteria of momentaneity and dynamicity further subclassify transformative and non-transformative actional phrases. In the priorities assigned to the distinctions, the degree of limit-orientation is reflected, which corresponds to the following hierarchy (cf. Johanson 2000a: 58):

\[ [+tf, +mom] > [+tf, -mom] > [+ti] > [-t, +dyn] > [-t, -dyn]. \]

**Aspect**

*Aspect* represents the view towards the actional phrase with reference to its limits. It is represented on the expression plane by viewpoint operators.

Aspect comprises two semantic parameters: *aspect-viewpoint*, which determines the relation of an aspectual viewpoint V to the limits of the actional phrase, and *focality*, which determines the relative ‘sharpness’ of the view employed and corresponds to the range of vision around V.

The basic viewpoint oppositions are *intraterminality vs. non-intraterminality* [±INTRA], *postterminality vs. non-postterminality* [±POST] and *adterminality vs. non-adterminality* [±AD] (Johanson 2000a: 32–33). Intraterminality designates the view towards the actional phrase within its limits, postterminality the view towards the actional phrase after transgression of its critical limit \( \tau_c \), and adterminality the view towards the actional phrase in attainment of the critical limit. Viewpoint oppositions are *privative* in terms of Trubetskoy (1939: 66–69), i.e. the negative members [−INTRA], [−POST] and [−AD] just imply the absence of markedness with regard to the respective notion, and cover both the negative and the neutral value. Therefore, e.g. [−INTRA] does not necessarily exclude intraterminal interpretations.

The opposition [±AD] is irrelevant for Hindi.

While the viewpoint parameter marks discrete values, the focality parameter is *scalar*. The view towards an actional phrase may be focal [+FOC] or non-focal...
More elaborate opposition systems comprise high focal [HF], low focal [LF] and non-focal [NF] items. High focality means a relatively narrow range of vision around V, low focality a relatively broad range of vision. With decreasing focality, aspect items convey their viewpoint notions less decidedly. The exact position of a given item on the scale of focality, as well as the number of contrasting items, may vary from language to language.

In diachrony, focal items tend to become defocalized (Johanson 2000a: 99–101, 129–135). High focal items gradually lose their focality. They push items of lower focality out of their domains and leave a gap at the upper end of the scale of focality. This gap is filled by renewed high focal items (focal renewal, Johnson 1998: 114–115). Recurring to a terminology employed by Martinet (1955: 59–60) for a similar phenomenon in phonology, this process can be described as a chain shift. Items at the lower end of the scale of focality display a different behaviour according to their viewpoint category: With postterminality, defocalization commonly results in a reinterpretation as anteriority, i.e. [+POST] → [+PAST], while with intraterminality it results in a loss of indicativity, i.e. [+INTRA] → [+MOD].

Aspect may be marked both in finite and various non-finite positions. The non-finite positions in which aspect categories are relevant in Hindi are converb clauses, attributive clauses and secondary predications (see below, 3.2.). Items involved in these positions are convverbs (also referred to as “absolutives” or “gerunds” etc.) like Hindi baithkar and participles like baithā (hū).

It should be noted that the terminology of traditional aspectology, which mainly distinguishes “perfectivity” and “imperfectivity”, is completely insufficient for the actional and aspektual distinctions actually represented in the languages of the world. What is referred to as “perfectivity” may be { [+AD]; [+POST]; [+INTRA]; [+t]} in Johanson's terminology; what is referred to as “imperfectivity” may be { [+INTRA]; [+AD]; [+POST]; [+t]}.

In terms of functionality, aspect and actionality establish an operator-operand relation. Semantically, the interaction of aspect and actionality is one of the main factors contributing to taxis interpretations (see below).

**Tense**

Tense is the grammaticalized deictic reference to an usually vague point in time relative to a basic point of reference O (‘orientation point’, Johnson 2000a: 34–36), or (in languages equipped with appropriate linguistic means) to a secondary

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3 For Hindi, the process of defocalization and focal renewal in the intraterminal domain has been described by Lienhard (1961: 193–194).
4 Model forms of Hindi aspect, tense and mode items will be quoted in their singular masculine variant.
5 This conception is highly compatible with the layer model of Dik (1997), although Dik himself does not use the term operandum. — The relation between aspect and actionality in the terminology employed here roughly equates the relation between Sasse's Aspect1 and Aspect2 (2002: 203).
6 In the present contribution, tense is considered as a grammatical category exclusively, i.e. we are concerned with linguistic values encoded by tense operators. Needless to say, all languages – even those without tense operators – have other means available (e.g. satellites) to express temporal notions. For more on tense, see Comrie 1985. My own ideas are presented in some detail in Rentzsch 2005: 40–46.
point of reference $O^3$ which in turn is related (i.e. put into a relation) to $O^0$. The canonical case for $O^0$ is the moment of the speech or writing event $O^5$, although $O^0$ may also be located freely within the fictional space. As soon as a temporal relation is established, a basic point of reference $O^0$ is automatically introduced too, irrespective of whether $O^0$ is explicitly located in time (e.g., $O^0 = O^5$; or explicit location by a satellite) or not.

In languages with aspect categories, tenses relate viewpoints or nominal phrases as well as whole passages of discourse. Direct temporal relation of *actional contents* is excluded in such languages. Consequently, tense takes aspect into its scope, i.e. tense operators belong to a higher layer (Dik 1997: 50) than aspect operators.

The temporal opposition represented most frequently in the languages of the world, and the only one relevant for Hindi, is anteriority vs. non-anteriority [+PAST] as exemplified in *bol rahā hai* 'he is talking' (in which the aspect viewpoint may be interpreted as coinciding with the basic point of reference: $V \downarrow O^0$, if this assumption is not cancelled by any external factor) vs. *bol rahā thā* ‘he was talking’ (in which the aspect viewpoint is conceived of as preceding the basic point of reference: $V \rightarrow O^0$).

So, while aspect relates a viewpoint $V$ to the limits of an actional phrase, tense relates a viewpoint, a nominal phrase or a section of a discourse to a point of reference $O$. Combination of actional, aspectual and temporal values leads to a complex interaction which results in specific *taxis* readings, i.e. optional or obligatory interpretations of a specific succession of events in time.

**Modality**

What is usually labelled "modality" is in fact a group of several highly diversified categories which can be distinguished both along semantic and functional criteria. The field of modality is extremely complex, and as it is only of peripheral concern for the present discussion, we shall not go into detail here. Suffice it to say that in Hindi there are obviously at least three functionally distinct categories with "modal" semantics, which can be distinguished in terms of scope:

1. A category of items (potentially) within the scope of aspect operators. Semantically, these items indicate a modal feature of the actional content which is suggested as being given objectively, e.g. ability, permission, inclination, necessity, compulsion as well as wishes presented as ‘objective’ (i.e. to be willing to), e.g. ā sak- 'to be able to come', ānā par- 'to have to come', ānā cāh- 'to want to come', ānevālā ho- 'to be inclined to come'. This category has traditionally been labelled deontic modality. Due to the common semantic traits of the items involved, another reasonable term would be *objective modality*.

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7. Note that my definition of tense is much more narrow than the conception of Nespihal, who presents 39 "Tempusgrammeme" (1980: 493–495) of Hindi, which include items of aspectual (Nespihal: "Aktionsart", p. 497) and actional (Nespihal: "Aspekt", p. 492) nature.

8. Such external factors apply e.g. in cases like mujhe lagā ki vah bol rahā hai 'I had the impression that he was talking', in which the introducing sentence mujhe lagā ki suggests anteriority and the notion 'PAST' is applied on the subordinate predicate, bol rahā hai 'is talking', too. See below, examples 67, 68, 80–83. Cf. Lienhard 1961: 51, 56.

9. The term is taken from Dik 1997: 241–243, who in turn draws upon Hengeveld. However, for what |

which mainly its scope is relevant, this category will be labelled Modality. Modality is part of the actional phrase, and its operators may directly affect the phase structure of the actional phrase (see below).

2. A class of items in the same scopus position as aspect operators, i.e. (functionally) intercommutable with them. Historically, some of these items may derive from former intraterinals as it is the case with the Hindi Subjunctive10 (dekhūn, dekheh etc.) and the so-called Future (dekhūngā etc.). The same scopus position is held by Imperative items (dekh, dekhō, dekhie). Semantically, these items convey neither objective nor subjective modality in the sense given here, but they carry either emotive11 or neutral meanings. This class of items will be treated as Modality. Aspect and Modality are mutually exclusive, i.e. they are not combinable.

3. A class of items outside the scope of aspect, i.e. operating on aspect items, like ā rahā hoga ‘will be coming’, ā rahā ho ‘shall be coming’. These are typically periphrastic items consisting of an aspectual and a modal component derived from Modality. Semantically, items like these add a subjective statement of the speaker or another conscious subject S with regard to the truthfulness of the predicate (i.e. the predicate is impossible, improbable, possible, likely, certain), hence the term subjective modality (Dik 1997: 242). This class of items will be treated as Modality in this contribution. This type of modality should be distinguished from evidentiality, which is a category in some languages that indicates the nature of perception of the predication, be it as a bare, unspecific reference to a source (indirectivity, i.e. there is a source; Johanson 2000b: 61), be it as a reference to a specific source (heard, seen, felt etc.). With evidentiality, a conscious perceivers P is introduced, which may, but need not, be the speaker. Evidentiality, although common in the languages of the world, does not exist as a linguistic category in Hindi. Dik (1997: 242) chooses to treat evidentiality within the framework of modalities, which in my opinion is justifiable, as evidentiality and subjective modality concern related notions.

The hierarchy of scope between the various functional layers in Hindi can be summarized as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Actional phrase} & \text{Modality} & \text{Aspect/} & \text{Modality/} \\
& _1 & \text{Modality} & \text{Modality/} \\
& & \text{Tense} & \\
\end{array}
\]

Not all categories are intercombinable, e.g. tense and Modality do not operate on Modality in Hindi. Aspect and Modality are mutually exclusive. The same is true

10 On the problems of this term, see Lienhard 1961: 194–195.
11 Not in the sense given by Lyons (1977: 727); rather, these are determined volutative items that cannot be considered strictly objective, but also include a subjective shade of meaning. Hindi dekhi, dekheh etc. do not simply indicate an objective wish, they also include a positioning of the speaker or another conscious subject. They may not, on the other hand, be considered strictly subjective, as they do not evaluate the truthfulness of the predicate. The joint semantic link between these items is that they contain emotions, hence the term emotive.
for Modality, and tense. On the other hand, Modality₂ and Modality₃ may operate on Modality₁, e.g. kar sakegā ‘will be able to do’, kar sakein ‘shall be able to do’, kar saktā hogā ‘will be able to do’. The categories in position (4) need an aspect item to operate on – they cannot operate on items of position (1) or (2) directly. The items of position (3) and (4) are restricted to the finite position in Hindi, while operators for Modality₁ may occur in non-finite position, too.

The problem of the internal semantic classification of the various modal categories will not be addressed here.

2. Actionality

2.1. The phase structure of the actional phrase

Hindi verb stems can occur on their own; therefore verb stems constitute minimal actional phrases in Hindi. A complete actional phrase, on which aspect and mode operators operate, may therefore consist of a simple verb stem or an expanded actional complex of verb, arguments and satellites. To the overall IPS of an actional phrase, contextual factors may contribute as well. Finally, there are special actionality operators which may add phase structure features or other specific actional (Aktionssart) features to the structure of the actional phrase. To start with, let us consider IPS features of verb stems first.

[+tf, +mom]

This IPS characterizes verbs, the whole semantic content of which is restricted to the final limit. There is no cursus leading to τ₂ (Johanson 2000a: 61–62). While momentaneous fini-transformatives can be combined with satellites indicating a point of time, they cannot be combined with satellites indicating a period of time (question: how long/for how long, Vendler 1967: 102–103).

All fini-transformatives are “over” as soon as the final limit is transgressed. For that reason, the model phrase ‘s/he has X-ed and is still X-ing’ can be applied as a test for identifying [+tf] verbs. Finki-transformative verbs inserted into this phrase either do not produce meaningful results or render serial (repetitive) readings. [+tf, +mom] verbs combined with the intraterminal aspect usually cannot be interpreted as uni-occasional.

The distinction [±mom] is not always unambiguous; verbs usually momentaneous may also be conceived of as being non-momentaneous in special contexts. Typical [+tf, +mom] verbs are kho- ‘to lose’, chünk- ‘to sneeze’, tūt- ‘to break’, pahuṅc- ‘to reach’, pā- ‘to get, to find’, phat- ‘to burst’, bac- ‘to get spared’, bhēj- ‘to send’, mil- ‘to meet, to receive’, šurū ho- ‘to begin’. In verbs like these, there is no pre-terminal cursus normally considered relevant; the action is over as soon as it happens. According to Vendler’s ‘time schemata’, actions like these are commonly referred to as achievements.

Non-momentaneous fini-transformatives are characterized by a non-transformative phase followed by a transformative phase, or in other words a cursus preceding the final limit. Because there is a cursus, [+tf, –mom] verbs are easily combinable with the intraterminal aspect (vah ā rahā hai ‘he is coming’). Like momentaneous fini-transformatives, non-momentaneous fini-transformatives are “over” when the final limit is transgressed and can be tested by the model phrase ‘has X-ed and is still X-ing’: mainā āyā hūm aur ab bhi ā rahā hūm ‘I have come and am still coming’ cannot be interpreted as a single event. [+tf, –mom] actions are commonly referred to as accomplishments. They can be combined with satellites indicating how long it takes to accomplish the event, but not satellites stating for how long the event is going on (Vendler 1967: 100–101). Examples for Hindi verbs with this IPS are ā- ‘to come’, ubh- ‘to stand up’, khal- ‘to open (itr.)’, khol- ‘to open (tr.)’, guzar- ‘to pass’, ghul- ‘to dissolve, to melt’, jagā- ‘to awaken (tr.)’, jam- ‘to get fixed’, jālā- ‘to light, to set on fire’, jut- ‘to join, to be collected’, jur- ‘to get connected’, dāl- ‘to pour, to put down’, de- ‘to give’, nikal- ‘to come out, to emerge’, nikāl- ‘to take out’, paidā ho- ‘to appear’, praveśkar- ‘to enter’, baṅt- ‘to split’, baṅdh- ‘to get tied’, baṅ- ‘to become, to be created’, banā- ‘to build, to make’, bāṁdh- ‘to tie, to connect’, bīthā- ‘to cause to sit, to set’, bhī- ‘to pass’, bhuj- ‘to become extinguished’, bhār- ‘to become full’, bhūl- ‘to forget’, mar- ‘to die’, mit- ‘to vanish, to expire’, mūr- ‘to turn around’, rak- ‘to put’, liṭā- ‘to lay’, le- ‘to take’, laut- ‘to return’, saf- ‘to get joined’, sulgā- ‘to light’. As stated before, the opposition [±mom] partly depends on the context; situations can be imagined in which mar- ‘to die’ is realized without a pre-terminal cursus (e.g. in a plane crash); the same is true for ā- ‘to come’ (as in yād ā- ‘to remember’).

Initio-transformatives comprise an initial transformative phase and a subsequent non-transformative phase. The non-transformative phase is usually non-dynamic, as with lag- ‘to become attached + to be attached’, but there are cases of initio-transformatives with a dynamic cursus, too, like jal- ‘to become inflamed + to burn’. Initio-transformatives can therefore be figured as consisting of an initial [+tf] phase and a subsequent [–t] phase. As stated above, verbs of this type are lacking in Vendler’s ‘time schemata’.

Like all actional phrases that are not fini-transformative, initio-transformatives can fruitfully be inserted into the phrase ‘has X-ed and is still X-ing’ (vah jāgā hai aur ab bhi jāg rahā hai ‘he has woken up and is awake right now’). Initio-transformatives can be combined with satellites stating either how long it takes to fulfill the transformative phase or for how long the non-transformative phase is valid. Depending on the satellite, either the transformative or the non-transformative phase can be highlighted, e.g. in der tak āpke sāth baithāungā ‘I will sit (*sit down) together with you until late’ (A: 183), the non-transformative phase is highlighted by the satellite der tak ‘until late’.
Examples of Hindi initio-transformatives: ʻungh- ‘to fall aslumber + to be aslumber’, ʻghir- ‘to become surrounded + to be surrounded’, ʻgher- ‘to surround’, ʻchip- ‘to hide’, ʻchū- ‘to touch + to be in touch’, ʻjal- ‘to become inflamed + to burn’, ʻjāg- ‘to wake up + to be awake’, ʻjān- ‘to grasp + to know’, ʻḥahar- ‘to stop + to stand’, ʻdikhāi de- ‘to become visible + to be visible’, ʻdubak- ‘to hide’, ʻpahan- ‘to put on + to wear’, ʻbaith- ‘to sit down + to sit’, ʻrah- ‘to get into a state + to remain’, ʻlag- ‘to become attached + to be attached; to hit + to remain attached’, ʻlaṭak- ‘to be hung + to hang’, ʻleṭ- ‘to lie down + to lie’, ʻsamajh- ‘to understand’, ʻsunāi de- ‘to become audible + to be audible’, ʻsulag- ‘to become lit + to glow’, ʻso- ‘to fall asleep + to sleep’.

The initio-transformative nature of these verbs becomes obvious in certain aspecto-actional combinations. For instance, ʻvah baith raḥā hai (i.e. baith- combined with the focal intraterminal aspect, see 3.1.1.) can be interpreted as ‘He is sitting down’ or as ‘He is sitting’. On the other hand, the postterminal aspect views the non-transformative phase of [+ti] verbs, e.g. ʻvah baithā hai ‘He is seated = He is sitting’. More on patterns of aspecto-actional interaction, see below in the relevant paragraphs on aspect.

It is the initio-transformative semantics which is responsible for the complex meaning of the verb composition -ne lag- ‘to begin an action + to continue a previously interrupted action’.

The most common initio-transformative verb in Hindi is ho-, which combines the transformative phase ‘to become’ and the subsequent non-transformative, non-dynamic phase ‘to be’. This verb is fully combinable with all available aspecto-temporal operators: ho raḥā hai [-PAST (+INTRA-FOC)], hotā hai [-PAST (+INTRA-FOC)], ho raḥā thā [+PAST (+INTRA-FOC)], hotā thā [+PAST (+INTRA-FOC)], hū hai [-PAST (+POST)], hū thā [+PAST (+POST)], hū [(-INTRA)(+POST)] (for more on aspect, see below, 3.). Functionally, the full verb ho- has to be distinguished from the copula items hai [-PAST] and thā [+PAST] that convey purely essive meanings without any phase structure features. Thus, there is a contrast in Hindi between aspect forms like hū ‘became + was’ or hotā thā ‘used to become + used to be’ on the one hand and thā ‘was’ on the other. In so-called phraseological verbs, i.e. verbs derived from nouns, the initio-transformative nature of ho- may be especially obvious in some cases (ābhās ho- ‘to get the impression + to have the impression’, yāyab ho- ‘to get lost + to be lost’, kharā ho- ‘to stop / to stand up + to stand’) or fade totally (surū ho- ‘to begin’ [+tf, +mom]).

[-t, +dyn]

Non-transformative verbs do not have a critical limit $\tau_c$ in the sense of a natural evolutive turning point. They do have, however, a relevant limit $\tau_R$, after transgres-

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12 The translation with the ‘habitual, used to’ is merely an auxiliary translation. The Hindi [+INTRALF] operator -tā hai/tā thā in itself does not have any habitual value, although it is frequently (and often incorrectly) translated as a habitual. More on the function of -tā hai/tā thā see below, 3.1.1.
13 I do not agree with Lienhard (1961: 64, 97, 185) that thā be the Imperfect of “sein”.

sion of which the event is conceived of as having occurred. This relevant limit is always the terminus initialis. In non-transformative actional phrases, the initial limit is not encoded by verb semantics but is conditioned by the experience that in extra-linguistic reality an event (usually) has a beginning. The feature of dynamicity means an internal development within the actional phrase. Non-transformative and dynamic verbs are the activities in the diction of Vendler. Satellites stating for how long the event is going on make sense with non-transformatives, while satellites stating how long it takes do not (Vendler 1967: 100–101).


The IPS of some of the verbs mentioned is especially sensitive to the context. For example, gir- and par- are conceived of as [+tf] as soon as a goal is mentioned (to fall to the ground etc.), as well as phail- and bich- as soon as a limited entity is involved (a carpet/cloth to spread etc.). The IPS of badal- ‘to change’ differs according to the context, as there are changes that are directed to a goal as well as changes that are not. Strictly speaking, instances like these are examples of actional recategorization (see below).

\[-t, -dyn\]

Non-transformative and non-dynamic verbs are characterized by the absence of any internal development: Neither is there a critical limit nor a dynamic cursus. Hence these verbs are devoid of any dynamic momentum. These are the states of Vendler’s system. Verbs with this IPS are quite rare in Hindi and most actions which are encoded by \[-t, -dyn\] verbs in many European languages (like to stand, to lie, to sit, to know, to hang and to be) are represented by initio-transformatives in Hindi, which have a dynamic, transformative phase besides the non-dynamic phase. On the other hand, above the verb level, actional phrases with IPS \[-t, -dyn\] are as frequent in Hindi as in any other language.

Examples from Hindi for \[-t, -dyn\] verbs are ūb- ‘to be bored’, āñ- ‘to be alive’, dekh- ‘to see’, mahsūs kar- ‘to feel’, mān- ‘to believe, to agree’, sun- ‘to hear’. Depending on the context, verbs like dekh- and sun- can also be interpreted as dynamic (in the sense of to watch and to listen).

Besides the basic IPS features, other actional features may be encoded in the verb semantics, as seriality [+ser] in verbs like hil- ‘to sway’ and sihar- ‘to shiver’. However, these features are not decisive for the aspecto-actional interaction. It is the

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14 Lienhard (1961: 42, footnote 3) misinterprets par- and phail- (together with baith-) as “Zustandsverben”. par- and phail- are clearly dynamic verbs, and even the semantics of baith-, as was shown above, includes a transformative phase. Lienhard’s confusion arises from stative readings that result from the combination of these verbs with the postterminal aspect (parā hai ‘is lying’, phailā hai ‘is spread’, baithā hai ‘is sitting’).
primitive features (in this case \([-t, +\text{dyn}]) that play the major role for the operation by aspect items.

**Actional recategorization**

Actional phrases – including lexical verbs as minimal actional phrases – with a given IPS may undergo various forms of actional recategorization, which render more complex actional phrases with a modified IPS. Johanson (2000a: 66–76) identifies three types of actional recategorization: *limitation* LIM, *serialization* SER and *homogenization* HOM. While limitation is an act of transformativization and renders finite-transformativized actional phrases, serialization and homogenization are acts of non-transformativization and render non-transformativized actional phrases. Factors able of producing recategorizing effects are arguments, satellites, plural, determiners, as well as pragmatic factors like context and the general knowledge about the world. Additionally, there are special *actionality operators* in Hindi that may influence the IPS of an actional phrase. Actionality operators will be dealt with below (2.2.).

**Limitation**

In the process of *limitation*, a critical limit \(\tau_0\) is introduced. This may be accomplished by delimiting the subject or object of the verb, by defining a number or a distance, by introducing a specific direct object (e.g. with the marker \(ko\)) etc. (see Johanson 2000a: 67 for details).

Examples:

- *khānā khā-* ‘to eat’ \([-t, +\text{dyn}] +\text{LIM} \rightarrow kāne ko khā-* ‘to eat the food’ \([+t, -\text{mom}]\);
- *śīgret pī-* ‘to smoke’ \([-t, +\text{dyn}] +\text{LIM} \rightarrow śīgret ko pī-* ‘to smoke the cigarette’ \([+t, -\text{mom}]\);
- *par-* ‘to fall’ \([-t, +\text{dyn}] +\text{LIM} \rightarrow farš par par-* ‘to fall to the ground’ \([+t, -\text{mom}]\);
- *carh-* ‘to move upwards’ \([-t, +\text{dyn}] +\text{LIM} \rightarrow ghore par carh-* ‘to mount the horse’ \([+t, -\text{mom}]\);
- *jamā kar-* ‘to collect’ \([-t, +\text{dyn}] +\text{LIM} \rightarrow sabke bartisan, bālīyān jamā kar-* ‘to collect the vessels and buckets of all’ \([+t, -\text{mom}]\).

Often the final limit is established by the context or common knowledge about extra-linguistic circumstances:

- *dūb-* ‘to sink’ \([-t, +\text{dyn}] +\text{LIM} \rightarrow sūraj dūb-* ‘the sun to set’ \([+t, -\text{mom}]\).

Setting a *temporal* limit alone is not a limitation in terms of actionality: *do ghamṭe kitāb parh-* ‘to read in a book for two hours’ \([-t, +\text{dyn}]\).

**Serialization**

Serialization is a modification of the actional phrase to the effect that the actional content is figured as a series of repeated actions (Johanson 2000a: 70). It may result among other things from serialization of one of the arguments, e.g. through plural

Examples:
kharrāṭā le- ‘to snore (once’) [+tf, −mom] + SER → kharrāṭe le- ‘to snore (repeatedly)’ [−t, +dyn]; ā- ‘to come’ [+tf, −mom] + SER → roz ā- ‘to come every day’ [−t, +dyn].

Homogenization

Homogenization is another non-transformatizing recategorization process. It may be brought about among other things by introducing a homogeneous argument (faṛš par gir- ‘to fall to the ground’ [+tf, −mom] + HOM → dupahar kī dhūp faṛš par gir- ‘the sunlight of the noon to fall onto the ground’ [−t, −dyn]), a satellite that has a homogenizing effect (e.g. barābar ‘constantly’, anavrāt ‘incessantly’, lagātār ‘continuously’) or pragmatics. Additionally, marking with the potential (STEM + sak-) generally renders actional phrases with the IPS [−t, −dyn] (ā- ‘to come’ [+tf, −mom] + HOM → ā sak- ‘to be able to come’ [−t, −dyn]); hence the potential may be considered a recategorization process from the actional point of view, although primarily it is not actional but modal, by nature. Negation of transformative actional phrases may have a homogenizing effect as well (Johanson 2000a: 72).

Actional recategorization is a recursive process, the final IPS resulting from the combination of all relevant factors. To mention only one example, a fini-transformative verb (nikal- ‘to emerge’ [+tf, −mom]) can undergo a process of serialization (log nikał- ‘people to emerge’ [−t, +dyn]), which renders a non-transformative actional phrase. This in turn may be limited (ve log nikał- ‘those people to emerge’ [+tf, −mom]), which renders a transformative actional phrase, which may in turn be serial- ized (har sāl ve log nikał- ‘those people to emerge every year’ [−t, +dyn]) or homogenized (ve log nikał sak- ‘those people to be able to emerge’ [−t, −dyn]). In theory, recategorization processes can be implemented ad infinitum. Relevant for the interaction with aspect operators is always the ultimate IPS of the complete actional phrase.

2.2. Actionality operators

Besides the factors contributing to the IPS mentioned so far, many languages dispose of special actionality operators, i.e. grammatical items that convey primitive or complex actional ideas which in turn may influence the IPS of the actional phrase. In languages like Hindi, Turkic, Mongolic and Japanese, these operators are often constructed of a full verb in a non-finite word form and a subsequent auxiliary segment, which modifies the meaning of the full verb. In analogy to the term preverb applied to (often lexically determined) verb prefixes of Germanic, Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, Kartvelian etc. which may convey similar meanings, the postponed elements may be labelled postverbs.

Actionality operators need not necessarily be postverbal constructions. In some
languages, there are more or less unanalyisable suffixes with similar functions. On the other hand, not all postverbs are actionality operators. Postverbal elements may also have non-actional meanings and concern e.g. Modality, like STEM + sak- ‘to be able’ as in main unhein dekh bhi nahin sakta thaa ‘I could not even see him’ (A: 98)\(^{15}\). Not all actionality operators affect the IPS of the actional phrase. Some operators may also indicate the mode of action. This class contains operators as STEM + dāl- ‘to put’ which marks something like [+force] as in mujhe dekhte hi unghumne sāre niyam bhanga kar dāle ‘As soon as he saw me, he abandoned all his principles’ (A: 94). STEM + par- ‘to fall’ with a meaning of suddenness or spontaneity as in vah tāhākā mārkar hams parī ‘She laughed out loudly’ (A: 105) and STEM + baith- ‘to sit down, to sit’, which adds a shade of undesirableness as in unkā āvāz mēn ek kālā-sā sanisay ā baithā thā ‘A darkish doubt had come into his voice’ (A: 133).

There are operators marking directional categories in a broad sense like version (subjective version: STEM + le- ‘to take’ as in mehra sāhab ne āmākhein mūnd līān ‘Mr. Mehrā closed his eyes’ (A: 175); objective version: STEM + de- ‘to give’ as in unghumne mujhe ek lamhā, caukor līfāhā hāth mēn pakrā diyā ‘He handed a big, square envelope over to me’ (A: 50)) or spatial, temporal or figurative orientation (STEM + ā- ‘to come’ as in unkā svar bahut komal-sā ho āyā ‘His voice became very soft’ (A: 101); STEM + cal- ‘to move’ as in amgīthi kī āg bhuj calī thī ‘The fire in the hearth had expired’ (A: 37)).

Even postverbal segments with a grammatical function basically non-actional may bear relevance for the IPS of the actional phrase, as is the case with STEM + sak-, which yields [−t, −dyn] (see above).

It goes without saying that while actionality operators are grammatical items, actional features may be encoded in various other ways, among other things lexically and by the means mentioned above (2.1.).

In Hindi, there are three main ways of forming postverbal constructions, namely STEM\(^{16}\) + POSTVERB, PRESENT PARTICIPLE + POSTVERB and PAST PARTICIPLE + POSTVERB\(^{17}\).

There are a few other constructions that may have actional functions as well: The oblique infinitive + lag- ‘to become attached + to be attached’ denotes that the main action either begins or is resumed after an interruption, e.g. vah khilkhilākar hamsne lagīthī ‘She started laughing loudly’ (A: 23), kuch der bād vah soste hue kahne lagā ‘After a little while, he continued talking thoughtfully’ (A: 132) or bais kahī rukti thī, yātriyoṁ ko leti hui, utārtī hui, phir calne lagīthī thī ‘The bus stopped somewhere, collecting and dropping passengers, then it moved on’ (A: 265). The resulting actional phrase is [+tf]. In adverbial clauses, repetition of the present participle denotes a certain extension in time [+durative] as calte-calte ‘walking and walking, walking permanently’ in mujhe patā bhi nahīn calā, kab calte-calte main mehra sāhab kī kātej ke nice calā āyā, jahāṁ se murlīdhar kā kvārtar dikhaī detā thā ‘I did not even

\(^{15}\) The bulk of Hindi examples is taken from Nirmal Varma’s novel Ānīm arāṇya (in this contribution indexed with A), with very few examples taken from other sources (see list at the end of this contribution).

\(^{16}\) What looks like the stem is actually a verb (“absolutive”, “gerund”) form.

\(^{17}\) The so-called Present and Past Participles are in fact intraterminal and postterminal participles respectively (see below, 3.2.). The traditional terms are preserved for the sake of convenience.

realize when I, walking and walking, arrived below Mr. Mehrā’s cottage, from where Murfidhar’s home could be seen’ (A: 106). The resulting actional phrase is [-t].

It should be noted that the constructions STEM + VERB and PARTICIPLE + VERB need not necessarily represent grammatical operators, but may also be arbitrary, non-grammaticalized structures. For example, jā baiṭh- in vah uṭhkar āśā jā baiṭhe ‘He stood up, went to a third place and sat down’ (A: 178) is not a postverbal construction consisting of STEM + baiṭh-, rather jā is the predicate of a convverb clause, and baiṭhe is just another predicate: jā baiṭhe ‘he went and sat down’. Another example is unke dekhte hi main vah ho jāā thā, jo main kahān pīche chor āyā thā ‘Simply by her looking at me, I became the one I had left somewhere behind before18 I came’ (A: 119), where chor- ‘to leave behind’ and ā- ‘to come’ refer to two different actions. In writing, there is no formal difference between arbitrary convverb clauses and grammaticalized postverb constructions.19 The correct interpretation is triggered by the context. There are also cases in which the difference between arbitrary and grammaticalized constructions becomes blurred: The sentence jah unkā sūp lekar āyā, to vah kamre meh nahiin the ‘When I brought his soup, he was not in the room’ (A: 197), which is – unambiguously – composed of a convverb clause (…lekar <take:CV>) and a superordinate matrix clause (āyā <come:FIN>), could obviously be expressed with a postverbal construction (le āyā) without any significant change of meaning.

For the purposes of this contribution, we will concentrate on postverbal constructions with potentially direct effect on the IPS. Note that a given actionality operator needs not actually affect the IPS. A [+tf] operator applied to an actional phrase which is already fini-transformative, either leaves the IPS untouched or at most reinforces the fini-transformative meaning. It does not change anything with regard to the basic phase structure. In the examples given below, the English translation cannot always adequately illustrate the differences in the Hindi samples, as not all the distinctions exist in English.

2.2.1. STEM + POSTVERB

The two postverbs with the morphological structure STEM + POSTVERB which directly affect the IPS of the actional phrase are cuk- and jā-.

STEM + cuk- ‘to be finished’

Function: Produces fini-transformative [+tf] actional phrases with a strong empha-sise on the notion of completion. It is not simply an arbitrary periphrastic construction, but a fully fledged grammatical operator, as is shown by the fact that it can be combined with transitive verbs, although cuk- as a full verb is intransitive.

18 Literally: ‘having left behind, I came’ (‘before’ not encoded by the Hindi sentence and is only inserted into the translation for the sake of convenience).
19 In the spoken language, there will usually be a suprasegmental juncture in arbitrary convverb clauses.
Examples:
(1) tum kaise samjhoge? tum is jagah tab āe ho, jab sab kuch būt cukā hai ‘How could you understand this? You came here when everything had already finished’ (A: 73)
   būt- ‘to pass, to happen’ [+tf, –mom]; būt cuk- ‘to pass, to happen’ [+tf, –mom]

(2) unheīn ab bhī yād thā, jise maiṅ hainśī samajhkar lagbhag bhūl cukā thā ‘He still remembered what I, considering it a joke, had already almost forgotten’ (A: 205)
   bhūl- ‘to forget’ [+tf, –mom]; bhūl cuk- ‘to forget completely’ [+tf, –mom]

(3) samay kā bodh kab kā mit cukā thā ‘The cognition of time had vanished long ago’ (A: 269)
   mit- ‘to vanish, to expire’ [+tf, –mom]; mit cuk- ‘to vanish completely’ [+tf, –mom]

STEM + jā- ‘to go’

Function: Renders fini-transformative [+tf] actional phrases. This is an extremely frequent operator which is intercombinnable with actional phrases of various IPses. When combined with [+ti] verbs, the transformative actional phrase is highlighted, e.g. baīth- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+ti] + LIM → baīth jā- ‘to sit down’ [+tf, –mom]. As transformativity implies dynamicity, jā- combined with non-dynamic verb stems introduces a dynamic momentum, e.g. āb- ‘to be bored’ [–t, –dyn] + LIM → āb jā- ‘to get bored’ [+tf]. This actionality operator may combine with all kinds of aspect operators.

Examples with actional phrases of various IPses:

[+tf] × jā-
When combined with [+tf] verbs, no significant changes in meaning occur:

(4) śurū to merā bahut paḥle xatm ho gayā ‘My beginning has ended a long time ago’ (A: 42)
   xatm ho- ‘to finish (itr.)’ [+tf, –mom]; xatm ho jā- ‘to finish (itr.)’ [+tf, –mom]

(5) vah kabhī nahīn batāti thīn, kaun-sī cīz unheīn thik nahīn lagī, sirf unke cehre se patā cal jāta thā ki jo maiṁne kahā, vah usse bahut dīr hai, jo unhoṁne mujhse pūchhā thā ‘She never told me what she did not agree with, only from her face it became obvious that what I had said was very far from that what she had asked me’ (A: 122)
   patā cal- ‘to become known’ [+tf, –mom]; patā cal jā- ‘to become known’ [+tf, –mom]

[+ti] × jā-
Combined with [+ti] verbs, STEM + jā- eliminates the non-transformative phase and reduces the verb semantics to its transformative phase. This operation corresponds to a process of actional recategorization (limitation). The resulting actional phrase is [+tf]:

(6) unhem calle hue bolnā akhārtā thā, islie bolte hue khare ho jāte the ‘It was difficult for him to talk while he was walking, therefore he stopped when he was talking’ (A: 42)


khārā ho- ‘to stop + to stand; to stand up + to stand’ [+ti] +LIM → khārā ho jā- ‘to stop’ [+tf]

(7) vah chajjā hi merā asī veșing-rūm thā. bhītar ke dem ghuṭṭe vātāvaran se chūkārā pāne ke lie main āksar vahān ākar baith jāā thā ‘That terrace was my actual waiting room. In order to obtain relief from the breath-taking atmosphere inside, I usually sat down there’ (A: 95)


baith- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+ti] +LIM → baith jā- ‘to sit down’ [+tf, –mom]

(8) hamārī bāt bīc mein rah gāī ‘Our conversation remained incomplete’ (A: 126)


raḥ- ‘to remain’ [+ti] +LIM → rah jā- ‘to remain’ [+tf]

(9) main niraṇjan bābū ke ghar rah gayā thā... lauṭkar patā calā, āp āe the ‘I had stayed at Niraṇjan Bābū’s house. When I returned I realized that you had come’ (A: 95)


raḥ- ‘to stay’ [+ti] +LIM → rah jā- ‘to stay’ [+tf]

(10) phir rah kyōn nahīn jāte, nīcē jānā zārārī hai? ‘Then why did he not settle down, why was it necessary to return to the plain?’ (A: 194)


raḥ- ‘to stay’ [+ti] +LIM → rah jā- ‘to stay’ [+tf]

The English language is not provided with any simple means to illustrate the difference between rah- and rah jā- (‘to remain’, like Hindi rah-, is [+ti] in English, too). However, in examples 8–10 the transformative phase of ‘to remain’ is focussed upon.

