ORIENTALIA SUECANA

VOL. LV (2006)

UPPSALA
SWEDEN

Inskickmen
Ref. ex.

ORIENTALIA SUECANA. An International Journal of Indological, Iranian, Semitic and Turkic Studies. Founded 1952 by ERIK GREN.

Contents of last vols.

Vol L 2001

Vol LI–LII 2002–2003

ORIENTALIA SUECANA

An International Journal of
Indological, Iranian, Semitic and Turkic Studies

VOL. LV (2006)

Edited by
GUNILLA GREN-EKLUND

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UPPSALA
SWEDEN

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More information on http://www.lingfil.uu.se/orientalia

ISSN 0078-6578

Printed in Sweden 2007
Textgruppen i Uppsala AB

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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 brottstycke
> denna stympade hand, detta söndrade ansikte
> som aldrig kan sammanfogas till sin helhet
> annat än inifrån
> annat än genom ursprunget …

Mats Eskhult
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).

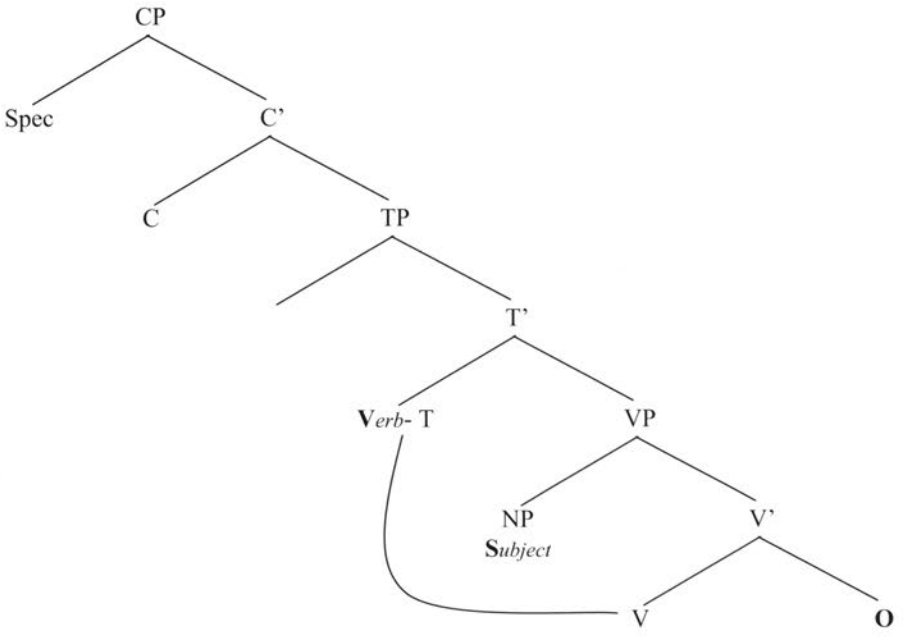

Fig.1

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

1	raaa	el 'awlaadu	zaydan	
	saw (3 m.s)	the boys (3 m.pl) Nom	Zayd	
	The boys saw Zayd			Ouhalla (1999: 338)
2	jaaat	al banaatu		
	came (3 f.s)	the-girls (3 f.pl) NOM		
	The girls came			Ouhalla (1991: 124)
3	Jaaa	el awladu		
	Came (3 m.s)	the boys (3 m.pl) NOM		
	The boys came			Ouhalla (1991:125)

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:

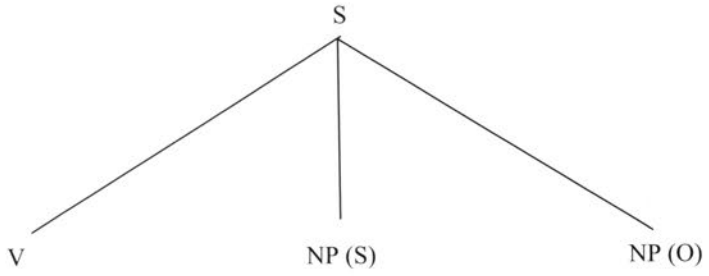

Fig. 2

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:

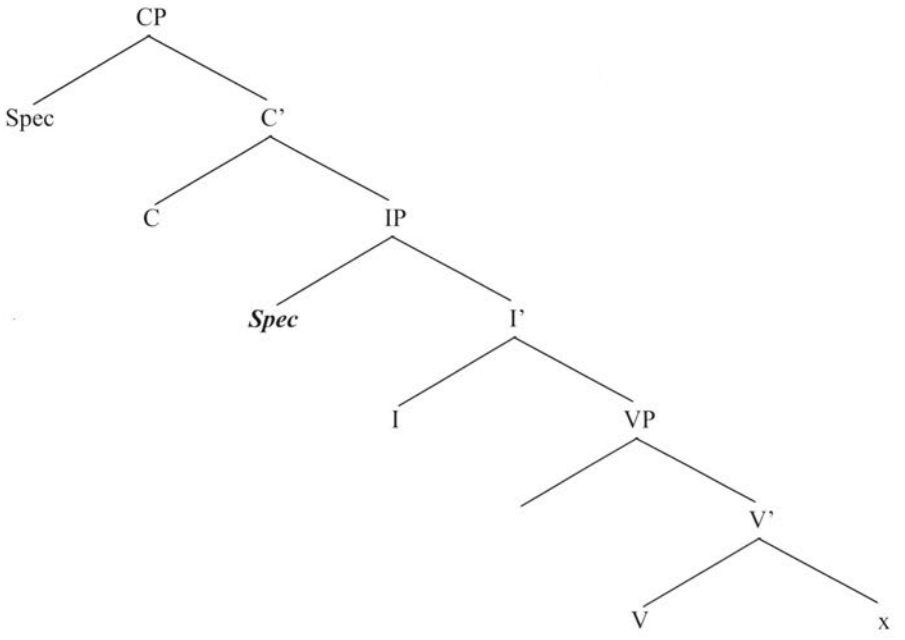

Fig.3

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).

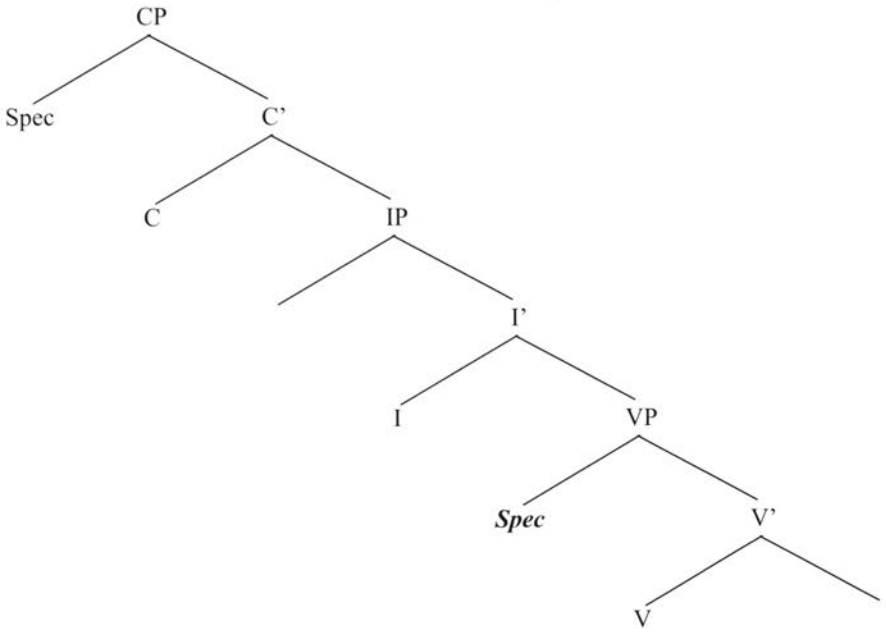

Fig.4

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 underlyingly 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-AGRP] results in the derivation of the VSO order.

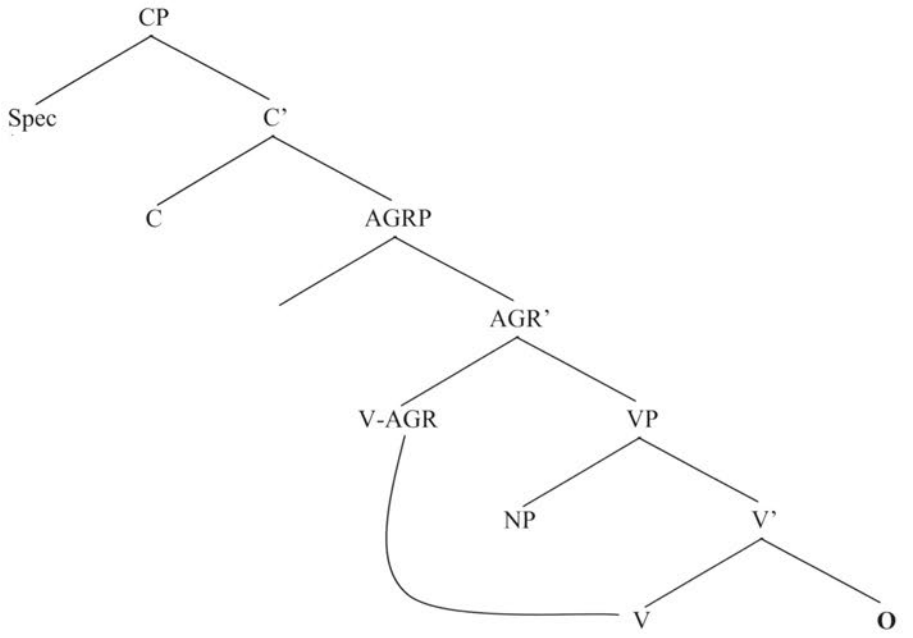

Fig.5

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.pll)	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-AGRP 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.

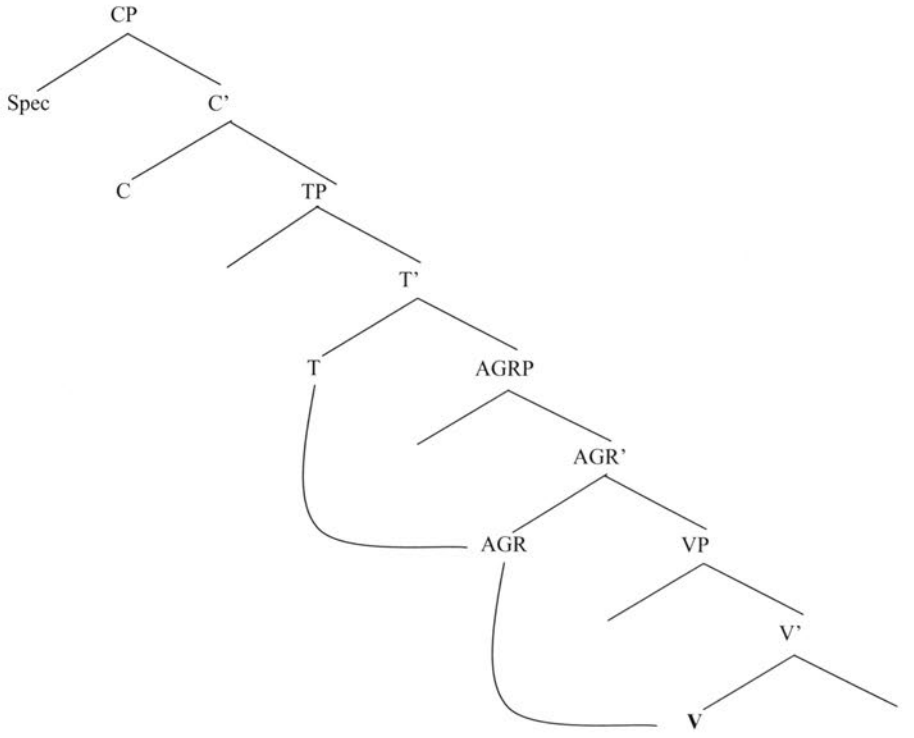

Fig.6 a Verb movement

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).

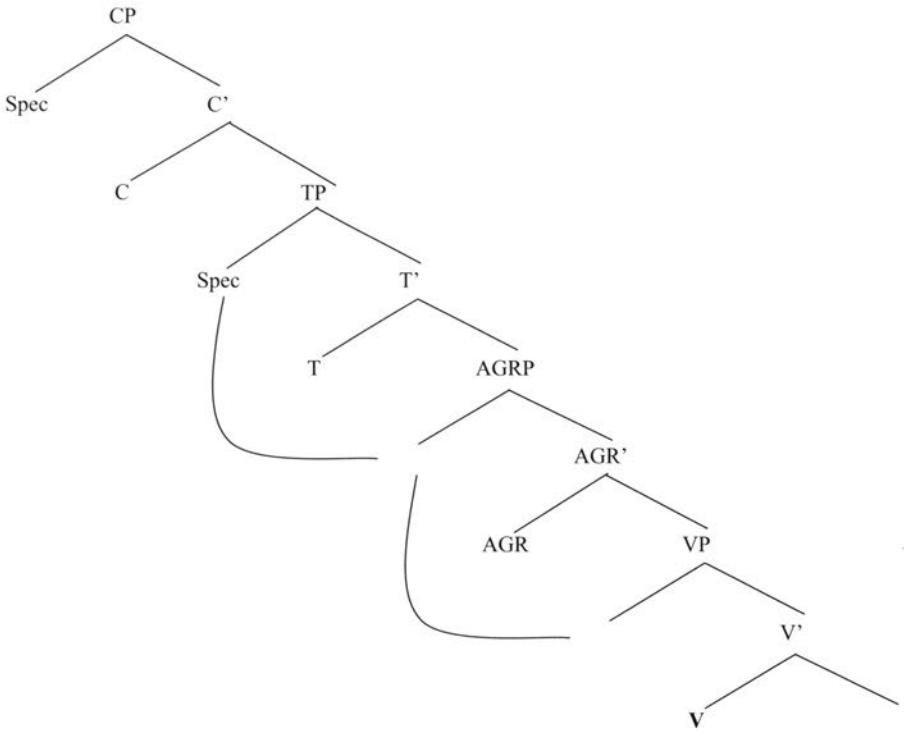

Fig.6 b Subject movement

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.

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Beiträge zur Pahlavi-Lexikographie I

Alberto Cantera
Salamanca

Die vorhandenen lexikographischen Arbeiten im Bezug auf das Buchpahlavi oder Mittelpersisch der zoroastrischen Bücher sind ziemlich selten. MacKenzie (1971) und Nyberg (1974) sind zweifellos die allerwichtigsten, jedoch keine von beiden beanspruchen, den gesamten Wortschatz der Pahlavi-Literatur zu verzeichnen. Nyberg beschränkt sich auf die in seiner Antologie enthaltenen Texte. MacKenzie deckt ein breiteres Spektrum, aber auch er beschränkt sich auf die 4000 üblichesten Wörter des Pahlavi-Vokabulärs und auf gut edierte und gut bekannte Werke. Ausdrücklich verzichtet er darauf, den späzifischen Wortschatz der Pahlavi-Übersetzung avestischer Texte zu verzeichnen. Unter diesen Bedigungen ist die lexikographische Arbeit eine der dringendsten Aufgaben der Pahlavi-Forschung.

Der anspruchsvollste Unternehmen in dieser Richtung ist zweifellos das Middle Persian Dictionary Project unter der Leitung von Shaul Shaked. Die Schwierigkeiten, denen dieses Project gegenübersteht, sind zahlreich, vor allem Mangel an vertraunswerte Ausgaben einerseits und die Mehrdeutigkeit der Pahlavi-Schrift, so daß, wenn ein Wort nicht in anderen Varianten des Mittelpersischen belegt ist, seine richtige Lektüre weitere sprachwissenschaftliche Erwägungen erfördert. In diesem Beitrag versuche ich drei Wörter aufzuklären, die in der ältesten Schicht (wenn auch nicht nur) der Pahlavi-Literatur (der Pahlavi-Übersetzung des Avesta) auftauchen und in die bisherigen lexikographischen Arbeiten keinen Eingang gefunden haben.*

Phl. 𐭪𐭠𐭭 (*čāniz*)

In den Pahlavi-Glossen und Kommentaren zur PÜ des Vīdēvdād kommt mehrmals ein Wort 𐭪𐭠𐭭 vor, das in den Pahlavi-Glossaren von Nyberg und MacKenzie nicht zu finden und mir sonst aus der Pahlavi-Literatur nicht bekannt ist[1]. Dieses Wort kommt fast ausschließlich in negativen Sätzen[2] vor. Teilweise fungiert es als Adjektiv und scheint die Bedeutung „gar keiner, überhaupt keiner" o.ä. zu haben, immer zusammen mit einem negativen Verb. Zweimal ist die Verbindung *pad* 𐭪𐭠𐭭 *kār* „für gar keine Arbeit" belegt:

* Diese Arbeit wurde im Rahmen eines Vertrags durch das Programm „Ramón y Cajal" des spanischen Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung und innerhalb zwei Forschungsprojekte mit Finanzierung desselben Ministeriums (BFF2002–00236) und der Junta de Castilla y León (SA090/03) durchgeführt.

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

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

V 6.1

|a| cnd dlhnʾy[3] ʾmʾn Z̲NE z̲myk ʾnʾytʾn[4] [AYK PWN ϛʍϛ kʾl LA šʾyt] AYK PWN ZK[5] QDM KLBA ʾywp GBRA BRA[6] wtylyt |b| A -š gwpt ʾwhrmz̲d AYK ŠNT dlhnʾy[7] ʾhlwb' zldwšt' Z̲NE z̲myk ʾnʾytʾn [AYK PWN ϛʍϛ kʾl LA šʾyt] AYK-š[8] PWN[9] ZK ʾpl[10] KLBA ʾywp GBRA BRA wtylyt'

|a| *čand drahnā zamān ēn zamīg anabēdān [kū pad* ϛʍϛ *kār nē šāyēd] kū pad ān abar sag ayāb mard bē widerēd* |b| *u-š guft ohrmazd kū sāl drahnā ahlaw zardušt ēn zamīg anabēdān [kū pad* ϛʍϛ *kār nē šāyēd] kū-š pad ān abar sag ayāb mard bē widerēd*

|A| „Wie lange Zeit ist diese Erde unnützlich [d.h. sie taugt für gar keine Arbeit], wo auf ihr ein Hund oder ein Mensch stirbt?“ |B| Ohrmazd sagte: „Ein Jahr lang ist diese Erde unnützlich [d.h. sie taugt für gar keine Arbeit], wo auf ihr ein Hund oder ein Mensch stirbt.“

V 16.7

hwlšn' <y> MN NYŠE y[11] dštʾn' BRA plycyt PWN ϛʍϛ kʾl LOYT' W[12] LA šʾyt

xwarišn <ī> az zan ī daštān parrēzēd pad ϛʍϛ *kār nēst ud nē šāyēd*

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 kār nē šāyēd* (z. 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| ʾy̲ AMT[13] B̲YN tpn-l[14] lwdyn' HNHTWN-t PWN gywʾk LALA YHYTYWN-yt A-š AHL 50 ŠNT ʾw'[15] ʾpʾyt OD hwlʾšyt[16] nkylsn'[17] BRA OB̲YDWN-x_1[18] ʾ-š ϛʍϛ ʾmʾl[19] LOYT A-š[20] AHL KLBA BRA nmʾdšn' A-š kʾl PWN 2 GBRA QDM OB̲YDWN-šn'[21]

[3] E10, F10, L4a, **Dps**; K1, **Jmp** dlhnʾ; E10 <ZK>; F10 <ʾn'>.

[4] K1, L4a, **Jmp, Dps**; IM [illegible].

[5] E10 <zmyk>; F10 <y>.

[6] F10 läßt BRA aus.

[7] K1, E10; **Jmp, Dps** dlhnʾ; L4a dlnʾy; F10 dlhnʾn.

[8] K1, L4a, **Jmp**; E10 AYK.

[9] F10; K1, E10, L4a lassen PWn aus.

[10] **Jmp, Dps**; E10, L4a QDM; K1 [illegible]; E10, F10, L4a, **Jmp** <BRA>.

[11] K1 läßt es aus.

[12] K1 läßt es aus.

[13] P2 MNW.

[14] F10; K1 tpn-1; M3 [illegible]; E10 tnp; T44 twp-1; IM tnp'-1; P2 tnpk; **Jmp** tpng y; **Dps** tpng-1.

[15] E10, F10, P2 ʾw'; K1, M3, **Jmp** OL.

[16] P2 läßt es aus.

[17] P2 [illegible].

[18] K1, M3, P2, F10; E10 OB̲YDWN-d.

[19] M3 ʾmʾk.

[20] P2 <PWN>.

[21] F10, P2, M3 OB̲YDWN -x_1.

|A| *ay ka andar tabn-ē rōyēn nihād pad gyāg ul āwarēd u-š pas panǰāh sāl ō(h) abāyēd tā xwāršēd nigaridn bē kunēd ā-š* [Pahlavi] *āmār nēst u-š pas sag be nimāyišn u-š kār pad dō mard abar kunišn*

|A| D.h. wenn (die Leiche) in einem bronzenen Gefäß[22] 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

[23]|A| ᵓy Z̲NE PWN ᵓywlyh OD-š gᵓs y[24] pyš[25] ptš B̲YN YATWN-yt gywᵓk W ktk W GBRA lymn LA OB̲YDWN-x_1 |B| PWN ᵓp̱ᵓryk MNDOM[26] ᵓytwn' YHWWN-yt cygwn[27] nsᵓy y[28] KLBA HZ̲YTWN-t |C| AMT[29] gᵓs y[30] LOYN'[31] ptš B̲YN YATWN-yt ᵓytwn' YHWWN-yt cygwn AMT-š HYA B̲YN ZK z̲m?n' OZLWN-t[32]HWE-yd̲[33] |D| ᵓplg gwpt ᵓy̱ [Pahlavi][34] MNDOM QDM hndᵓcšn' gwgwšnsp[35] gwpt ᵓy[36] KN[37] hndᵓcšn'

|A| *ay ēn pad ēwarīh tā-š gāh ī pēš padiš andar āyēd gyāg ud kadag ud mard rēman nē kunēd* |B| *pad abārīg čiš ēdōn bawēd čīyōn nasā ī sag dīd* |C| *ka gāh ī pēš padiš andar āyēd ēdōn bawēd čīyōn ka-š gyān andar ān zamān šud hē* |D| *abarag guft ay* [Pahlavi] *čiš abar handāzišn gōgušasp guft ay ōh handāzišn*

|A| D.h. das (ist) mit Sicherheit (so): Bis der nächste Tagesabschnitt dort eintritt, macht (die Leiche) den Ort, das Haus und die Menschen nicht unrein. |B| Für alles weitere gilt dasselbe wie für eine Leiche, die ein Hund gesehen hat. |C| Wenn der nächste Tagesabschnitt eintritt, dann ist es so als wenn der Lebenshauch gerade in diesem Moment weggegangen wäre. |D| Abarag sagte: „Keine weiteren Betrachtungen sind notwendig.“ Gōgušnasp sagte (hingegen): „Weitere Betrachtungen sind vorzunehmen.“

[22] Vgl. np. *tabn* „a capacious bowl“ (Steingass, Richardson et al. 1930:280). Jamasp (1907:228) zieht jedoch die Lesung <tpng> vor und vergleicht mit np. *tapang(u)* (bzw. *tabangu*) „a large tray, chest“ (so auch Kapadia 1953:443). Anklesaria (1949:172) liest *tôw-ê* und übersetzt es mit „cover“.

[23] L4a läßt den ganzen Kommentar aus. M3 läßt ᵓy Z̲NE PWN ᵓywlyh OD[23] gᵓs y[23] pyš[23] ptš B̲YN YATWN-yt aus.

[24] F10 läßt es aus.

[25] F10 $\mathrm{LO}^{\mathrm{YN'}}$.

[26] E10 MNDOM-1.

[27] M3 läßt cygwn aus.

[28] E10, F10, M3 lassen es aus.

[29] E10 MNW.

[30] E10, F10 lassen es aus.

[31] E10 pyš; F10 pkš.

[32] E10, F10 OZLWN-yt.

[33] E10, T44 [Pahlavi].

[34] IM; K1, E10, F10, T44, **Jmp, Dps** cᵓncyš; M3 cᵓncyš.

[35] K1, **Dps**; E10, F10, M3, T44, **Jmp** gwgwšsp.

[36] F10, T44, **Jmp, Dps;** K1, E10, M3 lassen es aus.

[37] E10, T44, **Jmp, Dps**; K1, M3 lassen es aus; IM AL.

Ähnlich aufzufassen dürfte auch 𐭧𐭬𐭧 in V 18.30 sein, obwohl hier die Wortstellung anders ist und die Ergänzung einer Ezāfe notwendig scheint. Es handelt sich um die PÜ und die darauffolgende Glosse für av. *druxš axᵛaθre*:

dlwc y ʾhwʾlyh [AYK-t nywkyh <y> 𐭧𐭬𐭧 ʾcš LOYT
druz ī axwārīh [kū-t nēkīh <ī> 𐭧𐭬𐭧 aziš nēst]
Druz des Nichtwohlstandes [d.h. du hast daraus gar keine Freude[38]]

An diesen Stellen scheint dieses Wort als ein unbestimmtes Pronomen „irgendein, irgendwelch" zu fungieren, das wegen der negativen Kontexte die Bedeutung „gar kein" bekommt. Die genaue Lesung und Etymologie dieses Wortes bleibt jedoch dunkel. Meines Wissens haben sich nur Salemann und Bartholomae zur Existenz dieses Wortes und zur etymologischen Erklärung geäußert. Salemann (1895–1901: 293) schlägt eine Lesung *čē-ān-īč* vor und eine Deutung als „was jenes immer". Bartholomae (1922:11Anm.1) lehnt diese Möglichkeit ab und zieht eine Lesung *čānč* vor, die er auf den Akk.pl.nt. ***čāni*, ai. *kắni*, zurückführt.