(11) āxir unki nigāhen mujh par ḫahār gāīn ‘In the end, her glance (lit. glances) became fixed on me’ (A: 126)


ṛẖahār- ‘to stop + to stand’ [+ti] +LIM → ḫahār jā- ‘to stop’ [+tf]

(12) vah cup ho gae ‘He fell silent’ (A: 99)


cup ho- ‘to fall silent + to be silent’ [+ti] +LIM → cup ho jā- ‘to fall silent’ [+tf, –mom]

(13) aur tab mujhe ābhās hū, hamārā atī ko ēk jagah ḫahārā hū sṭeśan nahīn hai, jo ek bār guzarne ke bād gayah ho jāā hai, vah yāṭrā ke daurān hamesā apne ko alag-alag jharokhom se dikhātā rathā hai ‘And then I got the impression that our past is not a fixed station that disappears when we have passed it once, rather it always shows itself through different windows during the journey’ (A: 130)

gāyah ho- ‘to vanish, to have vanished’ [+ti] +LIM → gāyah ho jā- ‘to vanish’ [+tf, –mom]

(14) main khārā ho gayā, vah baith gae ‘I stood up. He sat down’ (A: 50)


khārā ho- ‘to stand up + to stand’ [+ti] +LIM → khārā ho jā- ‘to stand up’ [+tf, –mom]


baith- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+ti] +LIM → baith jā- ‘to sit down’ [+tf, –mom]

Examples 12–14 contain compositions with ho- ‘to become + to be’ in which the original initio-transformative semantics is preserved. By the postverb jā-, the trans-
formative phase ('to become') is focussed upon. *baśth jā-* means 'to sit down' in contrast to *baśth-* which comprises both phases 'to sit down' and 'to sit'.

(15) *maṁ jān gayā, vah kyā kahnā cáhte haiṁ* 'I grasped what he wanted to say' (*A:* 214)

*jān-* 'to grasp + to know' [+ti] + LIM → *jān jā-* 'to grasp' [+tf]

[-t, +dyn] × *jā-

(16) *maṁ apṁ koṭharī meṁ lauṭ āyā, bhītār jāne kī himmat nahīṁ huī, vahīṁ barāme kī kursī par pasar gayā* 'I returned to my hut. I did not possess the courage to enter and stretched myself out on the chair on the veranda' (*A:* 51)

*pasar-* 'to be stretched out' [-t, +dyn] + LIM → *pasar jā-* 'to be stretched out' [+tf, -mom]

The Hindi verb *pasar-* denotes the process of becoming stretched out or spread out, which in itself is not telic. However, a final limit is inaugurated as soon as an unidivid-
ed, limited subject referent (in this example, *maṁ 'I') is mentioned (or understood). The postverb *jā-* alone has limiting force, too.

(17) *usne āge kuch nahīṁ kahā... issie nahīṁ ki vah jo kahnā cáhtā thā, cuk gayā- balki jo bac gayā thā, vah binā kahe hī bah gayā* 'He did not say any more... Not because what he wanted to say was finished, but what was left to say had already flowed out without saying' (*A:* 141)

*cuk-* 'to be finished' [+tf, -mom]; *cuk jā-* 'to be finished' [+tf, -mom]

*bac-* 'to get spared' [+tf, +mom]; *bac jā-* 'to get spared' [+tf, +mom]

*bah-* 'to flow' [-t, +dyn] + LIM → *bah jā-* 'to flow out' [+tf, -mom]

Example 17 contains the fini-transformative verbs *bac-* and *cuk-*, the IPS of which does not change when *jā-* is added (while in Hindi, *cuk-* denotes an "accomplishment", i.e. a non-momentaneous fini-transformative, in English, 'to be finished' is non-transformative and non-dynamic [-t, -dyn]). *bah-* is a non-transformative verb which is recategorized to [+tf] by adding the postverb *jā-*. 

(18) *har bār ham vahīṁ mitre the, jahāṁ se judā hue the, judāṁ ke din bīc meṁ jhar jāte the* 'We always met where we had separated. The days of separation elapsed (lit. trickled away) in between' (*A:* 70)

*jhar-* 'to flow' [-t, +dyn] + LIM → *jhar jā-* 'to flow' [+tf, -mom]

*jhar-* behaves similarly to *bah-* in example 17.

(19) *har cīz badal jātī hai* 'Everything changes' (*A:* 98)

*badal-* 'to change' [-t, +dyn] + LIM → *badal jā-* 'to change' [+tf, -mom]

*badal-* 'to change' is not an action necessarily directed to a goal, but may be, according to the context, understood like that. In contrast, *badal jā-* is explicitly transfor-
mative.

(20) *sattar baras ke ḍhāṁce meṁ kitnā kuch sūkḥ gayā hai, badal gayā hai, bah gayā hai... yah maṁ āpko batā saktā haiṁ?* 'Can I tell you how much has withered, changed, flowed away in a skeleton of seventy years?' (*A:* 99)

*sūkḥ-* 'to wither' [+tf, -mom]; *sūkḥ jā-* 'to wither' [+tf, -mom]
badal- ‘to change’ [-t, +dyn] +LIM → badal jā- ‘to change’ [+tf, −mom]
bah- ‘to flow’ [-t, +dyn] +LIM → bah jā- ‘to flow away’ [+tf, −mom]

(21) bāzār kī āvāzē māhut pahle anīdhere mēṁ ḍūb gaī thūṁ ‘The sounds of the bazaar had been immersed in the dark long ago’ (A: 100)

ḍūb- ‘to sink’ [-t, +dyn] +LIM → ḍūb jā- ‘to sink’ [+tf, −mom]

(22) nankū ne apnī deh per kī mudrā mēṁ ek aise kon’ mēṁ mar kuch itnī zar se hilāī kī uskī god mēṁ lejā baṁsī faṁ par nīcē lūrāk gayā aur zar se cīxne lagā. lekin jab usne āṁkh kholkar nānājī ko per kī tarah jhūle dekhā, to cūp ho gayā, jaise usne kīśi pret ko dekh liyā ho ‘Nankū twisted his body into the posture of a tree and shook it so strongly that Barṁsē, who lay in his lap, rolled to the ground and started screaming loudly. But when he opened his eyes and saw his grandfather swaying like a tree, he fell silent as if he had seen a ghost’ (A: 113)

lūrāk- ‘to roll’ [-t, +dyn] +LIM → nīcē lūrāk jā- ‘to roll down’ [+tf, −mom]
cūp ho- ‘to fall silent + to be silent’ [+ti] +LIM → cūp ho jā- ‘to fall silent’ [+tf, −mom]

lūrāk- is a non-transformative verb. The expression farś par nīcē lūrāk- sets a final limit, which makes the actional phrase fini-transformative. The fini-transformative structure of the actional phrase is corroborated by the postverb jā-. For cūp ho-

2.2.2. Participle + postverb

-(yā) kar-

Structure: Past Participle + kar- ‘to do’

Function: This operator marks the habitual mode of action. It serializes the actional content and renders non-transformative actional phrases [-t]. In the quality of being in a habit, there is not inherent a specific momentum of dynamicity. Therefore, actional phrases marked with -(yā) kar- are qualified [-dyn].20 Thus, marking with -(yā) kar- is probably more appropriately considered an act of homogenization rather than of serialization. This actionality operator often combines with low focal intra-terminal aspect operators.

(23) bahut pahle vahāṁ janīgaṁ ke banaṁle jamaṁtu apnī pyās bujhāne āyā karte the ‘A long time ago, the wild animals of the forest used to come there to quench their thirst’ (A: 116)

ā- ‘to come’ [+tf, −mom] +HOM → āyā kar- ‘to be in the habit of coming’ [-t, −dyn, +habit]

(24) klini khece bāzār mēṁ thē, lekin ghar ūpar thē, gōre par cāṛhkar vah roz ūpar

nīcē jāyā karte the ‘His clinic was down in the bazaar, but his house was uproad. He used to go up and down on horseback every day’ (A: 54)

jā- ‘to go’ [-t, +dyn] +HOM → jāyā kar- ‘to be in the habit of going’ [-t, −dyn, +habit]

20 Note that the feature [+ser] alone does not imply [-dyn], while [+habit] does.
(25) “dūṣroṁ ko klinik mein dekhtā hōōn, apne ko yahāṁ!” vah kahā karte the ‘“The others I see in the clinic, myself I see here!” he used to say’ (A: 55)

kah- ‘to say’ [−t, +dyn] +LIM → “...” kah- ‘to say “...”’ [+tf, −mom] +HOM → “...” kahā kar- ‘to be in the habit of saying “...”’ [−t, −dyn, +habit]

kah- in itself is non-transformative, but if a quotation is added (i.e. to say something specific), as is the case in this example, the actional phrase contains a final limit and has the IPS [+tf, −mom]. The operator -(y)ā kar-, in turn, serializes the actional phrase, which makes the IPS [−t, −dyn, +habit].

(26) jab main daur par rahtā thā, vah yahī kitābēṁ parhā kartī thīṁ ‘When I was on tour, she used to read these very books’ (A: 132)

parh- ‘to read’ [−t, +dyn] +HOM → parhā kar- ‘to be in the habit of reading’ [−t, −dyn, +habit]

(27) ammāṁ ji ke jāne ke bāḍ vah kuch badal-sī gāō hain. pahle ghanōṁ bāhar ghūmā kartī thīṁ, klāṁ kī lāybrēṁ meṁ baiṭhī rāhā kartī thīṁ... mujhē jākar unheṁ bulānā partā thā ‘After her mother had passed away, she seemed to have changed a bit. At first, she would walk around outside for hours, and sit in the library of the club... I had to go and call her’ (A: 138)

ghūm- ‘to wander’ [−t, +dyn] +HOM → ghūmā kar- ‘to wander’ [−t, −dyn, +habit]

baiṭh- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+ti] +HOM → baiṭhā rāh- ‘to remain seated’ [−t, −dyn];

baiṭhā rāhā kar- ‘to be in the habit of remaining seated’ [−t, −dyn, +habit]

−tā jā-

Structure: Present Participle + jā- ‘to go’

Function: Denotes a continuing or gradual development. The resulting process is conceived of as an undivided whole, regardless of the actual structure of the extra-linguistic event. This item operates on verbs with a non-momentaneous dynamic phase, i.e. [−t, +dyn], [+ti], [+tf, −mom]. The resulting actional phrase may or may not have a final limit. It has always a dynamic cursus.

(28) baacpan aur bhūhāpe se pare bhī ek stēśan hotā hai – jahāṁ manūṣya unnā kā khūṁā chrūkār sab stē ek sāth pār kartā jātā hai, āgē-pīche kī diśāōn kā kōī bōdh nāhīṁ rahtā ‘There is also a station beyond childhood and old age, where man pulls out the peg of age and continues passing through all stages at the same time and there is no sensation left for the directions forward and backward’ (A: 206–207)

pār kar- ‘to pass’ [+tf, −mom]; pār kartā jā- ‘to continue passing’ [+tf, −mom]

(29) vah bolte jā rahe the jaise us rāt unhoṁne mujhē isīliē vahāṁ bulvāyā thā ‘He continued talking as if he had summoned me that night for that reason’ (A: 210)

bol- ‘to talk’ [−t, +dyn]; boltā jā- ‘to continue talking’ [−t, +dyn]

(30) paidā hone ke bād ke ks”an“ se hī manus’yā us avasthā se dūr hotā jātā hai, jise ham ’nārmal’ kahte hainh ‘From the moment after birth, man gradually drifts away from the state we call “normal”’ (A: 100)

dūr ho- ‘to become distant + to be distant’ [+ti]; dūr hotā jā- ‘to become distant gradually’ [−t, +dyn]

(31) vah jitmā hī barḥtā jātā hai, bhītar kā sab kuch khokhlā hotā jātā hai ‘The more it grows, the more everything inside becomes hollow’ (A: 191)
barh- ‘to grow’ [-t, +dyn]; barḥtā jā- ‘to continue growing’ [-t, +dyn]
khokhlā ho- ‘to become hollow + to be hollow’ [+ti]; khokhlā hotā jā- ‘to become hollow gradually’ [+tf, −mom]

-tā rah-
Structure: Present Participle + rah- ‘to remain’
Function: This item operates on verbs with a cursus, i.e. all kind of IPSes except [+tf, +mom]. It denotes the dwelling in the cursus and has a statal meaning. The resulting actional phrase is [-t, −dyn]. When combined with fini-transformatives, the action may be interpreted as serial (see example 32). However, the function of -tā rah- is not [+ser] but [+stat], and the recategorization process involved is a homogenization, not a serialization.

(32) jab ham bacce the, to har sāl hamāre pitā kā trānsfar dīsre saharoī mein hotā rahā thā ‘When we were children, our father was transferred to another town every year’ (A: 193)
trānsfar ho- ‘to be transferred’ [+tf, −mom] + HOM → trānsfar hotā rah- ‘to keep being transferred’ [-t, −dyn, +stat]

(33) kuch der tak koi kuch nahīn bolā. sirf nāle kī āvāz sunāī detā rahi ‘Nobody talked for a while. Only the sound of the brook remained audible’ (A: 123)
sunāī de- ‘to become audible + to be audible’ [+ti] + HOM → sunāī detā rah- ‘to remain audible’ [-t, −dyn, +stat]

(34) dākṭār sinhī hainīsne lage... aur tab bhi hainste rahe, jab usī kṣaṇrāvat jī pardā kholkar acānāk pragat ho gae, jaise vah bhī kisī vismaylok ke prānī hom ‘Doctor Singh started laughing. And he was still laughing when in that very moment Rāvat ji drew the curtain and appeared suddenly, as if he was a creature of some kind of wonderland, too’ (A: 100)
hainīs- ‘to laugh’ [-t, +dyn] + HOM → hainīstā rah- ‘to remain laughing’ [-t, −dyn, +stat]

(35) murlīdhār kuch der tak muskurātā rahi, phir hamārī utsuktā par taraś khākar bolā, ‘bāś leṭ thī, isīlī teṭi der ho gāī ‘Murlīdhār remained laughing for a while, then he pitted us for our curiosity and said: “The bus was delayed, therefore it has become so late”’ (A: 114)
muskurā- ‘to smile’ [-t, +dyn] + HOM → muskurātā rah- ‘to remain smiling’ [-t, −dyn, +stat]

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21 Verbs with IPS [+tf, +mom] can be combined with this operator if they are taken as serialized, which makes the actional phrase [-t, +dyn] and provides it with a cursus. With this condition fulfilled, the operator -tā rah- can be added.

22 Combination of the features [-dyn] and [+stat] seems to be a redundancy at first glance. However, a marked state [+stat] is something different than the mere absence of marked dynamicity [-dyn].
-(y)ā rah-
Structure: Past Participle + rah- ‘to remain’
Function: This item operates on transformative verbs and denotes the dwelling in the post-transformative state. The resulting actional phrase is [−t, −dyn].

(36) maiṁ kuch der vahīṁ baīṭhā rahā ‘I remained seated there for a while’ (A: 86)
baīṭh- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+ti] +HOM → baīṭhā rah- ‘to remain seated’ [−t, −dyn]

(37) maiṁ bhī yahī căāṭā thā ki vah kuch aur der mere pās baīṭhā rahe ‘I too would like him to remain seated by my side a little longer’ (A: 139)
baiṭh- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+ti] +HOM → baīṭhā rah- ‘to remain seated’ [−t, −dyn]
The semantics of baīṭhā rah- can be illustrated as follows: baīṭh- is an initio-transformative verb comprising the two phases ‘to sit down + to sit’. Its Past Participle word form, baīṭhā, tells us that at a given point of view V the critical limit τc – in this case the initial limit τ₀ – has been transgressed. Therefore, the psychological interest is focussed on the transformative phase ‘to sit down’. The (non-finite) word form baīṭhā literally means ‘having sat down’. The expression baīṭhā rah- literally means ‘having sat down, remain’, which in turn means that the post-transformative state – in this example the phase ‘to sit’ – is focussed upon. Hence the English translation ‘to remain seated’, i.e. to remain sitting. It is important to note that, although -(y)ā rah- is semantically transparent, it is not an arbitrary, free construction but a fully grammaticalized operator.

(38) annā ji baṅḍāık lekar jāṅvaroṁ ko to ḍarā saktī thūṁ, lekin kyā ḍar ko bhagā saktī thūṁ, jo bāhar nahiṁ, ghar kī xāli konoṁ meṁ ḅubkā rahā thā? ‘Annā ji could of course frighten away the beasts with the rifle. But could she also chase away the fear that lay hidden not outside, but in the empty corners of the house?’ (A: 104–105)
duṅkā- ‘to hide’ [+ti] +HOM → duṅkā rah- ‘to remain hidden’ [−t, −dyn]
Duṅkā- is an initio-transformative verb which means ‘to hide’, ‘to creep away + to lie hidden’ and the like. Duṅkā rah-, on the other hand, is restricted to the non-transformative phase.

(39) kāṭe世界上最的 cottage remained lit during the day, but nobody could be seen inside’ (A: 135)
jal- ‘to become inflamed + to burn’ [+ti] +HOM → jalā rah- ‘to remain lit’ [−t, −dyn]
Strictly speaking, jalā rah- is non-dynamic, while in the case of the verb jal-, both the transformative phase (‘to become inflamed’) and the non-transformative phase (‘to burn’) are dynamic.
Sometimes, more than one actionality operator may be combined as in

(40) maiṁ bār meṁ baiṭhā rahā kartā thā ‘I used to remain seated at the bar’ (A: 204), where
-(y)ā rah- is combined with -(y)ā kar-.

23 More on postterminal participles see below, 3.2.2.3.
2.2.3. Summary: IPS features of selected Hindi actionality operators

As stated above, not all actionality operators affect the IPS of the actional phrase. However, application of the six items STEM + cuk-, STEM + jā-, -(y)ā kar-, -tā jā-, -tā rah- and -(y)ā rah- results in specific IPS features. These items with their IPS features, along with two other actional features ( [+habit] and [+stat]), are summarized in the table below. Although all the IPS features are part of privative oppositions, the features given in this the table are not strictly treated as such here, i.e. negative features are only ticked off if a given operator obligatorily adds the negative feature to the IPS of the actional phrase.²⁴

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[+t]</th>
<th>[-t]</th>
<th>[+dyn]</th>
<th>[-dyn]</th>
<th>[+mom]</th>
<th>[-mom]</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>STEM + cuk-</td>
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<tr>
<td>STEM + jā-</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>-(y)ā kar-</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>(x)</td>
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<td>-tā rah-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-(y)ā rah-</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Features in parentheses are secondary features directly derived from other, primary features: Transformativity automatically implies dynamicity (hence the parentheses in some cases of [+dyn]), while non-transformativity implies non-momentaneity (hence the parentheses in some cases of [-mom]).

As can be seen from the grid, there is no operator that produces momentaneous [+mom] actional phrases. Two items, namely STEM + cuk- and STEM + jā- render transformative actional phrases, while -(y)ā kar-, -tā rah- and -(y)ā rah- render non-transformative actional phrases. -tā jā- is the only operator indifferent for [+t], but the resulting actional phrase has always a dynamic cursus, hence the features [+dyn] and [-mom]. Both -tā rah- and -(y)ā rah- have a statal meaning. This suggests that the aspect operator STEM + rahā hai, which signals focal intraterminality (see below, 3.1.1.), might have developed from a former statal actionality operator, too (cf. Lienhard 1961: 47-48).

It is worth noting that combined with verbs with the IPS [+t] (e.g. baiṭh-), the operator STEM + jā- systematically highlights the transformative phase (baiṭh jā- ‘to sit down’), while the operator -ā rah- systematically highlights the non-transformative phase (baiṭhā rah- ‘to remain seated’).

3. Aspect

Now that we have looked at the operandum of aspect to some detail, let us turn to the viewpoint operators themselves. As the finite predication has the largest variety of aspect oppositions (along with markers for Modality₂, Modality₃, tense, person and number), we will start with the finite position in the sentence and turn to the

²⁴ Otherwise, everything not marked positively would have to be marked with a cross in the negative square of the given opposition.

non-finite positions – with less contrasting aspect items – later. The number of aspect items actually employed can vary according to various types of discourse, i.e. situation-specific registers (Johanson 1971: 76–87; Rentzsch 2005: 46–48). Some types of discourse may have a reduced inventory of aspect items which results in a reconfiguration of the viewpoint oppositions. In this contribution, only the pattern found in modern narrative prose will be dealt with, which is supplied with a rich variety of items.

3.1. Finite predicates

3.1.1. Intraterinals

Intraterinality is the view between the limits of the actional phrase. The intraterminal perspective presupposes a non-momentaneous phase (i.e. a cursus) to look at; therefore intraterminal items can only be combined with [+tf, +mom] verbs if they are serialized (or homogenized). The serialization (or homogenization) may be accomplished by a satellite, an appropriate recategorization process or the context, or it may be understood from the intraterminal marking alone.

In Hindi, there are both focal [+INTRA+FOC] and non-focal [+INTRA-FOC] intraterinals. Focal items tend to represent their aspeectual value more emphatically, they are marked in a “stronger” way than non-focal items. Focal items result in a more narrow range of vision and the psychological interest is more strongly focussed on the actional content. This triggers the interpretation that an action viewed by a focal intraterminal item is more “valid” or “present” at the point of view V. The core operandum of [+INTRA+FOC] are actional phrases with a dynamic cursus, especially [-t, +dyn], while actional phrases without a dynamic cursus, especially [-t, -dyn], tend to combine with [+INTRA-FOC].

As non-focal intraterinals signal the notion of intraterminality less emphatically, actional contents viewed by [+INTRA-FOC] are often interpreted as tendencies or habits rather than events actionally “going on” at V. 26

Hindi intraterinals are marked for the temporal opposition [±PAST]. This is a privative opposition, which means that [-PAST] items can also refer to past events if this is made clear by the context.

Hindi has the following four intraterinals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[-PAST]</th>
<th>[+PAST]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[-FOC]</td>
<td>-tā hai</td>
<td>-tā thā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+FOC]</td>
<td>STEM + rahā hai</td>
<td>STEM + rahā thā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Masica (1991: 269) subdivides the “Imperfective” domain into Iterative vs. Durative or Habitual vs. Continuous. This terminology is unsuitable as it refers to actional notions not encoded by the items in question. (Unfortunately, the term Continuous has gained universal currency for an English operator with a function resembling that of STEM + rahā hai/thā. Actually, this term would suit the function of -tā já-better.) — Cf. the terms “progressives Präsens” vs. “duratives Präsens” and “progressives Präteritum” vs. “habituelles Präteritum” (Vermeer & Schmitt 1988: 74, 76). Even Progressive is not an optimal term, as actions viewed by [+INTRA+FOC] need not actually be in progress at V (see example 45).

However, this needs not necessarily be the case. main jānā cāhā lānā ‘I want to go’ (with the non-focal item -tā hai) can refer to a concrete, uni-occasional wish.

Actional phrases of different IPSes behave differently combined with focal intraterminals: With [+t|f, -mom], the view is before the critical limit τ_c as the cursus lies before the critical limit; with [-t] it is after the relevant limit τ_R (which is τ_f) as the cursus lies between the implied τ_i and τ_r. With [+t|f] there are two possibilities: the focal intraterminal view may be applied to the non-momentaneous transformative phase or to the non-transformative phase. Whether the non-transformative phase is dynamic (e.g. jal- ‘to get lit + to burn’) or not (e.g. baith- ‘to sit down + to sit’) is irrelevant: baith rahā hai (baith- × [-PAST (+INTRA^FOC)]) can be interpreted either as ‘he is sitting down’ or as ‘he is sitting’, and jal rahā hai (jal- × [-PAST (+INTRA^FOC)]) can be interpreted either as ‘it is getting lit’ or ‘it is burning’.

[−PAST (+INTRA^FOC)]

(41) mujhe lagta , vah mujhe dekh utna nahin rahin, jitna sokh rahin hai in ‘I got the impression that she was rather absorbing me than looking at me’ (A: 119)
dehk- ‘to see’ [-t, −dyn]; mujhe dekh- ‘to look at me’ [-t, +dyn]
sokh- ‘to absorb’ [+t|f, −mom]

dehk- in the example above is a dynamic non-transformative verb, while sokh- is a fini-transformative verb with a dynamic cursus (i.e. −mom). Verbs with a dynamic cursus constitute the optimal operandum for focal intraterminals. The interpretation triggered here is that the actions referred to are actually occurring at the viewpoint. The [+INTRA^FOC] operator often suggests that the action referred to is a single event. However, the focality of this item is not so high that this is an obligatory interpretation (for examples to the contrary, see below). As was mentioned above (2.1.), negation often recategorizes an actional phrase to [-t, −dyn]. In the example above however, the negation particle nahin does not negate dekh- (i.e. the whole actional phrase) but utna ‘so much’ and leaves the IPS intact. By the textual environment (which is not quoted here) it becomes clear that, although there is no [+PAST] marking, lagta ‘seems’ refers to a viewpoint which is anterior to the point in time where the story is told (V → O⁸).

(42) do dinoth se parbar pani baras rahin hai ‘It has been raining incessantly for two days’ (A: 135)
baras- ‘to rain’ [-t, +dyn]

(43) vah pichhe do säl se kosis kar rahin hai ‘She has been trying for the last two years’ (B: 76)
kosis kar- ‘to try’ [-t, +dyn]

(44) aap kaham the? sahib ji aap ko kab se bula rahe hain ‘Where have you been? The master has been calling you for a long time.’ (A: 61)
bula- ‘to call’ [-t, +dyn]

In the examples 42–44, focal intraterminality is combined with satellites indicating for how long the event has been going on. Note that in Hindi, contents like that are

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27 Characteristically, satellites like these are not combined with fini-transformative actional phrases (see above, 2.1.).
expressed by intraterinals, while in English, 

\[(+\text{POST}) (+\text{INTRA})\] 

items are 
employed (has been \textit{X-ing}). As the examples show, the operator \textit{STEM + rahā hai} can be applied both to events that occur once (as \textit{baras-} ‘to rain’ in example 42) and to repeated events (\textit{bulā-} in example 44).

\textit{STEM + rahā hai} can even refer to the future (cf. Lienhard 1961: 56), if the actional content is considered being of high relevance at \(O^S\):

(45) \textit{kal mainā jā rahā hūṃ} ‘I will go tomorrow’ (A: 237)

\(jā-\) ‘to go’ [-t. dyn]

(46) \textit{kyōn pūchte ho murlīdhar?} ‘Is there anyone who is crying?’, \textit{isko kā rākhu hai to āp yahūn kyōn nahūn rah jāte?} ‘why are you asking, Murlidhar?’ ‘Because there is no-one, why don’t you stay here?’ ‘But I am staying here…’ ‘I mean forever’ (A: 139)

\(rah-\) ‘to stay’ [+ti]

This example quite nicely illustrates not only the opposition \([\pm\text{FOC}]\) between \textit{STEM + rahā hai} and -\textit{tā hai}, but also the two phases of \textit{rah-}. \textit{rah jā-} in the second sentence denotes the action of settling down (i.e. the operator \textit{STEM + jā-} reduces \textit{rah-} to its transformative phase); it could also be translated with ‘Why don’t you come to stay?’. It is marked \([+\text{INTRA FOC}]\) as the event referred to is not actually happening at \(V\) but is presented as something that might potentially occur. \textit{rah-} in the third sentence, on the other hand, refers (as is made clear by the context) to the non-transformative phase of staying. As this phase is [-dyn], this example shows that \([+\text{INTRA FOC}]\) is also combinable with non-dynamic actional phrases in Hindi. The reason for employing a focal item is that \textit{rah-} is to be assigned a high degree of psychological interest. It is suggested that the event (or rather the state) is valid right now, i.e. at \(V\). If the intention was simply to express that the narrator is staying, he could easily have employed a non-focal item: \textit{mainā yahūn rahūt hūn} ‘I am staying here’. By employing the focal item \textit{rah rahā hūn}, the expression obtains a provisional or temporary touch. Combined with a satellite like \textit{hameśā ke lié ‘forever’}, it would be almost inevitable to use a non-focal item: \textit{hameśā ke lié rahtā hūn ‘I stay forever’}.

(47) \textit{kuch dikhāi detē hai?} \textit{dākţar sinīh kī āvāz suṇāī dī, jahāṁ kuch dikhāi nahiĩ detē, usī ke bhītār kuch ho rahā hai... kal subah uthērā dēkhōge, to tumhēm hairānī hōgī. jāṅgīl ke bhītār tumhēm āṁkhōn se ojhal kītā kuch ho rahā thā, jiski tum kalpaṇā bhi nahiĩ kar sakte! yah āṛāmā har roz hotā hai... sīr bāhar nahiĩ, balki manusya kī deh ke bhītār... ‘Can you see anything?’ Dr. Singh’s voice could be heared. ‘Exactly there where nothing can be seen, something is happening... When you get up tomorrow morning and look, you will be astonished. How much has happened in the jungle, hidden from your eyes, which you couldn’t even imagine! This drama happens every day... Not only in the outside world, but also inside the human being...’} (A: 99)

\(ho-\) ‘to become \(+\) to be’ [+ti]

In example 47, the contrast between ho rahā hai/thā ‘is/was happening’ [+FOC] and hotā hai ‘happens’ [-FOC] can be seen. The focal item seems to present *one* specific occurrence (although this is, as we have seen above, not an obligatory interpretation of [+FOC] and therefore not part of the semantics of STEM + rahā hai), while the non-focal item seems to present a tendency or an event that happens conventionally or usually (although, as we shall see below, this is not the obligatory interpretation of [-FOC] and not part of the function of -tā hai). The interpretation *single event vs. repeated event* is mainly triggered by the contrast of [+FOC] vs. [-FOC] in close vicinity.28 This example also shows that not only ho jā-, but also ho- may mean ‘to become, to happen’ (besides ‘to be’) and that ho- therefore is a fully-fledged initio-transformative verb.

(48) tumhein sardī lag rahī ho, to bhiṭar baiṭhte hain ‘If you are getting cold, we sit inside’ (A: 208)

lag- ‘to become attached + to be attached’ [+ti]

lag- is another example of an initio-transformative verb. It is highly sensitive to the combination with different aspect items. With intraterminal operators, the view may be applied to both the transformative and the non-transformative phase. Hence, mujhe sardī lag rahī hai, combined with focal intraterminality [+INTRA{FOC}], can mean both ‘I am getting cold’ or ‘I am cold’ (lit. ‘to me, cold is becoming/being attached’). mujhe sardī lagī hai, with non-focal intraterminality [+INTRA{FOC}], will be interpreted as referring to a situation of more general validity, for instance ‘I (usually) get cold’ or ‘I (usually) am cold’ (for details on [+INTRA{FOC}], see below). In contrast, mujhe sardī lagī hai, with the postterminal aspect [+POST], views the actional phrase after transgression of its τc, i.e. in its non-transformative phase. The meaning of this sentence is ‘I have got a cold’ (it is a matter of idiomatics that it is not usually understood as ‘I am cold’).

 [+PAST (+INTRA{FOC})]

The opposition [±PAST] does not influence the aspecto-actional interaction. As with [±PAST] items, also [+PAST (+INTRA{FOC})] tends to prefer actional phrases with a dynamic cursus as bah- ‘to flow’, gir- ‘to fall’, jal- ‘to burn’ and sulag- ‘to glow’ in examples 49 to 52,29 but may also combine with non-dynamic actional phrases as dikhāi de- ‘to be visible’ and sunāi de- ‘to be audible’ in example 5330 if the actional content is to be focussed upon.

(49) maihne kabhī us šahar kā nām nahūin sunā thā... naqše mein bhi pahi bār dekhā... jahāin saurmuk dariyā kī nīlī rekha bah rahī thī... ‘I had never heard the name of this town before. I also saw it for the first time on a map, where indeed the blue line of a river was flowing’ (A: 17–18)

bah- ‘to flow’ [−t, +dyn]

28 It is also favored by the satellite ha rōz ‘every day’ which indicates seriality.
29 In the examples 51–52, it is the non-transformative (and with these verbs dynamic) phase of the [+ti] verbs jal- and sulag- which is viewed. This is made clear by the context in example 51 and by the satellite ab bhi ‘still’ in example 52.
30 In this example, it is clearly not the transformative (and hence dynamic) phase which is viewed, but the non-transformative (and with these verbs non-dynamic) phase.
(50) bār xālī thī. dupahar kī dhūp xālī kursiyoin, mezoin par gir rahī thī ‘The bar was empty. The sun of the noontime was falling on the empty seats and tables’ (A: 56) 
gir- ‘to fall’ [−t, +dyn]

(51) bhītar kamre mein āg jal rahī thī ‘Within the room, a fire was burning’ (A: 82)
jal- ‘to become inflamed + to burn’ [+ti]

(52) anigūthi kī āg bujhy calī thī, lekin annā jī ne jo āg gilās mein ċālī thī, vah kahīn deh ke bhītar ab bhī sulag rahī thī ‘The fire in the hearth had gone out, but the fire Annā jī had poured in the glass was still glowing somewhere inside the body’ (A: 37)
sulag- ‘to become lit + to glow’ [+ti]

(53) bārīś kī jhaṛī ab amhere mein nāhīn dikhāi de rahī thī – sirf uske girne kī āvāz sunāī de rahī thī ‘The stream of the rain could not be seen in the dark now – only the sound of its falling could be heared’ (A: 137)
dikhāi de- ‘to become visible + to be visible’ [+ti]
sunāī de- ‘to become audible + to be audible’ [+ti]

[−PAST (+INTRA−FOC)]
As opposed to focal intraterinals, non-focal intraterinals tend to be used in cases where the actional content is not to be presented as happening at V (although these operators do not explicitly signal that the actional content is not happening at V).
The low focality of [+INTRA−FOC] allows a variety of secondary interpretations or readings which do not constitute linguistic features of the operator, but result from the feature [−FOC]. Non-focal intraterinalinity may trigger modal interpretations, i.e. sentences marked [+INTRA−FOC] may be taken as a tendency, an event to take place posterior to the viewpoint, an event potentially to take place or as a request, proposal or decision. Modal readings of [+INTRA−FOC] are illustrated by the examples 54–56:

(54) ham bhī kuch der bād calte hain ‘We will go soon, too’ (A: 100)
cal- ‘to move’ [−t, +dyn]

(55) “cāy aur lāṁ?” “nāhīn, ab calte hain” “Shall I bring more tea?” “No, we will go now” (A: 194)
cal- ‘to move’ [−t, +dyn]

As the examples 54 and 55 show, -tā hai can be combined both with satellites like kuch der bād ‘soon, in a while’ and with satellites like ab ‘now’. In both cases, the actional content is not actually happening at V.

(56) “bhītar caloge?” “nāhīn, yahīn acchā hai, [...] kuch der yahīn baīṭhae hain” “Shall we go inside?” “No, it is fine here, let us sit here for a while” (A: 71)
baiṭh- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+ti]

[+INTRA−FOC] is often employed to suggest that the actional content is of general validity. In this use it may sometimes be interpreted as pseudo-habitual (examples 57–60).
(57) marēzōn ke jāne ke bād mainī yahūn baiṭhā hūṁ ‘After the patients are gone, I sit here’ (A: 97)
baiṭh- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+ti]

Note that the above statement can also be true if the person uttering it is not actually sitting (in fact, this is the case in the text the example is taken from, where the protagonist sits down only after this statement). However, it could also be truthfully uttered in sitting position. Hence, being in progress or not is not encoded in the grammatical meaning of -tā hai.

(58) jo ādmī paidā hotā hai, vah kyā vahī hotā hai, jo martā hai? nahūṁ bābūjī... vah koi dūsrā hotā hai, jiske lie ham rote haim! ‘Is the person that is born the same that dies? No Sir, it is someone else we cry for!’ (A: 111)
paidā ho- ‘to be born’ [+tf, –mom]
mar- ‘to die’ [+tf, –mom]
ho- ‘to become + to be’ [+ti]
ro- ‘to cry’ [–t, +dyn]

(59) vah kabhī-kabhī apne phātak ke sāmne dikhāī de jāī hai... to bhūtar bulā leī haiṁ, kisi din jab unkā mūd hotā hai, to piyāno bajāī haiṁ... ve sabse acche din hote haim. mujhē lagāī hai, mīsej mēhrā ke jāne ke bād vah bahut akēlī rah gai haim... ‘Sometimes she appears at her gate... Then she asks me to come in, and on some days when she is in the mood, she plays the piano... These are the best days. I think she has become very lonely after Mrs. Mehrā’s passing away’ (A: 124)
dikhāī de- ‘to become visible + to be visible’ +LIM → dikhāī de jā- ‘to become visible’
bhūtar bulā le- ‘to ask to come in’ [+tf, –mom]
ho- ‘to become + to be’ [+ti]
piyāno bajā- ‘to play the piano’ [–t, +dyn]
lag- ‘to become attached + to be attached’ [+ti]

(60) kuch dukh hote haim, jīnke sāmne sīrf patthar hū jā sakta hai ‘There are kinds of grief in view of which you can only turn to stone’ (A: 212)
patthar ho- ‘to turn to stone, to be a stone’ [+ti] +LIM → patthar hū jā- ‘to be turned to stone’ (Passive) [+tf, –mom] +HOM → patthar hū jā sak- ‘to be able to be turned to stone’ [–t, –dyn]

That -tā hai can also be used to refer to a single, specific event is shown by the following example:

(61) kyoṁ, kyoṁ pūchte haim? ‘What? Why are you asking?’ (A: 41)
puch- ‘to ask’ [+tf, –mom]

The actional contents presented by -tā hai can also refer to events which are both generally valid and specifically valid at V:

(62) ye din mujhē ajīb-sā lagte haim... [...] seboī kā sīzan xatm ho jāta hai... main
apne ko acānaka bālikul bēkār pāne lagā hūṁ hūṁ ‘These days seem strange to me... The apple season is coming to the end. I am suddenly beginning to feel myself useless’ (A: 192)
lag- ‘to become attached + to be attached’ [+ti]
xātm hō jā- ‘to come to an end’ [+tf, -mom]

The statement in example 62 is uttered in a concrete situation where the actional contents apply, but at the same time it is of common validity.