Obwohl diese Herleitung wegen der engen Beziehung von *čāniz* zu *čiš-iz* sehr ansprechend 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 **ciiāt-na-ca*, wobei **ciiāt* die Entsprechung von ap. *ciyā*° in *ciyākaram*[39] bzw. mmp. *cʾ*° in *cʾwn* „wie" (< **ciiāt-gaunam*)[40] wäre, oder auf **čā-na-ca*, mit **čā* als Umgestaltung von *kā* nach G.Sg. *cahia*. In beiden Fällen dürfte *-na-* das von Klingenschmitt (1972:100ff.) ermittelte Suffix sein, das u.a. in phl. *ēn* < **aiam-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 𐭧𐭬𐭧 *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:

V 5.4J
|J| tl AMT[41] lwst YKOYMWN-yt[42] AP-š nsʾy QDM[43] YHMTWN-yt ʾ-𐭧𐭬𐭧 LOYT
W AMT-š hyhr QDM YHMTWN-yt AMT pytʾk ʾ-s[44] ʾc-š BRA OBYDWN-šn'
AMT LA ʾ-𐭧𐭬𐭧 LOYT
|J| *tarr ka rust ēstēd u-š nasā abar rasēd ā-čāniz nēst ud ka-d hixr abar rasēd ka paydāg ā-š az-aš bē kunišn ka nē ā-čāniz nēst*

[38] Anders Bartholomae (1922 11): „d.h. es kommt von dir nicht irgend was gutes".
[39] Neben *ciyakaram*.
[40] Gegenüber phl. <*cygwn*> aus **ciiat-gaunam*. Klingenschmitt (1972:101) erklärt *ciiāt*° als analogisch zu *auāt*° (z.B. in *auāt-gaunam*) < **auahʾnt*.
[41] L4a; E10 MNW.
[42] F1 läßt AP-š nsʾy QDM YHMTWN-yt ʾ-𐭧𐭬𐭧 LOYT W aus.
[43] **Dps** <LA>.
[44] F10, M3, **Jmp**; L4a, E10, **Dps** pytʾkyh.

|J| Frisches Holz, wenn es noch wächst[45] 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 ˣpzʾ p̱t[46] YKOYMWN-yt ʾytwn'-c YHWWN-yt cygwn ZK B̲YN kwnk'[47] [48]W ZK <y> LA PWN pzʾp[49] YKOYMWN-yt' AMT-š[50] QDM YHMTWN-yt ʾ-ϛµϛ[51] LOYT'

|E| *ud bar ī pazzāft ēstēd ēdōn-iz bawēd čiyōn ān andar kunag (?) ud ān ī nē pad pazzāb ēstēd ka-š abar rasēd ā-čāniz nēst*

Ist die Frucht reif, dann geschieht so wie in der Knolle (?)[52]. Ist sie nicht zur Reife[53] gelangt, dann, wenn (eine Leiche) sie erreicht , ist sie nicht tauglich[54].

[45] D.h. wenn es noch nicht gefällt ist.

[46] E10, T44; F10 pzʾpyt; P2 BRE zpʾt; K1, M3, DPS pzʾp; **Jmp** pzytk; IM pzʾpyt.

[47] E10 kwdn.

[48] E10 läßt W ZK y LA PWN aus.

[49] K1, M3, DPS pzʾp; **Jmp** pzytk; IM pzʾpyt; MU1 pyzʾpt; E10, F10, P2, T44 pzʾpt.

[50] E 10 AM-š.

[51] K1, M3, **Dps; Jmp** ʾy̱ cʾnc.

[52] Die Lesung und Bedeutung von ١وںو ist schwierig. Sanjana (1895:119 Anm. 10) vergleicht es mit np. کـولک „a jar„. Jamasp (1907:2.146) setzt dafür folgende Bedeutung an: „the seed-vessel of a plant, cotton capsule". Anklesaria (1949:166) läßt das Wort ungelesen und unübersetzt. Ich vergleiche es mit np. *kune* „Zwiebel, Ende, unterer Teil" und setze dafür eine Bedeutung „Knolle" an.

[53] Phl. *pazzāftan, pazzam-* „reif werden" ist eine Ableitung von *pati-jāmaia-* (Henning 1933–1934:190; Nyberg 1974:160). Der Wechsel *–mt-* → *-ft-* ist in mehreren Infinitiven und Partizipien im Westmitteliranischen und im Khotanesischen festzustellen (Salemann 1895–1901:266; Bartholomae 1906:64; Weber 1970:98, 242, 255f.). Am ehesten sind weitere Formen des Verbs *gam-* zu vergleichen: mmp. *hnzpt, hnzʾm-* "vollenden, vollbringen" < **ham-jāmaia-, hnzps-*. „sich vollenden", phl. *frazaftan, frazāftan, frazām-* „vollenden, vollbringen", mmp. *frzwfs-* „sich vollenden", usw.

Sekundär hat man einen Präsens-Stamm *pazzāb*-gebildet, der in V 7.35F *pazzābišn* vorliegt. Dabei lieferten das Modell Verben wie *frēftan, frēb-, awištāftan, awištāb-, ayāftan, ayāb-* usw. Auch sekundär ist das Substantiv *pazzāb* „Reife" , das in unserer Stelle belegt ist.

[54] Vgl. Šnš 2.123:

ānār ud wātrang ud bēh ud sēb ud ambrud ud abārīg mēwag pad bar u-š pazzābišn abar paydāg ka-š nasā abar rasēd u-š ˣšōy-ē nēst ka-š pazzābišn abar nē paydāg ā-š šōy ēdōn čiyōn jōrdā wātrang hamē pazzābišn abāg

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

Die Behandlung der Getreide wird in Šnš 2.119 dargelegt:

pad jōrdā hamdādestān būd hēnd kū ān and gyāg čand-aš nasā abar rasēd rēman ān <ī> andar gubān parwastag ayāb xwast ud ān īō anī gyāg ىسوعه *ēstēd juddādestānīh sōšyans guft hād ān <ī> and gyāg rēman čand-aš nasā abar mad du gōgušnasp 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 Scheunen eingeschlossen war oder gedroschen und dieses, welches zu einem anderem Ort gesammelt (?) wurde, besteht Meinungsverschiedenheit. Sōšyans sagte, daß soviel Platz unrein ist, wie die Leiche dazu gelangt. Gōgušnasp sagte, daß alles unrein ist. (Mit) Stroh ist alles unrein.

V 7.77

|C| AMT[55] [x]ʾp̱wst'[56] OŠTEN-t[57] YKOYMWN-yt' wck LWTE[58] AM PWN ptmʾnk DKYA BRA YHWWN-yt W AMT-š[59] pyš[60] MN ʾp̱wsyh OŠTEN-t[61] YKOYMWN-yt PWN ptmʾnk DKYA YHWWN-yt AMT[62] LOYN'[63] MN ʾp̱wsyh OŠTEN-t[64] YKOYMWN-yt wck[65] AMT[66] BRA Y̱LYDWN-yt ʾ-DKYA[67] |D| AMT gwšn' OŠTEN-t YKOYMWN-yt' ʾ-[illegible] LOYT'

|C| *ka ābustan xward ēstēd waččag abāg mād pad paymānag pāk bē bawēd ud ka-š pēd az ābusīh xward ēstēd pad paymānag pāk bawēd ka pēš az ābusīh xward ēstēd waččag ka bē zāyēd ā- pāk* |D| *ka gušn xward ēstēd ā-čāniz nēst*

|C| Wenn ein schwangeres Weib (von einer Leiche) ißt, dann wird das Kind mit der Mutter zur geeigneten Zeit rein. Wenn sie vor der Schwangerschaft ißt, dann wird sie zur geeigneten Zeit rein. Wenn sie vor der Schwangerschaft ißt, dann wird das Kind rein, wenn es geboren wird. |D| Wenn ein männliches Wesen (von einer Leiche) ißt, ist es dann nicht (tauglich).

V 16.7

MNW LWTE NYŠE <y>[68] dštʾn' hmklp̱k YHWWN-yt ʾ-š tn' W wstlg PWN gwmyz W MYA BRA šwdšn' MNW tn' LWTE wstlg W wstlg LWTE wstlg BRA PWN cʾštk y[69]swšyyns [illegible][70] LOYT

kē abāg zan ī daštān hamkirbag bawēd ā-š tan ud wastarag pad gōmēz ud āb be šōyišn ud kē tan abāg wastarag ud wastarag abāg wastarag be pad čādtag ī sōšyans [illegible] *nēst*

Derjenige, der mit einer menstruierenden Frau in Kontakt tritt, muß seinen Körper mit Rindurin (*gōmēz*) und Wasser waschen; derjenige, dessen Körper mit dem Kleid (einer menstruirenden Frau) oder dessen Kleid mit dem Kleid (einer menstruirenden Frau in Kontakt tritt), ist nicht tauglich außer bei der Lehre von Sōdyans[71].

[55] **Jmp** <xB̲YN>.

[56] E10 ʾpwsʾn; F10, P2, M3 [illegible] ; P2 <OL>.

[57] K1, E10, P2; M3 OŠTEN-yt; F10 OŠTE-yt.

[58] L4a, M3 <wk>; **Dps** <ZK y>.

[59] E10 MNW.

[60] K1, E10; **Jmp** LOYN; F10 läßt es aus.

[61] F10 OŠTEN-yt.

[62] E10 MNW.

[63] K1, M3; E10, F10 pyš; P2 laßt es aus.

[64] F10 OŠTEN-yt.

[65] F10 <[illegible]>.

[66] M3 läßt es aus.

[67] K1, M3; E10 ʾpʾk; F10, P2 DKYA.

[68] K1 deest.

[69] K1 deest.

[70] **Jmp** <kʾl>.

[71] Anklesarias (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 Sosiyans, 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 5.49I. In V 5.49F–J wird das Verfahren geschildert, wenn ein Fötus im Mutterleib tot und herauszunehmen ist:

|F| wydšhpwhl[72] gwpt ʾy̲[73] PWN ˣcndynytn'[74] LA YHWWN-yt[75] ME-š B̲YN[76] hwyškʾlyh |G| AMT[77] B̲YN tn'-HD[78] BRA[79] ʾlt' KLBA lʾd LA NTLWN-šn'[80] PWN 2 GBRA BRA ʾhncšn' KRA TLYN[81] tn'[82] PWN blswm[83] W[84] wstlg PWN[85] hšwʾsmkšn' |H| PWN hmklpkyh ywdtl LOYT'[86] |I| AMT B̲YN[87] tn'-HD[88] ʾpytʾk[89] BRA YHWWN-yt LOYT' |J| AMT[90] ˣkltk[91] kltk BRA NPLWN-yt KRA[92] kltk-1[93] gywʾk W twhyk[94] lymn' KN OB̲YDWN-x₁[95]

|F| *wehšābuhr guft ay pad čandēnīdan nē bawēd čē-š andar xwēškārīh* |G| *ka andar tan bē ard (?) sag rāy nē pāyišn pad dō mard be āhanjišn har dō tan pad barsom ud wastarag pad xšwašmahagišn* |H| *pad hamkirbagīh juttar nēst* |I| *ka andar tan-ē apaydāg bē bawēd čāniz nēst* |J| *ka kardag kardag ōbadēd har kardag-ē gyāg ud tuhīg rēman ōh kunēd*

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

kas ka ō wastarag ud jāmag pahikōbēd sōšyans guft ay ān and gyāg pad gōmēz ud āb šōyišn ka wastarag ī ān-aš ō wastarag ī kas pahikōbēd rēman nē kunēd

Wenn jemand zum Kleid und Kleidung (einer menstruirenden Frau) stößt, sagte Sōšyans, daß soviel Platz (seines Körpers wie in Kontakt mit dem Kleid der menstruirenden Frau war) mit Rindurin 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 Sōšyans gegenüber der üblichen daraus besteht, daß nach Sōšyans die Kleider der menstruirenden Frau andere Kleider durch Kontakt nicht verunreinigen.

72 F10 .

73 E10, F10, P2, **Jmp**; L4a, **Dps** lassen es aus.

74 L4a, E10, P2 ; F10 .

75 K1 läßt wydšhpwhl gwpt ʾy PWN xwcyhytn' LA YHWWN-yt aus.

76 E10 läßt es aus.

77 E10 MNW.

78 L4a, P2 tn-HD; F10 tn'-HD; E10 ; M3 tn'.

79 E10 läßt es aus.

80 L4a, F10, P2 NTWN-šn'; M3 šn'.

81 **Dps**; K1, L4a, E10, P2, M3, **Jmp** DLYN; IM 2.

82 M3 läßt es aus.

83 K1, L4a, E10, **Jmp**; F10, P2 blswwm; M3, **Dps** blsm.

84 L4a, F10, P2 PWN.

85 E10 läßt es aus.

86 P2 läßt ywdtl LOYT' aus.

87 F10 <2>.

88 L4a, F10, P2; E10 ; M3 tn'-1.

89 L4a, E10, F10; P2 ʾpʾyt; M3 .

90 M3; E10, F10, P2, L4a lassen es aus.

91 E10, P2 hmkltg; L4a ; F10, M3 hm kltk.

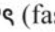
92 E10 läßt es aus.

93 L4a, F10 kltk-1; E10, P2, M3 kltk.

94 F10 (); K1 thyk; L4a, E10 (), **Dps** twšk; P2 twsk (); M3 k.

95 L4a, F10, P2, M3; E10 OB̲YDWN-d.

> man es im Rahmen der religiösen Pflichten macht. |G| Wenn (der Fötus) im Körper eingekeilt ist[96] (?), dann braucht man nicht auf den Hund[97] zu warten. Zwei Menschen müssen ihn herausholen. Beide (sind) mit einer Baršnūm-Zeremonie (zu läutern) und die Kleider mit einer Xšwašmahagišn-Zeremonie (zu läutern). |H| Im Fall der Berührung ist es nicht anders. |I| Wenn (der Fötus) im Körper nicht sichtbar ist, ist er /es nicht ... (*čāniz*). |J| Wenn (der Fötus) Stück für Stück fällt, kann jedes Stück den Ort und den leeren Raum unrein machen.

Aus diesen Stellen (bis auf V 5.49I) wäre für  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  (fast) ausschließlich in negativen Sätzen vorkommt,.macht die Vermutung, es könne sich um zwei verschiedene Wörter handeln, eher unwahrscheinlich. Dagegen halte ich es es für möglich, daß der Ausdruck *čāniz nēst,* der wortwörtlich „es ist nicht irgendetwas" → „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 Ausdrücksform 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 5.49C. Dort kommt es im Ausdruck *pad čāniz nē dārišn* vor:

> |A| ʾp̱lg gwpt ʾy̱[98] ʾy̱wk mʾhk[99] ʾywp[100] 10 BYRH-k[101] kʾl[102] LOYT' ME ʾp̱wstn' y nsʾy̱yh[103] PWN ʾy̱wlyh[104] YHWWN-yt[105] |B| OD[106] ʾy̱wl YDOYTWN-d[107] AYK ʾp̱wstn' HWE-m[108] hmʾk AMT-š[109] MNDOM-1[110] ptš pytʾk' YHWWN-yt ʾ-š PWN HNA YHSNN-šn' AYK MN dštʾn' |C| AMT[111] ʾy̱wl YDOYTWN-d[112] AYK

[96] Die Lesung und Deutung dieses Verbs ist sehr unsicher. Aus dem Zusammenhang erschließt man eine Bedeutung „Wenn (der Fötus) im Körper (der Mutter) eingekeilt ist, dann ...". Jedoch ist uns ein solches Verb sonst aus der Phl.-Literatur nicht bekannt. Deswegen verbessert es Jamasp (1907 190) in <ʾlwt>, PPP von *āludan* „moderig werden".

[97] Für *sagdid.*

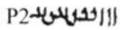
[98] M3 1.

[99] K1, M3, **Jmp**; **Dps** mʾh; L4a, E10, P2 BYRH-k; F10 BYRH.

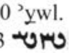
[100] E10; F10 W; L4a, P2, M3 lassen es aus.

[101] L4a, E10, P2; K1, M3, **Jmp**, **Dps** mʾh; F10 BYRH.

[102] E10 <ʾcš>.

[103] M3, **Dps**; **Jmp** nnsyh; K1 nnsyhyh; L4a, E10, F10, P2  .

[104] E10 ʾy̱wl.

[105] M3  .

[106] F10 läßt es aus.

[107] K1, M3, **Jmp**, **Dps**; P2 dʾnd; L4a, E10 YHWWN-d (Fehler für dʾnd).

[108] P2 hm; M3 HWE.

[109] F10 <ʾywl>.

[110] F10 MNDOM.

[111] **Jmp**, **Dps**; K1, L4a, E10, M3, IM AMT-t; F10, P2 MNW.

[112] K1, M3, **Jmp**, **Dps**; F10, P2 dʾnd; L4a, E10 YHWWN-d (Fehler für dʾnd).

ʾp̱wstn' HWE-m[113] BRA AMT ʾy̱wl YDOYTWN-d[114] AYK[115] nsʾy̱ OD PWN[116] ςμς LA YHSNN-šn' |D| swšyyns gwpt ʾy̱[117] ḆYN wlʾwmndyh[118] HNA KN[119] ʾwzmʾdšn' AMT-š shtk-HD[120] BRA[121] YATWN-yt[122] KLBA BRA nmʾdsn' PWN 2 tn' ʾ-š ḆYN gwmyc LMYTWN-šn'[123] AMT LAWHL OL[124] spyt[125].wltyt[126] ʾ-s PWN nsʾy̱ YHSNN-sn' ⌜*gəcō.*[127] *yāgərə.*[128]⌟ PWN KRA 2 lʾs lymn' KN[129] YHWWN-yt

|A| *abarag guft ay ēk māhag ayāb dah māhag kār nēst čē ābustan ī nasāyīh pad ēwarīh bawēd* |B| *tā ēwar dānēnd kū ābustan ham hamāg ka-š čiš-ē padid paydāg bawēd ā-š pad ēd dārišn kū az daštān* |C| *ka ēwar dānēnd kū ābustan ham bē ka ēwar dānēnd kū nasā tā pad čāniz nē dārišn* |D| *sōšyans guft ay andar warōmandīh-ē ēd ōh uzmāyišn ka-š saxtag-ē bē āyēd sag be nimāyišn pad dō tan ā-š andar gōmēz abganišn ka abāz ō spēd wardēd ā-š pad nasā dārišn* ⌜gəcō. yāgərə.⌟ *pad dō rāh rēman ōh bawēd*

|A| Abarag sagte, daß es keine Frage ist, ob (der Fötus) ein Monat oder zehn Monate alt ist, denn die Schwangerschaft einer Leiche[130] ist ohne weiteres kenntlich[131]. |B| Bis man mit Gewißheit weiß: „Ich bin schwanger", soll alles, was

[113] P2 hm.

[114] K1, M3, **Jmp**, **Dps**; L4a, E10, F10, P2 dʾnd.

[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 [illegible]; M3 wlʾwmndyh-1.

[119] P2 KN HNA; M3 HNA KN HNA.

[120] K1, L4a, E10, P2, M3; **Dps** tyštk-ʾy; **Jmp** xgwštkyh; F10 [illegible].

[121] 3 BRA BRA.

[122] L4a, E10, F10, P2, M3, **Jmp**; **Dps** YHYTYWN-yt.

[123] E10, P2 LMYTWN-yt.

[124] L4a, E10, F10, P2, **Jmp**; IM ʾw'; K1, M3, **Dps** KN.

[125] K1, M3, F10; L4a, E10, P2, **Jmp**, **Dps** spytyh.

[126] F10 [illegible].

[127] K1, M3, IM; L4a, **Dps** *taecō*; DJR *təca*; P2 *təcō*; F10 *təmcō*.

[128] K1, **Jmp**; L4a *yā. gar*; P2 *yāgarə*; **Dps** *yā.gərə*; F10 *yāgr*.

[129] L4a, E10, F10, **Dps**, **Jmp**; IM ʾw'; K1, M3 OL; P2 läßt es aus.

[130] D.h. Fehlgeburt.

[131] Hier wird das Problem der Blutung einer schwangeren Frau behandelt. Es ist nach der Ansicht der zoroastrischen Reinheitslehre ganz wichtig zu entscheiden, ob die Blutung als Menstruation oder als Leiche zu betrachten ist, da in jedem Fall unterschiedliche Vorgehensweisen mit der Blutung und mit der Frau vorgesehen sind. Hier sind zwei unterschiedliche Fragen zu lösen: 1. ob der verstorbene Fötus von Anfang an als eine Leiche zu betrachten ist oder nicht; und 2. ob jede Blutung während der Schwangerschaft als Leiche zu betrachten ist. Nach dem avestischen Text von V 5.45 ff. ist der Fötus , wenn er gestorben, von Anfang an als Leiche zu betrachten. Dieselbe Ansicht begegnen wir in der Pahlavi-Glosse zu V 5.45c und wird von Kāmdin Šāpur in den neupersischen Rivāyats (MU I 230.15) vertreten. Auch Abarag zeigt sich als Anhänger dieser Meinung im Pahlavi-Kommentar zu V 5.49.

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 vergehen, 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 Rivāyat von

bei ihr sichtbar wird, als Menstruation betrachtet werden. |C| Wenn man mit Gewißheit weiß: „Ich bin schwanger", außer wenn sie mit Gewißheit wissen, daß es eine Leiche ist, soll es auch nicht für ... (*čaniz*)[132] gehalten werden. |D| Sōšyans sagte, daß es im Zweifelsfall getestet werden muß. Wenn es schwer fällt[133], muß man ihm einen Hund zeigen und zwei Menschen müssen es in Rindurin (*gōmēz*) werfen: wenn es weiß wird, muß es für Leiche gehalten werden[134], (wie aus der Stelle) ⌜*gəcō. yāgərə.*⌟[135] (hervorgeht). In beiden Fällen kann man unrein (*rēman*) werden.

Die Formulierung *tā pad čāniz nē dārišn* ist direkt mit dem Ausdruck *tā-š pad ān dārišn* in Šnš 3.15

zan ī zādag ayāb nasā tā čehel rōz hamē ka rēman wēnēd be ka ēwar dānēd kū az dadtān tā-š pad ān dārišn ud az čehel rōz frāz be ka ēwar dānēd kū az ān tā-š pad daštān dārišn

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 RīHA 35:

passox hangirdīg ēn kū zan ī nō-zādag andar čehel rōz har ān ī aziš āyēd bē agar ēwar paydāg kū daštān tā pad ān dārišn pas <az> čehel rōz bē agar ēwar paydāg kū ān tā pad daštān dārišn

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 I 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. Kāmdin Šāpuhr oder Šāpur Bharuči, z. B., ziehen das Alter des Fötus für die Behandlung der Mutter nicht in Betracht (PRiv MU I 230.5; MU I 234.Ende). Was nun den Fötus selbst betrifft, (PRiv MU I 233 Z. 11–15; MU I 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 5.4J.

[133] Wahrscheinlich wurde das Gerinnsel 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 (PRiv MU I 228, Zeile 9 ff.).

[135] Dieses av. Zitat, das im Phl.-Kommentar eingeführt wird, ist rätselhaft. Das erste Wort zeigt zahlreiche Varianten. Das zweite ist im erhaltenen av. Corpus nicht weiter bekannt, bis auf in Vn 62, aus dem dieses Zitat genommen wurde. Dort erscheint es als *təcō. yāgərə.* Humbach-Jamaspasa (Humbach and JamaspAsa 1969 38) vermuten, daß hier eine Korruption für *ˣgərəδō. ˣyākarə* vorliegt. Meines Erachtens ist die Deutung von *yā.gərə.* als *yākarə* sehr wahrscheinlich, die von *gəcō* als *gərəδō* viel weniger.

Aus dem Vergleich mit diesen Stellen geht hervor, daß *čāniz* in V 5.49C in derselben Funktion wie *ān* in Šnš und RīHA 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 ... (*čaniz*)[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* <hʾmyn>[137]. Im Pahlavi ist dieselbe Form *hāmīn* <hʾmyn'> reichlich belegt [138]. Daneben kommt in diesem auch eine adjektivische Ableitung davon, nämlich *hāmīnīg* <hʾmynyk'> „sommerlich" (s. MacKenzie 1971: 41), vor[139]. Im Avestischen finden wir ein Adjektiv *hąmīna-* „sommerlich" (Bartholomae 1904: 1809), V 1.3:

dasa. auuaθra. manaŋhō. zaiiana. duua. hąmīna.
Dort sind zehn Monate winterlich und zwei Monate sommerlich.[140]

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

aŋ̊hå̊sca. mē. aēuuaŋ̊hå̊. āpō. hamaθa. auua.baraiti. hąmīnəmca. zaiianəmca.
(Der Abfluß) dieses einen Wassers von mir kommt gleichmäßig im Sommer und im Winter herunter.

[136] D.h. als Leiche; s. Kommentar zu V 5.4J.

[137] z.B. M 7981 Vi (Andreas-Henning 1932: 17 s., M. Boyce 1975: 69, § y 28):
ʾwd ps ʿyw sʾr pd dwʾzdh mʾhyg ʾn hmpdc dwzdh ʾxt pd whʾr ʾwd hʾmyn pʾdz ʾwd dmystʾn hmbxšyyd ʾwd pydʾg qwnd
Er teilt das Jahr und läßt es erscheinen in zwölf Monaten, den zwölf Zodiakalzeichen entsprechend, und in Frühling, Sommer, Herbst und Winter.

[138] z. B. PRDd.2.4 (Williams 1990: I 41, II 6):
hwlšn y LA sʾht' ystyt' PWN hʾmyn' ˣOD ʿHD BYRH b<w>ndk BRA YHWWN-yt' PWN zmystʾn' OD 9 LYLYA b<w>ndk BRA YHWWN-yt ʾš kʾl LA plmʾyšn
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.

[139] z. B. GrBd.25.4 (TD2 158.4 ss.):
YWM y hʾmyn'yk mhst cnd 2 y zmstʾnyk ˣksst LYLYA y zmstʾnyk mhst' cnd 2 hʾmynyk ksst
Der längste Sommertag (ist) so lang wie zwei von den kürzesten Wintertagen. Die längste Winternacht (ist) so lang wie zwei von den kürzesten Sommernächten.

[140] Die PÜ weicht leicht davon ab. Wir lesen:
10 BYRH TME zmstʾn' 2 BYRH hʾmynyh (K3b hmynyh).
Zehn Monate sind dort Winter, zwei Monate sind Sommer.