/+PAST (/+INTRA/-FOC)/
There are no significant changes in use when the low-focal intraterminal aspect is anteriorized by the tense operator [+PAST]. The modal readings of this item are less prominent compared to [-PAST] environments, and the purely aspectual readings predominate. However, also -tā thā can evoke modal interpretations as the irrealis in the following example:

(63) tum mujhe fon kar sakī thūm ‘You could have phoned me’ (B: 197)
fon kar- ‘to phone’ [-t, +dyn] +HOM → fon kar sak- ‘to be able to phone’ [-t, -dyn]

While -tā thā covers the whole range of interpretations possible with -tā hai, too, one very frequent usage is to suggest habits in the past. Hence, Hindi -tā thā may often be adequately translated with ‘used to’. However, habituality is not a linguistic feature of -tā thā (on the habitual -(y)ā kar-, see above). Therefore, it is wrong to translate -tā thā with ‘used to’ mechanically. The functional asymmetry between the Hindi aspect item -tā thā and the English actional item used to is also the reason why in Indian English used to is often employed in cases where it seems inappropriate or awkward for British or American speakers. This use is a language contact phenomenon.

In the examples 64–66, the actional phrases marked with -tā thā represent events that will be interpreted as generally valid at V:

(64) un dinō in śahar men bagherōn ke liye kutte kabhē kī tarah hote the – zarā-sī āṁkh hāti nāhīṁ kī unheṁ nigāl jāte the ‘Those days, in this town dogs were like Kebab for the Tigers – you hardly looked the other way and they devoured them’ (A: 125)
ho- ‘to become + to be’ [+ti]
nigāl jā- ‘to gulp down’ [+tf, -mom]
(65) vah kabhē jāb yahāṁ āti thūṁ, to īsī kursē par baīṭhī thūṁ, jis par nirāmjan bābū baīṭhe hain ‘Whenever she came here, she used to sit on this very chair, which Niramjan Babu is sitting on’ (A: 36)
ā- ‘to come’ [+tf, -mom]
baīṭh- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+ti]

(66) mainne ghārī dekhi, samay kaśī thā, mehrā sāhab ke pās murlīdhar sām tak baīṭhē thā. mujhe rāt ko nāṅdh nāhīṁ āti thī, isīlie mainne rāt kī śīfī apne lie bāṅdh

lí thí. ‘I looked at the watch. There was enough time left. Murlídhār used to sit at Mr. Mehrá’s side until the evening. I could not sleep at night, therefore I had taken the night shift upon myself’ (A: 188)

baíth- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+tí]

ā- ‘to come’ [+tf, -mom]

The following two examples show that -tā may represent the intraterminal perspective from an anterior viewpoint even without explicit [+PAST] marking by thā.31 In example 67, the anteriority relation to O9 is established by [+PAST] marking on the last of a series of coordinated (paratactic) predications; in example 68 it is established by the context alone.

(67) murlídhār sabke bartaṇ, bāṭiyāṁ jama karke jharne ke nǐce rakh detā, ve gur-gur karke bharte jāte aukh der bād jān labālab bhar jāte, to vah aur bāṁśī aur rāḍhā unheṁ uthākar āpar cale jāte. ham jharne ke pās baiṭhe unke laumne kī pratikṣā karte rahi the ‘Murlídhār collected the vessels and buckets of all and put them below the spring. They became full with a gurgling sound. A little later, when they were full to the brim, he, Báṁśī and Rāḍhā lifted them up and climbed up again. We sat beside the spring and waited for them to return’ (A: 120)

rakh de- ‘to put’ [+tf, -mom]

bharte jā ‘to become full gradually’ [+tf, -mom]

bhar jā- ‘to become full’ [+tf, -mom]

calā jā- ‘to go’ [-t, +dyn]

pratikṣā kartā rahi- ‘to remain waiting’ [-t, -dyn]

(68) un dinoin jab main āmehrā sāhāb ko티ā ke sāth ghūṁta hū dekhtā aur śām ki pīlim dhūp peroṁ se chankar baǐmniṇṭan korṁ par phailī hotī aukh aur merī khīrī ke sāmne se ve dhīre-dhīre guzarte hue diṅkāi dete to mujhe acāṅak laṅṭā ki – būtā kuch bhī nahiṅ hai’ ‘Those days when I saw Mr. Mehrá walking around with Tiyā and the yellow evening sun sifted through the trees and was spread on the badminton court and they could be seen from my window passing by slowly then I suddenly got the impression that nothing comes to pass’ (A: 134)

dekh- ‘to see’ [-t, -dyn]

phailā ho- ‘to become spread + to be spread’ [+tī]

diṅkāi de- ‘to become visible + to be visible’ [+tī]

lag- ‘to become attached + to be attached’ [+tī]

būt- ‘to elapse, to come to pass’ [+tf, -mom]

The complex phailī hotī ‘it was (usually, sometimes) spread’ is an example of [ [+INTRA] (+POST)] in Hindi, i.e. a combination of intraterminality with post-terminality. phailī is used like an adjective in this combination (it is in fact an adjective, namely a verbal adjective or participle). phail- combined with the Perfect Participle32 refers to the post-transformative state of being spread. This state is

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31 This use has already been mentioned by Lienhard (1961: 41).
32 For a more exact description of the value of that item, see below (3.2.2.).
combined with the auxiliary ho- which in turn is viewed upon with the intraterminal aspect. Constructions of a Perfect Participle with any word form of ho- are fully productive in all cases where the Perfect Participle has adjective-like meanings, i.e. refers to a quality. Further examples of -(y)ā ho- are unhēṁ vah sub kuch yād ātā, jo sukh ke dinoh ke sāth jurā hotā hai ‘He remembers all the things that are connected with the happy days’ (A: 236), with jurā ‘connected’ derived from the verb jur-, ‘to get connected’ [+tf, –mom], and koī bhi sīrā pakṛto, vah āge kisī aur sīre se baṁdhā hotā hai ‘Take any end, it is always tied to another end’ (A: 236), with baṁdhā derived from the verb baṁdh- ‘to get tied’ [+tf, –mom].

3.1.2. Postterminals

Postterminality is the view on the actional phrase after the transgression of its critical limit \(\tau_1\). As postterminals presuppose that there is such a limit, they display a strong affinity to transformative actional phrases. However, combination with non-transformative actional phrases is also possible. In this case, the initial limit \(\tau_1\) is relevant for the postterminal perspective. In contrast to the intraterminal aspect, for the postterminal perspective it is irrelevant whether a fini-transformative actional phrase has a pre-terminal cursus [–mom] or not [+mom]. If combined with initio-transformative actional phrases, postterminality means the view into the non-transformative phase. Hence, when operating on [+ti], [+POST] is in many cases exchangeable with [+INTRA] without any significant change of meaning (battiyaṁ jalī haim ‘The lights are lit’ roughly equals battiyeṁ jal rahi haim ‘The lights are burning’). On the other hand, there are sometimes conventionalized aspecto-actional combinations, e.g. verbs like baṁth- ‘to sit down + to sit’ and lef- ‘to lie down + to lie’ tend to prefer the postterminal aspect against intraterminality.

In Hindi, there are no contrasting focal and non-focal items in the postterminal domain. The postterminal view is always focal; actional contents marked [+POST] are conceived of as being still relevant at \(V\).

Hindi postterminals are marked for the temporal opposition [+PAST]. Just like with [+INTRA], [–PAST (+POST)] items can also refer to anterior viewpoints.

Hindi has only the following two postterminals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[–PAST]</th>
<th>[+PAST]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-(y)ā hai</td>
<td>-(y)ā thā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Postterminality renders different taxi readings combined with actional phrases of various IPSes. With fini-transformatives, the actional content is over (but still relevant) at \(V\). With initio-transformative actional phrases, the event is still happening at \(V\). In the case of non-transformative actional phrases, the only thing we know is that the initial limit has been transgressed at \(V\) – the event referred to may or may not still be in progress at \(V\).

33 I.e., spoken in traditional terms, [+POST] evokes perfect readings (cf. Comrie 1976: 52–56) in Hindi. — It is probably the feeling of relevance at \(V\) that leads Lienhard to the somewhat cryptic statement that “Es ist sowohl imperfectiv als auch perfektiv” (1961: 174).

[-PAST (+POST)]
Postterminals easily combine with non-momentaneous actional phrases, i.e. the so-called achievements of Vendler (see examples 69 and 70). Hence, [+POST] behaves differently in this regard than focal intraterminals, which, as we have seen above, are not intercombinalbe with [+tf, +mom] without previous recategorization into [+mom].

(69) veṭar ne mujhe dekhā to ākar pūchā, sāhab, āpko koi sadma pahumcā hai?
‘When the waiter saw me, he came and asked me, Sir, did you receive some kind of blow?’ (A: 131)
pahumcā- ‘to arrive’ [+tf, +mom]
Literally, the sentence above means ‘Has a blow arrived at you?’ It is implied that the addressee is still in the resulting postterminal state of being struck by that blow.

(70) “niranjan bābū kaise haim?” maṁne khule darvāze se bāhar jhāmkā, māno vah kahiṁ bāhar khare hom. “unhoṁne hī mujhe bhejā hai” “How is Niranjan Bābū?” I peered through the open door as if he was standing somewhere outside. “It is him who has sent me” (A: 230)
bhej- ‘to send’ [+tf, +mom]

The actional content is over at V but still relevant, i.e. the speaker of the last sentence is present as a result of bhej-.

[+POST] is equally fruitful with non-momentaneous fini-transformative actional phrases:

(71) divā unkī zīndagī tumhāre hāth saumphkar marī hai ‘Dīvā has died placing his life in your hands’ (A: 225)
mar- ‘to die’ [+tf, –mom]

(72) ab vah pahle jaise hairak nahim hai... pūrā ek abzarveṭari mein badal gayā hai. maṁne vahāṁ teliskop lagvāyā hai. mere ek dost use peris se lāe the ‘Now it isn’t a barack any more... It has changed into a fully-fledged observatory. I have had a telescope installed there. A friend of mine had brought it from Paris’ (A: 235)
badal jā- ‘to change’ [+tf, –mom]
lagvā- ‘to cause to install’ [+tf, –mom]

(73) lagtā hai, ham kisi aur kī bāteṁ kar rahe haiṁ, jo do men bāṁt gayā hai, ek vah jiske bāre mein annā jī bataṁ rahi haiṁ, dūrā vah jo kamre mein letā hai ‘It seems as if we are talking about somebody else who has split into two, one whom Annā jī is talking about, and another one who is lying in the room’ (A: 226)
bāṁt- ‘to split’ [+tf, –mom], bāṁt jā- ‘to split’ [+tf, –mom]

(74) vah jāne lage, to maṁne kahā, “bīṭyā kī cīṭthī āī hai...” “tiyā kī?” vah darvāze par ḍīṭhaṁ gae, “kyā likhā hai?” ‘He turned to leave. I said: “A letter from Bīṭyā has arrived...” “From Tiyā?” He stopped at the door. “What does she write (literally: what has she written)?”’ (A: 51)

34 Verbs can therefore be tested for the actional opposition [+mom] by applying [+INTRA+FOC] to it.
likh- ‘to write’ [−t, +dyn] +LIM → citthī likh- ‘to write a letter’ [−tf, −mom
likh- in itself is non-transformative. However, the question kyā likhā hai refers to the
fini-transformative actional phrase citthī likh-. Hence, the event is over at V but still
relevant, as the result of the event – the letter – is at hand.

(75) vah aspatāl kī or se gāhvon kī dispēnsāřīz kā daurā karne gā̂ hain ‘She has
left on behalf of the hospital in order to visit the dispensaries of the villages’ (A: 220)
jā- (here:) ‘to go away, to leave’ [−tf]

This is another example of a normally non-transformative verb (jā- ‘to go’) that is
viewed upon postterminally. In this context, only the initial limit of the verb is
highlighted – i.e. the actional phrase is recategorized to [−tf], The actional content is
relevant at V, i.e. she is still away. However, nothing is said about whether the
actional content is still in progress at V, i.e. whether she is still going.

In the examples 76–79 [+POST] operates on [−tf]. In this case, the view on the
actional phrase after transgression of its critical limit implies the view into its non-
transformative phase.

(76) abhī nāśē lekar lete hain ‘Now he has had breakfast and lain down’ (A: 222)
let- ‘to lie down + to lie’ [−ti]
He has lain down implies he is lying at V. This content could alternatively be
expressed intratermially (le te rahe hain).

(77) ‘kyā bahut der se bāithe ho?’ ‘nahīn, abhī kuch der pahle hī āyā hūn’ ‘Have
you been sitting here very long?’ ‘No, I have just arrived/I arrived just a moment
ago’ (A: 233)
bāit- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [−ti]
ā- ‘to come’ [−tf]
He has sat down implies he is sitting at V. This could also be expressed intratermially
(bāth rahe ho).

(78) tum to jānte ho, vah ek ūmce afsar rahe hain ‘You know, he is a high officer’
(A: 102)
raḥ- ‘to get into a state + to remain’ [−ti]
Literally: ‘He has got into the state of a high officer’.

(79) halkā-sā śīṭrok hai, jo blaḍ-preśar ūmē ā ho jāne se hū hai ‘It is a minor stroke
which has happened because the blood pressure had become high’ (A: 225)
hū- ‘to become + to be’ [−ti]
Literally: ‘The stroke has happened = is because…’.

As example 77 shows, Hindi -(y)ā hai is combinable with satellites indicating for
how long or since when something has been the case as well as how long ago
something happened. In this respect, Hindi differs from English, where in the former
cases the present perfect continuous (‘has been sitting’) is used, while in the latter
case the past tense is employed and the present perfect is not applicable (*‘has
arrived a moment ago’).

As with intraterminals (cf. examples 67 and 68 above), the viewpoint can be anterior without explicit [+PAST] marking. This is especially frequent when there is an introducing superordinate clause marked for PAST:

(80) mujhe lagā, ve donom hī mujhe bhūl gae hai. jaise vahān maiāī hūn hī nahūn ‘I got the impression that they both had forgotten me, as if I was not there’ (A: 92) bhūl jā- ‘to forget’ [+tf, -mom]

(81) niramājan bābī ne cāy ke paiae cukāe. lekin bāne se nahūn uthe, jaise abhī kuch kahā bāqi rah gayā hai ‘Niramājan Bābī paid for the tea. But he did not rise from the bench, as if there was still something left to say’ (A: 194–195) rah- ‘to get into a state + to remain’ [+ti] +LIM → rah jā- ‘to get into a state’ [+tf] Literally: ‘Something has gotten into the state of being left to say’.

(82) unhein mujhe dhūndhānā nahīn pāra. himmat sinh kī nigahev se hī patā cāl gayā, main kahāin baithā hūn ‘He had not to look for me. From Himmat Singh’s glances he understood where I was sitting’ (A: 233) baith- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+ti]

(83) dāse ks, an’ bhūl gae, mujhe kyā kahā hai ‘In the next moment he forgot what he had said to me’ (A: 233) kah- ‘to say’ [-t, +dyn]

[/+PAST (+POST)/
-(y)ā thā basically has the same value as -(y)ā hai, with the exception that the viewpoint is explicitly anteriorized to O^0. However, while in many cases [+PAST (+POST)] simply transfers the usages of [-PAST (+POST)] into the past, the marker thā [+PAST] can also have other functions derived from its primary meaning. It may for example have a distancing effect. This distance may be temporal as in

(84) jisne pahlī bār seb khāyā thā, jñān use hī milā thā ‘The one who first ate an apple was the one who received wisdom’ (A: 78) khā- ‘to eat’ [-t, +dyn]
mil- ‘to receive’ [+tf, +mom]

This sentence could have easily been formulated in the neutral aspect (khāyā, milā; see below). By means of the combination [+PAST (+POST)], it is suggested that the event referred to took place in a far temporal distance, i.e. a remote past. This is not the basic function of [+PAST], as [+PAST] only signals anteriority, but not how long ago the event took place. Nor is it the basic function of [+POST], as [+POST] only signals that t_e has been transgressed at V. However, the combination of the values [+PAST] and [+POST] may have the derived function of suggesting temporal remoteness.35

The distancing effect of -(y)ā thā may also be of a figurative or symbolic kind as in

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(85) mainh tumse maafi maangne ayah thah ‘I have come to beg your pardon’ (A: 233)

The sentence above is uttered in a situation of uninterrupted presence. The speaker could easily have said ayah hahun ‘have come’ [-PAST (+POST)] (cf. example 77). However, between his arrival and the utterance above there are various intervening events, only after completion of which the speaker returns to his actual topic. [+PAST] is applied here in order to bridge the interfering activities and resume the original subject.

-(y)ah thah may also be used as a pluperfect in a narrower sense, i.e. refer to an event which is temporally anterior to a past event mentioned before, as in

(86) gavarna! mainh hamsne laga. muddat bad unhoi ne mujhe is nam se bulayah thah... suri ke dinon mein jah mizse mehrah jivit thum, vah mujhe ishi nam se bulate the... is nam ki surii bhah ajib dhaang se hui thi ‘Governor! I started laughing. He had not called me that for a long time (lit. ‘After a long time, he had called me by this name’)... In the beginning, when Mrs. Mehrah was still alive, he used to call me that... The origin of this nickname was strange as well (lit. ‘The beginnings of this name had become in a strange way as well’’) (A: 129)

bulah- ‘to call’ [-t, +dyn]
ho- ‘to become + to be’ [+ti]

In this example, the actional contents hamsne laga- ‘to start laughing’ and bulah- ‘to call’ are mentioned in the opposite order of their temporal sequence. That is, the temporal succession is bulah- → hamsne laga-, while the textual succession is hamsne laga- → bulah-. In order to invert the temporal relation, -(y)ah thah is used.

Having mentioned the more extravagant usages of -(y)ah thah, let us now consider some examples of the basic uses of [+PAST (+POST)]:

(87) kuch bhii nahin hil rahah thah, sivah unke jhule ke, jis par vah avicalit baite the ‘There was no movement at all, except of his swing which he was sitting on without motion’ (A: 71)

baith- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+ti]

(88) uske jaane ke badh bhi der tak mainh baramde mein baiith rahah. katej ki battiyam jali thum, lekin kahin koi aavaz sunaai nahin deii thi ‘Even after he had gone I remained sitting on the veranda. The lights of the cottage were lit, but no sound could be heard anywhere’ (A: 92)

jal- ‘to get lit + to burn’ [+ti]

(89) unkha sir ab bhii hirani meih hil rahah thah aur agkhem kitab ki ek foto par jamii thum ‘He was still nodding his head in astonishment and his eyes were fixed on a photo in the book’ (A: 131)

jam- ‘to get fixed’ [+tf, -mom]

(90) upar tarioh ka jai bichah thah aur caroih taraf ek rupahli-si roshan phaili thi, jiske piche har ciiz... makah, per, jhaariyaam... bhutali pret-chayaoem se dikhai dete the

‘The net of stars was spread above and a silver light had spread everywhere, as a result of which everything: houses, trees, bushes... looked like earthly ghost shadows’ (A: 41)
bich- ‘to spread’ [-t, +dyn] +LIM → jāl bich- ‘a net to spread’ [+tf, −mom]
phail- ‘to spread’ [-t, +dyn] +LIM → cārohi taraf rošān phail- ‘light to spread in the four directions’ [+tf, −mom]

(91) murlidhar koi bhī bāt kahne se pahele uskā ramgname taiyār kartā thā. ṣāyad yah bāt usne mālik mehra sāhab se sīkhi thī ‘Before Murlidhar started any talk, he prepared his stage. Maybe he had learned this from his master, Mr. Mehrā’ (A: 107)
sīkhi- ‘to learn’ [-t, +dyn] +LIM → is bāt ko sīkhi- ‘to learn this’ [+tf, −mom]

(92) yuñīvārsī meih mancāhī naukri kar sakte the. phir kaise yahāṁ āne kā nirṇay le liyā, yah abhi tak mere lie rahasya banā thā ‘He could have done whatever job he liked at university. So why he had taken the decision to come here, had remained a mystery for me until now (lit. ‘had been established as a mystery’)’ (A: 86)
nirṇay le le- ‘to take a decision’ [+tf, −mom]
ban- ‘to be created, to be established’ [+tf, −mom]

(93) jis ks’an” d,ākṭar sīnẖ ‘ciramantantā’ kī bāt kar rahe the – ṭẖīk us ks’an” sārā jaṅgal ek alag ves badalkar vicitra ākāroih meih ḍhal gayā thā. vahāṁ na patthar the, na pahār na perom ke jhurmat ‘Just when Dr. Singh was talking about eternity, the jungle changed its dress and was cast into strange forms. There were no rocks, no hills and no thicket of trees’ (A: 99)
ḍhal- ‘to be poured, to be cast (into form)’ [-t, +dyn] +LIM → ḍhal ja- ‘to be cast (into form)’ [+tf, −mom]

3.1.3. Neutral aspect: [−(INTRA)(−POST)]

The last finite aspect item to be discussed is -(y)a. This operator represents the negative member of both oppositions [±INTRA] and [±POST]. While [−INTRA] means absence of intraterminal markedness, i.e. negation or neutrality with regard to intraterminality, [−POST] means absence of postterminal markedness, i.e. negation or neutrality with regard to postterminality. Hence -(y)a by no means excludes intraterminal or postterminal interpretations, it is simply unmarked for these notions. However, due to the explicit or latent contrast to positively marked aspect items, the negative value may stand out quite emphatically. Therefore, [−(INTRA)(−POST)] often evokes “terminal” interpretations, i.e. the actional content is conceived of as neither being in progress at V nor its critical limit being of any special relevance. These terminal readings have lead to misconceptions of -(y)a as “punctual” or “viewing the event as a whole”, which are only optional interpretations of the negative values of this item and are not part of its linguistic properties. As example 96 shows, actional phrases marked with -(y)a can in fact be interpreted as happening

36 The neutral value of this item is responsible for the ‘gnomic’, ‘future-like’ and ‘potential’ readings observed by Lienhard (1961: 146).
synchronously (pseudo-intraterminal reading), while 104–106 show that marking with -(y)a does not impede the interpretation that the relevant limit of the actional phrase has been transgressed and is still relevant at the point of view (pseudo-postterminial reading).³⁷

On the other hand, the feature [−INTRA] results in an affinity of -(y)a to the interpretation “PAST”, as the natural perspective for viewing actional contents that are happening “now” is the intraterminal perspective. [−INTRA] quite regularly leads to the interpretation “−munc”, which in turn leads to the interpretation “PAST”. However, although “PAST” is a systematic secondary interpretation of -(y)a, it does not constitute a linguistic feature of this item. Quite on the contrary, it is not impossible at all to understand baithā as ‘is sitting’ in some contexts. On the other hand, the reading “PAST” of -(y)a is strong enough to assign the notion of anteriority to a discourse (cf. examples 80–83 above).

As [−INTRA] only negative aspect features, this item is not provided with the parameter of focality. While positively marked aspect items display affinities to specific actional structures − [+INTRA] prefers actional phrases with the features [+dyn] and [−mom], [+POST] prefers actional phrases with the feature [+t]. [−INTRA]− [+POST] is equally intercombinable with all kinds of IPSes.

\[\text{[+t] \times [−INTRA]− [+POST]}\]

(94) kuch hi der bād main bāl gāyā, main kāhām baithā hūm ‘A little later I forgot where I was sitting’ (A: 108)
baith jā- ‘to forget’ [+t, [−mom]
(95) main bārāme mein ākar baith gayā ‘I went to the veranda and sat down’ (A: 223)
baith jā- ‘to sit down’ [+t, [−mom]
(96) jāb vah bīstar par let gae, to mainne unheīn razāī se dānīk diyā ‘When he lay down on the bed, I covered him with the blanket’ (A: 213)
let jā- ‘to lie down’ [+t, [−mom]
d, dānīk de- ‘to cover’ [+t, [−mom]

\[\text{[+t] \times [−INTRA]− [+POST]}\]

(97) vāh uthkār fīsarī jagah jā baithē ‘He stood up, went to a third place and sat down’ (A: 178)
baith- ‘to sit down + to sit’ [+t]
(98) bahūt sāl pahle main unheīn saṛak par dekhā to kartī thi, par unse bāt karne kā hauslā kabhī nāhīn hī ‘Many years ago, I often saw him in the street but did not dare to talk to him’ (A: 226)
ho- ‘to become + to be’ [+t]

³⁷ It is therefore wrong to say that “das Präteritum […] das absolute Abgeschlossensein eines Vorgangs bezeichnet” (Lienhard 1961: 139).
kuch der tak ham cup khaṛē rahe, phir unkī dhīṁī āvāz sunāī dī ‘We remained standing silent for a while, then his low voice became audible’ (A: 241)
khaṛē rah- ‘to remain standing’ [−t, −dyn]
sunāī de- ‘to become audible + to be audible’ [+ti]

\[−t, +dyn\] × \[−(INTRA)−(POST)]

unhone na kuch kahā, na pīche dekhā ‘He did not say anything and did not look back’ (A: 242)
kah- ‘to say’ [−t, +dyn]
pīche dekh- ‘to look back’ [−t, +dyn]

ḍākṭar sīṁh kuch nahūṁ bole, sīrī rūmāl se apne caśme ke śīśōṁ ko poṁchā ‘Dr. Singh did not say anything, he just wiped his glasses with a handkerchief’ (A: 251)
bol- ‘to speak’ [−t, +dyn]
poṁch- ‘to wipe’ [−t, +dyn]

\[−t, −dyn\] × \[−(INTRA)−(POST)]

us rāt maṁī der tak apne kamre menh nahūṁ jā sakā. bāhar bārāme menh baiṭhā rahā, ādhā bhūtā; ādhā bāhar... jhāṛīyōṁ se āti jhūṅguroṁ kī anavrat tān suntā rahā ‘That night I could not go into my room for a long time. I remained seated on the veranda, half inside, half outside. I remained listening to the incessant melody of the crickets that was coming from the bushes’ (A: 243)
jā sak- ‘to be able to go’ [−t, −dyn]
baiṭhā rah- ‘to remain seated’ [−t, −dyn]
suntā rah- ‘to remain listening’ [−t, −dyn]

\[(103) tumne kuch sunā? ‘Did you hear anything?’ (A: 251)
sun- ‘to hear’ [−t, −dyn]

Perfect-like readings of \[−(INTRA)−(POST)]

As stated above, the feature [−POST] does not exclude pseudo-postterminal interpretations of -(y)ā. In the following examples, the relevant limit seems to be over, but is still relevant at V:

seboṁ kā sīzan xatam ho gayā ‘The apple season has ended’ (A: 234)
xatam ho jā- ‘to come to an end’ [+tf]

‘mujhe bahut der ho gāi, calī hūṁ.’ annā jī uth kharī huīṁ, lekin tiyā vaise īti baiṭhī rahīṁ, unkī jhūkī huī niscla deh mēn zarā bīhī harakat nahīṁ huī ‘‘It has become very late for me, I will go now.’’ Annā jī stood up, but Tiya remained seated as she was, not the slightest movement occurred in her crouched, motionless body’ (A: 153)
ho jā- ‘to become’ [+tf, −mom]
uth kharī ho- ‘to stand up’ [+tf, −mom]
baiṭhī rah- ‘to remain seated’ [−t, −dyn]
ho- ‘to become + to be’ [+ti]
The pseudo-postterminal reading in 105 is confined to der ho gaĩ ‘it has become late’. The other predications are interpreted as preterite.

(106) main ŋarĩ ko dekhtã hûn. navgi an thù se na dikhãi de, to eks-re se dekhtã jã sakţã hai... lekin man ke bhûtar jo hotã hai, use dekhme kã koi yantra abhã iǯãd nahûn hû ‘I look at the body. In case something cannot be seen with the bare eye, it can be seen by X-ray... But an instrument for seeing what is going on inside the mind has not yet been invented’ (A: 97)
iǯãd ho- ‘to become + be invented’ [+ti]

3.1.4. Some remarks on Modality₂ and Modality₃

As stated above, Modality₂ items share the same scope position with aspect operators, i.e. they operate directly on the actional phrase. This class consists of Imperative, Subjunctive and Future items. In Hindi, the Subjunctive and the Future historically derive from former intraterminal items that have undergone a process of de-focalization until they completely lost their intraterminal value. That is, the intraterminal view gradually became less focal, the range of vision broadened and the limits of the actional phrase became less relevant.

At one stage of de-focalization, the limits of the actional phrase had become completely irrelevant, which means that the item had left the domain of intraterminality and become purely modal. In the domain of Modality₂, a split has occurred into the Subjunctive -e on the one hand, which among other things conveys volun-
tative notions and, additionally, is triggered by specific conjunctions, and into the Future -egã on the other, which offers a broad specter of possible interpretations like intention (‘I shall’), demand or advise (‘you shall’), assumption or prediction (‘he will’). None of these interpretations constitute a linguistic feature of -egã, nor is it a future sensu stricto (as is shown by the fact that it is combinable with the satellite abhã ‘now’, which should be incompatible with the notion ‘future’). In the light of its history, it seems reasonable to assume that -egã represents the purely neutral view of the actional phrase without reference to its limits – i.e. [(-INTRA)(-POST)] – and without the feature of indicativity – which distinguishes this item from the neutral aspect -fyã. Both in terms of function (scope) and semantics, the so-called Future -egã has a pivotal position at the borderline between aspect and mode. Hence, both neutral modality and modal aspect would be appropriate terms for this operator. Besides these rather theoretical remarks, Modality₂ and especially the neutral modal item -egã is also of practical value for our present considerations. As the view with -egã ignores the limits of the actional phrase and does not trigger confusing aspecto-

38 Lienhard (1961: 33, 205–206), quoting Bloch (1920) and other sources, connects the segment -gã to Sanskrit gata and Prakrit gaa ‘having gone’.
40 I.e. a decided reference to posteriority.
41 This is exactly the opposite of what Nespital (1980: 496–497) believes.
42 I.e. the mode of presentation which presents an event as given or valid.
actional interaction patterns, the IPS of the actional phrase becomes especially transparent. So, if there has been any doubt left as to whether the verb lef- also refers to the non-transformative phase ‘to lie’ (that it refers to the transformative phase ‘to lie down’ has already been clarified by means of the combination with [+POST], lefā hai ‘has lain down’ = ‘is lying’, cf. example 76), it suffices to apply -egā to lef- and check the result:

(107) “laimp bhūḥā dūm?” mainīne pūchā. “abhī rahne do... mainī kuch der aise hī lefīngā”, “Shall I switch off the lamp?” I asked. “Let it be... I will lie (*lie down) for a while like that”’ (A: 213)
lef- ‘to lie down + to lie’ [+tī]

The example is taken from a situation in which the person who says lefīngā is already in lying position – hence it is clear that lef- cannot be a [+tī] verb meaning ‘to lie down’ exclusively. On the other hand, lefīngā could also be uttered by a person that is not yet lying and refer to either the transformative or the non-transformative phase. Verbs like baīḥ- ‘to sit down + to sit’, ḫhāhr- ‘to stop + to stand’ and rah- ‘to stay’ behave similarly. In the following example, rahīngā is uttered by a person that is already there and has been staying for a while:

(108) bābū ji. āp cale jāeṁ... mainī to unke pās rahīngā hī ‘You go, Sir, I will stay at his side’ (A: 231)
rah- ‘to stay’ [+tī]

Modality, items are periphrastic items derived from an aspect operator and the auxiliary ho- in a Future or Subjunctive form. Combinations with the Future add a propositional attitude which is usually understood as an assumption (‘it is likely that’) as in

(109) vah śāyad mītā ke sāth dūkānom par gāi hōgī ‘She will probably have gone to the shops with Mītā’ (B: 195)
The Subjunctive is usually triggered by conjunctions like jaiye or māno ‘as if’, but it is sometimes also used in a similar way as the periphrases with the Future, namely to convey some vague assumption (‘it seems possible that’):

(110) āp se to kuch kahā hōgā... śāyad apnī koī icchā batāī ho? ‘But he must have told you something... Perhaps he has expressed a wish?’ (A: 257)

Examples with various aspecto-modal combinations:

(111) merī or dekhā, jaiye kuch parakh rāhī hōṁ, jo laṁbe anṭārāl ke bād dikhāī detā hai ‘She looked at me as if she was investigating something that was becoming visible after a long interval’ (A: 252) [+MOD (+INTRA fOC)]

(112) uske cehre par koī nirāśā nāhīṁ thī. māno aisā ghaṭnāem roz ghaṭṭī hōṁ ‘There was no sign of helplessness in his face, as if things like that happened every day’ (A: 198) [+MOD (+INTRA fOC)]

(113) kamre meṁ āyā, to sabse pahlē nazar palaṁg par paṁ ‘vah kuch itnā svacch aur kuhvārā-sā jān paṁ, jaiye ab tak use kisē ne chū na ho, leṁte kī bāt dūr rāhī
‘When I entered the room, my first glance fell on the bed. It looked so clean and virginal as if nobody had ever touched it, let alone lain down on it’ (A: 85) [+MOD (+POST)]

3.1.5. Summary: Finite aspect items in Hindi

The following table shows the basic finite aspect items of Hindi with their features:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[INTRA]</th>
<th>[POST]</th>
<th>[FOC]</th>
<th>[PAST]</th>
<th>[MOD]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tā hai</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tā thā</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEM + rahā hai</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>STEM + rahā thā</td>
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<tr>
<td>-(y)ā hai</td>
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<tr>
<td>-(y)ā thā</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the grid, there are intraterminal, postterminal and neutral items. The domain of intraterminality is split between focal and non-focal items, while there is no focality opposition in the postterminal sphere. All intraterminal and postterminal operators can take the tense marker [+PAST].

A full system of aspect oppositions also exists in the domain of Modality, with -egā [+MOD (+INTRA)(+POST)], -tā hogā [+MOD (+INTRA-FOC)], STEM + rahā hogā [+MOD (+INTRA-FOC)] and -(y)ā hogā [+MOD (+POST)] as well as with the corresponding Subjunctive items.

3.2. Non-finite positions

In Hindi, there are three non-finite positions in the sentence in which aspunctual oppositions occur: Converb clauses, attributive clauses and secondary predications. Converb clauses have adverbial status in the matrix sentence43, as ham <bārānde mēṃ bāiṭhe hue> sām ke kuhāse mēṃ bāriṣ kā gīnā dekhte rahte ‘Sitting on the veranda, we remained looking at the falling of the rain in the evening mist’ (A: 136).

In terms of pragmatics, converb clauses may serve either to specify the superordinate verb (i.e. function as a “specifier”) or to connect two verb phrases of equal value (i.e. function as a “connector”). Converbs are verbal adverbs, i.e. “gerunds”. Attributive clauses specify a nominal head. In terms of syntax, they have the same function as adjectives. In terms of semantics, they share many common traits with relative clauses. However, Hindi has genuine relative clauses with relative pronouns and finite predicatives. The predicates of attributive clauses are verbal adjectives, i.e. participles as in jāb tak bas chūṭ nahiṇī gāi thī, vah nahiṇī bāhar khaṛī rahīṃ. choṭe kābāṭi šahar ke us <ūṅghte, dhūp mēṃ camakte hue> stēṣan par... ‘Until the bus

43 Instead of a matrix sentence, it can also be a matrix clause. All non-finite predications may be embedded either in a superordinate sentence or in a non-finite superordinate clause.

left, she remained standing there outside. On the local bus terminal which was lying aslumber and shining in the sunlight’ (A: 49).

Secondary predications add another predicate to the sentence. They are not adverbs, but predicative attributes that concern either the direct object of a transitive superordinate predicate as in maina <pahli bar pahne> dekhā thā ‘I saw her wearing it for the first time’ (B: 131), or the subject of an intransitive or passive superordinate predicate as in us taraf pahārī nagar meṃ sarprāiz ki bāt tabhī hoṭī thī, jab koṭ bhūkā bagheṛā apnī mānd se nikalkar <kainṭonmeṃt ki saṛak par cahalqadmi kartā hū> pāyā jātā thā yā kahīn janīgal meṃ ek ki lāpteṅ dikhāi deṛi thūm ‘There in the hill town, people spoke of a surprise if a hungry tiger came out of his den and was found strolling around in the roads of the cantonment, or if flames appeared somewhere in the jungle’ (A: 28). In Hindi, the morphological inventory of secondary predications, as the inventory of attributive clauses, consists of participles.44

Although participles also occur in adverbial function and therefore take part in the morphological inventory of verb clauses, the inventories of verb clauses, attributive clauses and secondary predications not identical. Hence, the various syntactic positions differ in terms of which aspectual notions can be expressed.

Non-finite clauses can be combined in a recursive way, i.e. a non-finite clause may include another non-finite clause, and so on.

3.2.1. Converb clauses

3.2.1.1. [–INTRA]–[–POST]

The most frequent converb in Hindi is the converb -kar with the variants -ō and -ke (the latter usually only with the verb kar- ‘to do’). Its high frequency results from its neutral value [–INTRA]–[–POST] which allows a broad specter of applications. -kar may be used in contexts where intraterminal or postterminal markinging also be possible. From the perspective of decoding this means that -kar can evoke pseudo-intraterminal and pseudo-postterminal interpretations.45 It may also be indifferent with regard to taxis readings. Consider example 114, where muskurākar [–INTRA]–[–POST] will be interpreted exactly as muskurāte hue [+INTRA] in 115 (‘smilingly’):

(114) usne <muskurākar> merī or dekhā ‘She looked at me smilingly’ (B: 58)

(115) mainne <muskurāte hue> unkī or dekhā ‘I looked at him smilingly’ (A: 83)

In example 116, baithkar [–INTRA]–[–POST]] evokes the same interpretation as baithe [+POST] in 117 (‘having sat down = sitting’):

44 This need not necessarily be the case. In Turkish, for example, the inventory of secondary predications includes items like -lyor, basically a finite form, and -(V)ken, basically a converb form (cf. Drimba 1976).

45 This fact is reflected in Vermeer & Schmitt’s (1988: 66) statement that -kar serves “zum Ausdruck der Vorzeitigkeit, aber auch der Gleichzeitigkeit”. See also Montaut 1991: 14. — Masica’s (1991: 323) name for this item, “Perfective Adverbial Participle”, as well as the illustrative translation “having … -ed” takes into account the pseudo-postterminal readings only.
(116) āp <ghore par baithkar hī> jaie ‘You go there on horseback (lit. ‘sitting on the horse’’)’ (A: 100)

(117) main unheim vahāṃ dekhne kā ītnā abhyast ho gayā thā ki jab kabhi vah bāzār mein milte, to lagī, jaise vah <śṭīl par baith> cale ā rahe hain‘I had become so accustomed to see him there that whenever I met him in the bazaar, I got the impression that he was moving sitting on a chair’ (A: 93)

Contributing factors to pseudo-intraterminal and pseudo-postterminal readings of -kar are among other things the structure of the actional phrase – pseudo-intraterminal readings usually presuppose an actional phrase with a dynamic cursus (as in 118–123), while pseudo-postterminal readings usually presuppose a critical limit (as in 124–127) – and the context. Converb clauses indicating the mode how the action referred to by the superordinate verb is carried out, are commonly interpreted intraterminaly, as thahākā mārkār lit. ‘beating a guffaw’ (121), khilkhilākar ‘laughing loudly’ (122) and khi-khi karke ‘making heehee’ (123).

Examples for pseudo-INTRA readings:

(118) calie, iske bāre mein <ghar calkar> socerīne ‘Let’s go, we will think about it while we are going home’ (A: 258)

(119) sab log unheim <tiyā yā tiyā biṭiyā kahkar hī> būlāte the ‘Everybody called her Tiyā or Biṭiyā Tiyā (lit. ‘Everybody called her, saying Tiyā or Biṭiyā Tiya ’)’ (A: 116)

(120) “naukri kaisi hai?” usne <haṁskar> pūchā “How is the job doing?”, she asked laughingly’ (B: 73)

(121) vah <thahākā mārkār> haṁs paṛī ‘She roared with laughter’ (A: 105)

(122) vah <khilkhilākar> haṁs paṛī ‘She laughed out loudly’ (B: 152)

(123) parde ke pichhe se ek camkīlī khilkhilāhaḥ sunāī dī... murlīdhar kī aurat rādhā <khi-khi karke> haṁs rahī thī ‘Behind the curtain, a sparkling laughter could be heard. Murlīdhar’s wife Rādhā was giggling’ (A: 108)

Examples of pseudo-POST readings:

(124) māriyā <darvāzā kholkar> bhītār ā gaī ‘Mary opened the door and entered’ (B: 77)

(125) <murkar> merī or dekhā ‘He turned around and looked at me’ (A: 71)

(126) main bhī <jaldī se <kapre badalkar> bāthrūṁ se apne hisse kī xālī bāltiyāṁ, jag aur loṭe lekar> unke sāth julīs mein sānil ho jātā ‘I quickly changed my clothes, took my share buckets, jugs and pots and entered the procession together with her’ (A: 117)

(127) <vahān ākar> vāpis lauṁpī kaise lagī thī ‘How does it feel to come here and return again?’ (A: 76)

Examples of indifferent readings:
(128) vah <mujhe dekh kar> hams dē ‘Looking at me, she laughed/She looked at me and laughed’ (B: 73)
(129) tum <sab kuch chorkar> yahāṁ āe ho ‘You have come here leaving everything behind’ (A: 77)

In example 128, it is not clear whether she first looks and then laughs or whether she looks and laughs simultaneously. In 129, it is possible to argue that he first left everything and then came here, or that leaving and coming constitute the same action and therefore happen simultaneously.

The convert -kar can be negated by binā ‘without’ (130) or with the negation particle na (131). It is then understood pseudo-intraterminally:
(130) “mujhe yah budāpesṭ kī tarah lagā hai”, usne <binā merī or dekh kar> kahā “This reminds me of Budapest”, she said without looking at me’ (B: 59)
(131) febul lainp mez par thā, par uskī roshānī <unke cehre par na par kar> apne hi dāye re mein simāt gai thi ‘The table lamp was on the table, but its light did not fall on his face, but was concentrated on its own vicinity’ (A: 62)

3.2.1.2. [(+INTRA)(–POST)]
Intraterminality is signalled by -tā hū in convert clauses. This item is a participle (see below) in adverbial function. This convert may be either in the oblique masculine -te hue or agree with the subject (examples 134 and 136). This convert tends to operate on actional phrases with a dynamic cursus, but it can operate on non-dynamic actional phrases, too.
(132) unhomīne <taulī se hāth ponichte hue> mujhe dekhā ‘He looked at me while he was wiping his hands with the towel’ (A: 102)
ponich- ‘to wipe’ [-t, +dyn]
(133) unhomīne <hāṁste hue> merī or dekhā ‘He looked at me laughingly’ (A: 132)
hams- ‘to laugh’ [-t, +dyn]
(134) nālī mein pānī ab bhī <churr-churr sūū bajātā hū> bhā rahā thā ‘The water was still flowing in the drain with a whistling sound’ (A: 191)
sūū bajā- ‘to whistle’ [-t, +dyn]
(135) “inī carhātī bābā…” annā jī ne <niyte hue> kahā, “mainī ab cal nāhīṁ sakī” “Such a steep slope…” Annā jī said while she was rising, “I can’t climb it any more”’ (A: 40)
uth- ‘to stand up’ [+tf, –mom]
(136) nirahījan bābā kī kāṭej baḥtī huī dhūndh mein stabehiśī kharī thī, <khultī huī>, <chipī huī>, kisi prāgaitihāsik guhā-sī yamyīn, <samay kī chāṭhī par adhar

46 As the examples suggest, the meaning is obviously not totally identical. In 130, the convert clause seems to function as a specifier, while in 131 the convert seems to function as a connector.
mem tikhi hu→ ‘Niramjan Bābū’s cottage was standing motionless in the wavering haze, getting revealed, getting concealed, melancholical like a prehistoric cave, stranded in the vacuum at the bosom of time’ (A: 86)
khul- ‘to become open (itr.)’ [+tf, –mom]
chip- ‘to hide + to be hidden’ [+ti]

khul- and chip- are serialized in this context. tikhi hu→ ‘being fixed’ is a postterminal converb (see below). This example shows that converb clauses (like all adverbials) can occur after the finite predicate. The sequence of the constituents of the Hindi sentence has to do with its information structure (topic, focus etc.).

This converb can be negated by binā, too:

(137) main ab <binā hāṃptē hue> unse bāt kar saktā thā ‘Now I was able to talk to him without panting’ (A: 72)

3.2.1.3. [(+POST)(–INTRA)]
As a postterminal converb, -(y)ā (hū) is used. Also this converb is a participle in adverbial function. It appears with (leṭā hū, 144) and without (baiṭhā, 143) the copula segment hū. Just as -tā hū, -(y)ā (hū) may be in the oblique masculine -(y)e (hue) or agree with the subject (143, 144). -(y)ā (hū) as a postterminal converb usually operates on actional phrases with a critical limit, i.e. transformative actional phrases.

(138) vah <zamīn par āṅkhēṃ gāraē> cal rahē thē ‘She was walking, her eyes fixed to the ground’ (B: 210)
gāra- ‘to fix’ [+tf]

(139) mūrdhār ekdam dārvāzā nahīṃ khotā thā, kuch der <usse kān saṭāē> kharā rahtā, jaise bhūtar se kisi ajñāt signal ke āne kī prāṭiksā kar rāhā ho ‘Murdhār did not open the door immediately, but remained standing for a while, his ear fixed to the door, as if he was waiting for an unknown signal from inside’ (A: 15)
sattā- ‘to join, to lean’ [+tf]

(140) vah <āṅkhēṃ mūndē> baiṭhe the ‘He was sitting there with his eyes closed’ (A: 16)
mūṇdē- ‘to close’ [+tf]

(141) ham sab khule dārvāze kī dehṛ par <sāṃs roke> khare the ‘We all stood breathlessly (lit. ‘having stopped the breath’) on the threshold of the open door’ (A: 114)
rokh- ‘to stop (tr.)’ [+tf]

(142) mūrdhār <muṅēṃ bāe> khare unheṃ dekhtā rahā ‘Murdhār stood there with his mouth open and looked at him’ (A: 170)
bā- ‘to open’ [+tf]

(143) ghar lautfā to andhēre mem mūrdhār kī lāṭēṃ dikhāī dī. vah <merī koṭhrī kī sūrīyām par baiṭhā> ḍīṛī pi rāhā thā ‘When I returned home, Murdhār’s lantern
could be seen in the dark. He was sitting on the stairs of my hut and was smoking a Bīṭā.' (A: 61)

*bāṭh- ‘to sit down & to sit’ [+ti]

(144) vah āvāz mujhe rāi ko bhi sunāi detā thā, jah main <apne kamre mein leṭā hū> nīnd ki pratīkṣā kartā thā. mujhse dūr jāti hūi, mere pās āṭh huī*47 ‘I could hear that sound in the night, when I was lying in my room and waiting for sleep. Becoming distant from me, coming close to me’ (A: 128)

*leṭ- ‘to lie down & to lie’ [+ti]

As the other converbs, -(y)ā (hū) can be negated with *binā. The postterminality of -(y)ā (hū) results in readings like ‘without having X-ed’, ‘without previously X-ing’:

(145) main kharā ho gayā, <binā soce-samjhe>, bharā bas mein main kyā karne já rahā hūn ‘I stood up, without (previously) thinking and grasping, what I was going to do in the full bus’ (A: 267)

The notion of postterminality can also be expressed by the periphrastic construction -ne ke bād as in <kuch thorā-sā pīne ke bād> uskā jhijhak mit jāṭi thi ‘Having drunk a little bit, his shyness disappeared’ (B: 81).

3.2.2. Attributive clauses

Attributive clauses are the natural domain of participles. Participles do occur as converbs and secondary predications, but these are uses derived from the primal attributive functions. The main aspectual contrast in attributive position is between -tā (hū) [+INTRA] and -(y)ā (hū) [+POST]. Occasionally, a high focal intraterminal participle *STEM + rahā [+INTRA]*48 can be found, but this is quite rare and seems to be a recent innovation that has not become an obligatory part of the attributive inventory. In all its occurrences, *STEM + rahā* is interchangeable with -tā (hū). I could not find *STEM + rahā* in adverbial uses (i.e. as a verb) and in secondary predicates.

Note that there is no neutral participle [(-INTRA)(-POST)]. Hence, in attributive position there is only the choice between marked intraterminality and marked postterminality. The option to leave the aspectual perspective unspecified does not exist in this position. In attributive position, participles always agree with their nominal head.

3.2.2.1. [+INTRA]

In terms of aspecto-actional combinability, the behavior of -tā (hū) in attributive position is similar to its behavior in verb clauses. I.e., -tā (hū) tends to operate on actional phrases with a dynamic cursus but may operate on non-dynamic phrases as well. The copula hū may or may not be present without change in meaning.

*47 mujhse duār jāti hūi, mere pās āṭh huī is not a verb clause, but an attribute to āvāz, that has been moved behind the finite predicate.
(146) <do uthi hu pahariyon ke bice nicai jaata hu> tabu, jismen unkii patni lefi hain ‘A coffin <that is descending between two rising hills>, in which his wife is lying’ (A: 11)
jaa- ‘to go’ [-t, +dyn]
uthi hu is a postterminal participle, see below.

(147) len kii donon or ghar the aur unkii divarom par ham apni <bhagti> chayao ko dekh lete the ‘On both sides of the lane there were houses, and we saw our <running> shadows on their walls’ (B: 205)
bhag- ‘to run’ [-t, +dyn]

(148) vah cupcap sigre piti hu <nacete hue> logon ko dekh rahii thii ‘Smoking her cigarette silently, she was watching the <dancing> people’ (B: 228)
nac- ‘to dance’ [-t, +dyn]

(149) sirf uski lalten ki surx <taretii> amkh upar uth jaati ‘Only the red, glaring eye of his lantern was rising’ (A: 14)
taret- ‘to glare’ [-t, +dyn]

(150) jise tum tabdili kahte ho... vah <sabkuch ke bhutar bahii hu> lilai hai ‘What you call change is a drama that is flowing within everything’ (A: 98)
bah- ‘to flow’ [-t, +dyn]

(151) <takie par girtii> tebul lainjii kii rosani ‘The light of the table lamp falling on the pillow’ (A: 181)
gir- ‘to fall’ [-t, +dyn]

(152) maiine unkii or dekhii, vah thir amkhoon se <aagithii par jaltii> lakriyon ko dekh rahe the ‘I looked at him, he was looking with fixed eyes at the firewood that was burning in the hearth’ (A: 84)
jal- ‘to become inflamed + to burn’ [+ti]

(153) <in sabko gherte> jangal ‘the forest surrounding all these things’ (A: 199)
gher- ‘to surround’ [+ti]

3.2.2.2. [+INTRAHI]
The participle STEM + rahii is rarely used. It employs a very narrow and emphatic focus, i.e. the range of vision around V is very narrow. This item signals that the actional content is happening “right now”. The actional phrase must have a dynamic cursus. It is unlikely that this item can be negated at the present stage of development.

(154) vides maiitri jasvant sinii <kargil simii par cal rahii> videh golabari se bexabar, madhya esiyi ke desoii se mantri sambandh banane meni vyast hain. aur hamare raks‘amaamitri, jarij farnaindis <yogoslaviya par ho rahe> naito-amkriti hamloin par antarras‘triy sammelan kar rahe hain... koii bhi parrti, neti yaa rajnetii <de kii utarii simii par cal rahe> is visphoatak yuddh par na to cintii vyakti kar rahii

48 The text has ke, which is clearly a printing mistake.
hai, na koi bayan de rahai, jabki uttar simeent par kargil-dras ke ilake mein pakistani to pepichh pakhvare se apane barudi bayan lagtaar darj kar rahai hai! ‘Foreign Minister Jasvant Singh, unaware of the foreign shelling <that is just going on at the Kargil frontier>, is occupied establishing friendly relations with the countries of Central Asia. And our defense minister, George Fernandez, is attending international consultations on the NATO and American attacks <on Yugoslavia that are just happening>… No party, no representative or statesman is expressing his thought or issuing a declaration on this explosive war <that is just going on at the northern frontier of the country>, while in the Kargil-Dras region at the northern frontier the Pakistani artillery has been issuing its declaration in terms of gunpowder during the past fortnight’ (C: 14)

cal- ‘to happen’ [-t, +dyn]
ho- ‘to become + to be’ [+ti]

3.2.2.3. [+POST]

- (y)ā (hū) usually operates on transformative actional phrases. The copula hū is optional. In example 159, the attribute is detached from its nominal head (maidān). Any attribute – be it an adjective or an attributive clause – can be added as a supplement behind the finite predicate. Cf. also example 144 above.

(155) vah kuch der tak <nice phaile> sahar ko dekhī rahī ‘For a while, she remained looking at the town that lay spread out below’ (B: 146)
phaie- ‘to spread’ [+tf, +lim]

(156) <pahārī par uthā> kāsal ‘The castle that was standing on the hill’ (B: 272)
uth- ‘to stand up, to be erected’ [+tf, –mom]

(157) per ke aindhiyāre mein <unke muinh se niklā> vah sabd sahasā mujhe sahmā-sā gayā ‘In the darkness below the trees, these words <that had come out of his mouth> suddenly frightened me’ (A: 195)
nikal- ‘to come out’ [+tf, –mom]

(158) sāth mein <saṭā hū> bāthrām thā ‘Included was an attached bathroom’ (A: 85)
sat- ‘to get joined’ [+tf, –mom]

(159) cuingi kī cauki ke nice simiṭrī kā maidān thā… <patthar kī dīvār aur cīr ke perom se ghīrā hū>… ‘Beneath the toll post, there was a cemetery… Surrounded by a stone wall and fur trees…’ (A: 29)
ghir- ‘to become surrounded + to be surrounded’ [+ti]

(160) <jaṅjārā reling se ghīre> barāmde ke bhītar apnī ārāmkursī par baith gae ‘He sat down on his armchair on his veranda that was surrounded by a railing with bars’ (A: 207)
ghir- ‘to become surrounded + to be surrounded’ [+ti]
3.2.3. Secondary predicates

In terms of morphology and semantics, there is not much difference between the items involved in secondary predications and these involved in attributive clauses. Secondary predicates differ in that no occurrence of STEM + rahā could be found; obviously this item does not (yet) occur in this position. Secondary predicates are not usually negated. It will suffice to mention a few examples for secondary predicates:

3.2.3.1. [+INTRA]

(161) main unhein <har jagah ghūmtā> dekhtā thā ‘I saw him wandering around everywhere’ (A: 190)
ghūm- ‘to turn, to stroll’ [−t, +dyn]

(162) lekin kabhi main apnī koṭhrī ke barāmde mein baithā hā bārīš kī bauchār <devdāroh par girtī huī> dekhtā hūn, to laagā hai ki merī ‘miḍal ej’ kā saṅhāp pahār ki aviral sānti mein ghul gāvī hai ‘But sometimes when I sit on the veranda of my cottage and look at the rain showers <falling on the cedars>, it seems that my midlife crisis has vanished in the incessant calmness of the hills’ (A: 24)
gir- ‘to fall’ [−t, +dyn, +hom]

(163) kuch der ham cupcāp divār mein dhamsī aṅgīthī par lakṛīyoṁ ko <sulagta> dekhtē rahe ‘For a while we remained in silence and watched the firewood glow in the hearth that was inserted into the wall’ (A: 83)
sulag- ‘to become lit + to glow’ [+ti]

(164) main khirkī se unhein <ātā huī> dekhtā thā ‘Through the window I saw him come’ (A: 54)
ā- ‘to come’ [+tf, −mom]

3.2.3.2. [+POST]

(165) mujhe <asamaṁjas mein parā> dekkhar usne kahā ‘When he saw me in the quandary, he said’ (B: 21)
asamaṁjas mein par- ‘to fall in a quandary’ [+tf]

(166) main sāhib ji ko <kitāb mein khoe hue> dekhtā thā ‘I saw the master lost in a book’ (A: 207)
khō- ‘to get lost’ [+tf]

(167) gale ke nice māṁs kī salwateṁ <aur adhik phail gai> jān partī thīṁ ‘The wrinkles below his throat seemed to have spread still more’ (A: 233)
phail jā- ‘to spread’ [+tf, −mom]

49 162 and 166 (and, with inverted information structure, even 167) are counterexamples to Vermeer & Schmitt’s claim that “Qualifiziert ein Partizip (des Präsens oder Perfekts) prädikativ ein Patiens (Objekt) im Oblivius + ‘ko’, so steht die neutrale Form auf ‘ā’” (1988: 64). — On page 65, the same authors quote another counterexample to their own claim: main ne mohan ko bolte (hue) sunā ‘I heard Mohan talking’. However, the authors misinterpret bolte (hue) as ‘adverbial’ in function. If it was adverbial (i.e. a convert clause), bolte (hue) had to be co-indexed with the agent: main ne mohan ko bolte (hue) sunā. It is, though, co-indexed with the undergoer: main ne mohan ko bolte (hue) sunā. Hence, bolte (hue) is a secondary predicate, not a convert.
3.3. Summary: Non-finite aspect items in Hindi

In each of the three non-finite positions in Hindi, the aspectual opposition is configurated differently. Converb clauses have a heterogeneous inventory of a genuine converb item, namely -kar, and two derived converbs of participial origin. In converb clauses it is possible to view the actional phrase with an intraterminal, postterminal or neutral perspective.

Attributive clauses are the core domain of participles. The main aspectual distinction is between intraterminality and postterminality. It is not possible to leave the viewpoint parameter unspecified, as there is no neutral item [(-INTRA)(-POST)]. Within the intraterminal domain, there is a recent opposition between a renewed high focal intraterminal item STEM + rahā, which is obviously constructed in analogy to the finite paradigm. This is an infrequent and peripheral item. It is a non-obligatory element of the aspectual paradigm in this position, as it is always replaceable by -tā (hū), which is still able to cover the whole field of intraterminality.

In secondary predicates, there is only one intraterminal and one postterminal item. As in attributive position, it is not possible to leave the viewpoint opposition unmarked.

Converb clauses:

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<td>-kar</td>
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<td>tā hū</td>
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<td>-(y)ā (hū)</td>
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Attributive clauses:

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<th>[INTRA]</th>
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<tr>
<td>-tā (hū)</td>
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<tr>
<td>STEM + rahā</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>-(y)ā (hū)</td>
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Secondary predicates:

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<td>tā (hū)</td>
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<td>-(y)ā (hū)</td>
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4. Taxis

The interaction between viewpoint and focality values with specific IPS structures, as well as the marking of temporal relations of aspect viewpoints to a basic point of orientation OΩ by tense marking, and the marking of non-indicativity by Modality, and Modality, operators may trigger specific interpretations concerning the succession or simultaneity of the events referred to. Besides the interaction of various
linguistic categories, these *taxis* interpretations are also contributed to by the iconicity of the succession of aspect items in the text. A good deal of context-induced interpretation is involved as well. Thus, signalling *taxis* relations is not the primary task of aspect items, but the aspecto-actional interaction can be employed as a strategy to suggest *taxis* relations.

Viewpoint categories establish a relation between a viewpoint and the limits of an actional phrase. Focality defines the relative range of vision around a given viewpoint. Tense establishes the relation between an aspect viewpoint and a basic point of orientation. Modality₂ and Modality₃ indicate the absence of indicativity. From the bunch of information given by these categories, the receiver is provided with clues concerning the possible succession of events. Moreover, there are satellites that signal specific relations in time, as *us ke bād* ‘after that’, or non-aspectual converbs as *-me ke samay* ‘at the time of X-ing’ with similar tasks.

However, usually some parameters concerning the succession of events are left unspecified. E.g., there are neutral aspect items which allow more than one *taxis* interpretation. If more than one viewpoint operator occurs in a text, these operators may refer to one viewpoint or to a series of succeeding viewpoints. In the end, it is always the context that provides the receiver with the missing information.

The complex field of *taxis* cannot be dealt with *in extenso* here. In order to convey an idea of the problem, two examples will be quoted and some of the mechanisms involved will be adressed.

(168a) *pichhī rāt der tak nīnd nahīn āī.* (168b) *ainhere meṁā dhāṁy-dhāṁy kī āvāz sunāi detī raḥī.* (168c) *jaise koī āūīrī par cāṁdmāṛī kār rahā ho.* (168d) *bāhar barāmde meṁ āyā,* (168e) *to pāyā ki (168f) āvāz annā āī kī kāṭē kī or se ā raḥī hai...* (168g) *kvā vah baṁdūk lekar kisī baghe ko bhagā raḥī thīṁ,* (168h) *jo kabhī-kabhāṛ āpne āhāīr kī khoj meṁ pahāṛī se nice utar āṭe the?’* (168a) Last night I could not sleep for a long time. (168b) The sound of bangs could be heard in the dark, (168c) as if somebody was practising shooting on a far hill. (168d) When I went outside on the veranda, (168e) I found that (168f) the sound came from Annā ji’s cottage... (168g) Was she chasing away a tiger with her rifle, (168h) which time and again came down from the hill in search of food?” (A: 104)

ā- ‘to come’ [+tf, -mom] +HOM → *nahīṁ ā- not to come’ [−t, −dyn]
*sunāī de- to become audible + to be audible’ [+ti] +HOM → sunāī detā rah- ‘to remain audible’ [−t, −dyn]
*cāṁdmāṛī kār- ‘to practise shooting’ [−t, +dyn]
*pā- ‘to find’ [+tf, +mom]
*le- ‘to take’ [+tf, −mom]
*bhagā- ‘to chase away’ [+tf, −mom]
*utar- ‘to descend’ [+tf, −mom]

The passage above is introduced by the satellite *pichhī rāt* ‘last night’, which indicates that the viewpoint of the following predication (*āī ‘came’) precedes the basic orientation point O°, which is some hypothetical point ‘now’ that needs not necessarily coincide with the time of writing (or reading). There is a total of four occurrences of
neutral aspect [(-INTRA)(-POST)], namely āī ‘came’ (168a), suṁāī detī rahi ‘remained audible’ (168b), āyā ‘came’ (168d) and pāyā ‘found’ (168e). The succession of four predications with -(y)ā in a text alone does not give any clue about whether the four aspecral perspectives are related to one viewpoint or to a succession of four consecutive viewpoints. It is only the context that suggests that nīnd nahūṁ āī ‘sleep did not come (to me)’ (168a) and āvāz suṁāī detī rahi ‘sounds remained audible’ (168b) refer to two simultaneous actional contents and that <sounds did not come> is in fact causally linked to <sounds remained audible>. [(-INTRA)(-POST)] neither signals nor excludes the notion of simultaneity. The next predicate, cāndmārī kar rahi ho ‘was practising shooting’ (168c), is in the intraterminal aspect [+INTRA+FOC]. The absence of any information to the contrary (e.g. a satellite like tīn din bād ‘three days later’) poses a strong implicature that the aspect marker in 168c refers to the same viewpoint as 168b (and 168a). 168c indicates that at the given viewpoint, the actional content cāndmārī kar- is viewed within its limits (τ1 → V → τ2), which is interpreted to the effect that at V the actional content is in progress. The marking with Modality, (STEM + rahi ho) is triggered by the conjunction jaise ‘as if’ and adds a subjective statement of a conscious subject – in this case the narrator – regarding the truthfulness of the predicate (‘it may be the case that’).

The next predicate, barāmde meṁ āyā ‘I went on the veranda’ (168d), is marked with -(y)ā again, which leaves the relation of the viewpoint to the relevant limit of the actional phrase (τ2 in this case) unspecified. The context makes it clear that barāmde meṁ āyā refers to a new situation, which may be a result from, but is not identical with nīnd nahūṁ āyā. This means that a new point of view is established. It is not grammatically encoded, but clarified by the contextual information given in 168f, that the event referred to in 168b is still in progress at the new V. The successivity āyā ‘I came’ (168d) → pāyā ‘I found out’ (168e) is again not established by grammatical means, but by the satellite to ‘then’ in 168e. The focal intraterminality [+INTRA+FOC] of āvāz ā rahi hai ‘the sound is coming’ (168f) unambiguously signals that the event pā- ‘to find out’ (168e) happens within the limits of ā- ‘to come’ (168f). The context provides us with the additional information that āvāz ā rahi hai (168f) in fact covers the whole situation from 168a–168g. 168g has another [+INTRA+FOC] item, viz bhagā rahi thūṁ ‘She was chasing away’. We interpret the viewpoint to be identical with the one of pāyā (168e), but the context elucidates that the event referred to by 168g is the same as the events in 168b and 168f as well as the assumed event in 168c. This point shows the trivial (but often misconceived) fact that the same extra-linguistic event can be referred to by different actional phrases, which in turn can be viewed from different aspecral perspectives.

In 168g there is another actional phrase, baṁdūk le- ‘to take the rifle’, which is marked by the convertor -kar [(-INTRA)(-POST)]. -kar in itself does not establish an order between le- ‘to take’ and bhagā- ‘to chase away’, but our knowledge about the world tells us that she first takes the rifle and then chases away: lekar → bhagā rahi thūṁ. The event referred to by a convert form needs not – and in the present case in fact does not – fall within the borders of the event referred to by a superordinate intraterminal word form.
In 168h, there is a non-focal intraterminal predicate [+INTRA-FOC] pahārī se nice utar āte the ‘(Tigers) came down from the hill’. The viewpoint, as the context suggests, is still the same as the one inaugurated by pāyā 168f. The actional phrase refers to a series of events, which is signalled by the plural marking and by the satellite kabhī-kabhār ‘time and again’. Thus, its IPS is [+t, +dyn]. It is viewed upon from an intraterminal perspective, but without fociality, which suggests that the event referred to reflects a general situation and not a specific occurrence. If a specific occurrence of a tiger descending from the hill (which in turn would be [+t, -mom]) were to be viewed, the intraterminal perspective would be unsuitable in this context (as shooting becomes necessary after transgression of the final limit of utar ā- ‘to descend’ only). However, if a specific occurrence of this event were to be viewed intraterminally, the [+FOC] item would be chosen (utar ā rahe the) in order to suggest a high relevance of the event at V.

Let us now reconstruct the succession of the events referred to in example 168. If we consider the quoted passage as a whole, it becomes clear, that 168h refers to a series of events that constitute a situation of more or less universal validity, viz the occasional arrival of tigers. Implicitly, one specific (possible) occurrence is selected in 168g in that it is said that there might be a tiger. The next event to take place is that Annā jī takes a rifle (168g), which is followed by the act of chasing away the tiger (168g). The result of this event is the simultaneous production of sounds, which is referred to by 168b, 168c and 168f. While this event (i.e. 168bcfg) is going on, the narrator cannot sleep (168a). Next, he goes to the veranda (168d) and finds something out (168e) about the event 168bcfg. It should have become clear that viewpoint operators have only a very limited effect on taxis interpretations. Their contribution is restricted to establishing relations between aspect viewpoints and the relevant limit(s) of actional phrases (viewpoint parameter) and to indicating the relative range of vision around V (focality parameter) which in turn is translated into the notion of relevance or validity at V. What is not grammatically encoded is the relation between viewpoints that occur successively in a text. Their relation may be clarified by satellites. While the grammatical functions of viewpoint operators together with their patterns of interaction with specific actional structures can be employed as a strategy for suggesting specific taxis sequences – not least by excluding some options –, the main impetus for the interpretation of the succession of events is given by the context and our knowledge about how the world works.

Let us consider one more example:

(169a) mainne apnā caśmā aur fāumṭen pen baig mein rakhe. (169b) maflar pahnā. (169c) mez kī darāž se brānṛdī nīkālī. (169d) aur binā gilās mein āde āhi uskā ek lamhā, gahrā ghāmī liyā. (169e) tāki unīkā sāmmā karne kā sāhas juṭā sakūn. (169f) phir safed rabār ke jūte pahnī (169g) aur bāhar calā āyā ‘(169a) I put my glasses and my fountain pen into the bag (169b) and put on my scarf. (169c) I took the brandy out of the drawer of the table, (169d) and without pouring it into a glass I took a long, deep gulp (169e) in order to collect the courage to face him. (169f) After that, I put on my white rubber shoes (169g) and left the house’ (A: 14) rakh- ‘to put’ [+t, -mom]
pahan- ‘to put on + to wear’ [+ti]
nikal- ‘to take out’ [+tf, -mom]
le- ‘to take’ [+tf, -mom]
justa- ‘to collect’ [-t, +dyn] +HOM → justa sak- ‘to be able to collect’ [-t, -dyn]
bahar cala a- ‘to step out’ [+tf, -mom]

All finite predications but one (justa sakum ‘I may collect’) in the example above are in the neutral aspect -(y)ā. This operator leaves it unspecified whether the different actional contents viewed with it refer to simultaneous or successive events. Due to the priciple of iconicity, it is not possible that the order of events is inverted with respect to their occurrence in the text though – except the inverted order be overtly signalled by appropriate lexical means. In this case, the succession of events will be understood to the effect that the events occur successively, i.e. baig mel rakhe ‘I put into the bag’ (169a) → maflar pahā ‘I put on the scarf’ (169b) → brāmdī nikāli ‘I took out the brandy’ (169c) → ghūmu liyā ‘I took a gulp’ (169d) → jute pahne ‘I put on the shoes’ (169f) → bahar cala ayā ‘I went outside’ (169g).

The postterminal convert form binā gilās mel dāle ‘without having poured it into a glass’ (169d) refers to the same V as the subsequent finite predicate ghūmu liyā ‘I took a gulp’ (169d). As the convert operates on a negated actional phrase, there is no specific “order of events”. It is irrelevant for this example that without negation the pouring into the glass would precede the drinking. The modality of sāhas justa sakum ‘I may be able to collect the courage’ (169e) is triggered by the conjunction tāki ‘in order’, ‘so that’. Neither is the actional phrase endowed with a critical limit, nor does the modal item -e consider the limits of the actional phrase. There is no grammatical indication about when the “event occurs”. From the context, we can conclude that the act of collecting courage is identical with the drinking, and that the ability of collecting courage is somehow linked to the presence of the brandy – but these interpretations go far beyond the content actually encoded by linguistic means.

Abbreviations

AD adterminal
dyn dynamic
CV convert
FIN finite verb form
FOC focal
habit habitual
HF high focal
HOM homogenization
hom homogenized
INTRA intraterminal
IPS internal phase structure
itr. intransitive
LF low focal
LIM limitation
lim limited
MOD modal, [−indicative]

mom momentaneous

NF non-focal

O temporal orientation point

O⁰ basic orientation point

O² secondary point of orientation

O⁸ moment of speaking/writing

P perceiver

PAST past

POST postterminal

SER serialization

ser serial

stat statal

t transformative

tf fini-transformative

ti initio-transformative

tr transitive

V viewpoint

X represents a given verb stem

τ₁ initial limit, terminus initialis

τ₂ final limit, terminus finalis

τ₉ critical limit

τ₈ relevant limit

O zero-marking

A + B B is added to A

A × B A combined with B; B operating on A

A → B A precedes B; A is recategorized to B; A is reinterpreted as B; A results in B

A ↓ B A lies on B; A is simultaneous with B

Sources


References


Arabness, egyptianness, zionism, and cosmopolitanism: the Arabic cultural and journalistic activities of Egyptian Jews in the 19th and 20th centuries

Reuven Snir
Haifa

Introduction

Jews, as an integral part of pre-Islamic Arab society, participated in shaping Arab culture throughout the Arabian Peninsula. In the 6th century A.D. when the Arabic language reached its full development with the appearance of masterful poetry of high standing, Jewish tribes boasted distinguished poets of their own. The personal integrity of one such poet, al-Samaw’al ibn ‘Ādiyāh, became proverbial and he has since been commemorated in the saying awfā min al-Samaw’al (‘more loyal than al-Samaw’al’). The incident referred to is his refusal to yield weapons entrusted to him, even when a Bedouin chieftain laid siege to his castle and murdered his son.1 Describing the noble qualities of his own Arab-Jewish tribe, al-Samaw’al composed a poem the opening verse of which was: “When a man’s honor is not defiled by baseness/Then every cloak he cloaks himself in is comely.” 2 This highly regarded poem, which even today is seen as a distinctive component of the Arabic literary heritage, testifies to a time in history when no one would have considered the notion of an Arab Jew paradoxical. There were also female Jewish poets such as Sārra al-Qurayzīyya, whose elegy for the 350 noblemen of her tribe killed in a battle in 492 A.D. is frequently cited in ancient Arab sources.3

When Islam in the 7th century A.D. became the dominant faith defining legal and social framework of the Arabs, Jews (together with Christians and, in Persia, Zoroastrians as well) were considered to be protégés (ahl al-dhimma ‘people of the pact’) of the new community. Being both well acquainted with the emerging

Islamic literature and deeply influenced by it, Jews in the expanding Muslim Empire gradually became thoroughly Arabized. The Judeo-Muslim symbiosis began at the very birth of Islam, in which process the Jews played an important role; the Qur'an provides solid testimony of this. Arab Jews had an intimate knowledge of the holy book of Islam and its source texts and they would play an active role in shaping medieval Arab-Muslim civilization by serving as an intermediate link between Hellenistic-Roman civilization and modern civilization. Medieval Arab-Muslim civilization was to be an admixture of cultural elements; it would invariably manifest pre-Islamic roots alongside the Islamic religion itself as well as a basis in Greek humanism and in various cultural elements of the ancient heritage of the Near East. Therefore, "it is not mere coincidence that the flowering of Jewish culture in the Arab world should occur at the very time that Islamic civilization was at its apogee." The main factor in the Arab-Jewish symbiosis was that the great majority of Jews under the rule of Islam adopted Arabic as their language—by the 10th century, Jews from Spain to Iraq were speaking it. They often preferred writing Arabic to Hebrew, even when dealing with the most sacred matters of Judaism; nothing was "more natural than that they should use in their writings the language which served them in every other need." They also adopted Arab ways of thinking and literary forms, as well as Muslim religious notions. Medieval Jewish piety relied heavily on Sufism, i.e. Islamic mysticism, and only under Arab-Muslim influence did science and scholarly methods of thinking, in the Greek sense of the word, for the first time become known and practiced by the vast majority of Jews.

From the mid-10th to the mid-12th century, Jewish culture in al-Andalus (Muslim Spain) had more than elsewhere the closest of connections with Arab-Islamic culture—through direct translation, imitation, adaptation and borrowing. An atmosphere was created in which the inherited traditions of learning of separate cultures came together and were actively exposed to one another. The Jews’ Arabization fully integrated them into the pluralistic Andalusi scene; Arabic was the linguistic medium central to their local cultural experience—"it was the agency responsible for their intellectual and social integration, which along with their full participation in the political economy of al-Andalus and their inspired attachment to the country they called Sefarad marked them as Andalusis." The factors that made possible the deep


involvement of Jews in Arab culture in al-Andalus also proved effective in other places, if to a much lesser degree. As they were already part of Arab-Muslim society and spoke the language, Jews living in Arab Lands easily adopted the native culture. In Egypt, for example, the Karaites even wrote the Hebrew Bible in Arabic letters. Also present in Karaite manuscripts were vestiges of the works of Muslim Sufi mystics which had been previously transposed into Hebrew letters. The Fatimid vizier of Jewish origin Ya’qūb ibn Killis (930–991), was not only a gifted administrator but a lover of belles-lettres and wrote books on Islamic law and the Qur’ān. Every Tuesday he held majlis sessions at his home, and provided stipends for the participant scholars, writers, poets, jurists, theologians, and master-artisans; on Fridays he convened sessions at which he read his own works. One of the greatest scholars in Jewish history, the physician and philosopher Maimonides (Mūsā ibn Maymūn) (1135–1204) was active in Egypt. He wrote most of his works in Judeo-Arabic and the most influential of these was Dalā’il al-Hāʾirin (The Guide for the Perplexed). One can also mention Saʿīd ibn Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī, known as Saʿādia Gaon (882–942), who was born in Egypt and who, after a stay in Palestine, left for Mesopotamia where in 928 A.D. he was appointed Head of the Babylonian Academy at Sura, a position he held (with a six-year intermission) until his death. His works were almost all written in Judeo-Arabic and he translated the Bible into Arabic, the language in which he also composed his commentary, the Sharḥ. He applied his knowledge of Arabic poetry and poetics to Hebrew poetics in order to halt a decline in Hebrew writings, and he used Arabic literary criticism for the purpose of increasing the value of Hebrew poetry in the eyes of his own Jewish generation.