Während *zaiiana*-hier durch phl. *zamestān* „Winter" wiedergegeben wird, wird av. *hąmīna* nicht durch *hāmīn* „Sommer" übersetzt, sondern durch *hāmīnīh*. Dieser Gebrauch zeugt meines Erachtens davon, daß auch das Pahlavi ein Adjektiv *hāmīn* „sommerlich" besaß. Ein weiteres Mal erweist sich hier der Wortschatz der PÜ als altertümlicher als derjenige des Buch-Pahlavi.

Diese Form entspricht dem mmp., phl. *hāmīn* „Sommer" und lebt in zahlreichen weiteren iranischen Sprachen fort. Auf urir. **hāmīna-* „Sommer" gehen mit Sicherheit sowohl das kurdische (Kurmancî) *hawîn* „ (Omar, Kurdische Studien Berlin (Organisation) et al. 1992:245), (Sulaimanî) *hāwin*, (Hawrāmān) *hāmın* „Sommer" als auch Balōčī *hāmen*, (Raxšānī) *āmen* „date harvest time; August" zurück. Auch das sogd. (M) ʾʾ*mynyy* < **hāmīnaka-* setzt eine Grundform **hāmīna-* voraus, so daß die Existenz eines urir. **hāmīna-* gesichert ist.

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

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

<hmyn'>:	5.42 (L4a, K1, Jmp, Dps)
	15.45 (L4, K1, IM[141])
	16.12 (L4, K1, Jmp)
<hʾmyn'>:	9.6 (L4, Jmp, DPS)
	9.9[142] (L4a, Jmp, Dps)
	15.44 (Jmp)
	16.12 (IM)

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

Ganz eindeutig ist die Beleglage im Dēnkard. Dort ist, soweit ich feststellen konnte, ausschließlich die Form *hamīn* <hmyn'> belegt, und zwar an folgenden Stellen: 3.288 [M[143] 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 *hamīnīg* <hmynyk> „sommerlich", Ableitung aus *hamīn*, 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 <hʾmyn'>, 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 <hmyn'> ohne Varianten. Diese Angabe wurde im Fall der Handschrift K 43 verifiziert, und sie zeigt in der Tat an beiden Stellen die Schreibung <hmyn'>: K 43 164v.5 (= 44.19), K 43 167r.11 (=49.26).

In anderen Texten finden wir hingegen ausschließlich die Schreibung <hʾmyn'>. Dazu gehören die Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram (34. 29 <hʾmyn>), Husraw ī Kawādān ud rēdag (39 <hʾmyn>) und das Pahlavi Rivāyat, wo das Wort fünfmal vorkommt und immer die Schreibung <hʾmyn'> 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 <hʾmyn'>[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 <hmyn'> 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 <hmyn'> 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 <hmyn> zeigt, bestätigt die Verbesserung von Anklesaria.

Es ist also nicht von der Hand zu weisen, daß im Pahlavi neben der Form *hāmīn* <hʾmyn> „Sommer" auch eine Nebenform *hamīn* <hmyn'> vorhanden war, die genauso oft, wenn nicht häufiger, vorkommt. Diese Form hat auch Entsprechungen in anderen iranischen Sprachen. Auf eine Vorform **hămīna-ka* geht pšt. *mónai* „Herbst" zurück und wahrscheinlich auch Yazghulāmī *amang*, Sariqōlī *menǰ* „Sommer".[145]

Sprachwissenschaftlich sind sowohl urir. *hamīna-* als auch *hāmīna-* zu ermitteln. Erstere Form ist als eine Ableitung aus *ham-* „Sommer" mit dem Suffix *-īna-* zu beurteilen, das u.a. Adjektive der Zeitdauer bildet , z.B. av. *ušahina-* „morgendämmerig", ai. *parivatsaŕ̥na-*, *samvatsaŕ̥na-* „jährlich", *māsīna-* „monatlich", usw. Im Altindischen kommen daneben auch vr̥ddhierte Formen vor, deren Anzahl in der klassischen Sprache ständig wächst. Diese Tatsache macht die Vermutung nahelegend, dass aus urir. *hamŕ̥na-* „sommerlich"mamīna, das in skr. °*samīna-* „jährig" eine Entsprechung hat, ein gleichbedeutendes urir. **hắmīna-* entstanden sei. Beide Formen erzeugen dann ein substantivisches Neutrum **hamŕ̥na-* bzw. **hắmīna-* „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 Iranische Bundahišn.

[145] Nicht sicher zu ermitteln ist die ursprüngliche Quantität von Chwaresmisch *ʾmnk* „Sommer" (Benzing and Taraf 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 Vīdēvdād 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 Vīdēvdād 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 5.4O mit Šnš 2.74–75 folgt:

> |O|[147] l'š[148] W[149] BBA y[150] MTA W ywd y[151] hmyšk MYA[152] AMT-š ns'y QDM mt ŠPYL-'n' pwlywtkyš'n' PWN hmk'l[153] BRA ŠBKWN-šn' MN[154] ZK BRA BBA <y> bytwm[155] 'ytwn' BBA[156] y xhwyš šh g's[157] PWN ZK dšt'nyst'n' š'yt[158] ZK y dšt'nyst'n' PWN ZK hz'n' š'yt gl'y PWN ZK hw'ltl[159] LA š'yt
>
> |O| *rāh ud dar ī deh ud jōy ī hamēšag āb ka-š nasā abar mad wehān pōryōtkēšān pad hamkār bē hilišn az ān bē dar ī bēdom ēdōn dar ī xwēš dah gāh pad ān daštānestān šāyēd ān ī daštānestān pad ān hazzān šāyēd garā pad ān xwārtar nē šāyēd*
>
> |O| Die Straße und das Tor eines Landes (*deh*), und der Wasserkanal, wo immer Wasser läuft, sind, wenn eine Leiche dahingelangt, gemäß dem guten Pōryōtkēšān 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 leichtere zu benutzen.

[146] Die Varianten mit <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^{k}'l.
[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 <bwlnd>.
[157] Vgl. Šnš. 2.75; L4a ; E10 ; F10 ; P2 ; M3 ; F10 <BYN>.
[158] E10, F10, P2, **Jmp**, **Dps**; L4a .
[159] L4a, E10, P2, M3, **Dps**; **Jmp** xhw'lwtl; F10.

Damit direkt vergleichbar ist Šnš 2.74–75:

2. 74 BBA-1 <MNW> ns'y-1 ptš ptkwpyt 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 gwgwšsp gwpt 'y PWN hmk'l BRA ŠBKWN-šn' ME š'yt W swšyns gwpt 'y LA š'yt PWN 'p'ryk BBA hmd'tst'n' YHWWN-t HWE-d AYK LA š'yt

2.75 BBA y hwyš šh g's PWN ZK dšt'nst'n š'yt W ZK <y> dšt'nst'n PWN ZK <y>[160] hz'n' š'yt ZK y hzn' PWN MNDOM-yc k'l LA š'yt ZK hw'ltl PWN ZK[161] gl'ntl š'yt

2.74 *dar-ē kē nasā-ē padiš pahikōbēd pad dar ī deh ud šahrestān ham-dādestān būd hēnd kū pad hamkār bē hilišn pad dar ī bēdom jud-dādestān būd hēnd gōgušasp guft ay pad hamkār bē hilišn čē šāyēd ud sōšyans guft ay nē šāyēd pad abārīg dar hamdādestān būd hēnd kū nē šāyēd*

2.75 *dar ī xwēš dah gāh pad ān daštānestān šāyēd ud ān <ī> daštānestān pad ān <ī> hazzān šāyēd ān ī hazzān pad tis-iz kār nē šāyēd ān xwārtar pad ān garāntar sāyēd*

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; Sōšyans 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).

2.75. Die Tür der eigenen Wohnung darf als Tür des Menstruationszimmers (verwendet werden). Die Tür des Menstruationszimmers darf als Tür des Bestattungsorts (verwendet werden). Die Tür des Bestattungsorts darf für nichts anderes (verwendet werden). Die leichtere (Unreinheit) darf für die schwerere (Unreinheit) (verwendet werden).

Hier wird das Problem einer Tür behandelt, die durch den Gebrauch an Isolierungskammern kontaminiert worden ist. Die Tür, die einer Kontaminationsquelle ausgesetzt wurde, darf nur stärkeren Kontaminationsquellen ausgesetzt werden, z. B. die Tür zur Isolierungskammer der menstruierenden Frau darf dann nur als Tür der Kammer für die Aufbewahrung der Leiche benutzt werden. Die stärkere Kontamination wird in Pahlavi-Vīdēvdād als *garā* und in Šāyest-nē-šāyest als *garāntar* bezeichnet; die leichtere in beiden als *xwārtar*. Daraus geht hervor, daß phl. *garā* mit phl. *garān(tar)* bedeutungsgleich ist[162].

[160] Statt dessen K20 <šyt>.

[161] K20 <k>.

[162] Dieselbe Gegenüberstellung *garā* :: *xwārtar* wird auch in anderen Texten gefunden, V 5.4C:
|A| *abarag guft ay ēn pursišn pad hixr ud wizīr pad nasā bē kard čē ka-š xward way hixr* |B| *mēdōmāh guft ay ēn pursišn pad har dō ud wizīr pad nasā bē kard čē tā gugārēd way.pad nasā* |C| *pad har dō čāštag hamdādestān būd hēnd kū ka-šān pad ān garā kard ā-š pad ān ī xwārtar kard bawēd*
|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"[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[164]:

> |A| ʾy AMT-šʾn'[165] gwlk-1 AYT' OD[166] BRA LA NKSWN-t[167] ʾ[168]-lymn' LA YHWWN-yt |B| lwšn' gwpt ʾy ywdt[169] MN LOYŠE[170] W LGLE NKSWN-t[171] ʾ-[172] lymn'-c YHWWN-yt |C| lwpʾh[173] W lspwk[174] W bwplk <W> nsʾy y zywndkʾn[175] W nsʾy y dywʾsnʾn'[176] gyʾk W ktk[177] W GBRA lymn' LA[178] OBYDWN-x_1[179] |D| lwpʾh <W> nsʾy y zywndkʾn'[180] <W> dywʾsnʾn[181] wstlg lymn' LA OBYDWN-x_1[182] |E| zwzk hmlyt KN OBYDWN-x_1 W ptlyt LA[183] lwšnk'[184] AP-š[185] ⌜*mā. ciš.*

(*hixr*). |B| Mēdōmāh sagte, daß die Frage in Bezug auf beides (d.h. *hixr* und *nasā*) gestellt und.der Urteil in bezug auf „Leiche" gefaßt wurde, denn so lange der Vogel es nicht verdaut hat, (gilt es) als Leiche. |C| Beide Lehren sind derselben Meinung diesbezüglich, daß wenn jemand mit der schwereren Kontamination handelt, handelt er auch mit der leichteren.

Dasselbe Paar begegnet uns in N 42.7, aber hier ist das Verständnis der Stelle etwas schwieriger. Meine Übersetzung weicht von den Übersetzungen von MacKenzie (1970 271) und Kotwal-Kreyenbroek (2003 185) ab:

radpassāg-sālārag winālh ud kirbag ī frēzbānīg pādixšā kardan ān ī frēzbānīg ud garā xwārtar [pādixšā] pad ham-dādestānīh kardan pādixšā ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ay hād garā xwārtar nē pādixšā xwārtar garā pad ham-dādestānīh pādixšā

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 leichetere (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.

[163] Die Entscheidung zwischen beiden Bedeutungen ist nicht immer leicht. Dies ist der Fall z. B. in V 6.40.

[164] Weitere Belege dieser Bedeutung sind V 5.42 und 8.98.

[165] K1, L4a, P2; E10 MNW-šʾn'; M3 AMT-šn'.

[166] L4a OD.

[167] **Jmp**; K1 NKWSWN-t; L4a (), F10 (); M3 () **Dps** NKŠWN-t; E10 .

[168] F10, P2, M3; K1, L4a, E10 lassen es aus.

[169] **Jmp** <tn' cygwn'>; IM <lsšn'>.

[170] M3 .

[171] **Jmp**; K1, L4a, E10, F10, M3, **Dps** NKŠWN-t.

[172] K1, L4a, M3; **Dps** ʾy; **Jmp** ˣʾ-š; E10, P2 lassen es aus.

[173] F10 .

[174] P2 lspwk.

[175] M3 ;E10 AP-š nsy cygwn' zyndk mltwm.

[176] E10 .

[177] L4a, E10, **Dps**; K1, **Jmp** kwtk; M3 statt ktk W GBRA.

[178] P2 <OL>.

[179] M3, P2; L4a, E10 OBYDWN-yt; F10 .

[180] E10 cygwn' mltwm zyndk.

[181] L4a, E110, F10, **Dps;** K1, M3, **Jmp** (dieser nach wstlg) dywysnʾn'.

[182] E10 OBYDWN-d.

[183] K1 <OBYDWN-x1> (aber getilgt).

[184] E10 lwšn'.