Thus, we can safely say that apart from Jewish symbiosis with Greek civilization


10 On Maimonides and his connection with Arab culture, see Meisami and Starkey, II, pp. 494–495. On the text of Dalā’il al-Hāʾirin against the background of the disappearance of the medieval Andalusian Arab-Jewish context, and at the same time as “a rhetorical event to be read, a language that maintains but also negotiates and disrupts the localization and divisions established by the end,” see Gil Anidjar, “Our Place in al-Andalus”: Kabbalah, Philosophy, Literature in Arab Jewish Letters (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 10–56 (the quotation is from p. 7).


in ancient times, and with the Romanic and Germanic peoples of western and central Europe in the modern period, Jewish symbiosis with Arab-Muslim civilization was one of the most important contacts of the Jewish people with other civilizations up to the 20th century. Islam is of the very flesh and bone of Judaism, as S.D. Goitein indicated, and unlike the contacts with the other two civilizations - which were essentially at variance with the Jewish religious culture - Judaism has never encountered such a close and fruitful symbiosis as that with the medieval civilization of Arab Islam.  

Modern Arab-Jewish culture should be viewed against the background of the symbiosis with Arab-Muslim culture and the status of Jews in the Arab-Muslim world from the 7th century A.D., as well as in the light of the process of modernization in the Middle East and North Africa from the second half of the 19th century. Modernization, and the political, economic, social and cultural transformations associated with it - "the master theme of contemporary social science" - cannot be referred to as only a mere change. "It is the transformation of society." The Jewish communities in the various Arab countries shared this transformation and sometimes even helped in effecting it - Jews began to interact more and more in local life, in each place in a different way and at a different pace. However, the Jews of Arab lands never had the chance to complete that process of transformation and enjoy its benefits to the full, for that process soon came to be overshadowed by the national conflict in the Middle East.

The purpose of the present study is to outline the involvement of the Egyptian Jews in Arab culture during the 19th and 20th centuries. Apart from Iraq, where Jews participated in the wider Arab culture more than in any other place in modern times, Egypt is considered to be one of the few countries in which Arab culture flourished among the Jews, in both the popular and the canonical fields.

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Literary and Cultural Activities

The Jesuit scholar Louis Cheikh (Shaykhū) (1859–1927) subsumed Arab authors under two rubrics: Muslim authors (al-Udabā’ al-Muslimūn; U dabā’ al-Muslimûn; Udabā’ al-Islām) and Christian authors (Udabā’ al-Naṣārā; al-Udabā’ al-Naṣārā). In his studies on Arabic belles-lettres of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century he made no mention of either Jewish authors as a specific category or of individual Jewish writers. While Cheikh was known for his effort to prove the dominant role of Christians in the development of Arabic literature from its very beginnings in the pre-Islamic period, it is no accident that he did not deem the Jewish contribution to Arabic literature worthy of mention, a fact which cannot solely be ascribed to his own “Christian” particularism. As only very few of them identified with classical language and culture, Jews were nearly inactive in Arabic belles-lettres in the 19th century and in the first two decades of the 20th, and they did not participate in the cultural revival (Nahḍa) of Arabic language and culture in which Syrian Christians played so prominent a role.

The only exception to this was the activities of the Egyptian Ya’qūb Ṣanū (James Sanua) (1839–1912). In fact he was the only Jewish author who played a significant role in Arab culture in the 19th century, especially in the field of theater and journalism. As a non-Muslim, his immersion in the local culture was not at all a given; in


at least one incident religious reasons seemed to have played a role in excluding him as a Jew, together with Syrian Christians, from a new organization in Egypt. Born in Cairo, at the age of twelve Şanūʿ read the Old Testament in Hebrew, the Gospels in English, and the Qurʾān in Arabic. He made his young literary debut with Arabic poems and was sent to study for three years in Livorno, Italy. After returning to Egypt he taught European languages and sciences to the children of Egyptian dignitaries and also served as a teacher at the École des Arts et Métiers and the École Polytechnique in Cairo. He wrote and performed under the name of Abū Nazzāra or Abū Naḍḍāra (‘The Man with Glasses’) thirty-two comedies and romantic plays, in addition to the plays he translated from French. His first theatrical performance, which was held in the garden of Cairene Azbakiyya in 1870, was an operetta in the colloquial Egyptian dialect, al-Harīm (The Harem). This one-act play describes a European prince’s would-be adventures in the harem of a pasha. His use of colloquial language in this play and subsequent theatrical productions – done from the conviction that this language was more appropriate for the theater than standard literary Arabic (fushā) – helped legitimize colloquial dialect in the theater and would serve as precedent for the composition of all future Arab light comedies in the vernacular.

Şanūʿ’s performances were so successful that the Khedive Ismāʿīl invited him to stage them at his palace. However, in view of Şanūʿ’s critical approach toward the Khedive’s corrupt rule, their relationship was to rapidly and severely deteriorate. Şanūʿ’s theatrical creativity was never distinct from his interest in political, social, and moral issues. He depicted the condition of Egyptian society and was very critical of the government’s attitude toward the people. He was considered a subversive, and consequently suffered from frequent attempts by the authorities to ban his activities. Eventually his theater was closed down and he was forced to flee to Paris. During the period of Khedive ‘Abbās II, Şanūʿ was granted an amnesty that he refused to accept. He adopted the slogan “Egypt for the Egyptians”, and said that he must wait until Egypt was completely free of foreign occupation. Dubbed “Le Molière Egyptien”, Şanūʿ was an integrated Jew totally committed to the cause of Egyptian nationalism, his activities in both theater and journalism devoid of any Jewish cultural content or religious identity.

As was frequently assumed of Jewish personalities risen to prominence in Arab culture, it was argued that he had converted to Islam. His Jewish mother “conceived

20 Another Egyptian-Jewish figure who allegedly converted to Islam was the singer Laylā Murād (1918–1995) (on her see below). In modern times only very few Arab Jews converted to Islam out of a genuine conviction of this religion’s superiority. The Iraqi Ahmad Sūsa (Ahmed Sousa), born as Nissim Sūsa (1900–1982), was one of the most famous of these. On Sūsa, see Mir Bāʿrī, A‘lām al-Adab fi al-ʿIrāq al-Hadīth [Eminent Personalities in the Literature of the New Iraq] (London: Dār al-Hikma, 1994), II, pp. 524–525. The figure of Ahmad Harūn Sawson, the protagonist-narrator in the Hebrew novel Vehu Akher [And He is Other; English title: The Other One] (Tel-Aviv: Zmora-Bitan, 1991), by the Iraqi-Jewish writer Shimon Bollas (b. 1930), is based on the figure of Sūsa. A second edition of the novel was published by
him and gave birth to him as Muslim, as a present from her to Islam and the Muslims; having listened to the inspiration of her heart, she obeyed the instructions of the diviner who had informed her of the sure news." 21 Yet, despite the fact that his commitment to the cause of Egyptian nationalism was almost totally bereft of Jewish content, in a letter dated 18 February 1911 to Philip de Tarrazi, the writer of his biography (to be included in a book on the history of Arab journalism; on Shanu’s participation in this field, see below), Shanu requested that the words “the young man then adopted the Muslim religion” (fa-tabi’a al-fatâ ḥina ‘idhin dinâ al-islâm) be struck. 22 Indeed, Tarrazi’s book published in 1913 omitted any reference to his alleged conversion. Shanu died in Paris and was buried in the Jewish section of the Montparnasse cemetery, but his tomb, unlike the other tombs in that section, bears only a French epitaph and no Hebrew one. 23

Apart from the activities of Ya’qub Shanu, other Jews were active in Egyptian theater as well – most of them in the 20th century. For example, as early as 1910 an Egyptian troupe led by the Jewish actor Rahim Bibas visited Palestine with a repertoire that included plays by William Shakespeare and Victor Hugo as well as dramatic presentations from the life of the Arabs. The troupe performed in Jerusalem in Qahwat al-Ma‘arif near the Jaffa Gate and among the audience were Muslims, Christians and Jews. 24


21 Al-Masrar, September–October 1970, p. 74. The source of this narrative is Ibrâhim ‘Abdul’s chapter on Shanu’s childhood which he said was based on Shanu’s own written memories kept with his daughter in Paris (‘Abdul, Abu Nazzara, pp. 17–18). Cf. Moosa, “Ya’qub Shanu and the Rise of Arab Drama in Egypt,” pp. 401–402; Moreh, “Ya’qub Shanu,” p. 112; ‘Abd al-Lamid Ghunayim says that Shanu himself probably invented this tale in order to gain the sympathy of the Muslim society within which he was living (Shanu Râ’id al-Masrar al-Misri [Shanu: the Vanguard of Egyptian Theater] [Cairo: al-Dâr al-Qawmiyya li-l-fihi’ah wa-l-Nashr, 1966], pp. 22–23.


23 The life of Shanu and his views are the subject of the novel Solo [Solo] (Tel-Aviv: Sipriyat Poalim, 1998), by the aforementioned Shimon Ballas.

Another outstanding Jewish figure in Egyptian–Arab culture was the Karaite journalist, writer, poet and translator Murād Faraj (Morad Farag) (1867–1956). Born in Cairo to a family whose traditional occupation was goldsmithing, he graduated from law school and as a lawyer distinguished himself in several cases, such as the successful defense before the Court of Appeals in Cairo of a Jew indicted on charge of ritual murder. Faraj worked as legal counsel at the Karaite court in Cairo and also served as an adviser to the Khedive ‘Abbās Hilmī. Busy though he was in his professional career and other activities, especially with the Cairene Karaite community, he was a prolific writer of scholarly works in Arabic on literary, theological and Biblical topics as well as on modern Egyptian and Karaite law and comparative philological topics. Among his studies is a comparative Arabic and Hebrew etymological dictionary, Multaqā al-Lughatayn al- ‘Arabiyya wa-l- ‘Ibrīyya (1930–1950; English title: The Unity of the Two Semitic Languages Hebrew and Arabic: An Etymological Comparative Dictionary) in which he translated part of the Pentateuch into Arabic by putting a Hebrew word next to every Arabic one, using their common Semitic root. His aim was to prove the similarity of the two languages in an attempt to refute claims that rejected their common roots.

Considered the poet laureate of the Karaite community, Faraj published his Dīwān Murād in four volumes (I, 1912; II, 1924; III, 1929; IV, 1935). In 1923 he published al-Qudsīyyāt (The Holy Works) which included poetry and prose on Jewish subjects. Five years later he published the same book in a Hebrew translation under the title Ha-Kodshiyot. By no means did Faraj blur his religious identity, and in his poems he frequently availed himself of Biblical personalities and events as well as Jewish and even Zionist motifs; following the escalation of the national conflict in Palestine, the Zionist motifs in Faraj’s writings disappeared. Although in the Arabic literary


27 Faraj also translated into Arabic the novel Makvat Tzion [The Love of Zion] (1853) written by Avraham Mapu (1808–1867), one of the first Haskala intellectuals in Eastern Europe (Yosef ben Ovadia al-Gamil, Toldot ha-Yehadut ha-Kara’i [The History of Karaite Jewry] [Ramla: Ha-Mo’aza ha-Arziy shel ha-Yehudim ha-Kara’im be-Yisrael, 1979], 1, p. 166). A translation of the novel into Baghdadi Jewish Arabic was made by the Iraqi-Jewish Shelomo Tuwayna (1855–1913) and was published in eight installments in his newspaper Maggid Mesharim (Messenger of Straightness) during July–September of 1900 and then at the same year as a book published by his own printing house in Calcutta (Yitzhak Avishur, Ha-Haḥlham ha-Bavli me-Calcutta – Ḥaḥlham Shelomo Tuwayna vi-Yezirato ha-Sifruti be-Tivrit u-be-Artit-Yehudit [English title: The Haḥlham from Baghdad in Calcutta – Haḥlham Shelomo Tuwayna and His Works in Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic] (Tel-Aviv: Archaeological Center Publication and “Magen Aboth” for Calcutta’s Jews, 2002), 1, p. 83.
arena the period between the two world wars was marked by an intensive search for a new medium to express the change in Arabic poetic sensibility, for Faraj the ancient ode, or qaṣīda, remained his preferred poetic form, as his conception of the relationship between the poet and his readership was a traditional one, i.e., as one between the orator and his audience. He even followed in the footsteps of the medieval Arab court poets who glorified and praised their patrons, such as in a poem he dedicated to King Fārūq. Faithful to this classical poetic conception, Faraj was no modernist innovator and generally followed in the footsteps of the eminent traditional Egyptian poets of the time, especially Ahmad Shawqi (1868–1932). It is not surprising therefore to find in the opening of Faraj’s second volume three verses by Shawqi in which he praises Faraj’s poetry. Here is one of them:

I found the poetry of Murād a meadow of new herbage;
no hill resembles it in beauty and fragrance.

In another verse Shawqi refers to Faraj’s Jewish faith by way of alluding to one of the ancient Muslim traditions concerning Banū Isrā’īl. At the same time, I do not know of any Arab critic or scholar who attributed to Faraj any importance in the development of Arabic poetry.

Faraj tried his best to prove that the Arabic language and literature, in their very traditional forms, were not a Muslim monopoly. To support his argument he published a book in which he dealt with medieval Arab-Jewish poets, rejecting the claim of Louis Cheikho that the Jewish pre-Islamic poet al-Samaw’il ibn ‘Adīyā was in fact a Christian. Faraj quotes a verse from the aforementioned qaṣīda of al-Samaw’il:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tu'ayyirūnā innā qalīlum 'adidunā} \\
\text{fa-qulūn lahā: inna al-kirāma qalīlu}
\end{align*}
\]

She [was] reproaching us that we were few in number;
I said to her: indeed, noble men are few

And then he asks whether the Christians were once described as few – only the Jews were always considered a minority among the Arabs – “that was in the past as well as in the present.” It was argued that in 1936, in appreciation for his activities in the field of Arabic studies, Faraj was elected a member of the Academy of Arabic Language in Cairo. However, Rajā’ al-Naqqāsh says that he checked the protocols of the academy and he did not find the name of Faraj. It seems that because of Faraj’s knowledge of Arabic his name was confused with Rabbi Hayim Nāḥūn

29 Diwan Murād (Cairo: Matba‘at al-‘Imād, 1924), II, opening page.
32 Al-Gamal, Toldot ha-Yahadut ha-Kara‘it, 1, p. 165; Somekh, “Participation of Egyptian Jews in Modern Arabic Culture,” p. 133.
(1872–1960), the chief Ḥakḥām of Egypt, who became one of the academy’s founding members in 1932 due to his erudition in Arabic, besides his knowledge of Hebrew, Aramaic and Turkish. Apart from Şanṭi and Faraj, there were very few other Jewish figures of equal importance in the canonical Egyptian culture of the 20th century. Nevertheless, there were intellectuals and writers who made contributions. For example, among the members of al-Madrasa al-Ḥadīthā ('The New School'), a literary circle which played an important role in the development of Egyptian fiction in the 1920s, one can find Shālīm Dāwud ibn Masʿūda, a physician considered as the “philosopher” of the circle. Some Jewish intellectuals also participated in various literary and intellectual activities even after 1948, for instance in the literary salon of ‘Abbās Maḥmūd al-‘Aqqād (1889–1964). Some Jewish writers published collections of prose and poetry. Sa’d Yaʿqūb Mālikī (1897/9–1980?) came out with a book of short stories entitled Yarāʾī al-Awwal (My First Pen) (1936). Hilāl Shattā published a selection of his poetry entitled al-Shaʾfaq al-Āhmar (The Red Dusk) (1937), and Hārūn Zakkī Haddād (b. 1907) authored four books: Dā’irat Maʿārif al-Ḥubb (The Encyclopedia of Love) (1948), Sayyidat al-Fājr (The Lady of the Dawn) (1949), Miʿa Qiṣṣa wa-Qiṣṣa Misriyya wa-Gharbiyya (One Hundred Egyptian and Western Stories) (1950), and Farāʾīd al-Ḡarib (The Pearls of the West) (1951).

Literary contributions were also published in the weekly al-Shams (The Sun; French title: al-Chams—see below), which was founded in 1934. For example, the first page of the first issue of al-Shams included a poem by Raḥmīn Kūhīn (Cohen) entitled “O Sun, Rise Up!” The poem consists of ten stanzas—the first two suffice in showing that al-Shams had, at least when it first appeared, the aspiration of playing a role in the local canonical cultural life:

The Sun’s face has appeared on literature’s horizon,
Spreading its light throughout the universe,
Weaving from it threads of gold which
God had weaved for himself as a garment.

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34 It was said that Rabbi Hayim Nāhūm was very close to King Fuʿād and even prepared for him the crown speech which the king used to deliver before the Egyptian parliament (I thank Yosef Marzuf for these details; e-mail communication, 21 February 2006). On the special relationship between Rabbi Nāhūm and King Fuʿād and how he helped him in translating documents from Turkish to Arabic and how Rabbi Nāhūm misused the trust of the king, see Jamil ‘Arif, al-Muʿāmarāt al-Ṣiḥāniyya al-Ṣā Biṣr [Zionist Conspiracies Against Egypt] (Cairo: al-Maktab al-Misrī al-Hadīth, 1999), pp. 113–118.


39 Moreh, Hibure Yehudim, p. 86; Bezalel, Kivve Sofrim Yehudim, I, p. 310.

40 Moreh, Hibure Yehudim, pp. 23, 26, 142.
Oh, God, please shine
Deep in the hearts
Like the Sun; you know
What is hidden behind the secrets.

The Sun (al-Shams) – the title of the new weekly – is compared to God; the poet hopes that the weekly, like God and the sun, will spread its light throughout the universe and reveal what is hidden deep in people’s hearts. Such rhetorical hyperbole, common to Arabic literature (mubālagha, ighrāq, ghuluw), is a figure or trope in which the effect is achieved by deliberate and extravagantly bold exaggeration “with a tendency toward proverbial or quasi-proverbial form.” In this sense the poem was not at all exceptional for the time, such rhetorical excesses being very frequent, especially when alluding to new magazines and newspapers which their owners and editors hoped would play a role in the national and cultural revival of their countries.

With the exception of Ya’qūb Ṣanūṭ, Egyptian scholars tend to refer to the literature produced in Arabic by Egyptian Jews as entirely marginal. We cannot ignore the politico-cultural reasons which may be behind that attitude and behind the paucity of scholarly attention the literary works of the Jews have been given, but on the whole and in retrospect one cannot see any field in Egyptian literature in the 20th century in which Jews played a dominant role. In other cultural fields Jews in Egypt played much more prominent roles. For example, they numbered among the pioneers of Egyptian cinema, as evidenced by the producer, director and scriptwriter Togo Mizraḥi (1901–1987), who early in his career used the Arab name Aḥmad al-Mashriqi (literally, “Aḥmad the Oriental”). Of a total of some 270 films made in Egypt between 1923 and 1946, Mizraḥi – at a certain point as owner of Aflām Togo Mizraḥi (Togo Mizraḥi’s Films) – produced thirty, and in most of these he not only wrote the script but directed, sometimes served as the set designer, and even acted. His first film was Kūkāyin (Cocaine) (1930), made at his private studio in Alexandria, where it was first shown under the title al-Ḥāwīya (The Abyss). He produced his last film, Sallama, in 1946, before leaving Egypt after he had been accused of supporting Zionism. He died in exile in Italy.

41 Al-Shams, 14 September 1934, p. 1.
45 According to one source, the young actor Togo Mizraḥi used this pseudonym for fear of incurring the wrath of his traditional father, who considered acting in films a kind of disgrace (Hilmī, al-Raffa, “Togo Mizraḥi, previously Ahmad al-Mashriqi [Arabic], Majalla al-al-Sināmā wa-l-Masraḥ, February 1976, p. 28). See also Mahmūd Qāsim (ed.), Mawsī‘a at al-Mumahthil fī al-Sināmā al-‘Arabīyya (Cairo: Madībūli, 2004), p. 43.
46 On Togo Mizraḥi, see al-Tāli’i’a, March 1973, p. 155; Somekh, “Participation of Egyptian Jews,” p. 132; Mahmūd Qāsim, Šurata al-Adīyān fī al-Sināmā al-Miṣriyya [The Image of Religions in Egyptian Cinema]
In the field of music, the composer of Karaite origin David Hayim Levi (1870–1937), known as Da‘ūd Ḥusnī, is often mentioned as playing a major role in reinvigorating Egyptian music in the 20th century. Ḥusnī set to music thirty operas and operettas and more than 500 songs – eleven of which for Umm Kalthūm (1903–1975), the most popular Arabic singer in the 20th century. The Jewish banker Jāk Rūmānū (Romano) from Alexandria was so appreciated for his brilliant singing that Hāfīz Ibrāhīm (1871–1932), one of the well-known Egyptian poets of the first half of the 20th century, published in 1908 two poems praising his singing.

On the academic level, Dr. Isrā‘īl (Israel) Wolfensohn (Abū Duḥ‘ayb) as he called himself in Arabic or Ben-Ze‘ev in Hebrew (1899–1980), attained prominence as a teacher of Semitic languages at Egyptian universities and wrote an Arabic book on the history of the Jews in Arab countries during the pre-Islamic era. In the first issue of the aforementioned al-Shams newspaper, in which he considers its publication “a brave act which will bring about a revolution in Jewish social and cultural life, not only in Egyptian lands but also in all the Oriental and Islamic countries, where Jewish communities live.” He complains that Jewish intellectuals in the Arab world preferred Western culture without paying enough attention to the scientific movement and the social renaiss-


48 Ḥusnī saw a strong affinity between the Qur’ān and Arab music: “As long as there is the Qur’ān, Arab music will always live” (Virgina Danielson, The Voice of Egypt: Umm Kalthūm, Arabic Song, and Egyptian Society in the Twentieth Century [Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997], p. 26). According to Najīb Muḥāfīz, one of the sons of Ḥusnī, who was the owner of Qashmār Café in Cairo, might have converted to Islam (Jāmīl al-Ḡīfānī, al-Majālis al-Muḥāfīzāt [The Muḥāfīzāt Sessions] [Cairo: Dār al-Shuruq, 2006], p. 36). Muḥāfīz titled one of his novels after this café (Qashmār [Cairo: Maktatab Misr, 1988]); however, although the owners of the café are mentioned several times in the novel (e.g., pp. 69, 111) there is no allusion to their religious identity.


sance in the Oriental lands. He encourages Jewish scholars, writers and poets to write in Arabic – “the language that served as the intermediate link between all the peoples in the Middle Ages.” After his emigration to Palestine, Wolfensohn promoted the study of Arabic in Jewish schools during the British Mandate period. In 1941 he was appointed inspector of Arabic in the national Commission’s Department of Education.

As for the participation of Jewish women in Arab culture in Egypt, this should be broken down into two categories: the canonical and the popular. In general, there was only limited participation of Arab women – Muslim, Christian and Jewish – in canonical Arab culture during the 19th century and the first half of the 20th. The role of women in this culture would noticeably increase only in the 1950s, too late for Jewish feminist involvement since the role of Jews in Arab culture would by then be sharply on the decline. However, there was some involvement of Egyptian-Jewish women in popular culture in Egypt – for example Laylā Murād (1918–1995), a singer who made movies and was dubbed the “Cinderella of the Egyptian screen.” She appeared in five of Togo Mizraḥī’s films, whose titles used, sometimes indirectly, her first name. In 1946, a year after marrying the Egyptian actor and director Anwar Wajdi (1904–1955), she publicly announced her conversion to Islam. Wajdi directed the most famous of the twenty-one films in which Laylā Murād appeared – Ghazal al-Banāţ (The Flirtation of Girls) (1949). In 1956 she retired from public life, but her death forty years later prompted a renewed interest in her as an Egyptian cultural icon. For example, the Arabic Music Festival honored Laylā Murād and the award ceremony was held on 18 November 2005, at the Cairo Opera House, marking the festival’s 14th round. Other Jewish women who played a role in the popular culture of Egypt were Najma Ibrāhim (1914–1976), Lilyān Kūhīn (Cohen), nicknamed Kāmīlā (1929–1950), and Najwā Sālim (1933–1988). Also not to be slighted is the role of Jewish female actors in the flowering of modern Egyptian theater and cinema in the early 20th century.

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51 Al-Shams, 14 September 1934, p. 1.
52 On Ben-Ze’ev, see ‘Ali, Yahūd Misr, pp. 124–125.
54 Layla Mumfira (The Rainy Night) [Arabic word for “night” is pronounced the same as the name], 1939, Laylā Bint al-Rīj (Laylā, the Girl of the Countryside), 1941, Laylā Bint al-Mādrīs (Laylā, the School-Girl, 1941), Laylā (1942), Laylā fi al-‘alām (Laylā in the Dark, 1944).
55 In the story Maḥāf Lānshāmī (Café Lenciano), the Egyptian-Jewish writer Maurice (Mūrīs) Shammās (b. 1930) deals with the figure of Laylā Murād and the story of her conversion to Islam (Mūrīs Shammās, al-Shaykh Shabiby wa-Ḥikāyat min Ḥārāt al-Yahūd [Sheikh Shabiby and Stories from the Jewish Quarter] (Shfaram: Dār al-Mashriq, 1979), pp. 73–82.
Press and Journalism

There was a connection between the nature of the Arab Jews’ involvement in the canonical Arab culture and development of the Arabic Jewish press and journalism: wherever Jews tried to socially, politically and above all culturally integrate themselves into society – e.g. in Iraq, Egypt and to a lesser extent Lebanon and Syria – there were active Jewish owners of Arabic newspapers and periodicals as well as editors and journalists writing in standard literary Arabic. But wherever Jews showed no interest in the extra-canonical cultural activities of the relevant society (e.g. North Africa), only periodicals in Judeo-Arabic dialects written in Hebrew letters are to be found (in addition, of course, to newspapers in other languages). Of these periodicals, more than a few appeared in both Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic with Hebrew part being predominantly an expression of Zionist tendencies. Among the total number of newspapers founded by Jews, which appeared in standard literary Arabic were few compared to those in local Jewish dialects. It should also be noted that Hebrew newspapers and periodicals were intended for circulation among Jewish communities throughout the Arab world, and that through them Arab Jews were kept up to date on Zionist developments as well as Jewish affairs in Palestine, Europe and the United States.  

More than seventy Jewish newspapers and periodicals were published in Egypt between 1877 and 1948; among these twenty-six were in French, twenty-two in Arabic, six in Hebrew, six in Ladino, and four in English. Most of the newspapers appeared after 1897, the year when a Zionist office opened in Cairo and the Jewish press began to gather momentum. It was for this reason that when the Jewish press in Egypt became the subject of academic research the tendency of at least some


scholars was to look for the role played by this press in promoting Zionist propaganda.\textsuperscript{61} However, the Jewish press in Egypt was characterized by its diversity, not only from the standpoint of language, but also with regard to political orientation. For example, as concerns the attitude towards Zionism, one can find periodicals that showed enthusiastic support cheek by jowl with others that were very hostile.

One of the major journalists of the late-19th century was the aforementioned Ya‘qūb Śanū‘, who, apart from being regarded as the father of Arab theater, was one of the founders of satirical and humorous Arabic journalism.\textsuperscript{62} After his theater in Cairo was closed down as a result of his criticism of the Khedive Ismā‘īl, Śanū‘ embarked on a satirical campaign utilizing newspapers which he had founded for that very purpose, such as the French La Moustique (The Mosquito) and the Italian L’Occhianlino (The Lorgnette). His Le Bavard Egyptien (The Egyptian Gossip) appeared in eight different languages, but after a month it was closed down by the authorities. In March 1877 he founded Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā‘ (The Man with Blue Glasses), which appeared in the dialect of Egyptian fellahin. It was the first Arabic newspaper to use cartoons (mostly by Śanū‘ himself) as a vehicle for social and political criticism. The newspaper proved a genuine nuisance to the authorities, and after only fifteen issues it stopped publication, but soon Abū Naẓẓāra, or Abū Naddārah, had become favorite nicknames for Śanū‘ himself and the titles of several of his subsequent newspapers. So incendiary were his broadsides that they were regarded as seditious, and after two attempts on his life he departed for Paris in 1878. In his exile he continued to criticize the Khedive and supported the claim of Prince Halim to the throne. His journalistic publications in Arabic and French, under various titles, were smuggled into Egypt and other parts of the Muslim world. During the period of Khedive ‘Abbās II, Śanū‘ was granted an amnesty that he refused by saying that Egypt was only for the Egyptians and that his return must wait until his homeland was totally free of foreign occupation.

Among Śanū‘’s journalistic publications in Paris we find Riḥlat Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā‘ (The Journey of the Man with Blue Glasses) (first issue: 7 August 1877); Abū Naddārah Zarqā‘ (The Man with Blue Glasses) (first issue: 21 March 1879); al-Naẓẓāra al-Miṣriyya (The Egyptian Glasses) (first issue: 16 September 1879); Abū Zammārah (The Clarinetist) (first issue: 17 July 1880); Abū Şaffāra (The Flutist) (first issue: 4 June 1880); al-Ḥāwī (The Magician) (first issue: 5 February 1881); al-Ṭawāṣṣhī al-Miṣrī (The Egyptian Patriot) (first issue: 29 September 1883); al-Tharharah al-Miṣriyya (The Egyptian Chatter) (first issue: 1886); and al-Ṭawāddud (The Friendship) (first issue: 15 November 1888).

Another prominent journalist was the previously discussed Murād Faraj, who regularly contributed to the Egyptian press. From 1901 to 1905 he edited al-Tāḥḥūb (The Edification), the organ of the Karaite community, which appeared three times in each month. He also took part in editing another Karaite periodical, al-Irshād


\textsuperscript{62} For references to the activities of Śanū‘ in the field of journalism see above.

(The Guidance), with the first issue published on 15 May 1908 and its last on 21 March 1909 (owner was Farag Salim Lisha¹). A collection of Faraj's articles in the Egyptian press dealing with various social, cultural and moral topics was published in 1912 under the title Maqālat Murād (The Essays of Murād); one of these essays deals with the importance of the freedom of the press.⁶³ The Karaite community published other periodicals in Arabic, such as the scientific and literary weekly al-Ittiḥād al-İsrāʾīlî (The Jewish Association) from 20 April 1924 till 1929, with Baruch-Litū-Manjūnî as editor in chief.⁶⁴ Another journal published in Arabic by the Young Karaite Jewish Association (YKJA) was the bimonthly al-Kalim (The Spokesman);⁶⁵ French title: Al-Kalim, Revue Israélite Caraïte) with Yusuf Kamil as editor-in-chief. This journal, which appeared regularly between February 1945 and May 1957, often published zajal poetry in colloquial Egyptian— an art considered uncanonical but generally seen as a marker of Egyptian cultural authenticity.⁶⁶

There were many other Jews who from the late 19th century were active in the journalistic field, especially in Cairo. The following is a brief survey of their main activities. On 15 May 1879, Mūsā Kāstifî, owner of a publishing house, founded al-Kawkab al-Miṣrî (The Egyptian Star), which was published for four years and addressed a general public without any specific Jewish interest. In 1889 he also published the satirical newspaper al-Maymūn (The Lucky), partly in the standard language and partly in the vernacular. It was alleged that both newspapers were published at the behest of the Khedive. On 1 March 1889 the first issue of al-Ḥaqīqa (The Truth) appeared in Alexandria. The owner of this weekly was Faraj Mizrahi and its editor was Naṣif Jarjūr. The periodical survived for two years, during which time it focused on local social issues. Appearing in 1890, the periodical Nahdāt Isrāʾîl (The Renaissance of Israel) concentrated on Jewish affairs. The magazine al-Yānaṣib (The Lottery) was published in September 1894 by David Yāḥî. Ḥaẓẓ al-Ḥayāt (The Fortune of Life) was published in Alexandria in 1895 by Salmī Ibrāhim Rūmānî (Romano). In October 1898 the first issue of the weekly al-Naṣīb (The Fate) was published by Zakī Kūḥîn (Cohen) and his son Rūḍār. The journalist Nissîm Yaʿqūb Māllū (1892–1959),⁶⁷ who was born in Zefat and immigrated with his family to Egypt as a child, published al-Naṣr (The Victory), with its first issue appearing on 1 January 1903, but after several issues it ceased publication. Māllū, who was the first occupant of the Hebrew Language Chair at the University of Cairo, also published

⁶³ Faraj, Maqālat Murād, pp. 251–255.
⁶⁴ Mourad El-Kodsi writes that “all periodicals and other publications [by Karaites in Egypt] that appeared from 1897 until 1956 were in Arabic” (The Karaites of Egypt 1882–1986, p. 217).
⁶⁵ Al-Kalim is also an epithet for Moses.
articles in the general Egyptian press such as al-Muqattam, al-Ahram and al-
Mu‘ayyad, in addition to articles published under various pseudonyms. Other Jewish
journalists who published their articles in the local press were Jack Levi fianflawi
and Nissim ibn Sahl.

In January 1904 the Zionist newspaper Miṣrayim (Egypt) appeared in Arabic in
Hebrew letters. On 27 November 1904, the owner, Ishâq Karmûnâ (Isaac Karmona,
Carmona), sent a letter to the director of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) in
Paris asking for financial support to enable him to carry on with publication of the
newspaper as a Jewish national shield against attacks from the Arab press.68 Several
Jewish newspapers appeared in Egypt in French, such as La Renaissance Juive
which came out in 1912. Others appeared in separate editions in Arabic, French and
Hebrew.

A unique project was the weekly Israël established by Albert Muṣayrî (Mosseri)
(1868–1933), the promoter of early Zionist thought in Egypt, and his wife Mazal-
Matilda (Mathilde) Muṣayrî (Mosseri) (née Mani) (1893–1981). The weekly started
on 2 April 1920 as three separate editions: the leading edition in French, edited by
Albert Mosseri himself, with the help of Albert Staraselski (1903–1980) and Joseph
D. Mosseri; the Arabic one, edited successively by the aforementioned Murâd Faraj,
and then Yusîf Manûfla and the aforementioned Sa‘d Ya‘qûb Mâlîkî; and the Hebrew
edition whose editors were Mazal-Matilda Mosseri and Yehoshua Kantovich.

The editions each had their own formal independent editor and, due to their varying
readerships, different conceptions of editing as well,69 but they were all controlled by
the owner Albert Mosseri. The Hebrew edition survived only four years, the Arabic
one fourteen years and the French edition about nineteen years. After the death of
Albert, his wife tried to maintain the publication of the Arabic edition side by side
with the French one. In a letter to the Jewish Agency dated 5 January 1934, she
asked for financial help in order to go on with publication of the Arabic edition.
“The Land of Israel, being built by the people of Israel, exists as an island within a sea of
Arabic-speaking nations,” she wrote, “and it is necessary to have a Jewish publication
that will defend our interests […] only with an Arab-Jewish newspaper is it
possible to create good relationships and mutual understanding. The place of such a
newspaper should be Egypt – the heart of the east.” In his reply of 30 January 1934,
on behalf of the agency, Moshe Sharet expressed his astonishment that Egyptian
Jews were not contributing in order to sustain the newspaper; in any event, the
agency could offer only moral assistance.70 Mazal-Matilda Mosseri then solely
published the French edition until 1939.71

University of London Press, 1969), p. 315
69 See the opening article of the first issue “Notre Programme,” Israël, 2 April 1920, p. 1.
70 Central Zionist Archives, S25/1006. It seems that the last issue in Arabic was published on 20 April
1934 – this is also the last issue preserved in the National Library in Jerusalem.
71 On the Mosseri family, see Gaon, Yeheude ha-Mizraḥ be-Eretz Isra‘el, II, pp. 388–389; Encyclopaedia
Judaica, vol. XII, column 441. On the journalistic activities of the family, see Laskier, The Jews of
Egypt, 18–72. On the Mazal-Matilda, see A.H. Elhanani, “Mazal-Matilda, Mosseri – Traits for her Figure
and Activities” [Hebrew], in: M. Zohori et al. (eds.), Hagut Ivrit be-Arztot ha-Islam [Hebrew Thought

Among the other newspapers published in Cairo by Jews was Barīd al-Mahākīm (*The Courts’ Mail*); its first issue was published on 16 February 1924 by the lawyer Jacob Dānā. In 1930 Dānā also published Barīd al-‘Āṣima (*The Capitol’s Mail*), whose main interest was law and literature. The culturally oriented bimonthly al-Talīfūn (*The Telephone*), published on 13 April 1927 in Arabic and French by Elie Ezra Cohen, did not hesitate to engage in “yellow” journalism regarding activities inside dance halls and brothels.

An important periodical which was a rare phenomenon in the Egyptian-Jewish life was the aforementioned weekly al-Shams (*The Sun*; French title: *al-Chams*), which testified to the great potential of Jewish involvement in the local cultural life. Founded in 1934, it was edited by the previously discussed Sa’d Ya’qūb Mālīkī, who had taken part in editing the Arabic edition of *Israelī*. In the opening article of the first issue published on 19 September 1934, Mālīkī declared that his aim was to fight corruption in local society and to develop Egyptian culture. This weekly had a circulation of some two thousand in Egypt, and although most of its readers were Jews it was also read by Muslims and Copts. It reached Jewish communities in other countries in the Middle East as well; according to reports from the 1940s by Zionist activists in Iraq, al-Shams had subscribers among Jews in Baghdad and was read by many others. During the fourteen years of its publication, al-Shams tried to bring about the integration of the Jewish community into Egyptian life while at the same time making no secret of its support for the Zionist vision. It was symbolic that the weekly was closed down by the Egyptian authorities on 14 May 1948, the day on which the state of Israel was proclaimed. After the weekly ceased, its owner and editor Sa’d Ya’qūb Mālīkī emigrated to Israel, where he abandoned the pursuit of journalism.

One should also not fail to mention the Jewish Lebanese-born Esther Lazari-Moyal (Istfr Azharī-Mūyāl) (1873–1948), one of the first feminist activists in Arab

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75 On Esther Lazari-Moyal, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. XII, columns 493–494; Beth Ann
journalism, part of whose activities took place in Egypt. She was active in feminist associations such as Jam‘īyyat Bākūrat Sūriyyā (The Association of the Renaissance of Syria) and Nahḍat al-Nişā‘ (The Ladies’ Awakening), both of which were among the first of such Arab associations, and represented Lebanon at an international women’s conference held in Chicago in 1893. A year later she married the Egyptian-Jewish doctor, writer and journalist Shimon Moyal (Shim‘ūn Mūyāl) (1866–1915), and after a while the couple moved to Cairo where she established and edited the bimonthly al-‘Ā‘ila (The Family), whose first issue appeared on 1 May 1899. It survived for several years and generally dealt with family and social issues in Egypt as well as world news. In his History of the Arab Press, Philip de fiarrāži describes Lazari-Moyal as one of the best female Arab journalists of her time.

In addition to the involvement in journalistic activities, rich Egyptian-Jewish families contributed and sometimes even financed Egyptian journals. For example, Elie Politi, one of Egypt’s most important businessmen, who published periodicals in English and French, played a role in establishing the Arabic-language daily al-Miṣrī (The Egyptian). Also, in 1945 the distinguished Harari Cairene family established Sharikat al-Kātib al-Miṣrī li-l-Tibā‘a wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Adwā‘ al-Kitāhiyya (The Egyptian Scribe Company for Printing, Publishing and Office Equipment), which published the journal al-Kātib al-Miṣrī (The Egyptian Scribe). The journal, whose first issue appeared in October 1945, was edited by Tāhā Husayn (1889–1973), one of the most famous Egyptian writers of the 20th century, who also served as adviser to the publishing house regarding the publication of literary works, especially masterpieces of world literature. Among those published in al-Kātib al-Miṣrī were distinguished writers such as Mahmūd Taymūr (1894–1973), Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm (1898–1987), Muḥammad Mahdī al-Jawāhirī (1899–1997), Yahyā Ḥaqī (1905–1992), Suhayr al-Qalamāwī (1911–1997), and Luwīs ‘Awad (1915–1990). There is no mention in the journal that Egyptian Jews were behind its publication, but the introduction to the first issue, Barnā‘aj (Plan), whose style leaves no doubt that it was written by fiāhā Ḥusayn, reflects a pluralistic and liberal conception of journalism:

This journal will not prefer one nation to another, as it will never prefer one group of Arab writers to another. Guided by this liberality, [the journal] will strive to keep literature above those controversies which are stirred up among people by contemporary and temporal interests of life. [The journal] takes the side of no single sect, nor does it cling fanatically to any single creed, but it is only limited


77 fiarrāži, Taʾrikh al-Siḥāfa al-ʿArabiyya, IV, p. 287.


by its obligations toward Egypt and the Arab nations in terms of maintaining an attitude of generosity and honorableness as well as practicing a virtuous conduct unsullied by any shortcoming or disgrace.80

The involvement of Tāhā Ḥusayn with al-Kātib al-Miṣrī was, however, at the time interpreted by several newspapers and later by some scholars as participation in Zionist propaganda.81 The journal was closed in June 1948 after thirty-two issues, the last in May 1948. In an interview, Tāhā Ḥusayn said that he was forced to liquidate the al-Kātib al-Miṣrī publishing house, which he had been directing.82

The Demise of Arab-Jewish Culture

The participation of Jews in Arab culture in Egypt was much more intensive than that of most other Arab countries. On the whole, however, this involvement was relatively limited in comparison to Iraq. The main reason for this was that Arabic had low status among the Egyptian Jews. In the late Ottoman period only one section of the Egyptian-Jewish community spoke Arabic – they were called musta’ribūn (‘Arabists’).83 In the interwar period Arabic increasingly lost ground and was eventually spoken solely by the poor inhabitants of the Jewish quarter in Cairo (Ḥarāt al-Yahūd), in the provincial towns and by the Karaites,84 or as Jacques Hassoun (1936–1999) put it: speaking Arabic was associated with “being poverty-stricken and obscurantist.”85 Also the Arabic writings of Egyptian Jews before 1948 (and certainly afterward) imparted the feeling that Arab culture was as much a possession of the Egyptian Jews as it was of Muslims and Christians. Nor were they governed by the conviction that the Egyptian Jews were more Arab than Jewish. Frequent sayings by Iraqi Jews, such as “we were Arabs before we became Jews” (naḥnu

80 Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī, I (October 1945), p. 3.
83 Muḥsin ‘Alī Shūmān, al-Yahūd fī Miṣr al-‘Uthmāniyya ḥāṭṭa Awā’il al-Qarn al-Tāsī’ (Ashar [The Jews in Ottoman Egypt till the Early 19th Century] (Cairo: al-Hay’a al-Misriyya al-‘Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 2000), p. 48; note 271, in p. 97, also mentions D.S. Richards, “Arabic Documents from the Karaite Community in Cairo,” Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient XV,1–2 (June 1972), p. 145. However, the word musta’ribūn is not mentioned there – in p. 144 the words ta’ifat al-yahud al-masriyyin are mentioned in transliteration, quoting from Kitāb Taṣāḥhūn, dated 28 May 1572 A.D. in addition to tu’ifat al-yahud al-maghāribīna and ta’ifat al-yahud al-qarrīn. In view of such, it would seem that Shūmān’s reading is a reasonable one.
cannot be found among Egyptian Jews. Most of the intellectuals among Egyptian Jews had somehow excluded themselves from Arab culture and language long before Arab and Islamic Egyptianness was defined in a way that excluded them. Iraqi Jews were an entirely different case. After Iraqi foreign policy in the late 1930s publicly adopted the Palestinian Arab cause and the definition of Arabism became much narrower and excluded Jews, Iraqi-Jewish intellectuals still insisted on their Arabness. Many of them continued to do so even after their immigration to Israel, and some still do so today.

The difference in this regard between the Iraqi and Egyptian Jews might also be illustrated by their attitude to the eloquent secularist dictum al-dīn li-llāhī wa-l-waṭan li-l-Jāmiʿ (‘Religion is for God, the Fatherland is for Everyone’), which was popular in both countries before 1948. In Iraq it was employed as part of the Arabization vision of secular Jewish intellectuals who sought to recall the close symbiotic contact that Jews had with the wider Arab-Muslim culture. For most of these intellectuals their Arab identity was uppermost – they were “Arab Jews” or “Arabs of the Jewish faith.” In Egypt it was the slogan of the 1919 nationalist uprising and of the struggle for independence from British imperialism. This slogan which called for a territorial state shared by members of all religions found its manifestation in the Constitution of 1923 which granted equal rights to all Egyptians, without distinction of race, language, or religion. The Wafād party was active under this banner, and it was also popular in the secular Egypt of the 1920s and 1930s as a way of denoting national unity, tolerance, brotherhood and solidarity. Yet even in this context it was

84 In a dialogue between two of the protagonists in Najīb Mahfūz’s aforementioned novel Qaṣāmh, Iṣmāʿīl Qadīrī says: “There are in Egypt four religions: Islam, Christianity, Judaism and the Wafād.” fāhir ‘Ubayd says ironically: “The last religion is the most popular” (p. 29).
primarily intended for Muslims and Copts, and there are few instances of advocates of the Arabization of Egyptian Jews using it as did the Iraqi secular Jewish intellectuals. With only a few exceptions it was chiefly employed by Egyptian-Jewish Communists, whose universalism offered an alternative to the narrow confines of Jewish identity but not those of Egyptian nationalism. Among these were the Jewish lawyer Yūsuf Darwīsh (b. 1910) and Marcel (Marsīl) Israel (Ceresi, Shīrīzī) (b. 1913), leader of Taḥrīr al-Sh‘ab (The People’s Liberation). Hārūn Shihāta (Chehata) (1920–2001), one of the handful of Jewish Communists who continued to live in Egypt after the 1950s, said: “I reject this image of the wandering Jew (al-yahūdī al-ṭā’īh). The Jew must, as any other citizen, adopt the causes of the fatherland to which he pledges his loyalty. That is his only guarantee – not Zionism.”

Complaints about the low status of the Arabic language and culture among Jews in Egypt existed as early as the 19th century. In 1862, Rabbi Israel Moshe Ḥazzan (1808–1863), Hakham Bashi (Chief Rabbi) of Alexandria from 1857 until his death, published She‘erit ha-Nahala (The Remnant of the Inheritance), in which a dialogue takes place that has a pair of rabbinic scholars, “Ha-Ḥakhamim” (The Wise), say to “Ha-Soḥer” (The Merchant):

We can no longer keep silent as to the merits of Arabic language and we must, oh merchant, awaken you from the sleep that captured you in this issue and cry: “wake up.” There is no other language on earth like Arabic – it is very much pure […] If only our ancient ancestors of the East had been able to teach Arabic to perfection to the Jews! We are very sorry that we cannot but chat […] Why do we need to say more of the merit of this vibrant language after the Geonim permitted the teaching of the children in the synagogue the Arabic language together with the Torah? […] Dear merchant, you cannot deny the great difference between the study of the Arabic language and the other languages of the sons of Japhet in our days, such as French, English and Italian, which are infested with abominations and bitterness which we do not find today in Arabic.

wa-l-Īslām fi Miṣr wa-Dirāsāt Ukhārā [Christianity and Islam in Egypt and Other Studies] [Cairo: Sīnā li-l-Nashr, 1993], p. 239; Būlūs Bēṣīlī, al-Aqūbāt Waṭaniyya wa Ta’rīkh [The Coptic’s Nationalism and History], [Cairo: Dār Nūḥār li-l-Tibā’ā, 1999], pp. 165, 277, 281, 282, 283, 284. The same slogan has even been used in recent years, e.g. by Usāma al-Ēl-Bāz, the presidential political adviser, as quoted by the Egyptian State Information Service on 31 January 2000; Al-Āhram Weekly, 9–15 January 2003. In April 2004, President Mubārak himself used this slogan at a celebration on the occasion of the birth of the Prophet (al-Āhram, 21 April 2005, p. 1). See also the slogan al-waṭaniyya dīmūn wa-l-istiqāl ḥayātūn (patriotism is our faith and independence is our life) which is found in Coptic writings (Samīr Bāhī, al-Aqūbāt fi al-Hayāt al-Sīyāsīyya al-Misriyya [The Copts in the Political Egyptian Life] [Cairo: Makkātbat al-Anjīl al-Misriyya, 1979], pp. 94–95. See also p. 100).

92 For example, Albert Mizraḥi used it in his newspaper al-Tas‘īra (The Price List) when Shaykh Aḥmad fiḥāhir insulted Egyptian Jews on state radio (al-Tas‘īra, 22 March 1954, p. 4; quoted in Beinin, The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry, pp. 78–79).

93 See Al-Āhram Weekly, 2–8 December 2004.


In 1912, S. Somekh, director of the Cairo school of AIU, lamented the indifference of most Jews to Arab culture: “They have neglected the Arab culture and language, some because of their exotic origin, the majority out of contempt for all things native.” A book on the Egyptian Jews published in 1938 by Maurice Fargeon, an active member of the Ligue Contre L’Antisémitisme (LICA),99 made virtually no mention of the participation of the Arab in Arab culture.99 The Arabic edition of Israël had to be abandoned in 1933 and al-Shams, which asserted that “there was no shame in speaking Arabic in the home,”100 had only a limited number of readers. In view of the strong century-long tendency among Egyptian Jews to stress European values, attempts in the late 1930s to strengthen the Jewish attachment to the Egyptian nation and its culture were at least partly a reaction to escalating nationalist feeling and the cry raised in public life to replace foreign state employees with Egyptians.101

Arabic was never able to replace French or Italian as the prestigious language of Egyptian Jews.102 The childhood experience of the writer André Aciman (b. 1951), whose family lived in Egypt until the 1960s, is a case in point — as a Jewish child living in Alexandria he found mastering Arabic to be a real struggle.103 One can also sometimes feel a sense of superiority vis-à-vis native Arab culture in the writings of various Egyptian-Jewish immigrants104 such as Jacqueline Kahanoff (1917–1979)105 and Yitzhak Gormezano-Goren (b. 1941).106 While dozens of Iraqi-Jewish immigrants

97 Krämer, The Jews in Modern Egypt, p. 168.
98 On LICA, see Laskier, The Jews of Egypt, pp. 57–68.
99 Fargeon, Les juifs en Egypte depuis les origines jusqu’à ce jour (Cairo: Imprimerie Paul Barbey, 1938).
100 Tignor, “Egyptian Jewry, Communal Tension, and Zionism,” p. 343. And see ‘Isrā’īl Wolfensohn’s aforementioned complaint in his article in al-Shams (14 September 1934, p. 1) that Jewish intellectuals were not paying enough attention to literary and scientific activities in Arabic.
105 On Kahanoff, see Beinin, The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry, pp. 50–51, 54–56.
106 On Gormezano-Goren, see The Literary Review 37.2 (1994), pp. 220–235; Alcalay, Keys to the Garden, pp. 162–185. In 1982 Gormezano-Goren established Bimat Kedem (Kedem [=East] theater), so as to encourage the development of Mizrahi culture. Some thirty-five original productions have been staged. In 1998 he also founded a publishing house which has published books by Mizrahi authors as well as the periodical Ha-Ki’am Mizraḥ (The Direction Is East) with 12 volumes thus far.
to Israel in the 1950s were still writing in Arabic after their arrival, among immigrants from Egypt this number was very small. In the land of the Jews, those who still considered themselves Arabs felt excluded amidst Jews. Their hearts wounded, they faced a dilemma of an unprecedented nature. But it seems that most of the Egyptian Jews, after their arrival in Israel, were glad to slough off the “burden” of Arab culture. Arabic became even a burden for scholars investigating the history of the Egyptian Jews and it has not been rare to find recently academic studies on the topic, which do not make use of any Arabic sources.

Unlike the Iraqi-Jewish immigrants, the last Egyptian Jews to write in Arabic were not at all immersed in Arabic literature after their emigration to the Holy Land. One of them is the aforementioned writer and dramatist Maurice Shammās (b. 1930), known by his pseudonym Abū Farid. While in Egypt Shammās participated in various theatrical activities. After his emigration to Israel in 1951 he became involved in promoting Arab culture, mainly through the medium of Dār al-Idhā‘a al-Isrā‘īliyya (Israel Broadcasting House), the Israeli-Arabic radio station, where he served as director of musical programming. In 1979 he published a collection of ten short stories entitled al-Shaykh Shabtāy wa-Hikāyāt min Ḥārat al-Yahūd (Sheikh Shabtāy and Stories from the Jewish Quarter), most of which were based on his childhood experience of Cairo’s Jewish Quarter in the 1940s. Apparently the Egyptian-Israeli peace process made him feel that he should recount his memories of the Jews who had lived in Egypt as true Egyptians, “The Jew in the Jewish Quarter,” he writes in the introduction, “was a carbon copy of ibn al-balad (‘a native son’) who was living in the popular neighborhoods of Cairo.” He dedicated the book to the Israeli Prime Minister, Menahēm Begin, and President of Egypt, Anwar al-Sādāt, in appreciation of their efforts at peace.

The story which bears the collection’s title may be seen as a metaphor for the nature of the Jewish involvement in the Egyptian–Arab culture during the first half of the 20th century. It is about the child Shabtāy from Ḥārat al-Yahūd whose mental development had stopped at the age of four, and now standing on the threshold of old age, he still looks at life with the eyes of a small child; he never utters a word. His only language is looking at people and smiling. He is in the habit of sitting in a wooden chair on the doorstep of his old house, where he still lives with his sister Zahra. One day a young officer and his wife stop and ask Shabtāy for directions to

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108 See, for example, the aforementioned Kimche, Pe‘īlat ha-Ṭu‘a‘a ha-Ziyonit be-Mitsrayim.


110 Al-Sādāt thanked him in a letter published in the Egyptian journal October 140 (1 July 1979).

111 For an English translation of the story, see the appendix.
some section of the city. Getting up from his chair Shabtāy tenderly touches the head of the officer’s wife. Fuming with anger the officer slaps Shabtāy across the face. But the smile doesn’t leave his lips. That evening the officer’s right arm becomes paralyzed. The physicians are at a loss. One day his mother arrives with a sheikh who makes talismans, recites incantations and performs miracles. The appearance of the man and his childish, mocking smile reminds the officer of the smile he had seen on Shabtāy’s face. He hurries to Ḥarāt al-Ŷahūd where he finds Shabtāy sitting as usual on the doorstep of his house, looking at people and smiling. The officer asks the forgiveness of Shabtāy, who raises his hand and tenderly touches the head of the officer. Suddenly the paralyzed arm begins to move. Ever since that day, the people of the quarter call him Sheikh Shabtāy.

As with the other stories in the collection whose characters are Jews, the purpose of this tale – as Shammās notes in his introduction – is to record the memory of the Jews who lived in the Cairo’s Jewish ḥāra. The story illustrates on the narrative level how involvement of Jews in Egyptian-Arab culture was mostly of a functional nature. At the beginning, the officer asks Shabtāy’s help in finding his way; at the end he returns to have him cure his paralyzed arm. Despite being steeped in Egyptian language and culture, the story cannot be considered Egyptian literature proper. So to perceive the functional nature of Shammās’ story, one can compare it with a tale by the Egyptian Nobel laureate Najib Mahfūz (1911–2006). In “Za’balawi,” the main character is also a sacred sheikh whom the narrator seeks out to cure an illness that is more mental than physical; the relationship between the two is hardly functional and the search never ends – in fact, cannot be ended. Furthermore, unlike in Shammās’ story, in Mahfūz’s narrative the story’s symbolism never tortures the plot, which, derived as it is from Egyptian daily life, is entirely plausible.

Shammās also published a collection of poems entitled Sab’ Sanābil Hazīla (Seven Lean Ears) (1989) dealing with various topics, such as the massacre of Sabra and Shatila in 1982, the peace between Israel and Egypt and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. His poem “al-Nās fī Bilādi” (People in my Country) alludes to a poem of the same title published more than thirty years before the publication of Shammās’ poem by the Egyptian poet Salāḥ ‘Abd al-Sabūr (1931–1981) in a collection bearing the same title. However, as in the aforementioned allusion of Shammās’ story to that of Mahfūz, Shammās’ poem, which is critical of the materialistic behavior of Israeli people, is devoid of any literary pretensions and could have been replaced by a journalistic essay.

114 Ibid., p. 81.
116 Shammās describes the poem as min al-shi‘r al-nuṭkhām bi-l-nathr (from the poetry, which is overstuffed with prose).
In 2003 Shammās published his autobiography, ‘Azza Haṣṣidat Naṣratītī (‘Azza Nefertiti’s Granddaughter) (2003), whose central theme is the story of his love for ‘Azīza, affectionately nicknamed ‘Azza, later to become his wife. In comparing the Arabic literary work of Shammās to that of the Iraqi-Jewish writers in Israel, one can hardly characterize it as an “embrace of Arabo-Egyptian culture.” The narrators in his fiction and autobiography like the personae in his poems are speaking from a Zionist-Israeli-Hebrew point of view. The use of Arabic is in most cases purely a luxury and functional, as of someone who is looking back and wistfully remembering a lost love.

Another of the last Egyptian Jews of Arabic literature was Victor Naḥmiyās (Nachmias) (1933–2004), a well-known Israeli television and radio commentator on Arab affairs, who chose to write his autobiography in Arabic. Most of the book is about his life after his immigration to Israel in 1957; only a few pages are devoted to his childhood in Egypt. “I never felt alien in Egypt,” he wrote. “I studied Arabic and its literature together with the English and French; and I studied also the Qur’an, and I did it deeply in order not to live as a foreigner on the margins of life in my homeland Egypt.” Naḥmiyās writes about Egyptian Jews and their role in Egyptian society and the tension between his native land and the country of his rebirth. Like Shammās, Naḥmiyās did not write the book because of his deep immersion in Arabic culture, but rather as a tribute to the Cairo of his childhood. His reunion with the city in 1977 is portrayed as a meeting with a wrinkled old woman who was once young and beautiful. Despite being fluent in Arabic and a product of Arab-Egyptian culture, Naḥmiyās seems never to have served as an agent of Arab culture in Israeli society. He started his career in journalism in Dār al-Idhā’ā al-Isrā’īliyya, but then moved to the Hebrew electronic media as soon as it was possible.

In contrast to Iraqi Jews who struggled against the negative attitude of the hegemonic Ashkenazi-Hebrew establishment toward Arabic language and culture, Egyptian immigrants – like the great majority of the Arab-Jewish immigrants – were somehow responsive to the pressure of this establishment in its demand that they take part in the Zionist “melting pot.” As most of these immigrants arrived in Israel

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119 Naḥmiyās, al-Rajul al-Salāḥi Wulid Marratyīnī, p. 33.
120 I use the term “establishment” cautiously. As much as a political establishment is based not on merit but on power, so does the cultural and literary “establishment” refer not just to literary and cultural elements within the community at large, but to the power relations that structure it, i.e. that hegemonic group in a society’s culture that has succeeded in establishing its interpretative authority over all other cultural groups, namely a minority group of individuals within society, such as major critics and scholars, editors of literary periodicals, publishers, major educators, etc., who from the sociocultural point of view are acknowledged as superior in some sense, and who influence or control most segments of culture. Although the people-in-the-culture share in the process of defining the sociocultural distinctions, it is the cultural, literary and critical elite who plays the decisive role in that process (see R. Snir, “Synchronic and Diachronic Dynamics in Modern Arabic Literature” in S. Ballas and R. Snir, Studies in Canonical and Popular Arabic Literature [Toronto: York Press, 1998], p. 93). In Israel, the cultural and literary establishment closely parallels the hegemonic Zionist structure of the state itself and is predominantly Ashkenazic and Western-oriented.
only after the founding of the state of Israel, they were wholly dependent on those key educational and cultural institutions that had been erected by European Jewish immigrants, especially the pioneer generation of Russian and Polish immigrants. Those pioneers sought to erase their diaspora past, but were by no means ready to give up their European cultural preferences. As for the immigrants from Arab countries, on their arrival in Israel, Jewish identity became a cultural and national identity – they faced a new linguistic situation in which the language (Hebrew) enforced upon them was limited to only one religion, one nation and one ethnic entity. Also, advocates of Western-oriented cultural identity warned of the “danger” of “Orientalization,” “Arabization,” or “Levantinization” of Israeli society. Facing social rejection of their original Arab-Jewish culture – Jewishness being equated with Zionism and Israeliness – they did their best to develop specific modes and mechanisms for coping with the utterly alienating circumstances. Rapid integration into Israeli-Hebrew society was the desired solution for most Egyptian Jews.

**Conclusion**

The national-political conflict in the Middle East fostered the adaptation of Egyptian immigrants to the new Israeli culture. The encounter with the powerful Zionist-Hebrew culture was a kind of shock for them; they soon began to internalize the

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122 The journalist Arye Gellblum wrote about the immigrants from Arab countries: “We are dealing with a people whose primitivism is at a peak, whose level of knowledge is one of virtually absolute ignorance, and worse, who have little talent for understanding anything intellectual” (Ha’aretz, 22 April 1949). Three years later a distinguished professor from the University of California at Berkeley described Jews from Arab countries as a “backward, oriental, and alien mass of refugees.” Also, “no contrast could be greater than between a lice-infested, Arabic-speaking brown-skinned, and superstitious Yemenite cootie and a London-bred and Oxford-educated English Jew, and the latter predominated in the higher echelons of the Israeli Foreign Office (George Lenczowski, The Middle East in World Affairs [Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1962 (1953), 408]. No wonder that in 1957, while being the Israeli delegate to the UN, Abba Eban (1915–2002) wrote: “One of the great apprehensions which afflicts us when we contemplate our cultural scene is the danger lest the predominance of immigrants of Oriental origin force Israel to equalize its cultural level with that of the neighboring world. So far from regarding our immigrants from Oriental countries as a bridge toward our integration with Arabic-speaking world, our object should be to infuse them with Occidental spirit, rather than to allow them to draw us into unnatural Orientalism” (A. Eban, Voice of Israel [New York: Horizon Press, 1957], p. 76). Unaware of, or most probably consciously denying, the Arabness of the immigrants from Arab countries, in 1966 Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion (1886–1973) said: “We do not want Israelis to become Arabs. We are in duty bound to fight against the spirit of the Levant which corrupts individuals and societies, and preserve the authentic Jewish values as they crystallized in the Diaspora” (quoted in Sammy Smooha, Israel: Pluralism and Conflict [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978], p. 88. Cf. Raphael Cohen-Almagor, “Cultural Pluralism and Israeli Nation-Building Ideology,” International Journal of Middle East Studies 27 [1995], p. 464; Hayim Malka, Ha-Selekzka [The Selection] [n.p.: n.pub., 1998], pp. 49–53, 78–86; Uri Ram, “Historiosophical Foundations of the Historical Strife in Israel,” The Journal of Israeli History 20.2/3 [2001], p. 49). On the fear that cultural deficiencies of Arab-Jewish immigrants would stymie the utopian Zionist future, see Raphael Patai, Israel: Between East and West (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1970), pp. 320–323; Arnold Lewis, “Phantom Ethnicity: ‘Oriental Jews’ in Israeli Society,” in: Alex Weingrod (ed.), Studies in Israeli Ethnicity after the Ingathering (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1985), pp. 142–145.

123 Cf. Kimche, Pe’ilhat ha-Tnu’a ha-Ziyonit be-Mitsrayim, p. 619.
negative attitude of the canonical establishment toward Arab culture. Many of them hastened to refer to their Arab identity as a mark of disgrace in order to move closer to the epicenter of the Zionist-Ashkenazi collective. A strong catalyst in this process was the marginalization of Arab-Jewish culture by both Muslim-Arab and Jewish-Hebrew canonical cultural systems, both of which refused to accept the legitimacy of the Arab-Jewish hybridity. Even the historical existence of that hybridity was called into question. The Isrāʿīliyyāt, a term used by classical Muslim authors to denote material ascribed to Jews (Banū Isrāʾīl), became a flashpoint for charges of Jewish, or Zionist, religio-cultural infiltration.124 This is in evident contrast to solid sources (up until the 20th century) wherein Arabness referred to a common shared culture and language, a distinction only being drawn between Muslims, Jews, and Christians and not between Arabs and Jews. In the formative period of Islamic civilization, when cultural contact between Jews and Muslims was more likely to have been marked by curiosity and interest than by outward antagonism, Muslim scholars were well aware that Jewish scripture and lore deeply penetrated their own tradition and thus engaged in a keen discussion as to the potential impact of this borrowing.125

Modern Western intellectual discourse, for its part, has also contributed to the neglect of Arab-Jewish culture by highlighting only the Judeo-Christian cultural heritage – despite the fact that for half a millennium the creative centers of Jewish life were to be found under Islam and not under Christianity, and that with no less historical justification one can speak of a Judeo-Muslim heritage.126 Moreover, the Jewish experience in the Muslim world came often to be portrayed as an unending nightmare of oppression and humiliation. For example, in January 1974, the Tunisian writer Albert Memmi published in the French magazine L’Arche an article entitled “What is an Arab Jew?” It was written following a discussion organized by four newspapers (Le Monde, The Times, La Stampa, and Die Welt) with the participation of Libya’s president Mu’ammar Qadhafi. Relying on his personal experience, Memmi tried to show that “if we leave out the crematoria and the murders committed in Russia, from Kichinev to Stalin, the sum total of the Jewish victims of the Christian world is probably no greater than the total number of victims of the successive pogroms, both big and small, perpetrated in the Musslem countries. Until now, Jewish history has been written by Western Jews; there has never been any great Eastern Jewish historian. As a result, only the Western facets of the Jewish misfortune are known.”127

Writing under the pen name Bat Ye’or (‘Daughter of the Nile’), the Egyptian-

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127 The article was later incorporated into A. Memmi, Jews and Arabs (trans. by E. Levieux) (Chicago: J. Philip O’Hara, 1975), pp. 19–29. The quotation is from p. 27 (emphasis in the original – R.S.).
born Jewish scholar Giselle Littman also argues that the myth of “peaceful coexistence” between Muslims, Christians and Jews, especially the Andalusian “Golden Age,” propagated the Islamic version of the perfection of the *shari‘a* (Islamic law) and that this was to justify the elimination of Israel and its replacement by a “secular and democratic Arab Palestine, the multicultural Arab Palestinian State.” After the European Union voted unanimously to support a United Nations resolution condemning the Israeli fence, she published an article entitled “How Europe Became Eurabia.” Citing “a steady progression toward its Arabization and Islamization,” she states that “Europe has evolved from a Judeo-Christian civilization, with important post-Enlightenment elements, into a ‘civilization of dhimmitude,’ i.e., Eurabia: a secular-Muslim transitional society with its traditional Judeo-Christian mores rapidly disappearing.” She concludes her article by saying that “Eurabia’s contemporary anti-Zionism and anti-Americanism are the spiritual heirs of the 1930s Nazism and anti-Semitism, triumphally resurgent.”

It is not the aim of the present study to make a new contribution to the debate between approaches which have nourished the myth of harmonious Muslim-Jewish relations prior to the rise of Zionism and the neo-lachrymose approaches which have established the countermyth emphasizing the darker side of Jewish history under Islam. However, even those scholars who have been fostering, for example, the myth of an Andalusian “Golden Age,” generally adhere to the Orientalist conception of the Arabs as culturally *umma bā‘ida* (‘extinct nation’), that is, a nation with a glorious ancient culture but nothing to boast of today. Some of these scholars have a classicist bias that views artistic works of the late Middle Ages and early modern times as essentially decadent and devoid of aesthetic merit, thus not deserving of scholarly attention. Others are motivated by a political agenda, trying to show that Zionism alone is responsible for the miseries of the Jews under the rule of Islam in the 20th century. But only a very few are interested in the aesthetic dimensions of Arab culture inclusive the Jews. Be that as it may, one fact is beyond dispute: we are currently witnessing the demise of Arab-Jewish culture. Both the Muslim-Arab and the Jewish-Zionist canonical cultural and national systems have excluded the hybrid Arab-Jewish identity and highlighted the so-called “pure” Jewish-Zionist identity against the “pure” Arab-Muslim one. A tradition that commenced more than 2,500 years ago is now disappearing before our very eyes.


129 FrontPageMagazine.com 27 July 2004. Reacting to Littman’s arguments, the Lebanese writer Raghid al-Sulh wrote that “those who are filling the Europeans and the West with fear from the Islamization and Arabization of Europe follow the same path of Hitlerism and strive to drag the Europeans to the same path. The danger they pose for Europe and its civilization is no lesser than who adopt terrorist ideas” (*al-Hayāt*, 30 August 2005).

It is ironical that the fervent desire of most Mizrahi writers – even post-Zionist among them – is now nothing more than a Levantine component in modern Hebrew-Israeli culture, which might create “the possibility that Israel can become integrated into the Middle East.” Even this modest aim however is generally rejected by most Israeli intellectuals. Some consider the literary voice of Ronit Matalon (b. 1959), especially in her novel Zeh ‘im ha-Panim Eleynu (The One Facing Us) (1995), as a “cultural and historical statement constructed on the terrain first valorized by Jacqueline Kahanoff Yitzhak Gormezano-Goren” and which may “open important cultural possibilities that, in favorable political circumstances, could contribute to the long and torturous process of constructing a viable vision for Israel’s future with its Arab neighbors.”

The nationalist narrative in Matalon’s novel is seen as unfolding “across vast geographic expanses by means of which the Mizrahi story of immigration to Israel is presented as yet one more possible story, undermining the exclusivity of the dominant – and ostensibly natural Ashkenazi immigration.” Referring to the tragedy engulfing the Mizrahi Jews – who as new immigrants in Israel found the culture of their country of origin despised – Matalon, born in Israel of Egyptian parentage, says that “our life here, in Israel, depends mostly on the ability to learn to live with the East.”

Somehow, the dreams of the Egyptian Jews as well as of the writers, critics and scholars whose views and visions have been presented here, are infused with the spirit of the Alexandrian cosmopolitanism that was “the product of a limited period and singular history – that of the crumbling Ottoman Empire. It lived to the age of a sturdy human being, before disappearing for ever.”

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APPENDIX

Sheikh Shabtây by Maurice Shammâs

At some point way back in his childhood something happened – no one knows the meaning of this event except God, Knower of the Invisible. During the years of his childhood, something happened that stopped the development of his mind, then and there, whereas his body grew in

131 The quotations are from Beinim, The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry, p. 240.
133 Israeli Television, Channel 1, interview with Ari Shavit, 29 September 2003 (my emphasis – R.S.)
the course of time until he became a boy, then a young man, and then a middle-aged man approaching the age of sixty. When Shabtāy stood at the threshold of his old age, he looked on life with the eyes of a small child no more than four years of age.

As if wishing to perfect the image, Nature granted him the face of a child with all the features and characteristics that children's faces have. His face was round, the eyes were wide, the nose small, and his smooth cheeks were without even a single hair. As for his mouth, it always bore the same languid smile, with a child's glint of innocence and mockery.

The smile never left his face. He smiled when walking, sitting and eating, and he even smiled when snoring in his sleep. He smiled until it seemed to you he'd been born with a smile on his lips.

You might have liked to be in his company and tried to converse with him if it weren't for that strange smile stuck to his face, a smile which made you feel you were beholding an unnaturally person, not of our world, but from another place surrounded by secrets and mystery.

Shabtāy never spoke, never uttered a word. He was always silent. No one knew if his silence was intended or if his tongue was impotent, incapable of speech.

His only language was looking at people and smiling. He smiled at everything, human beings, animals and inanimate objects. His smile never altered or changed. It was always the same smile, with a child's glint of innocence and mockery. Sometimes he would reach out with his hand to touch with affection and friendship the heads of passers-by, as if bestowing his blessing on them.

The people used to tolerate this touching, and in the course of time his touch was considered a good omen. The children of the quarter were at first afraid of him, but later befriended him, some even going up to him to be granted the blessings brought on by his touch.

Shabtāy always wore loose garments of striped poplin, putting on his head a white skullcap which he never removed in the summer or winter, and he wore leather slippers. Throughout the day he used to sit in a wooden chair on the doorstep of his old house, at the entrance to the Khamīs al-'Adas Quarter. He used to look silently at the passers-by, on his lips the same innocent smile which, if you gazed at him for a while, would soon be passed on to you.

Shabtāy never left his chair but out of urgent need, or when his sister Zahra called him to eat. She was a spinster and older than him by three years. Since she was not beautiful enough to attract the notice of prospective bridegrooms, the marriage train had passed her. She now found herself responsible for her brother and attending to household matters.

Shabtāy and his sister had sufficient means for only the necessities of life. They had no other source of income aside from the house they had inherited from their grandfather, Raphael, and which had three other apartments.

One day during the Passover, Shabtāy was seated in his chair on the doorstep of his house, smiling at people, as usual patting children on their heads. A young officer and his wife passed near the house on their way to the Khurunfish Quarter to visit the family of one of their friends. The officer stopped near Shabtāy in order to ask him the way to this quarter.

Arising up from his chair, Shabtāy gently and tenderly touched the head of the officer's wife and then went back to his chair, the innocent smile spread across his face. Fuming with anger, the officer felt that this strange man's stupid behavior had violated his honor. His arm quickly rose and a slap fell upon the face of Shabtāy, strong, violent and rocking. The fingers dug four lines into his smooth cheek, but Shabtāy remained in his place. He did not move, he did not moan, the usual smile did not leave his lips, nor the glint of mockery in his eyes. Moreover, it seemed to the officer that his smile had become more ironic; therefore his anger grew and he raised his arm for another slap, but before his hand could again strike Shabtāy's face, he heard a voice shouting at him:

- Fear God, officer, he is a mad man; he doesn't know what he is doing. He doesn't deserve such cruelty from you.

The officer's arm remained suspended in the air, he retreated one step and looked at Shabtāy's face, where he saw the same strange smile affixed to his countenance. The officer felt that he was standing before a man not of this world. The arm of the officer relaxed, he muttered some words as if apologizing, and then left the place with his wife. Shabtāy's big smile, the smile that
bore the innocence of children with their mockery, followed them while on his face were traces of the slap that spoiled the clarity of his skin.

After the visit to their friends, the officer and his wife returned to their home. That very evening the officer sat down to eat and when he reached with his hand to take something from the table, he felt his arm refuse to obey him or to respond to his wish. He thought that his arm had become numb, and started to massage it with his left hand in order to restore it to its natural condition, but to no avail. His right arm remained powerless to move, as if it were paralyzed. That night, the officer went to bed and black thoughts disturbed him, driving the sleep from his eyes.

The next day, when the sun rose, he hurried to the physician to hear his advice, but the physician informed him that his arm was well, that the X-rays indicated no illness or hurt. Nevertheless, the officer was still unable to move his arm and his sense of helplessness grew too strong to be moderated by any words from the physician.

After two weeks, when the condition did not change, the arm remaining as immobile as before, the sense of helplessness increased every day to the point of despair. The physicians were at a loss with respect to the officer’s arm. Some friends advised him to visit a psychiatrist or a neurologist, and he did not hesitate for even one second. However, medical science was useless, as was his arm.

Then one day his mother appeared with a sheikh from among the friends of God who used to make talismans, recite incantations and perform miracles. The officer was on the verge of making a scene with his mother, accusing her of naivety and ignorance, but the appearance of the man and his childish and mocking smile reminded him of the smile he had seen on Shabtāy’s face in the Jewish quarter. He recalled what had happened there, some weeks ago, and remembering the slap it seemed to him that he could still hear its echo ringing in his ears and see Shabtāy’s face with his naive goodly smile, and the tender skin on which his slap had dug four red lines.

The officer hurried to leave the house and took a taxi that brought him straight away to Khamis al-‘Adas Quarter. The taxi stopped in front of Shabtāy’s house, where he was sitting as usual on the doorstep looking at people and smiling, smiling at everything, people, animals and inanimate objects. It was the same smile which made you feel you were before an unnatural man not of this world.

The officer went up to Shabtāy and in a voice full of regret said:
- Please forgive me, Sheikh Shabtāy! I didn’t know that you are among the righteous friends of God. I had a low opinion of you, please forgive me, God will forgive you!

After a moment of silence, Shabtāy reached out with his hand and tenderly touched the head of the officer, a smile covered his face, and there was a strange shine in his eyes!

The officer’s eyes overflowed with tears, he started kissing Shabtāy’s hand and said:
- You have just forgiven me, God will give you long life and...

Suddenly the officer felt himself holding Shabtāy’s hand with his right hand; his paralyzed hand had begun to move.

It was a miracle!

As of that day, the people in the quarter added to the name of Shabtāy the epithet Sheikh, and began to call him Sheikh Shabtāy.