[185] L4a laßt AP-š aus.

barō. aēuuō.⌟ ptš[186] KN YHWWN-yt |F| lspwk[187] PWN ʾy̱sm[188] ⌜*aiβi.γnixta*[189]⌟ ʾy̱wk bl[190] ⌜*anaiβi.γnixta*[191]⌟ |G| AYT' MNW ʾy̱twn' YMRRWN-yt ʾy̱ ZK-c AMT-š ʾy̱wk bʾl[192] swst' ⌜*aiβi.γnixta*[193]⌟ [194] |H| ʾp̱ʾryk KRA ME[195] nʾmcštyk LA gwpt YKOYMWN-yt LA[196] lwšnk[197] |I| lwšn' gwpt HWE-ʾt ʾy̱twn' YHWWN-yt cygwn ZK[198] glʾy̱ PWN MYA W ʾthš hwltn'[199] W nkʾn' krtn'[200] hmʾk ʾy̱twn' YHWWN-yt cygwn ZN glʾy̱ |J| wyšhpwhl[201] gwpt ʾy̱ KRA ME[202] gywʾk ktk[203] W GBRA lymn' LA OB̲YDWN-x_1[204] BRA MN 3 gʾm blswm[205] lymʾn LA OB̲YDWN-x_1[206] |K| dʾtplhw gwpt ʾy̱ KRA ME PWN MNDOM[207] y nsʾy̱ MN blswm[208] PWN 30 gʾm YHSNN-šn'

|A| *ay ka-šān gurg-ē ast tā bē nē kušt ā-rēman nē bawēd* |B| *rošn guft ay ǰud az sar ud pāy kušt ā-rēman-iz bawēd* |C| *rōbāh ud rasūg ud babrag ud nasā ī zīndagān ud dēwēsnān gyāg ud kadag ud mard rēman nē kunēnd* |D| *rōbāh ud nasā ī zīndagān ud dēwēsnān wastarag rēman nē kunēnd* |E| *zūzag hamrēh ōh kunēd ud padrēh nē rōšnag u-š* ⌜mā. ciš. barō. aēuuō.⌟ *padiš ōh bawēd* |F| *rasūg pad ēsm* ⌜aiβi.γnixta⌟ *ēk bar* ⌜anaiβi.γnixta⌟ |G| *ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ay ān-iz ka-š ēk bār sušt* ⌜aiβi.γnixta⌟ |H| *abārīg har čē nāmčišt nē guft ēstēd nē rōšnag* |I| *rōšn guft hād ēdōn bawēd čiyōn ān garā pad āb ud ātaxš xwardan ud nigān kardan hamāg ēdōn bawēd čiyōn ān garā* |J| *wehšābuhr guft ay har čē gyāg kadag ud mard rēman nē kunēd bē az sē gām barsom rēman nē kunēd* |K| *dādfarrōx guft ay har čē pad čiš ī nasā az barsom pad sīh gām dārišn*

|A| Wenn es ein Wolf ist, so lange man ihn nicht tötet, wird man nicht unrein. |B| Rōdn sagte (hingegen): „Schlachtet man (ihn) außer Kopf und Füße, dann wird man unrein.“ |C| Der Fuchs, der Wiesel, der Biber, die „Leiche der Lebendigen“[209]

186 P2

187 K1, E10, F10, **Jmp**, **Dps**; L4a sp̱wk.

188 E10 <YHWWN-t>.

189 E10 *aiβi.γnixti*.

190 E10, F10, P2, **Jmp;** L4a ʾyk bl l; K1 ʾywk bʾl; **Dps** ʾywbʾl; IM ʾywbl; M3 ʾywk.

191 F10 *x́aiiaiβi. γnixti*; K1, L4a, E10 *anaiβi*; P2 *anaiaiβi*.

192 E10; K1, M3, **Jmp, Dps** ʾy̱wbʾl; L4a, P2 HNA bʾl; F10 ; E10 <gwmyc>.

193 L4a *aiβiγnixti*; *aiβi.γnix*[v]*ta*.

194 K1, **Jmp**, **Dps**; L4a ⌜*aiβi.nixti*⌟.

195 K1, L4a, **Jmp, Dps**; M3 kʾl-c.

196 F10, P2, M3 lassen es aus.

197 K1, F10, P2, M3, **Jmp, Dps**; L4a, E10 lwšn.

198 E10 ʾn'.

199 E10, F10, P2; L4a ; M3 OŠTEN-tn'.

200 M3 .

201 L4a, E10, P2 F10, M3, **Dps**; K1, **Jmp** wšhpwhl; F10 wyšhpwhl.

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 OB̲YDWN-yt.

205 L4a, E10, F10, P2; **Jmp** blswm-c; K1, M3, **Dps** blsm.

206 K1, M3 lassen es aus; P2 OB̲YDWN-yt.

207 L4a, E10, P2, **Jmp**; **Dps** MNDOM-yh; K1, M3 ME-yh; F10 .

208 K1, L4a, E10, F10, P2, **Jmp**; **Dps** blsm.

209 Der Begriff *nasā ī zīndagān* begegnet uns auch in den Np.-Rivāyats als نسای زندگان. In MU I 82.6-12

und die Leichen der Dēw-Anbeter[210] machen weder den Platz (wo sie sterben) noch das Haus noch den Menschen unrein[211]. |D| 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 ⌜*mā. cīš. barō. aēuuō.*⌟[212] geschehen. |F| Der Wiesel gilt auf den Brennhölzern als ⌜*aiβi. γnixta*⌟[213]; für denjenigen, der ihn (tot) allein trägt[214], gilt er jedoch als ⌜*anaiβi. γnixta*⌟. |G| Es gibt einen Kommentator, der sagte: „Wenn er (der ihn allein trägt) sich einmal wäscht, gilt (der Wiesel für ihn auch) als ⌜*aiβi. γnixta*⌟". |H| Alles andere, was nicht ausdrücklich aufgeführt worden ist (Ort, Haus, usw.),

wird berichtet, daß wenn نسای زندگان zum Wasser oder Feuer gebracht werden, es dasselbe ist, als wenn man.(*nasā*) از مردگان.hinbringt. Beispiele von *nasā ī zīndagān.*werden in.MU I 83.14-19 geliefert. Als *nasā ī zīndagān* 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 Bedinungen als *nasā* und nicht als *hixr* betrachtet werden, s. PRDd 55.3.

[210] S. V 5.35–37, vor allem V 5.37.

[211] Diese Behauptung entspricht der Angabe in PRDd 44.1–2. Hier wird jedoch hinzugefügt, daß auch die Leichen der Dēw-Verehrer weder den Ort, wo sie sterben, noch das Haus noch die Menschen, die sich gerade dort aufhalten, unrein machen. Diese Hinzufügung wird dann in den nächsten Paragraphen sowohl in der av. Version als auch in der PÜ näher behandelt, besonders in V 5.38 und im entsprechenden Phl.-Kommentar. Je nach dem Wert, den man den einzelnen Menschen oder Hunden in der Gesellschaft einräumt, ist die Fähigkeit ihrer Leiche zur Kontamination anderer Wesen zu beurteilen. Deswegen stehen die Dēw-Verehrer ganz unten in der Liste.

[212] Dies ist ein Zitat aus V 3.14. Damit wird auf einen Exkurs in V 3.14–21 hingewiesen, in dem das Verbot des Alleintragens einer Leiche ausgesprochen wird. Mit diesem Zitat gibt uns also der Verfasser der PÜ kund, daß das Verbot des Alleintragens einer Leiche auch im Falle des Igels gilt.

[213] Av. *aiβi. γnixti* ist wiederum ein *Terminus technicus* aus der religiösen Sprache. Es fungiert als Epitheton der Nasuš, die an einer Leiche haftet, und dadurch wird zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß die Nasuš die Leiche verlassen hat und deswegen diese 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 Glosse hinzugefügt, nämlich: *sūnō. vā. kərəfš.x^{v}arō. vaiiō. vā. kfš.x^{v}arō.* Wolff (1910 358) faßt diese Wörter als N.pl. und übersetzt wie folgt (V 7.30):

> *āaṭ. yezi. nasuš. aiβi. γnixta. sūnō. vā. kərəfš.x^{v}arō. vaiiō. vā. kərəfš.x^{v}arō.*
> Aber der Leichnam angefressen (ist) – aasfressende Hunde oder aasfressende Vögel (sind es, die das tun) [Wolff]

Jedoch ist es besser mit Scheftelowitz (1903:136 f.) und Kellens (Kellens 1974) diese Formen als Agens von *aiβi. γnixtaa* in G.sg. zu erklären. Als Bedeutung für *aiβi. γnixta-* läßt eben der Agens „vom aasfressenden Hund oder vom aasfressenden Vogel" eben „angefressen" vermuten. Bartholomae (1904 89) vergleicht damit ahd. ags. *gnagan* „nagen" und leitet die av. Form aus einer laryngalhaltigen Wurzel **g^{h}neHk* oder **g^{h}neHg^{h}* ab. Diese Herleitung ist jedoch nicht aufrecht zu halten, weil idg. **g^{h}nHG-tó-* im Avestischen nur °**γāxta-* und nicht °*γnixta-* ergeben hätte. Die av. Form setzt eine *i*-haltige idg. Wurzel fort.

In die Phl.-Reinheitsliteratur findet jedoch *aiβi. γnixta-* (und *anaiβi. γnixta-*) Eingang mit einer etwas anderen Bedeutung. Av. *aiβi. γnixta-* ist nicht mehr ein Epitheton der *druj* Nasuš, sondern der Leiche. Damit wird ausgedrückt, wie oben erwähnt, daß die Leiche frei von Nasuš ist und dadurch weniger kontaminierend wird. Dementsprechend ist unsere Stelle zu verstehen. Die Leiche eines Wiesels kontaminiert nicht die Brennhölzer, ist jedoch kontaminierend, wenn ein Mensch sie allein trägt. Wenn er sich einmal wäscht, dann hat die Leiche keine Kontaminationskraft mehr gegen ihn.

[214] Vgl. V 3.15b, wo *ēk bar* als Glosse von *rist keš* (av. *iristō.kaša-*) vorkommt.

ist nicht klar (ob es verunreinigt wird). |I| Rōšn sagte (hingegen): „Es ist so, als wenn man schwere Unreinheit (*garā*) zum Wasser oder Feuer bringt, oder (sie) ißt oder (sie) begräbt: alles wird so wie die schwere Unreinheit.“ |J| Wehšābuhr 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| Dādfarrōx 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 3.29[216]:

|a| bʾstʾn'[217] LTME YKOYMWN-ʾy[218] PWN OL[219] ZK-ʾy[220] BBA [y AYŠ-ʾn] hwlšn' pwrsšn'[221] lʾd [AYK̲[222] OD-m YHBWN-ʾt[223]] |b| bʾstʾn'[224] LK tlsyt ⌜*āhana*⌟-t[225] ZK y ˣstdk[226] hwlšn' blʾnd[227] [AYK ZK y nywk[228] YB̲LWN-ʾnd[229] W ZK y SLYA BRA OL LK YHYTYWN-ynnd[230]] |c| ʾ-t OLE-šʾn' [hwlšn' MN[231] OLE-šʾn'[232] ANŠWTA-ʾn'] YB̲LWN-x₁ MN[233] OLE-šʾn[234] ZK[235] y[236] plʾy̲ ʾp̲ʾtyh [ˣMNW-šʾn'[237] plyht' HWE-ʾt ʾy̲ ME-s[238] ʾytwn' glʾy[239]]

|a| *bāstān ēdar abar ēstē pad ō any dar [ī kasān] xwarišn pursišn rāy [kū tā-m dahād]* |b| *bāstān tō tarist* ⌜āhana⌟ *-t ān ī stadag xwarišn barānd [kū ān ī nēk barānd ud ān ī wad bē ō tō āwarēnd]* |c| *ā-t awēšān [xwarišn az awēšān mardōmān] barēnd az awēšān ān ī frāy ābādīh [kē-šān parrēxt hād ay čiš 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).

[216] Weitere Belege sind V 13.16 und 13.45. Dieselbe Bedeutung liegt auch im Dd 40.5 vor. Jaafari-Dehaghi (1998:170, 259) ediert es als *grāy*, deutet es als eine Ableitung von Präsens-Stamm des Verbs *grāy-* und übersetzt es irrtumlicherweise mit „tendency, desire“.

[217] L4a, T44; E10, F10, M3 bʾlstn.

[218] L4a, F10, M3; E10 YKOYMWN-yt.

[219] L4a läßt es aus; T44 OLE.

[220] E10, F10, L4a ZK-ʾy.

[221] E10 <lpt>.

[222] L4a läßt es aus.

[223] E10, F10, M3, T44; L4a YHBWN-t.

[224] T44; E10, L4a, F10, M3 bʾlystʾn'.

[225] L4a; E10 *āhanati*; M3 ; T44 .

[226] Hss. stk; T44 st; F10 .

[227] Ml3, B1, Jmp, DPS; L4a, T44 blšn'; E10 blšn' lʾd; M3 .

[228] E10, F10, M3, **Jmp, DPS**; L4a nywkyh; E10 <BRA>.

[229] Jmp; L4 bʾlʾnd; Ml3, B1, DPS YB̲LWN-ʾnd; YB̲LWN-x₁; M3, F10 ; T44 BRA blʾnnd.

[230] E10, L4a YHYTYWN-d; F10, M3 YHYTWN-d; T44 .

[231] E10, F10, M3 MNW; T44 läßt es aus.

[232] F10 .

[233] F10 MNW.

[234] M3 .

[235] E10, F10, M3 OLE.

[236] E10, F10, M3 läßt es aus.

[237] E10, F10, M3 AYK-šʾn'; L4 MNW; T44 MN.