(Translated by R. Snir)
Nangchen Tibetan texts: culture and language

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1. Introduction

Nangchen Tibetan is a dialect of Kham Tibetan spoken by 66,000 speakers (out of approximately 1.5 million Khampa speakers).¹ Nangchen speakers (hereafter Nangchenmis) live in Nangchen County, Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in the western part of Qinghai Province, PR China.² Like other Tibetan dialects (except for Lhasa Tibetan, the standard dialect), Nangchen Tibetan has not been extensively studied. To our knowledge, there has been only one publication on this dialect published in German (cf. Causemann 1989).

The linguistic circumstance in China's Tibetan cultural areas is rapidly changing resulting in many young people speaking Tibetan dialects much less than ever before. This situation compels us to try and preserve a record of these dialects. We believe that data from these dialects will provide new insights into Tibetan grammar as well as Tibetan traditional culture.

This paper presents both linguistic and cultural data on Nangchen Tibetan based on four folktales collected by Palden Choying in his hometown, a nomadic community called ‘Tshashonang’ (tshaṣonang) in Chichu Township, which is situated in the south of Nangchen County. We first give background to the fieldsite and the teller of these four texts and discuss general characteristics of the texts, their content and certain cultural and religious beliefs embedded in the texts. We then analyze a striking and complex feature of Nangchen verbal morphology, namely how the language marks time. Comparisons with Lhasa Tibetan and other Kham Tibetan dialects are also made.

2. Background to the Texts

2.1 Fieldsite

Nangchen is located in the northern tip of the cultural province of Kham in eastern Tibet. Historically it was a semi-independent principality ruled by hereditary kings (Teichman 1922; Samuel 1993; Gruschke 2004).³ Presently, it is part of Yushu Tibet-

¹ According to the 2000 census (http://www.tibetinfo.net), the total population of Tibetans in the PRC is approximately 5.4 million. Of this number, 2.5 million live in the Tibet Autonomous Region; the remaining number in the provinces of Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan, with Yunnan containing the smallest number (128,000). The census does not distinguish Tibetans according to regional identity, i.e., there is no exact number of Khampas, Amdowas or other groups.

² The terms Nangchenpas or Nangchenwas are also used but only by educated people and monks.

³ According to Gruschke (2004: 103–4), the title ‘king’ is equivalent to the headman of various nomadic tribes. Nangchen was traditionally known as the ‘country of the twenty-five clans.’

an Autonomous Prefecture, where the majority of the population is Tibetan, located in Qinghai Province.⁴ Nangchen County consists of ten townships, four of which are semi-nomadic and semi-agricultural (samadrok in Tibetan or ‘neither agricultural nor nomadic’). The remaining areas are totally nomadic and remote.⁵ The folktales were collected in a nomadic area called Tshashonag located in Chichu Township.

People in Tshashonag and other remote areas in Nangchen speak Nangchen Tibetan. Because of little contact with the outside world (though they now have access to radio and TV), these Nangchenmis do not speak other Tibetan dialects or know other languages. Most do not speak Chinese, except for those engaged in trade and thus have regular contact with Chinese speakers. In short, these nomad Nangchenmis speak pure Nangchen Tibetan. The situation differs from that of the county town where people mix words and expressions from various Tibetan dialects and use numerous Chinese loanwords in Tibetan. Consequently, county town residents easily understand such nearby dialects of Kham Tibetan as Jiegu (Jyekundo dialect) and Derge or the so-called Kham Tibetan koine.⁶ They also have a basic command of Lhasa Tibetan. Children less easily understand other Tibetan dialects. The majority of Nangchen County Town residents, particularly government workers, understand Chinese well.

2.2 Storyteller

Oga, the storyteller, was born in Tshatshonang in 1953. At an early age, she was sent to work in a people’s commune, where she worked for many years and experienced severe hardships. Although she and other commune members were instructed to sacrifice themselves for work and not waste time, they still found opportunity to tell each other folktales, legends and riddles while herding livestock and in the evenings. Among all the storytellers in her commune, she was the most enthusiastic, pursuing every opportunity to listen and tell tales. Oga has experienced extraordinary difficulties throughout her life. Not only is she the mother of five children but she also raised all of her children by herself, with few livestock.

Oga was initially influenced by her grandmother’s folktales during the time she worked in the commune. Moreover, telling folktales was a contemporary form of entertainment in nomadic communities. These two factors created an atmosphere conducive to Oga wanting to hear and tell folklore. Consequently, people visited and asked her to tell them tales. Oga tells tales in a way that makes listeners unperturbed and comfortable. When she became older, she was called ‘the master of folktale tellers.’ After distribution of communal livestock to individuals, Oga returned to Tshashonang and has lived there with her children in a small house, dependent on a

⁴ Qinghai’s Tibetan population is approximately one million including both Khampas and Amdowas.
⁵ There are very few schools in these remote areas, consequently, hardly any Nangchen speakers from these townships receive formal education. Only county town residents and those living nearby have opportunities to attend school.
⁶ Kham Tibetan koine is a regional language of Kham based on Derge, the most widespread agricultural dialect, and Written Tibetan. It is mixed with words and idiomatic expressions from various Kham dialects.
small number of livestock. Oga asserts however, that her life is sufficient both materially and spiritually.

3. Content and Cultural Implications of the Texts

3.1 Content

The title of Text I is ‘The Story of Shaho Tsherle.’ Shaho means ‘male bird’ and Tsherle is the actual name of the bird. This tale is about a devil who deceived a family. The father and two elder daughters of the family were lured away from home and devoured by the devil. Only the mother and the youngest daughter survived. The insatiable devil was not yet satisfied and attempted to eat the youngest daughter, too. But an intelligent dog rescued her and showed her how to enter a cave where she met Shaho Tsherle, the story’s hero. At first, Shaho Tsherle disguised himself as a bird but later his true identity as a divine being was revealed. The girl and Shaho overcame numerous obstacles and lived together happily in the end.

The title of Text II is ‘The Shepherd.’ It is about a shepherd who gained miraculous power from a holy man who disguised himself as an old monk. This power enabled him to understand the languages that animals and other living beings used. Meanwhile, a prince contracted a strange, life-threatening illness that no doctor could cure. Then the shepherd inexplicably heard the way to cure this illness from a raven. He went to see the prince and offered to cure him. When the prince recovered, the shepherd was rewarded with a powerful position.

Text III is called ‘The Tale of a Hunter.’ It is about a hunter who accidentally intruded into a devil’s home. The devil trapped him and threatened to eat him. In the end, however, the hunter slew the devil. The next morning he discovered that local people came to pay the devil taxes – innocent human beings. After he announced that he had already killed the devil, local people asked him to be their leader.

The title of Text IV is ‘Penguin Yodei,’ which means ‘an old monk who drags a stick.’ It is about a divine old monk who came to a family with three daughters. This monk was in fact a son of the Ntshanpa deity family7 who wanted to choose a girl for his bride. He carefully observed all the girls’ personalities, and decided that the youngest daughter was full of compassion and had a great sense of appreciation. He then took her as his bride and eventually, they lived happily ever after.

All these texts share similar themes of miraculous power and the close interaction between humans and supernatural beings who represent both evil and divinity. The human characters are not varied; they reflect traditional ways of life and local Tibetan political systems. The male characters are shepherds, hunters, princes, kings and divine beings disguised as old monks. The female ones are mostly village girls. All the texts have happy endings: the evils are vanquished and the heroes and/or heroines are rewarded and live happily. Example (1) below illustrates the ending of one story.

7 Ntshanpa is the name of a Buddhist deity.
Example (1)
Text I (L. 337)
tani teeqigawa gø¥-la jøan dou løma tøha-la kør
then happiness sky-LOC equal sadness single; piece river-LOC send; throw away
Then (their) happiness was balanced with (the vastness of) the sky and (their) sadness was sent into the river.

3.2 Cultural Implications

Although we could argue that the above-mentioned themes are influenced by the Buddhist doctrine (the dharma defeats evil, or good karma gets good results), the texts reflect beliefs in both Buddhism and pre-Buddhist religion and contain elements that mix Buddhism, folk beliefs and traditional culture. The latter point is obvious in Text II in which Padmasambhava, an enlightened tantric practitioner who brought Buddhism into Tibet in the 8th Century A.D., was portrayed as Pengin Yodei, a divine old monk. This disguised identity of Padmasambhava is a widely held contemporary belief of the Nangchenmis. Whenever stories about Pengin Yodei are told, Nangchenmis believe this character is an emanation of Padmasambhava, who travelled around Tibet helping people. However, in this folk story Pengin Yodei’s primary mission was not to help people but to select a wife. And in doing that, he rewarded kind-hearted people and punished selfish ones.

Religious symbols also appear in the texts. For example, the main characters of Text IV are the three daughters named Gold Le (serlø), Silver Le (nøula) and Conch Le (toqlo), respectively. Gold, silver and conch are considered valuable objects in Tibetan society and conch has extra value as a religious object. Hence, it is not surprising to see that conch (as in the name Conch Le) is associated with the story’s heroine and thus symbolizes virtue and purity. The text emphasizes this by depicting the two older daughters as witches, while the youngest daughter is a dakini (realized woman).

Example (2)
Text IV (Ls. 6–7)
tøhia ndøenga jøi-te ndømo øndoule
the oldest middle two-DET witch EQUIA
The oldest and the middle (daughters), the two, were witches.

tøhøma-te nkhandøma ri
youngest-DET dakini EQUIA
The youngest (daughter) was a dakini.

This particular example is linguistically striking because it uses two different copulas for the third-person subject (øndoule and ri), which may be related to the narrator’s viewpoint, i.e., the narrator is partial to the youngest daughter. øndoule connotes

8 Some Nangchen girls’ nicknames are composed of short names and the particle lo (romanized as le in the English translation), such as Chole (pronounced as tøhøla, from Chonyid Zangmo or “beautiful dharma”).
remoteness and less empathy, whereas ri conveys closeness and great empathy. It is important to note that dakinis, but not witches, play an important role in Tibetan Buddhism. This is thus another clear example illustrating the combination of Buddhism and folk beliefs.

Another example reflecting the combination of Buddhism and folk culture is an episode on horse racing in Text I. The story’s heroine went to a horse race to pray and receive empowerments. Horse racing is an important festival in Kham areas, particularly where there are grasslands as there are in Nangchen and nearby Jyekundo. Although there may be religious ceremonies at the beginning of the three to five-day festival, people attend for fun and recreation, not primarily for religious purpose. Furthermore, lamas do not usually perform empowerment ceremonies there.

The texts also reveal beliefs about women and such traditional practices and rituals as cursing and making offerings. In Text IV, for example, it is mentioned that if women go across or step over someone, they might contaminate the person, reducing fortune of the stepped-over person.

In the same text, we also learn about a ritual of making offerings, though the ritual mentioned is slightly different from what people actually do. In general, Tibetan nomads historically scooped water into wooden buckets from springs. After filling the buckets, they made water offerings to deities, mountain spirits and nagas or spiritual beings in the underworld, by sprinkling water into the sky one or several times as a way to appease the deities, one time to the mountains as a way to make an offering to the mountains gods and one time to the spring, as an offering to the nagas. By doing this, it is believed that auspicious offerings are made to the deities and the mountains gods or nagas would not be upset by their natural environment by the disturbance of water-fetching. However, this text mentions that the three girls (Gold Le, Silver Le and Conch Le) make water offerings to Ntsanpa Deity, Red Tsin (a mountain deity) and Black Devil. There is no mention of nagas and in reality people do not believe in devils. Example (3) describes this ritual.

Example (3)
Text IV (Ls. 59–63)

then water scoop water make offering then water time three-LOC make offering

Then (Silver Le) scooped water and then made a water offering; (she) made water offerings three times.

dei black family-DAT make offering say-PAST

(Silver Le) said: ‘(I would like to) make an offering to the family of the Ntsanpa deity, to the family of the red tsin and to the family of the black devil.

A cursing practice done by a woman appears in Text I. In general, when Nangchen women quarrel with one another or with men, they sway their gama (lower part of a
Tibetan robe) and curse them. It is believed that this cursing practice could cause the cursed person misfortune and even death. In this particular text the main character, Shaho Tsherle, asked the heroine to circumambulate a white stupa counter-clockwise and then sway her gama while cursing the stupa. This blinded the stupa, a symbol of purity. Next, he asked her to circumambulate a black stupa (a symbol of evil) in a clockwise manner and that made it happy. Note that there are no black stupas in Tibet and people usually circumambulate a stupa in a clockwise manner. Consequently, we see imaginative elements mixed with Buddhist beliefs.

4. General Characteristics of the Texts

Tibetan is a clausal chaining language. Therefore, we find it logical to use clause as a unit of our analysis. A clause generally consists of a nominal and a predicate. It could be finite — marked by the appearance of the main verb, with or without the sentence-final discourse marker. Alternatively, it could be non-finite — marked by a conjunctive suffix. When parts of the texts are sung, they are presented as a coherent whole without being broken into small clauses.

The total number of the clauses in the four texts studied is 1,063. Text IV is the longest with 523 clauses. Text I consists of 337 clauses. Text II and III are relatively shorter: 91 and 112 clauses, respectively. Like many traditional oral narratives, many segments of the texts are repetitive and contain several reported dialogs. This is particularly true for Texts I and IV, which accounts for their length.

In transcribing Nangchen, we use broad transcription because the main focus of this paper, as well as the entire project, is not phonology but the overall characteristics of the texts including their grammatical features and cultural implications. We hope to present the texts not only as linguistic data but also cultural entities revealing the texture of the Tibetan language and the lived life of the nomadic people they emanate from.

We emphasize comprehension, rather than literal translation, which reflects the original linguistic structure. Thus in many cases translation is not given soon after each clause is presented. However, it is given when it is possible to translate the Tibetan clauses into a complete sentence in English. For the sake of clarity, certain discourse markers and repetitive elements that can cause redundancy are not represented in the English translation.

Due to the limited scope of this paper, we present neither the detail of these valuable texts nor the structure of the overall narrative. We hope to publish all the texts with their contexts in book form soon. In this section, we point out certain characteristics of the texts by citing relevant episodes. Below are several opening lines from Text I.

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9 We have avoided mentioning Bon, an ancient religion in Tibet. We felt that it was important not to create additional stereotypes about this religion by concluding that Bon influenced any non-Buddhist element. Regarding circumambulation, Bon practitioners usually walk counterclockwise. But there are also no black stupas in Bon. Contemporary Bon, Yangdron Bon or ‘Everlasting Bon,’ has the same basic teachings as Buddhism and devotees consider themselves a Tibetan Buddhist sect. Therefore, it is challenging to identify elements that can be labeled Bon or Buddhist.
Example (4)

Text I

(1.1)

te'i rei ole
family a EXIST

There was a family.

(1.2)

te-la pomā som ole
that-DAT daughter three EXIST

(1.3)

pha ma tou ole
father mother like that EXIST

That family had three daughters, father and mother, like that.

(1.4)

tani la pharman-la seinpho ole
then mountain pass behind-LOC devil EXIST

There was a devil behind a mountain pass.

(1.5)

seinpho-te-ke pomā nela ʒen go-le
devil-DET-ERG daughter fiancée's family-DAT give should-PAST

(1.6)

tchou ou wi ndou-dzo əla-ma dze-le
you like this do live-NOM EXIST-NEG say-PAST

"(You) should give the daughter to the fiancée's family, you can't live like this," said the devil.

The opening lines are almost the same in all the texts studied. New characters are presented instantly without such formulaic utterances as 'a long time ago,' as is usually the case for folktales from central Tibet. In this particular example, lines (1) – (3) introduce a family who later plays an important role in the story. Line (4) introduces another character, the devil, who later interacts with the family. Lines (5) and (6) are the reported speech of the devil to the family. Reported speech, which is plentiful in all the texts, is usually presented in the following frame: the subject marked by ergative marker + direct speech + verb 'say' + past tense suffix.

Example (5) below is an excerpt from Text IV. It is a dialogue between the old monk Pengin Yodei, and three ravens (Ls. 113–125). The monk talked to the birds three times giving messages for the three girls in the story. All the messages share the same linguistic structure but have different foci: the first one is directed toward

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10 This is similar to folktales in such other Kham dialects as Rgyalthang studied by Krisadawan Hongladarom.

Gold Le, the oldest daughter of the family (Ls. 113–125); the second one is for Silver Le, the second daughter (Ls. 183–195) and the third one is for Conch Le, the third daughter (Ls. 256–267). All these lines are poetic and were sung by Oga. Between these lines there are additional dialogues between the ravens and each girl and the girls and the old monk.

*Example (5)*

Text IV

*singing*

(L.113)

phoŋko rouŋŋ serma mei tchu jar-ndo ɛŋ-sho
raven black cute golden eye you up-go EQUA.SELF-CONJ

(L.114)

mar ndo ɛŋ
down go EQUA.SELF

Cute black, golden-eyed ravens, are you going up or going down? (he asked).

(L.115)

tchu jar-ndo ɛŋ-na
you up-go EQUA.SELF-CONJ

(L.116)

tcha kɔr u
message entrust EXIST.SELF

(L.117)

mar jon ɛŋ-na
down come EQUA.SELF-CONJ

(L.118)

keitea ɛu dze-le
information tell say-PAST

"If you are going up, (I) have a message to entrust to you, if you have come down from (the upper valley), tell me information," said (the old monk to the ravens).

(L.119)

phoŋko-ke jarndo ɛŋ dze-le
raven-ERG up-go EQUA.SELF say-PAST

The ravens said, "We are going up."
(L.120) serlo serndzo tshi da du.
PN gold cow  bring EXIST tell

(L.121) si-o zora tchi-co du.
gold GEN jera  bring-come tell

(L.122) si-o zozu tchi-co du.
gold GEN milk bucket bring-come tell

"Tell Gold Le, (her) gold cow has been brought, tell (her) to bring the gold jera and tell (her)
to bring the gold milk bucket."

(L.123) pha-ni shema pon-co du.
upper valley LOC butter & tsampa offering heap-come tell

(L.124) nda-ni ndara pon-co du.
lower valley LOC dara heap-come tell

(L.125) tsapndzo menlan nu-co du dze-le.
prayers wish offer-come tell say-PAST

"Tell (Gold Le) to heap butter and tsampa offerings at the upper valley, tell (her) to heap dara at
the lower valley, tell (her) to offer prayers and wishes," said (the old monk to the ravens).

Before Tibetans embark on a journey or begin something, they interpret what they
first see or meet before the action as an omen. For example, seeing someone carrying
a bucket full of water or a full basket of dried yak dung is believed to be an auspicious
omen. On the contrary, if they see an empty container or an empty bucket, it is
considered a bad omen. Bad dreams the night before they travel are interpreted as an
evil portent. In order to prevent bad things from happening, they often pray or ask
lamas to perform rituals. Before a long journey and on auspicious days, tsampa and
butter called sherna are usually offered to the deities in a prayer room.

In this excerpt, the monk who became Gold Le’s family’s servant entrusted
messages for Gold Le to the ravens because she had gone to the herding area before
him. He told the ravens to tell her that he had already taken the gold cow, the gold
jera and the gold milk bucket. It is clear that the monk and Gold Le would herd
together because these objects are usually used in milking. He also asked the ravens

11 The cow (ndzo, a short form of ndzom) here is actually a cow-yak cross. ndzo can be both male and
female.
12 Jera (zora) is a rope tied around female yaks’ legs to prevent them from kicking when they are
milked.
13 Dara is a religious implement made of seven different colors of silk tied atop a bamboo stick.
14 Tsampa is roasted barley flour. It is a staple Tibetan food and is important for religious rituals.

to tell her that she should bring *tsampa*, butter offerings and offerings of *dara* and that she should make prayers and wishes. This part suggests prior to doing a herding activity, they wished to do rituals to ensure the herding would go successfully.

The above excerpt also highlights important linguistic characteristics of Nangchen texts, as summarized below:

1. Direct speech is preferred to indirect speech in this sort of oral text. This is evident in the use of SELF verbs such as the copula *e* ‘be’ and the existential *u* ‘have’ used with the first person speaker.

   (L.119)
   phoṣo-ke jamdo *e* dze-le
   raven-ERG up-go EQUA_SELF say-PAST
   The ravens said, “We are going up.”

   (L.116)
   teha kar *u*
   message entrust EXIST_SELF
   (I) have a message to entrust (to you).

   Note that the terms egophoric (glossed as SELF) refer to speaker-oriented and non-egophoric (OTHER) to non-speaker-oriented. They correspond to what DeLancey (1992) labels ‘conject/disjunct distinction.’ Traditional grammarians may refer to this phenomenon as person marking: egophoric refers to first person subject and non-egophoric non-first. But we find this terminology inappropriate, as person marking in Nangchen and other Tibetan dialects has a semantic, rather than a syntactic basis. Our use of a semantic basis is motivated by the egophoric verb also being used with the non-first person subject as in a question anticipating that the first person speaker will be the subject in the next turn. Moreover, the non-egophoric verb may also be used with the first person subject as when the verb is involitional (e.g., think, sad, cough, dream, etc.). This phenomenon is widespread in modern Tibetan dialects, but is not attested in Old Tibetan.

2. Zero anaphora is common in all these texts. Usually the subject after the first mention is omitted. Only when there is mention of new characters, hence interrupting the reference flow, is the nominal re-introduced. As agent is usually old information, it tends to be omitted more than patient (direct object) or recipient (indirect object).

   (L.125)
   tcapndo men lan gu-ło du dzu dze-le
   prayers wish offer-come tell say-PAST
   “Tell (her) to come to offer prayers and wishes,” said (the old monk).

   In this particular example, both the subject of the verb ‘say’ and the object of the verb ‘tell’ are omitted. But their identities are easily recoverable.
3. Lines (120–125) of Text IV above exhibit certain repetitive structure: The verb dzu (imperative form of the verb ‘tell’) is required at the end of each reported message. This verb has many functions and can appear in many forms as dzé (past tense form) or dzo (non-past). When they occur at the end of each reported speech as in these lines, they function as quotative markers. They can also follow proper names and sounds. Alternatively, they can occur as main verbs meaning ‘say or tell.’ The use of this verb is found throughout the four texts and is also common in Nangchenmi daily speech.

4. Many verbs in the Nangchen dialect function as secondary verbs and indicate aspect and mood. For example, cu, the imperative form of the verb ‘tell’ in téchiu ‘bringcome’ in lines (121)–(122) functions as an imperative marker. Based on the Nangchen data and existing literature on Kham, we could argue that the use of secondary verbs is a unique feature of Kham Tibetan.

5. Each transitive agent is marked by the ergative suffix -ke, as seen in line (119). Ergative marking is systematic in Nangchen. We have not found any instance of split ergativity as is the case for Lhasa Tibetan and other modern Tibetan dialects.

5. Marking Time in Nangchen Tibetan Texts

The four texts we studied reveal such interesting features of Tibetan grammar as tense, aspect and modality system, determiner system, case-marking morphology and special functions of copula and existential verbs. Here, we focus only on one of the most salient features in the verbal morphology, namely how Nangchen Tibetan marks time.

5.1 Verbal stem alternations

Unlike other Kham Tibetan dialects, as far as the published data indicates, Nangchen explicitly marks time in verbal paradigms, though it is not done in a full-fledged system. It is important to note that most verbs have special forms for the imperative mood and use the same forms for all the three tenses (past, present and future). Present and future are usually conveyed by the same form and thus are called ‘NON-PAST.’

Certain verbs have two different forms: one for non-past and the other for past and imperative. An example of such a verb is the verb ‘go’: ndzo for non-past and shon for imperative and past. However, this is considered an exception, as there are few of them.

In general, there are four sub-groups of verbs based on stem alternations in Nangchen: (1) verbs that have special stems for imperative mood, (2) verbs that have special stems for past tense, (3) verbs that have special stems for past, non-past and imperative (some of these verbs have aberrant forms for the imperative such as wi, we, tci ‘past, non-past and imperative forms of the verb ‘do,’ and (4) verbs that make no distinction among the tenses and imperative, i.e., possessing no variant forms. Note that certain of these verbs may have more than one stem. For example, the imperative of the verb ‘laugh’ in Group I has two stems.

Table 1. Imperatives vs. past & non-past tense forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group  I</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
<th>PAST &amp; NON-PAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to stand; get up’</td>
<td>làŋ</td>
<td>làŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to follow’</td>
<td>jŋo</td>
<td>jŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to blow’</td>
<td>shor</td>
<td>shar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to catch’</td>
<td>səŋ</td>
<td>zəŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to send’</td>
<td>jə</td>
<td>gə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to tell, say’</td>
<td>jə</td>
<td>jə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to tie’</td>
<td>tchen</td>
<td>tche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to connect’</td>
<td>thei</td>
<td>nthei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to wake up’</td>
<td>shə</td>
<td>sə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to roll’</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>ndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to scatter’</td>
<td>thu</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to laugh’</td>
<td>gu, ge</td>
<td>Ge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Past vs. non-past and imperative forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group II</th>
<th>NON-PAST &amp; IMPERATIVE</th>
<th>PAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to show’</td>
<td>tun, tin</td>
<td>tun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to practice’</td>
<td>dəŋ</td>
<td>noded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to find’</td>
<td>jŋou</td>
<td>jŋe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Past, non-past and imperative forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group III</th>
<th>NON-PAST</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to look, watch’</td>
<td>tə</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to kill’</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>shə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to say, call’</td>
<td>dzə</td>
<td>dze</td>
<td>dzu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to throw’</td>
<td>nphəŋ</td>
<td>nphəŋ</td>
<td>nphəŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to yell’</td>
<td>kodza</td>
<td>kodzap</td>
<td>kodzap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to get, fetch’</td>
<td>liŋ</td>
<td>lan</td>
<td>lən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to chop’</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>shi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to take away’</td>
<td>lin</td>
<td>lan</td>
<td>lən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to distribute’</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>gu</td>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to show’</td>
<td>tun</td>
<td>tin</td>
<td>thun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to sleep’</td>
<td>pei</td>
<td>jə</td>
<td>jə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to sit, stay’</td>
<td>ndou</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to break’</td>
<td>jŋə̇</td>
<td>jŋə̇</td>
<td>jŋə̇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to boil’</td>
<td>tso</td>
<td>tsu</td>
<td>tshu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to milk’</td>
<td>ʒə</td>
<td>ʒu</td>
<td>əu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to put’</td>
<td>əsə̇</td>
<td>əzə̇</td>
<td>əsə̇</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. No distinctions for all the tenses and the imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group IV</th>
<th>PRESENT</th>
<th>FUTURE</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to bring, take’</td>
<td>tšhej</td>
<td>tšhej</td>
<td>tšhej</td>
<td>tšhej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to move’</td>
<td>neι</td>
<td>neι</td>
<td>neι</td>
<td>neι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to carry’</td>
<td>khor</td>
<td>khor</td>
<td>khor</td>
<td>khor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to hide’</td>
<td>kəp</td>
<td>kəp</td>
<td>kəp</td>
<td>kəp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to drink’</td>
<td>nthəŋ</td>
<td>nthəŋ</td>
<td>nthəŋ</td>
<td>nthəŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Our data reveal that Group I verbs are the most frequent. Second and third to this are Group III, particularly the first type and Group IV. We found only three examples of the Group II type. It appears that the past forms are not as distinctive in Nangchen as the imperative ones. We found only one example making a distinction between future and nonfuture: ‘to ride’ mchhi (future form) vs. tchhi (non-future forms including the imperative mood).

These stem alternations are distinguished primarily by means of vowel ablaut and secondarily by means of consonantal change. Most imperative forms have the same consonantal structure (both in terms of onset and coda) as their non-imperative counterparts. They are nearly always associated with rounded back vowels, i.e. /u/ and /o/. When they are not (i.e., exhibit the same vocalic structure as the non-imperative counterparts), they are usually distinguished by such phonological processes as aspiration, devoicing and glottal deletion. We found only a few examples of this type as illustrated below:

**Imperative distinguished by means of aspiration:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NON-PAST</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to kill'</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to chop'</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to show'</td>
<td>tun</td>
<td>tin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperative distinguished by means of devoicing:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NON-PAST</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to distribute'</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>gu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperative distinguished by means of glottal deletion:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NON-PAST</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to break'</td>
<td>jo²</td>
<td>ja²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there are numerous verbal stem alternations in Nangchen Tibetan as shown above, the dialect also employs tense suffixes, auxiliary verbs and secondary verbs, as presented in the next section.

### 5.2 Tense suffixes, auxiliaries and secondary verbs

Verbal stem alternations in Old Tibetan are the primary way to denote time, whereas in Lhasa Tibetan they hardly play any role. Tense and aspect in the latter is indicated by tense suffixes and sentence-final auxiliaries that are grammaticalized from copula and existential verbs. Most Kham Tibetan dialects are similar to Lhasa Tibetan in that they possess only a small number of verbal stem alternations and rely on auxiliaries to indicate time. Additionally, Kham dialects employ a handful of

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15. In Lhasa dialect most verbs have distinctive forms for the imperative, but there are few distinctions for the three tenses.


verbs that occupy a secondary position between the main verbs and the tense suffixes. Most of these verbs that we call ‘secondary verbs’ retain their lexical meanings, but some have become fully grammatical morphemes conveying such functions as aspectual distinctions, modalities, directional marking and causative marking.

When compared with Lhasa and other Kham dialects, Nangchen is unique in the sense that it contains all these temporal marking devices. It possesses a large number of verbal stem alternations and also employs various tense suffixes, auxiliaries and secondary verbs.

5.2.1 Tense suffixes
5.2.1.1 Past and present tense suffixes
There are four allomorphs of the past and present tense suffixes in Nangchen: *leŋ* and *neŋ* (to be used with the speaker) and *le* and *ne* (for the non-speaker). They are used according to the following rules:

*leŋ* and *le* are used when the preceding verb ends in a vowel or a stop, e.g., *dze-leŋ* ‘(I) said (it)’, *tchi-le* ‘(she) brought (it)’, *zengə-le* ‘(he) should give (it)’, *tsap-leŋ* ‘(I) arrived (there)’. *neŋ* and *ne* are used with the nasal finals e.g., *tšeishŋ-ne* ‘(he) took (it)’.

5.2.1.2 Past tense suffix
*ngu* is a special past tense suffix that is used only with the fist person speaker when the event described is beyond his or her control, e.g., dreaming, falling sick and thinking and when an action is being done on the speaker, e.g., being hit at, or for the speaker, e.g., being helped. In Example (6) below two past tense suffixes are used. They clearly show the contrast in volitionality: *leŋ* conveys an intention on the part of the speaker and *ngu* the lack of intention.

**Example (6):**  
Text I (Ls. 161-162)

```
ne  shačen  me-la  saça-leŋ  sha  rei  mə  rei  jam-la  
L.ERG  bird  skin  fire-LOC  burn-EM-PAST.SELF  bird  a  human  a  together

dei-dzə  mə-də  san-ŋu  dze  
live-NOM  NEG-EXIST  think-PAST.SELF  say
```

(She) said, “I burnt the bird skin in the fire for I don’t think that a human being and a bird can live together.”

In Example (7) *ŋu* is used with the action of which the speaker has no control, i.e., the water splashed onto his tongue. In (8) it indicates that the action, i.e., distributing a wool spinner, is done for the speaker.

---

17 There are no occurrences of *neŋ* in our texts.
Example (7):
Text IV (L.36)

pengin-ke pomo γo tse-γo-la tse jar-ngu
old monk-ERG girl I.GEN tongue-top-LOC water splash-PAST.SELF

(The) old monk said, “Girl, water has splashed onto my tongue.”

Example (8):
Text I (L.328)

pinphar go-γo we-ngu dze
wool spinner distribute-help do-PAST.SELF say

(They) said (the girl) helped (them) to distribute the wool spinner.

5.2.1.3 Future tense suffixes
There are two forms for future tense suffix: dzin (or dzɔ) for first person speaker and li for non-first.

Example (9):
Text I (L. 90)

tchou ndɔ-dzin dze
you go-FUT.SELF say

(The bird) asked, “Will you go?”

In this particular example, the bird mentioned to the girl that there would be a grand horse race and people would go there to receive empowerments and to pray and asked whether she wanted to go. As mentioned earlier, the egophoric form could be used with non-first person subject in an interrogative sentence which, in this case, is the second person pronoun.

Example (10)
Text L (L. 58)

ta tchou-a sha-ndɔ-li dze-le
now you-also eat-go-FUT say-PAST

(The dog) said, “Now, (the devil) will also eat you.”

In this example, the dog told the girl that her father and two older sisters were eaten by the devil so he would also eat her. Here the use of the future tense suffix with non-first person subject is evident.

5.2.1.4 Imperative suffix
Most verbs have particular imperative forms that convey the imperative mood without a special marker. When verbs lack special imperative forms, the imperative suffix çɔ is used, as in tchi-çɔ ‘bring it.’ Alternatively, the secondary verb shaŋi ‘go (pt; imp)’ can also be used to form an imperative construction, as in (11).
Example (11):
Text IV (Ls. 18–21)

pengin-że tima en-na ku-shóŋ tima en-na
old monk-ERG no hurry EQUA.SELF-CONJ pass around-go hurry EQUA.SELF-CONJ
gun-shóŋ
step over-go

(The disguised) old monk said, “If (you are) in a hurry, step over (me), if (you are) not in a hurry, go around (me).”

Table 6 shows interaction between verbal stem alternations and tense suffixes that are used according to the system of participant-marking.

Table 6. Use of verbal stem alternations and tense suffixes to convey temporal distinctions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb ‘do’</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SELF</td>
<td>we-leŋ</td>
<td>wi-leŋ</td>
<td>wi-go</td>
<td>tei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I did (it)’</td>
<td>‘I do (it)’</td>
<td>‘I’ll do (it)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>we-le</td>
<td>wi-le</td>
<td>wi-li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘You/He/She/ They did (it)’</td>
<td>‘You/He/She/ They do (it)’</td>
<td>‘You/He/She/ They will do (it)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.2 Secondary verbs

In some cases, secondary verbs appear between the verbs and the tense suffixes, conveying the sense that the event has already completed (perfective aspect) or is ongoing (imperfective aspect).

Example (12):
Text II (Ls. 36–37)

konnha tein–na si rei pap teiti teiti dze-de-le
smoking vent top-LOC little bird a land gigi gigi say (pt)-stay (pt)-PAST
A little bird landed at the smoking vent, making the sound gigi gigi.

In (12), past time is indicated by the past form of the verb dze ‘say,’ the secondary verb de ‘stay’ that is also in the past form and the past tense suffix -le. Without the secondary verb the sentence means that the bird made only one sound gigi. The presence of this verb indicates a series of repeated actions. In other contexts, this secondary verb also conveys ongoing action. When it is attached to a verb like ‘to think,’ it only emphasizes the state, as seen in (13).

Example (13): Text I (L.27)

phagin en-khu tšin in-de-le
father EQUA-MOD think-stay (pt)-PAST
(They) thought that (the devil) was the father.
Other verbs than the verb ‘stay,’ that function as secondary verbs include the verbs snying ‘go (pt)’ and thi ‘pass (pt)’ indicating perfective aspect, ndo ‘go (np)’ conveying that the action has not been completed (it often occurs with the future tense suffix), as illustrated in (12).

Example (14):
Text I (L. 38)
ta tchou-a sha-ndo-le dze-le
now you-also eat (np)-go (np)-FUT say (pt)-PAST

“Now (the devil) will also eat you,” said (the small dog).

It should be pointed out that the aspectual functions of secondary verbs such as this exist in such other Kham dialects as Rgyalhang and Bathang (Hongladarom, forthcoming) and Derge (Häsler 1999). On the contrary, Lhasa Tibetan employs few of these verbs, which rarely mark aspect.18

5.2.3 Auxiliaries

Existential verbs (u for egophoric marking and dā or əle for non-egophoric marking) in Nangchen have developed aspectual functions. They usually follow tense suffixes or secondary verbs and occur at the end of the sentence, as illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7. Use of verbal stem alternations, secondary verbs and auxiliaries to indicate aspectual distinctions

| Verb ‘do’ | Perfect | Imperfective |
| SELF | we-dā u | wi-mdou-khu |
| ‘I have (or had) done (it)’ | ‘I am (or was) doing (it)’ |

OTHER we-dā da-əle wi-mdou-ho دا
‘You/He/She/They has/have (or had) done (it)’ ‘You/He/She/They are (or were) doing (it)’

This table indicates that these sentence-final auxiliaries are derived from existential verbs. khu is a reduced form of the imperfective marker kha (variant form ha) and the egophoric existential u. When they are combined with the perfect marker do (grammaticalized from de or the past tense form of the verb ‘stay,’19 they convey perfect aspect. When combined with ndou or the non-past tense form of the verb ‘stay,’ they convey imperfective aspect. Both may be used for past and non-past.

6. Conclusion

This paper has presented an analysis of Nangchen Tibetan texts focusing on both linguistic and cultural aspects. We discussed several characteristics of these texts

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18 See Tournadre’s (2001) discussion of Lhasa Tibetan verbs and Hongladarom (1996) for analysis of such secondary verbs as ‘go’ and ‘come’ in Lhasa Tibetan that convey meaning.

19 -do has become a full grammatical morpheme, as it is phonologically reduced. ndou has not yet undergone that stage and is still used as a main verb meaning ‘to sit or stay.’

that are common to Tibetan folktales in general and certain characteristics that are unique to Kham Tibetan in particular. We also have shown how Nangchen Tibetan marks time by means of verbal stem alternations used in combination with tense suffixes, secondary verbs and sentence-final auxiliaries. Nangchen verbal system appears to be one of the most complex features in the Tibetan language and needs more thorough analysis.

The texts we have explored reveal several insights into religious beliefs, traditional rituals and folk beliefs certain of which no longer exist in Nangchen and are unknown in other Tibetan nomadic communities. We also discussed several cultural practices that reflect the traditional way of nomad life. The paper is a small effort to present these revealing materials. It is hoped that more work will be done on folktales, particularly in remote Tibetan areas where tradition will soon be replaced by modernity.

Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>Conjunctive suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Equational copulas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>Dative case marking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>Determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>Ergative case marking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXIST</td>
<td>Existential copulas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative case marking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>Past tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF</td>
<td>Egophoric or conjunct markers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conjugated verb forms are presented in lower case in parentheses, such as dzey (pt) and dzey (np) meaning the past and non-past tense forms of the verb 'say.'

References


Some information about the paper and its authors
Portions of this paper have been presented at the 37th Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics Conference, Xiamen University, China, October 28–31, 2005 and at the 11th Himalayan Languages Symposium, Chula-longkorn University, Thailand, December 6–9, 2005.

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*Palden Choying* is a native speaker of Nangchen Tibetan, currently studying at the Ateneo de Manila University in the Philippines.

*Kevin Stuart* has lived in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and Qinghai Province in the People’s Republic of China and for a year in Ulaanbaatar since 1984. He currently teaches English at Qinghai Normal University, fundraises for small-scale development projects, and does research on minority culture.

The book to be presented here is a dictionary of philosophical concepts, technical terms, and names of persons and places of the Jaina religion, which emerged in India at roughly the same time as Buddhism. Despite its importance for Religious Studies and Indology, Jainism continues to be not especially well researched. With the present book, Klaus Mylius wishes to provide an additional tool for those who are interested in Jainist studies. In doing so, he follows up on his dictionary of Ardhamāgadhi (Wörterbuch Ardhamāgadhi-Deutsch. Wichtrach: Institut für Indologie 2003), the Middle Indic language of the Jaina canonical scriptures. In a way, this pair of books is parallel to the Sanskrit dictionary (Wörterbuch Sanskrit-Deutsch. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1975, various reprints) plus the glossary of ritual terms (Wörterbuch des altindischen Rituals. Wichtrach: Institut für Indologie 1995) by the same author.

The present volume is structured as follows: after the table of contents (p. vi), the preface (p. vii) and an introduction (pp. 1–2), Mylius offers lists of texts of the Jaina canonical scriptures (p. 3) and of abbreviations of these titles (pp. 4–5), a very useful list of editions and of some special studies of the individual texts (pp. 6–16), and a bibliography of secondary literature (pp. 17–19, some of these with Mylius’s comments) referred to in the entries. At the opposite end of the book, an index of Sanskrit words (pp. 187–203) relates the Sanskrit chaityās (see below) to the lemmata of the dictionary.

The actual dictionary (pp. 23–186) contains 2,611 numbered entries; according to Mylius’s note on p. 2, these were chosen on the basis of their importance for Jainist dogma, hagiography, and philosophy, with less emphasis being placed on cosmography etc., as “phantasy dominated reality” in the latter field. For each lemma, the text(s) in which the word occurs is/are quoted with the abbreviations listed on pp. 4–5, which conveniently gives a picture of the strata of texts to which the term belongs. The citation of the lemma is followed by grammatical notes (gender of nouns, which make up the vast majority of entries, and word class for other terms), and occasionally with a note Myth, Phil or Lit (not in the list of abbreviations, but obviously standing for mythological and philosophical term and for name of a text / group of texts, respectively). While it is not quite clear to me why some entries have such a note and most others do not, and whether these notes add to the understanding of the lemma, it might have been useful to have abbreviations like ON, PN, GN referring to names of places, persons and gods, respectively. This would have avoided any doubts that readers might have, for instance, as to whether the gloss for hārabhadda, “god reigning over the sea Hāra” is meant as an explanation or a translation of the Ardhamāgadhi term.

Some points noted in the review of Mylius’s Ardhamāgadhi dictionary (Orientalia Suecana 53 (2004), pp. 187–190) apply to the present book as well: the phoneme inventory, which also serves to show the sequence of letters followed in the dictionary, is not quite happily labeled “Ardhamāgadhi alphabet” (p. 21) (and it includes the nasals ň and ñ, which are not used in the book); the privative prefix at(ñ)- is the only affix that is separated from the rest of the word by
a hyphen. The Sanskrit chāyā (the Old Indic word corresponding to the Ardhamāgadhī one) that Mylius quotes for every lemma is surely interesting, but maybe also somewhat confusing for readers, since the relationship to the Middle Indic word may be of entirely differing kinds, viz. regular Old Indic predecessor with similar or dissimilar meaning (e.g. heu “cause; proof, reason” vs. Old Indic hetu-; pūrva (term for a group of scriptures) vs. pūrva- “first”), Old Indic borrowings (e.g. hetu-), including also words that morphologically do not correspond to each other (e.g. solasama “sixteenth (also name of a fasting exercise)” is related to Old Indic sōdaśā- “sixteen”). Unlike in the Ardhamāgadhī dictionary, attested chāyās are not differentiated from reconstructed ones. Moreover, readers of the present book may quite well wonder whether an Old Indic term is used for a (the same?) philosophical concept as is the Middle Indic one; this is clearly the case in some instances, but not necessarily in all others. Indeed, those who study the scriptures themselves will need to use a dictionary anyway, and all lemmata of the present book indeed appear to also figure in Mylius’s Ardhamāgadhī dictionary.

It seems that a certain finalizing touch might yet have been applied to address the issue that the entries are not quite convincingly consistent (see also above for abbreviations like Myth), some offering ample information while others are rather concise (mostly with the information also found in the Ardhamāgadhī dictionary): for instance, many personal names are given only with a gloss (of the style tiśamkara “name of a monk”), with or without literal translation of the name before or after the gloss (e.g. pāṅkappabba: name of the fourth hell (“mud”), cāmāli [no. 973, somewhat misplaced] “angry woman”, epithet for Śiva’s wife). At the other end of the scale, there is e.g. a long entry for paesi (name of a king) complete with commented advice where to go for further information. A parallel situation applies to other entries (cf., for instance, the names of divine residences, e.g. caṇḍavāraṇa and caṇḍāśinga being merely glossed as such, while pala, palaṁba, pāṇaṭa etc. come with additional explanations).

The generous layout makes reading the book pleasantly easy, although more use of typographical variation (e.g. for Jainist terms quoted in the glosses and for comments in the bibliographical lists), would have made it even more so. Cross-references and the like prove to be conscientiously reliable, although readers would surely have profited from a few more of these in cases that are referred to in the text of the entries in a form different from that of the lemma itself: for instance, the central concept of titthamkara “maker of a passage; term for a group of holy men” is quoted in the Old Indic form tirthamkara in the explanations of the names of the holy men themselves; jākha “member of a class of deities; demon” is only to be found as yakkha in the text of the entries.

Notwithstanding the notes above, the present book is interesting to browse, and is surely a welcome tool for Jainist studies. As Mylius notes in the preface, much remains to be done in Jainist research, and a comprehensive lexicon of Jainist philosophical terms is an urgent desideratum.

Agnes Korn, Frankfurt am Main


The work under discussion presents the papers of a conference on language contact held in Uppsala in 2001; it contains five articles in the section on Iranian languages and dialects,
seven on Semitic, ten on Turkic and two additional papers, plus an introductory article by Lars Johanson that outlines the scope of this highly relevant field of research. While some of the articles present a cross-linguistic discussion of phenomena that are likely to mirror language contact, other contributions study dialects that have been particularly heavily influenced by neighbouring languages. To scholars of Iranian, Semitic and Turkic, the present book offers new material from a vast range of speech varieties, and novel analyses of the same. Everyone who is interested in issues of language contact and areal typology in general will find highly relevant discussions of these points from a variety of viewpoints. Since not all the articles can be presented in detail here, I will discuss a few, and summarise the others rather briefly (which is by no means intended to imply any hierarchy), to illustrate the broad range of topics and approaches offered in this very rich volume.

The contribution by Fülliz Kiral “Modal Constructions in Turkish of Iran” may be classed in the comparative category: the author describes how Turkic varieties spoken in Iran tend to replace synthetic modal constructions with analytical ones on the Persian model. Similarly, “Bilateral Code Copying in Eastern Persian and South-Eastern Turkic” by Lars Johanson discusses certain verbal constructions that might show mutual (rather than “bilateral”) influence of Tajiki and Uzbek: while Tajiki duratives with ĭst- appear to be modelled on Turkic ones with tur- (both “stand”), Uzbek, the language that one would expect Tajiki to derive its Turkic elements from, uses another verb in this function. However, Johanson assumes that Tajiki copied the construction from an earlier stage of Uzbek that may have used tur- (as do other Turkic varieties). In this context, it would be interesting to discuss whether the durative use of ĭst- in Tajiki, a particularly archaic variety of Persian in several respects, might continue the use of the verb as an auxiliary in perfectum praeexen function in Middle Persian (Henning 1934:246, cf. also Rastorgueva/Melčanov 1981:114–117), e.g. (transliteration and German translation of both examples in Andreas/Henning 1933:299–300): (...) gohr ī gyoγ andar ěn nibêg pad was gyag paydâ Gençäh ĭstêd “(...) the substance of the soul has been (lit.: stands) explained in this scripture in many places” (fragment no. M 9, column II recto, line 11–13), gyoγ (...) andar tan d’ân âminti ud passâxt ud bast ĭstêd ğe’ôn ... “the soul (...) is (lit.: stands) so mixed, mingled and bound in the body that ...” (M 9 II r, 16–18). As an example of the opposite direction of influence, Johanson suggests that Uzbek and Uygur constructions involving the converb in -ip in intraterminal function (-ip being otherwise postterminal) are modelled on Iranian.

Under the title “Semitic in Iranian: Written, Read and Spoken Language”, Bo Utas explores the various ways in which language, script, religion and politics may be related in the case of Old, Middle and New Persian (and other Iranian languages). He starts by highlighting some points that tend to be underestimated, among these the fact that a scribe has not only the function of encoding a text (script being only one of the mnemonic devices that may be used for this purpose), but also of reading aloud such a text. The reading need not be in the language of the encoding (for instance, it has been assumed that Elamite texts were rendered in Old Persian, and (some) Aramaic ones in Old and Middle Persian and other languages). Nor does the oral rendering of a written text necessarily reflect the spoken language. Utas compares the latter to wild vegetation and the former to a garden (for which one chooses plants from the wild vegetation, combines them with some foreign ones, and applies a careful layout to the garden as a whole) to illustrate the difference. So foreign influence is only to be expected in written texts from such contexts, and the script (often associated with a specific religion) may influence how a language is analysed.

Needless to say, some of the processes conceptualised by Utas are difficult to pin down in the evidence from earlier periods. However, observations from contemporary languages may nicely illustrate his points, as is shown by Carina Jahani’s article “The Glottal Plosive: A Phoneme in Spoken Modern Persian or Not?”. The prestige associated with the Arabic script has led (inter alia) to the widespread misconception represented, for instance, by Şądêqî 1987:230: “The glottal stop is distinctive at the beginning, middle and end of words”.

material from interviews, Jahani shows that there is free variation with zero in word initial position (ergo the glottal stop not a phoneme); in the remaining contexts, the glottal stop has phonemic status, but its actual pronunciation depends on factors like the frequency of the given word, syntax and topicalisation, the formality of the speech situation, the age of informants and preferences regarding “correct Persian” (often implying spelling pronunciation). Apart from solving a much discussed question of Modern Persian grammar, Jahani’s approach is a remarkable progress vis-à-vis many studies that often do not even distinguish between the grammars of literary and spoken Modern Persian.

Four articles discuss Central Asian Arabic (specifically the texts collected in the Bukhara region by Vinnikov around 1940) from a typological perspective: “Linguistic Contacts in Central Asia” (Guram Chikovani), “Uzbekistan Arabic: a Language Created by Semitic-Iranian-Turkic Linguistic Convergence” (Otto Jastrow), “Bukhara Arabic: A Metatyped dialect of Arabic in Central Asia” (Robert Ratcliffe) and “Central Asian Arabic: The Irano-Arabic Dynamics of a New Perfect” (Gernot Windfuhr, in the Iranian section of the book). This dialect (which, as shown by Jastrow, belongs with the dialects of Iraq) differs radically from other Arabic varieties in morphology and syntax: while Arabic usually shows VSO, Bukhara Arabic has adverbials and objects preceding the verb as do Tajiki and Uzbek (Jastrow), usually with pronominal suffix on the verb indexing the object (Ratcliffe). The dialect is specifically interesting in combining *noun+adjective* (linked by a suffix that functions like the Persian *ezāfe*), noun+genitive and prepositions (thus also other Arabics and Tajiki) with relative+noun, i.e. with a modifying participle construction preceding the head noun exactly as in Uzbek. Likewise, parallel to Uzbek, but not found in other Arabics are the use of infinitive constructions in subject function and as object and subordinate clauses, and of an active participle of “stand” (see also above on Tajiki) in what Ratcliffe calls a subordinate serial verb (maybe rather a durative construction). Bukhara Arabic has lost the definite article, marking indefiniteness instead, and has developed a specific marker for identified direct objects, as in both Persian and Turkic (Jastrow). Neither is the conjunction *wa “and”* used, different methods being used for joining verbs and nouns, respectively. While Ratcliffe wonders whether this difference might be a characteristic feature of SOV languages, one would surely refer to the absence of “and” in Altaic, and assume that the use of *ya “with”* joining nouns in Bukhara Arabic may be motivated by the parallel use in Turkic (Turkish *ile “with, and”*, Uzbek *bilan*, e.g. *biz bilan siz “we and you”*); perhaps Ratcliffe’s question might be modified to ask whether serial verbs (including convert constructions) are also found in languages that are not SOV.

Another “un-Arabic” feature of the Bukhara variety involves tense forms based on verbal nouns, yielding a perfect and a present continuous. The subject is marked by clitics that in the 1st and 2nd person would otherwise index the object, and a second clitic referring to the object may be added. Ratcliffe considers this to be modelled on Persian and Turkic, both of which have verbal endings that are “similar to those which mark possessor” – which is basically correct, but does not imply (pace Ratcliffe’s table on p. 153) that Persian and Turkic “clitic pronouns” index subject, object and possessor. Windfuhr suggests an alternative explanation, viz. that Central Asian Arabic structures like (Windfuhr’s examples) *zorbin-ak-um “you have hit them”* reflect contact with an Iranian language that shows ergativity of the Sulaimani Kurdish type, marking both agent and object on the verb, cf. *xwardā-t-im “you have eaten them”*, both showing a structure participle-2SG-3PL. This would imply that at the time of this contact (i.e. before the migrations of Central Asian Arabic into its present location, the last part of which may have been in the 15th century?), there was an Iranian variety in the required region that showed patterns like *xwardā-t-im* in a sufficient number of examples. However, in sentences that consist of more than the verb, the agent clitic tends to be affixed elsewhere, e.g. on the object, or an adverbial in Iranian ergative languages; more regular affixing of the agent clitic to the ergative verb seems to be a rather recent phenomenon. Likewise interesting is the Bukhara Arabic past progressive formed by the present/future prefix *m-* an uninflitted form of the verb, for which one would surely compare the Persian past imperfective *mī-kardām, i.e.*
the imperfective prefix (which is regular in the present tense) plus the simple past. Bukhara Arabic has also copied conjunctions from Persian and interrogative mi and the suffix či from Turkic.

A particularly strong point of the present volume is that it offers several pieces of the authors' research on previously more or less undescribed dialects, mostly quoting some sample sentences or text samples, as do e.g. Sven-Olof Dahlgren (“On the Arabic of Arabkhane in Eastern Iran”, not to be confused with Arabkhane in Uzbekistan) and Eva Csató (“On Copying in Kashkay”). Several of these varieties are set in a decidedly multilingual environment, speakers using a local dialect, the national language, and a regional vernacular for social and economic interaction. This applies to the varieties described by Bo Isaksen in “New Linguistic Data from the Sason Area in Anatolia” (speakers using an Arabic variety, Turkish and Kurmanji) and to “Iranian Influences in Sonqor Turkic” by Christiane Bult, quoting text samples she collected (languages used here including Sonqor Turkic, multiple varieties of Persian and Kurdish).

Structures found in dialects like these, which demonstrate various linguistic influences on lexical, morphological and syntactical level, may also shed light on texts from earlier periods, which is demonstrated by Hendrik Boeschoten’s “Some Notes on ‘Mixed’ Written Western Oghuz Turkic” and by Heidi Stein's “Traces of Türkî-yi Acehî in Pietro della Valle’s Turkish Grammar (1620)”, both types of text showing interesting layers of different Turkic varieties.

Conversely, treatment of etymological matters tends to somewhat lag behind the high standard set by the volume as a whole. This specifically applies to “Persian and Turkish Loans in the Arabic Dialects of North Eastern Arabia” by Bruce Ingham, focussing on terms for clothing and other household items. Readers will tend to agree with Ingham’s “in some cases I may have missed the ultimate origin” of the words discussed, for instance (to name but a few, lemmata in the form quoted by Ingham) Arabic gufi “tin, box” and yâqa “collar”, which are not Persian, but Turkic (see Doerfer nos. 1569, 1802); bâj “tythe” not Turkic, but Persian (Horn no. 148), thus also cãûc “hammer” (Persian čakuš, Horn and Hübschmann no. 443, maybe with influence from cãçuq “small knife” of unclear etymology), Khuzestani wafur “ice cream” certainly not “from”, but related to Persian barf “snow”, etc. Some use of the relevant literature (see the references for a list of some etymological dictionaries) would have changed the impression of a “general convergence under the umbrella of Islam” to reveal a broader cultural context: quite a few of the discussed words are of Indic origin (e.g. šikar “sugar”, girmiz “pink colouring”, šâl “shawl”, see Lokotsch nos. 1855, 1219, 1802). This will hardly come as a surprise, as the field of cloth, including the substances used for dying it is particularly liable to borrowing, and Indic influence is widely reflected in the pertinent terminology. Ingham suspects possible Indic connections in the literary sphere, comparing the formula (roughly translating “Once there was, there was not...”) that introduces a fairy tale in Arabic, Persian, Turkic etc. (also in Czech, by the way) with a quote from Rgveda X, 129.1a: the Vedic imperfect āsīd “was” (“is” according to Ingham, misquoting Macdonnell 1917:207) does place the action in primordial times – beyond the usual sphere, thus somewhat parallel to the oriental phrase. However, the philosophical problem described in the Vedic hymn (how the cosmos emerged from a situation where there not only was no existence, but even the non-existence did not exist yet) seems to be the converse rather than a parallel to the oriental formula, which would imply simultaneous existence and non-existence.

In “The Turkish Contribution to the Arabic Lexicon”, Stephan Procházka presents the results of his investigation of Turkic items in Modern Standard Arabic. Even if the examples he discusses might leave the reader wondering whether the share of items that are not originally Turkic may be somewhat higher than the 10% that Procházka would admit, this will hardly affect the conclusion, viz. that Turkic items chiefly occur in the field of private life (including terms for household items, clothing, measures, festivals), and that “the Turkish impact on both written and dialectal Arabic is actually quite limited”.

Bernt Brendemoen’s article “Some Remarks on the Phonological Status of Greek Loanwords
in Anatolian Turkish Dialects” extends the perspective on lexical copying in the oriental cultural sphere to the west.

There are also some articles on specific sorts of language contact, among these “Lexical Areas and Semantic Fields of Arabic Loanwords in Persian and Beyond” by John Perry, treating the function and semantic spheres of Arabic nouns in -\( a^-\)at, which have been copied into Persian either with -\( a^-\) or with -\( a^-\)at (and with both in a number of cases), Mark Kirchner’s contribution “Adverbial Clauses in an Old Ottoman Turkish Interlinear Version of the Koran”, (owing to the nature of the sacred text, the Turkish rendering is a glossing with comments rather than a translation, comparable to the Middle Persian renderings of the Avestan texts), and Geoffrey Lewis’ article “The Strange Case of Ottoman”, focussing on the Turkish language reform (for more context and background information, see the author’s book (Lewis 1999) on the same topic).

In Jan-Olof Svantesson’s article “Vowel Harmony – Areal or Genetic?”, the author concludes that an areal spread of vowel harmony seems possible (although no clear case of this has been found so far), which implies that vowel harmony is not a good indicator for assessing possible genetic affiliation of languages; on the other hand, no instance of genesis of vowel harmony seems to have been claimed yet either. One wonders how Svantesson would relate this to the issue (mentioned in the beginning) of the relation (if any) of vowel harmony in Altaic and Uralic. Topics that might have been addressed include vowel harmony in other regions (e.g. in Africa) and the absence of agreement as to whether (or to what degree) vowel harmony in Uralic is inherited or developed secondarily (cf. e.g. Collinder 1960:215), for all of which Vago 1980 might have been mentioned.

Abdulaziz Lodhi’s article “Convergence of Language on the East African Coast” offers a very welcome introduction to the fascinating, but hitherto little studied topic of linguistic contact of oriental (Semitic, Turkic, Iranian and Indic) and African languages and the context in which it has taken place.

In “Iranian as a Buffer Zone Between the Universal Typologies of Turkic and Semitic”, Donald Stilo examines eight features of a wide range of Middle Eastern languages to discuss to what extent language contact can account for the relative position of demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, relative clause vs. noun, adverb vs. adjective, adpositions, and direct object vs. verb. Stilo presents an impressive amount of data to illustrate the notion that “areality can usually explain patterns that are opposite from the expected universal pattern”. Aspects that might be addressed in follow-up studies to refine the picture and avoid simplifications could include more attention to markedness of features (i.e. an assessment of the probability that the feature under discussion is due to areal influence) and more discussion of some far-ranging approaches: for instance, what does it mean for a given Iranian variety in a specific location that, as a group, “Iranian languages are sandwiched between typical VO languages (...) and typical OV languages”? Since, as underlined by Stilo, earlier stages of Iranian varieties are comparatively well attested, the chances are good to follow Johanson’s suggestion (p. 205) that “each step of convergence should be determined” to give a refined picture of the processes involved.

Indeed, the articles in the present volume make it possible to study the stages by which “linguistic convergence and areal diffusion” may proceed: contact-induced language change is likely to make use of competing constructions that are already present in the language, furthering the use of the option that is parallel to the one of the influencing language at the expense of other possibilities. In Central Asian Arabic, for instance, the shift from VSO to SOV translates into practice by an already available marked structure being transformed into the general pattern. Right-branching relative clauses are preferred over Turkic left-branching ones in conditions of adaptation to Persian, be it in a Turkic variety spoken in a Persian environment (see the article by Filiz Kural) or in the framework of a translated text; the two types may also be used to differentiate non-restrictive relative clauses from restrictive ones (thus in texts studied by Claudia Römer in “Right-Branching vs. Left-Branching Subordinate...
Clauses in 16th Century Ottoman Historical Texts: Haphazard Use or Stylistic Device?

There are some difficulties with fonts and special signs (diacritics not on letters e.g. on pp. 151, 359; ā instead of a in Johanson's article, etc.), which in some places render the material somewhat ambiguous (e.g. which syllable of ma’rafs (p. 1791. 4) should have been in italics (here used to indicate stress)?; what do ğ and ı in Arabic words on p. 176–178 stand for?). Transcription of language material is not always consistent (for instance, c, ɛ and f, dʒ for the affricates, ę etc. vs. e: etc. for long vowels, both n and ǹ for the velar nasal, in the examples on pp. 259–264 quoted from the same text).

The mention of a few infelicities should not, however, in any way detract from the main fact: the volume under discussion offers a rich collection of data from most interesting Iranian, Semitic and Turkic varieties, alongside fine thought-provoking analyses. With its many inspiring synchronic and diachronic approaches, it makes for a fascinating read, and is a very welcome contribution to the study of an overall interpretation of language contact phenomena.

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Tietze, Andreas 2002: Tarihi ve etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi lugatı 1: A–E. İstanbul: Simurg etc.


The present volume is a revised version of Agnes Korn's Ph.D. thesis, the aim of which is “to contribute to the knowledge of Balochi historical grammar, especially in the field of phonology and lexicology” (p. 17). The work focuses on historical phonology rather than morphology and syntax. This is also clearly stated in the morphological outline, which is described as “purely a synchronical one, diachronical aspects being reserved for future studies” (p. 331). This work, which is the first comprehensive treatment of Balochi historical phonology since Geiger (1890, 1891) wrote on the subject over 100 years ago, fills a very important gap in the field of Iranian linguistics.

The book is divided into five parts. The introduction outlines the aim, method and material of the study and as well as it provides other technical details and an introduction to the Balochi language and the Baloch as an ethnolinguistic group. Thereafter the Balochi historical phonology is presented in two subsections; first the developments from Old Iranian (OIr.) to “Common Balochi” (see also below), and then phonological changes attributed to developments in certain dialects after the stage of Common Balochi. This is the main body of the work, covering pp. 71–286. In the following section four areas of the Balochi lexicon, namely body parts, kinship terms, colours and verbs are presented in tables in order to “give an impression of the variability of the sources the Bal. words come from” and to “provide a picture of the different layers of loanwords” found in different Balochi dialects (p. 287). The final two parts are the conclusion and an appendix containing the above mentioned morphological outline as well as several indices, the bibliography and two maps.

The main sources for Korn’s investigation, presented on pp. 23–26, are Balochi dictionaries, glossaries and articles relevant for the study. There are a number of unpublished wordlists from Iran, e.g. Vāzegān va esfēlāhā-ī balučī be guyēs-e mardom-e zāhedān va zābol va negarešī bar tārīx-e baluč (258 handwritten pages) by Soleimān Rēgi, that could have completed the picture somewhat for Iranian dialects. There also exists a manuscript for a dictionary of Afghani Balochi (gathered by the late A. L. Grünberg and A. R. Pahwāl, now in the hands of Lutz Rzehak), which might have been accessible on request. Apart from these works, the author has used all relevant material that she could possibly have had access to.

Korn starts out by noting that up till now very few studies of different aspects of Balochi linguistics have been carried out (p. 15), and remarks in several places (e.g. pp. 247, 331) that new material from dialects not yet studied may cause revisions in her work later on. She treats the subject of historical phonology thoroughly and with a very systematic and cautious approach. When there is not enough data to settle on a definite a phonological outcome she presents and discusses different possible paths of the historical development and hopes that new data will make it possible to solve the issue more definitely.

One example is found on p. 131, where the development of OIr. \(r \theta\) in Balochi is discussed on the basis of the two Balochi words \(pāhlawān\) ‘bard’ and \(puhl, pol\) ‘bridge’, the only examples known for this context. Korn draws the conclusion that both examples may be Persian loanwords and that the outcome of OIr. \(r \theta\) in Balochi thus is unclear. Also in her discussion of specific words Korn often presents and discusses different solutions. An example is the word \(pak(k)ār\) ‘necessary, useful’ (p. 139) about which she states that it “could be derived from OIr. *upakārā-* but that it is “more likely that it is modelled (as a compound of \(pa\) and \(kār\) ”deed” on its NP [New Persian C. J.] (ba-kār) and/or Psh. [Pashto C. J.] (pā-kār) equivalent, or even borrowed from Pashto”. It is very difficult to determine which solution is the best in this case. Could the Pashto word be modelled on the NP word?

A careful check of all the data presented by Korn may reveal some minor mistakes, which generally do not interfere with the argument at all. To give a few examples, I cannot find the meaning ‘shadow’, only the meaning ‘breath, life, soul’ for the word \(sāh\) in the source referred
to as EAL (Elfenbein 1990). On the other hand, DTB (Dames 1891) gives the meaning 'shade', which means that Korn's argument about an inherited form of this word still holds (see p. 87). Korn translates roč štu as 'day has come' (p. 137) whereas the correct meaning is 'day has gone' i.e. 'sunset'. I am also quite convinced that it is only because the English phonemes /t/ and /d/ are not dental, but rather alveolar, that they are replaced by retroflex consonants in Modern Indic languages and Balochi. If they had been dental they would most probably have been replaced by dental consonants (see p. 67).

Another minor detail is that the dates for the foundation of the Balochi Academies in Karachi and Quetta (p. 35, taken from Elfenbein 1989: 351) are wrong. The correct years are 1958 and 1961 respectively (see Jahani 1989: 28). I have even seen the foundation stone of the Balochi Academy in Quetta, where the year 1961 is engraved.

A mistake also found in e.g. Farrell (1990: 66) is that the form of the adjective in -tirēn is labelled "superlative", whereas it is the comparative form in -tir plus the attributive suffix -ēn. It is therefore also used to denote the comparative degree of the adjective (see p. 335).1

On the whole, though, the approach taken by Korn is so painstakingly careful that whenever she is not totally sure of an outcome or an etymology she discusses several possible alternatives, and she never draws any conclusions unless they are well backed-up by convincing pieces of data. I would, however, raise a finger of warning for ABG (Ahmad 1985), which is sometimes the only source for a certain pronunciation, see e.g. pp. 190, 203. Korn herself notes (p. 23) that "there are numerous errors in this book".

There is an inconsistency concerning the status of ĺ. The discussion on p. 93 and pp. 323–327 shows that the author assumes that OIr. ĺ may have been preserved in Balochi. This implies that it should have been included in the phonemic chart on p. 55 and that the statement that "深耕 only occurs in loanwords" (p. 58) is not correct.

An argument that would have theoretical implications for all studies of historical linguistics is that the whole concept of "Common Balochi" could be discussed. In view of the tribal organisation of the Balochi (see e.g. Spooner 1989: 607) it is equally possible that different dialects of a "Balochoid" type developed, but not necessarily from a common ancestor, and that later converging and diverging linguistic processes have resulted in the conglomerate of dialects that today are known as Balochi. A dialect like Central Sarawani (described by Baranzehi 2003) should, at least, not be derived from a "Common Balochi" stage, since this dialect is the outcome of a language shift among the rulers of Sarawan from Persian to Balochi. The morphosyntax and lexicon of this dialect bear stronger witness to this fact than its phonology (see Jahani 2005: 159).

On pp. 67–70 Korn discusses accent or word stress. As she notes, the stress rules of Balochi are not at all clear, and therefore anything written on this subject is tentative. Systematic investigations of stress patterns in different Balochi dialects are greatly needed. A forthcoming Ph.D. thesis on Turkmenistan Balochi will clarify the stress rules in this dialect and confirm Korn's assumption in fn. 54 that the Balochi dialects spoken in Afghanistan and Turkmenistan have the same stress rules. The stress rules presented for Southern Balochi based on syllable length are, in my opinion, questionable. I am not sure that the stress is correctly placed in the words given on p. 69 (with Tim Farrell, personal communication, as source). I would intuitively have placed the stress on the final syllable in in nouns like nākō 'uncle', pīssī 'cat', abar 'news', jinkē 'girl'. I also question whether the stress rules for Western Balochi from Barker/Mengal 1969 referred to by Korn on p. 69 are indeed correct.

The status of /h/ in Balochi is treated in various places (e.g. pp. 241–242, 248–249, 258) and a secondary h in word initial position is noted particularly for Southern Balochi. During a recent visit to Chabahar, I observed that several speakers there replace vocalic onset with h, with the result that h loses its phonemic status in word-initial position, and may in the future

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1 One example of this phenomenon from the Balochi dialect spoken in Turkmenistan is: pāī fītirēn lijtīkē jor-a kant 'He makes a bigger tail for him' (data collected by Serge Axenov).

be replaced in this position by the more common vocalic onset both in Balochi and in New Persian, i.e. the glottal plosive. However, this piece of information was not available to Korn.

Data on Iranian Balochi (IrBal.) dialects is still particularly scarce, and it would therefore probably have been better to omit data from IrBal. in the morphological outline or indicate from which dialect a certain piece of data comes. The 3rd person singular copula ə is, e.g., typical of the Central Sarawani dialect, and is not found in any other dialect in Iran (p. 337). The same applies to the pronominal suffix -is for the 2nd person plural, which in a number of other dialects is -u (p. 334).

More as a curious remark one may note that Korn misses one of the most daring native popular etymologies for the ethnonym, balọō, when she discusses this issue (pp. 45–47), namely the one proposed by Muhammad Sardar Khan Baluch (Baluch 1984: 4–5) which connects the word balọō to the Babylonian deity Bel and concludes that “[t]he term Baluch or Belos is apparently a combination of Bal-uch, or Bel and Os. The very name of the race, if probed deeply, takes back our mind towards a race or a civilization which once dominated, in manifolds, the then known world”.

In her interesting and thought-provoking conclusion, Korn returns to the fact already mentioned in the introduction (p. 17) that Balochi, a New Iranian language, “directly reflects the Old Iranian consonants in all positions of the word”. She first presents two alternative solutions to the retention of the Olr. stops and affricates with or without Parthian as a link between Olr. and Balochi. Thereafter she discusses the position of Balochi (and also Kurdish) among Western Iranian languages. She suggests that even though there is not enough data at hand yet, future studies may confirm her hypothesis that Balochi should be regarded as a transitional Western Iranian language (between north- and south-western) rather than as an originally north-western idiom gradually more and more influenced by Persian, thus taking on south-western characteristics, which is the way the south-western traits in Balochi have been explained so far. The work is therefore of great importance from a theoretical point of view, since it shakes the, until now, very well cemented division between north-western and south-western Iranian languages, something which also Ludwig Paul has done, e.g. in his article “The Position of Balochi among Western Iranian Languages: The Verbal System” (Paul 2003: 71).

The book is particularly useful as a reference work, since it contains complete tables and indices of all words and sound changes under discussion as well as tables of lexical items in the four semantic fields Korn chooses for her lexical study (see above) and of several morphological features. The table of kinship terms ought to be particularly relevant to researchers in the field of anthropology.

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References


Im ersten Teil werden zuerst einige wichtige grammatische Begriffe wie Aspekt, aktionaler Inhalt, und Aktionalphrase definiert. Danach werden verschiedene aktionale Strukturen


Im dritten Teil diskutiert der Verfasser die nichtfiniten Aspektmarkierungen, deren Untersuchung nicht nur in der sprachwissenschaftlichen Turkologie, sondern auch in der allgemeinen Aspektlogie häufig missachtet worden sind. Nach der Meinung des Autors realisieren sich aspektuelle Oppositionen auch in infiniten Positionen, die durch Konstituentensätze, Relativsätze, Konverbialsätze und sekundäre Prädikate besetzt sind (S. 121).


Die Zahl der Aspektmarkierungen in Konverbialsätzen ist hoch. Sie umfasst nicht nur die primären Konverben auf Ip, GEc, Giče, Gili und E...E, sondern auch sekundäre komplexe Einheiten wie GEndin keyin, Gen halda, Ip turup, Gen(i) bilen etc. (S. 163–188).

Diese theoretisch gut fundierte Darstellung wird bei Turkologen und allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaftlern zweifellos Beachtung finden.


Die Analysen der Intraterminalen Einheiten Iwad, Iwatt, mEktE und mEktE idi (S. 69–93) sind interessant. Nach Rentzschs Behauptung vertreten die Einheiten Iwad und Iwatt nicht mehr den Wert [+INTRA] in seiner höchstfokalen Ausprägung, weil in Neuuiugurischen


Gelegentlich bemüht sich der Verfasser um eine gründliche Klärung der diachronen Entwicklung einzelner Einheiten. Dennoch sind manche Analysen mit Vorsicht zu lesen, z.B. die etymologischen Erklärungen zu İver- (< E. iver-) und İvet- (< lp evet-) auf S. 27 sowie die Analysen der Einheit Etti (S. 94).


Neben den vielen richtigen Analysen und korrekten Beispielen haben sich einige fragliche
Interpretationen sowie kleine Fehler eingeschlichen. Hier können nur einige Beispiele genannt werden.

Unter den Beispielen auf S. 20 bedeutet aya- nicht „mögen”, sondern „hoch bewerten, respektieren, pflegen”. Das Verb sil- „streicheln” ist vielleicht ein Tippfehler für sila-; ein Verb sil- ist im modernen Uigurischen nicht bekannt.

Beider Beschreibung der Aktionsartoperatoren (S. 25–33) fehlen einige wichtige Konstruktionen wie Ip sal-, Ip ṭır-, Ip bar-, Ip baq-, Ip tašla-, Ip oltur- etc.

Weiterhin bin ich mir nicht sicher, ob das Verb tur- im Beispiel (50) auf S. 31 als Postverb betrachtet werden kann. Seine Funktion wird klarer, wenn wir hier die Einheit hayafanlan- may, das vom Verfasser als Hauptverb betrachtet werden, mit anderen Wörtern ersetzen, z.B. tinê / jìm „ruhig”, hayafānsiz „ohne Aufregung”.

Abgesehen von eşi̇p ĉūs- „überholen, übersteigen” und dem zitierten Beispiel bėsip ĉūs- „überholen” (S. 29) sind weitere postverbiale Verwendungen von ĉūs- nicht bekannt.

Auf S. 101 erscheinen im Beispiel (91) zwei Wörter, die beide Ableitungen von ği̇l „Blume” sind, in falschen Formen: ĝullinîst statt ğullini̇st und ğullenmeslik statt ğullenmeslik. Weiterhin fehlt in diesem Beispiel ein Possessivsuffix zwischen ma’ari̇p und -ni̇p. Das Verb ğullen- erscheint im Beispielsatz in der falschen Form; vielleicht liegt der Fehler schon im Original vor. Richtiger ist ... şu millet ma’ari̇pinî ğullini̇st ğullenmeslikije ... Dies gilt natürlich auch für die Wiederholung des Beispiels (33) auf S. 135.

Als Erklärung steht auf S. 110 ikki dukan ēci̇p ber- „zwei Läden eröffnen”, aber im Beispielsatz fehlt ikki „zwei”.

Die Phrase i̇l̇a qil- auf S. 131 muss nicht unbedingt als „unterscheiden” übersetzt werden; hier hat sie eher die Bedeutung „klar sehen” (vgl. Hazırqi zaman uyur ebediy tîlinîj imla ve teleppaz huyîj, Urumu, 1997, S. 1349).

Im Beispiel (30) auf S. 134 fehlt zwischen ačiqîs und ačaś an ein Determinativsuffix, ohne das der Satz unvollständig (vgl. die Wiederholung des Satzes auf S. 191).


Von den sehr häufigen Wiederholungen derselben Beispiele gewinnt man den Eindruck, dass die Texte, die dem Verfasser zur Verfügung standen, ziemlich beschränkt waren. Ein Weglassen unnötiger Teile der Beispiele wäre in bestimmten Fällen ein Gewinn gewesen.

Trotz meiner kritischen Bemerkungen bin ich der Meinung, dass die Untersuchung Rentzschs eine sehr gute Grundlage für die weitere Vertiefung der empirischen Forschung des Aspektssystems und für die systematischen Untersuchung der uigurischen Morphosyntax darstellt.

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