[238] F10, T44; L4 ; E10, M3 MNW-š.

[239] L4, E10, F10, M3, T44; M3 <YHWWN-yt>.

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 wegnehmen [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 ī garā* „schwerer Kot", eine Zwischenstufe der Unreinheit zwischen *hixr* und *nasā* „Leiche". In dieser Verwendung kommt das Wort verhältnismässig häufig in der PÜ Vīdēvdād vor, z.B. V 8.3[240]:

|A| ZNE MN ʾpstʾk pytʾk ZK YHWWN-yt AMT-š KLBA-1[241] ʾywp GBRA-1[242] BYN[243] BRA wtylyt MN 2 ʾywk KRA ME LOYN' BRA[244] šʾyt[245] YBLWN-x_1[246] ʾ[247] BRA YBLWN-šn'[248] W hʾn'[249] MN ʾndlwn' W bylwn' PWN ʾthš BRA bwdynsn'[250] |B| AYT MNW MN ʾndlwn' PWN ptwʾsk[251] YMRRWN-yt |C| 9 špk[252] BYRH dlhnʾy[253] hʾn'[254] ʾndlwn'[255] W bylwn' hyhl <y> glʾy W KRA ME ZK gywʾk YKOYMWN-yt hyhl <y> glʾy ZK[256] y AHL YHMYTWN-yt ʾpʾtyʾpyh[257]
|A| *ēn az abestāg paydāg ān bawēd ka-š sag-ē ayāb mard-ē andar bē widerēd az dō ēk har čē pēd bē šāyēd burdan ā barišn ud xān az andarōn ud bērōn pad ātaxš bē bōyēnišn* |B| *ast kē az andarōn pad paywāsag gōwēd* |C| *nō šabag māh drahnāy xān andarōn ud bērōn hixr ī garā ud har čē ān gyāg ēstēd hixr ī garā ān ī pas rasēd apādyābīh*
|A| Das geht aus dem Abastāg hervor: Das geschieht, wenn ein Mensch oder ein Hund innerhalb (einer Behausung) sterben. Von beiden muß man den einen, den man am ehesten tragen kann, wegtragen. Das Haus muß man von innen und außen mit Feuer ausräuchern. |B| Es gibt einen Kommentator, der sagt: „(Sie ist) von innen mit einer Ledertasche (auszuräuchern)". |C| Neun Nächte lang (im Winter)

[240] Weitere Belege sind 5.14C, 5.44G und 7.77A.
[241] M3, L4a, **Jmp, Dps**; K1 KLBA-HD; M3 KLBA-HD; E10, F10, P2 KLBA.
[242] K1, M3 GBRA-1; E10, F10 GBRA; P2 mlt.
[243] **Jmp** <xmʾn'-1>.
[244] L4a LOYN' BRA.
[245] M3 [illegible].
[246] K1, M3, E10; F10, P2 YBLWN-d; L4a läßt von hier ab den Kommentar aus.
[247] K1, **Jmp, Dps** ʾy; M3 ʾw.
[248] E10, F10 YBLWN-x_1; M3 blšn'; P2 läßt BRA YBLWN-šn' aus.
[249] E10 hʾnk.
[250] K1, M3; E10, F10, P2 bwdynnd.
[251] **Jmp, Dps**; E10, f10, M3, P2 ptʾsk; K1 [illegible].
[252] K1, NJmps, Dps; M3, BU špkl.
[253] F10 dlhnʾ.
[254] E10 hʾnk.
[255] M3 dlwn'.
[256] **Jmp** x ZKYA.
[257] **Dps**; K1 [illegible]; **Jmp** ʾpʾtdyʾpyh.

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]:

14-wm wl[260] y 4 gwš[261] pʾhlwm YHBWN-tʹ AYTʹ y dnbʾʾwnd[262] A -š 4 gwšyh HNA AYK chʾlswk AYTʹ <MNW>[263] YMRRWN-yt AYK MN 4 LOYŠE y MTA MYA BYN OL štrʹ YATWN-yt A -š pytydʾlk ZK y ʾpʾlwnʹ dštʾnʹ wys YHWWN-yt AYK TME glʾytl W SLYT-l YHWWN-yt A -š ʾnʾylʾnʹ MTA-ʾnʹ ptš KTLWN-d

čahārdahom warr ī čahār gōš pahlom dād ast ī dunbāwand u-š čahār gōšīh ēd kū čahār sōg ast <kē> gōwēd kū čahār sar ī deh āb andar ō šahr āyēd u-š petyātrag ān abāron daštān wēš bawēd kū ānōh garātar ud wattar bawēd u-š anērān dehān padiš mānēnd

„Vierzehntens schuf er Warr, den viereckigen, welcher Demāwand ist. Dieses „viereckig" (*čahār gōš*) (bedeutet), daß es vier Seiten hat; es gibt einen Kommentator, der meint, daß (es bedeutet, daß) von vier Gipfeln des Landes Wasser in die Stadt fließt. Dann entstand als Gegenschöpfung die sündhafte Menstruation in höchstem Maße – d.h. dort ist sie schwerer und schlimmer. Und die nicht arischen Nationen wohnen da."[264]

Einmal ist es auch Beiwort von *zamestān* „Winter", GrBd.31.37–8 [TD1 179.2–5; TD2 208.13–209.1]:

[258] Identisch mit V 5.44G.

[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 wl; TD2 wwl.

[261] TD1 4-gwš; TD2 4-gwšyh.

[262] TD1, TD2.

[263] TD2 statt dessen hat <y>.

[264] Vgl. V 1.17:

|a| *čahārdahom az gyāgān ud rōstāgān ā-m pahlom frāz brēhēnīd man ohrmazd ham* |b| *warn ī čahārgōš [padišwārgar gēl ast kē kermān gōwēd u-š čahārgōšīh ēd kū rāh čahār andar bē ēstēd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd kū šahrestānīh dar čahār ast]* |c| *kē ō ān zād frēdōn pad zanišn ī az ī dahāg* |d| *u-š pad ān ī ōy petyāragīh frāz kirrēnīd gannāg mēnōg purrmarg* |e| *ān-iz abārōn daštān [stahmagtar bawēd] anēr-iz dehān abar mānišnīh [kē pad padišxwārgar gōwēd sarm kē kermān gōwēd bārīč]*

|a| Vierzehntens von den Orten und Regionen schuf ich, der Ohrmazd bin, das sehr gute |b| Warn, das viereckige (*čahārgōš*) [Padišwārgar Gēl; es gibt einen Kommentator, der sagt: Kermān. Dieses *cahārgōš* (bedeutet), daß es da vier Wege gibt. Es gibt einen Kommentator, der sagt, daß die Hauptstadt vier Tore hat], |c| wo Frēdōm für die Erschlagung der Schlange Dahāg geboren wurde. |d| Da schuf Gannāg Mēnōg, der voll Zerstörung ist, als Gegenschöpfung |e| die unzeitige Menstruation [sie ist stärker] und die Bewohnung der Länder durch Nichtarier [für den, der sagt, daß es im Padašxwārgar ist, sind es die Sarmer; für den, der Kermān sagt, die Bārīč].

16-wm [illegible] ᵓlnng pᵓhlwm YHBWN-t' hwšk y tᵓcykᵓn' A -š pytydᵓlk Z̲NE wyš mt' AYB̲-š srdᵓl PWN srdᵓl LA YHSNN-d W z̲mstᵓn-c TME glᵓy YHWWN-yt A -š tɣcyk DM KTLWN-d

šāzdahom [illegible] *arang pahlom dād hōšag ī tāzīgān*[265] *u-š*[266] *petyārag ēn wēš mad kū-š sālār pad sālār nē dārēnd ud zamestān-iz ānōh garā bawēd u-š tāzīg abar mānēnd*

„Sechzehntens schuf er den besten Ōdā vom Arang, Gedränge der Araber. Dann kam als Gegenschöpfung im höchsten Maße die Tatsache, daß sie die Autorität nicht füch Autorität halten, daß der Winter hier sehr hart ist, und daß die Araber dort wohnen."[267]

Phl. *garān* und *garā* sind zwei Wörter aus derselben etymologischen Ursprung, die teilweise synonym sind, wobei *garā* eine konkrete technische Bedeutung übernommen hat. Beide gehen etymologisch zurück auf ur.-ir. **garu-* [vgl. av. *gouru-* in *gouru.zaoθra-* „who have offered viscid (lit. heavy) libations", ai. *gurú-* „schwer",]. Phl. *garān* ist wahrscheinlich ein mit dem.adjektivbildenden Suffix *-ān* sekundär gebildetes Adjetiv. Der Ausgang **-ā* <°-ᵓy> von *garā* findet sich in Pahlavi in anderen alten *u*-Stämmen wie *nasā* „Leiche" neben av. *nasu-*, *bāzā* „Arm" neben av. *bāzu-*, die im Avestischen Spuren eines dehnstufigen Casus rectus aufweisen[268]. Solches Suffix wurde jedoch produktiv auch bei anderen *u*-Stämme, wie es wahrscheinlich bei *garā* der Fall ist.

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[265] TD2 <[illegible]>.

[266] TD1 <[illegible]>.

[267] Vgl. V 1.19:

|a| *šāzdahom az gyāgān ud rōstāgān ā-m pahlom frāz brēhēnīd man ohrmazd ham* |b| *abar pad* ⌜*oδā*⌟ *ī arangistān [ī hrōm] kē asālār abar mānišn hēnd [kū zūd abāz ēstēnd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ay xwadāy pad xwadāy nē dārēnd]* |c| *u-š pad ān ī ōy petyāragīh frāz kirrēnīd gannāmēnōg purrmarg* |d| *zamestān ī dēwān dād [stahmagtar bawēd]*

|a| Als sechzehnten der Orte und Regionen schuf ich, der ich Ohrmazd bin, das sehr gute (Land) |b| an den ⌜*oδā*⌟ vom Arangistān [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[267]]. |c| Da schuf Gannāg Mēnōg, der viel Zerstörung hat, zu seinem Unglück |d| den von den dēwas geschaffenen Winter [er ist sehr hart].

[268] Für die sprachwissenschaftliche Deutung dieser Formen s. Cantera (im Druck).

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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.

Ziel der Darlegungen ist es, vor dem Hintergrund aktueller Debatten vor allem um den islamischen Märtyrer[1] die Sensibilität im Umgang mit diesem Begriff zu erhöhen. Dies geschieht auf drei Ebenen, die in den genannten Teilen exemplarisch ausgebreitet werden: der historischen Kontextualisierung des christlichen und islamischen Märtyrerbegriffs, der komparatistisch-linguistischen Betrachtungsweise und der Problematik der Übersetzung von märtyrerrelevanter Terminologie.

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 *mártys* 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 bestimmter 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.

[1] Als Einführung hierzu siehe die in Kippenberg/Seidensticker 2004 gesammelten Beiträge, besonders Seidensticker 2004.

Das arabische Wort für „Märtyrer", *šahīd*[2], gehört zum Verb *šahida*. Dieses bedeutet „Zeuge sein, bezeugen", aber auch „betrachten"[3].

Ein vergleichbarer semantischer Parallelismus zwischen den beiden Komponenten des Bezeugens und Martyriums findet sich auch im deutschen Wort „Märtyrer" und seinen Pendants in europäischen Sprachen, etwa engl. *martyr* und frz. *martyre*. Alle gehen auf das altgriechische Wort *mártys* „Zeuge" zurück[4].

Die semantische Übereinstimmung zwischen dem arabischen und dem deutschen, englischen und französischen (etc.) Termini ist keineswegs zufällig.

Vielmehr beruht sie auf historischen Übereinstimmungen und direkten Verbindungen.

Im Koran, dem Gründungstext der islamischen Staatsreligion, bedeutet *šahīd* so gut wie immer „Zeuge"[5]. Es gibt nur ganz wenige Koranstellen, wo *šahīd* außerdem auch als „Märtyrer" verstanden werden kann[6]. Erst später wird *šahīd* in der islamisch-arabischen Kultur zum festen terminus technicus für den Märtyrer. Der arabisch-islamische Begriff für „Märtyrer" weist somit denselben Übergang von der Bedeutung des „Bezeugens" zu der des Martyriums auf, wie er auch in der Geschichte der Begriffe *mártys* und „Märtyrer" im christlichen Bereich stattfindet: Die frühen Christen legten Zeugnis für ihren Glauben ab und wurden deshalb zu Märtyrern.

Diese historische Gemeinsamkeit zwischen Christentum und Islam wird von der Fachwelt heute so gut wie einstimmig mit einer christlichen Substratwirkung auf den Islam erklärt[7].

Wie diese martyrologische Spurenlese zeigt, geht es bei der Etymologie nicht nur um im engeren Sinne linguistische Aspekte, sondern es muß auch die Übereinstimmung mit gewissen historischen Fakten beachtet werden. Es reicht nicht zu sagen, „Märtyrer" *komme* von *mártys* und *šahīd* von *šahida* „bezeugen". Jedes dieser Wörter verfügt über eine jahrtausendelange, komplexe Wortgeschichte. Diese ist an einigen Stellen durchaus widerspruchsvoll und dunkel, wie weiter unten mit Bezug auf das syrische *sahda* zu zeigen sein wird.

Ohne Rücksicht auf historische Hintergründe und Kontinuitäten Wortparallelen zu etablieren, kann sehr leicht zu Trugschlüssen führen, die in der Fachliteratur *etymological fallacies* heißen[8].

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

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

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

[3] Wehr 1985: 677, s.v. *šahida*.

[4] Zur Etymologie des deutschen Wortes siehe Kluge 1999: 542, s.v. *Marter*.

[5] Eine Auswahl der wichtigsten diesbezüglichen Koranstellen geben Kohlberg 1997b und Björkman 1970.

[6] Siehe Kohlberg 1997a, Kohlberg 1977b und Björkman 1970.

[7] Siehe Björkman 1970: 389f., Gerlitz 1992: 199.

[8] Eine kurze Definition von *etymological fallacy* gibt Wilson 2006.

struierbaren indoeuropäischen Wurzel **mer-* mit der Bedeutung „erinnern" abgeleitet sein[9]. Zu dieser Wurzel gehören beispielsweise auch das lateinische Wort *memoria* „Erinnerung" sowie das engl. *to remember*.

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

Erwägt 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[10], so könnte man diese Doppelbenennung mit der beiden Wörtern zugrundeliegenden indoeuropäischen Wurzel **mer-* zu erklären versuchen. Der ursprüngliche Sinn von *Martyrion* schiene demzufolge gewissermaßen in der sprachlichen Selektion von *Memoria* als dessen Vollsynonym wieder auf, indem beide eine Stätte der Erinnerung an Märtyrer bezeichneten.

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

Daß die oben beschriebene vergleichend-sprachwissenschaftliche Methode im Falle von *Martyrion/Memoria* zumindest eine interessante Hypothese, wenn auch keinen Beweis für eine direkte sprachhistorische Verbindung produziert, ist indes kein Argument für ihre Übertragbarkeit auf andere auf das altgriechische *mártys* zurückgehende Wörter des Lateinischen und anderer europäischen Sprachen (z.B. lat. *Martyria*[11], lat./dt. *martyrium*[12], dt. *Martyrologie*[13]). Auch bei diesen Vokabeln ein, wenn auch nur entferntes, Mitschwingen der Bedeutung des angenommenen **mer-* vorauszusetzen, dürfte in vielen Fällen zu spektakulären *etymological fallacies* führen.

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. dialektale Varianten dieses Lexems), nämlich bei Homer und Hesiod, offenbar keine starken und unzweideutigen Hinweise mehr auf die mutmaßliche indoeuropäische Grundbedeutung der Wurzel **mer-* entdecken lassen[14].

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-

[9] Kluge 1999: 542, s.v. *Marter*.
[10] Koch 2005: 876.
[11] Vgl. Berneker 1979.
[12] Christen 1992, Gerlitz 1992.
[13] Sode 2005.
[14] Vgl. Liddell/Scott 1985:1082, s.v. *martyros, ho*.

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

Zu den auf diese Weise zu entlarvenden Mythen der Populäretymologie gehört eine simplizistische Reduktion des islamischen *šahīd* auf seine christlichen Wurzeln, nach dem Motto: Märtyrer bleibt Märtyrer. Der christliche Hintergrund des islamischen Märtyrertums ist zwar bedeutsam, stellt jedoch in der Realität nur eines von vielen Elementen in der eigenständigen Herausbildung und Entwicklung des islamischen Märtyrertums dar[15]. Es mag stets hilfreich sein, sich des etymologischen Hintergrunds bewußt zu werden, ihn zum Erklärungsprinzip zu erheben, führt jedoch in vielen Fällen zu Fehlschlüssen.

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 eingeengt und konkretisiert. Einerseits geht es nurmehr um die Etymologie eines einzigen Wortes, und zwar des arabischen *šahīd*. 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 (*šahīd*) 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 Neuostaramäische oder Syrisch-Aramäische sowie dessen ältere Form, das Klassisch-Syrische[16].

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 *šahīd* eine Rolle spielt. Denn Wörter können von einer Sprachstufe in eine andere nicht nur durch einen abstammungsähnlichen Vorgang wandern (so wie etwa das deutsche Wort für „Vater" mit dem Sanskritwort *pitar* zusammenhängt), sondern auch entlehnt werden. Bei der Entlehnung spielt es

[15] Zur Spezifik des islamischen Märtyrertums vgl. Beinhauer-Köhler 2005, Björkman 1970, Bonner 2005, Kohlberg 1997a, Kohlberg 1997b: 205, Pannewick 2004a und Pannewick 2004b.
[16] Zur Einordnung des Syrischen siehe Talay 2006 und Younan 2006.

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", *bureddo* und *pan*, die aus dem Englischen (*bread*) und Französischen (*pain*) in die Sprache Nippons gewandert sind.

Für das vorliegende Thema ist die Möglichkeit der Wortentlehnung insofern relevant, als eine genetische Beziehung zwischen dem arabischen *šahīd* und Wörtern in anderen Zweigen der semitischen Sprachfamilie zwar eine Möglichkeit darstellt, auf der anderen Seite aber auch eine Entlehnung als Alternative im Bereich des Denkbaren liegt. Das Aramäische war seit der Antike die Verwaltungssprache und Koiné Mesopotamiens und angrenzender Gebiete, bis es ab dem 7. Jahrhundert n. Chr. immer mehr durch das Arabische zurückgedrängt wurde[17]. Eine aramäische Substratwirkung auf das Arabische muß vor diesem Hintergrund als gesichert gelten.

Direkt mit dem arabischen *šahida* läßt sich die aramäische Wurzel *S-H-D* vergleichen. Sie ist phonematisch nahe an der dem arabischen *šahida* zugrundeliegenden Wurzel, arab. *Š-H-D*. Das hebräische Wort für „Zeuge", *'ed*, kann dagegen nicht dieser Wurzel zugeordnet werden[18].

Die aramäische Wurzel *S-H-D* ist bereits im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. nachweisbar. In Papyri der aramäischen Kolonie Elephantine (nahe beim heutigen Assuan in Ägypten) finden sich Belege für Stamm-I-Formen der Wurzel *S-H-D*, die „Zeuge" bedeuten[19]. Die Bedeutung „Märtyrer" kann in diesen Belegstellen klar ausgeschlossen werden. Es handelt sich um juristische Dokumente, wo das betreffende Wort in der Liste der beglaubigenden Personen jeweils als terminus technicus für „Zeuge" vorkommt.

Von der Wurzel *S-H-D* gebildete Ableitungen mit der Bedeutung „Zeuge" finden sich in großer Zahl auch in der *Peshitta*, der Klassisch-Syrischen Übersetzung der Bibel[20].

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[21], ist eine Beeinflussung der

[17] Talay 2006, Younan 2006.

[18] Nach Gesenius 1962: 564, s.v. *'ed* liegt dem hebräischen Wort die Wurzel *'-W-D* zugrunde.

[19] Die bei Sayce/ Cowley 1906 gegebenen Belege sind nicht vokalisiert. Über das Glossar (S. 60) lassen sich 22 Belege für שהד „Zeuge" und 10 für dessen Plural שחדיא finden.

[20] Belege unter www.peshitta.org/Lexicon [aufgerufen am 25. Januar 2006] unter den Suchbegriffen „witness" und „martyr". Daß in diesem Online-Glossar der *Peshitta* die entsprechenden Derivate der Wurzel *S-H-D* mit ‚Märtyrer' übersetzt werden, dürfte auf einer anachronistische Interferenz des heutigen Sprachgebrauchs beruhen. Bekanntlich besitzen der Begriff *mártys* und seine Ableitungen in der griechischen Übersetzung des Alten Testaments (Septuaginta) und im griechischen Neuen Testament noch nicht die technische Bedeutung ‚Märtyrer' (siehe Wischmeyer 2005: 862). Vgl. auch eine Online-Suchabfrage im Text der Lutherbibel (http://www.bibel-online.de/, 26. Januar 2006), die kein einziges Ergebnis für „Märtyrer", aber eine hohe Trefferzahl für „Zeuge" ergab.

[21] Zur Datierung der *Peshitta* siehe Leicht 2003.

koranischen Belegung von *šahīd* mit der Bedeutung „Zeuge" durch die analoge Semantik der *Peshitta* prinzipiell wahrscheinlicher als der umgekehrte Fall.

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

Das neuostaramäische Wort *sahda*, welches „Zeuge" *und* „Märtyrer" bedeutet[22], wird in der Forschungsliteratur explizit mit *šahīd* in Verbindung gebracht[23]. Da *sahda* jedoch diachron gesehen eine zu *šahīd* spätere Form ist, bleibt unsicher, wo die Quelle des Bedeutungselements „Märtyrer" hier liegt. Hierzu könnte man verschiedene Hypothesen aufstellen. So könnte sie vom Arabischen in das Neuostaramäische übergegangen sein. Sie könnte sich aber auch in einer historischen Vorläufersprache des Neuostaramäischen selbständig entwickelt haben. Schließlich wäre auch an die Möglichkeit einer Entlehnung aus dritten Quellen oder komplexe Szenarien über einen langen diachronen Zeitraum sich erstreckender wechselseitiger Beeinflussung zu denken, über die aber nur spekuliert werden kann.

Die oben zusammengefaßten Daten zur sprachgeschichtlichen Beziehung zwischen dem arabischen *šahīd* und seinen aramäischen Pendants 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[24].

3. Der Fall Taşçı als Austragungsort etymologischer Debatten

3.1. Der Hintergrund

Im November 2004 strahlte das ZDF-Magazin „Frontal 21" einen Bericht über die Berliner Mevlana-Moschee aus. Darin waren auf türkisch Ausschnitte aus der Predigt des dortigen Imams Yakup Taşçı zu hören. Einiges davon wurde in der Fernsehreportage ins Deutsche übersetzt[25].

Als Folge dieser Sendung entbrannte eine heftige Diskussion über Taşçı, weil er in dieser Sendung die Deutschen als „schmutzig" bezeichnet habe[26]. Der Imam wurde als „Haßprediger" qualifiziert, setzte aber später gerichtlich ein Verbot, ihn so zu nennen, durch[27].

Im April 2005 stellte die Berliner Ausländerbehörde unter Ehrhart Körting (SPD)

[22] Shapera 2006. Die Aussprache des neuostaramäischen Wortes ist [sahda] (mit initialem /s/-Phonem).
[23] Björkman 1970: 389; Bonner 2005: 871.
[24] Die von Michael Bonner über das Verhältnis des arabischen *šahīd* zum syrischen *sahda* getroffene Festestellung, daß ersteres „wahrscheinlich" von letzterem „abgeleitet" sei (Bonner 2005: 871), ist im Hinblick auf genetische Abstammung oder Entlehnung indifferent.
[25] Zur Taşçı-Affäre allgemein siehe Emmerich 2004, Emmerich 2005a Emmerich 2005a, Emmerich 2005c und Nibbrig 2005.
[26] Vgl. Emmerich 2005c und die bei Thomsen 2006 in Übersetzung wiedergegebenen Worte Taşçıs.
[27] Siehe Emmerich 2005c, Miller/Thomsen 2005, Thomsen 2006.

einen Antrag auf Ausweisung Taşçıs. 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 Kreuzberg machte[28]. Der Vorwurf lautete, daß die von Taşçı damit gefeierten „Märtyrer" islamistische Terroristen und Mörder seien und daß der Prediger in seiner Rede Selbstmordattentate im Nahen Osten gutgeheißen habe[29]. In der Presse wurde die Ausländerbehörde wörtlich folgendermaßen zitiert:

„Die von Ihnen [sc. Yakup Taşçı – M.H.] als Märtyrer gepriesenen Täter in Israel und im Irak sind Mörder, die beinahe täglich auf unschuldige Personen ... heimtückische Anschläge verüben"[30].

Aufgrund der andauernden Rechtsstreitigkeiten zwischen Taşçı und der Ausländerbehörde sowie dem ZDF sind die betreffenden Äußerungen des Imams bisher nicht vollständig der Allgemeinheit zugänglich geworden. Aus den Presseberichten geht jedoch hervor, daß die Vorwürfe der Ausländerbehörde in hohem Maße von der Übersetzung des türkischen Wortes *şehadet* abhängen[31].

3.2. Zur Etymologie des türkischen şehadet

Bevor die Auswirkungen der unterschiedlichen Übersetzungen von *şehadet* in der Taşçı-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[ine]r Berufspflicht"[32].

Es fällt zunächst auf, daß in dem Wörterbuch-Artikel die Worte „Märtyrertum", „Martyrium" und „Märtyrer" nicht vorkommen, auch nicht in den (hier aus Platzgründen nicht zitierten) den Gebrauch von *şahadet* illustrierenden weiteren Belegen des Artikels[33].

Aus der Abwesenheit der religiösen Bedeutung „Märtyrertum/Martyrium" in dem zitierten Wörterbucheintrag können indes kaum normative Schlußfolgerungen für etwaige Übersetzungen von *şehadet* ins Deutsche abgeleitet werden.

[28] Emmerich 2005c.
[29] Emmerich 2005a, Emmerich 2005b, Emmerich 2005c.
[30] Miller/Thomsen 2005.
[31] Das türkische Wort kommt beispielsweise (in der orthographisch nicht korrekten, aber eindeutigen Form „sehadet") im Text von Miller/Thomsen 2005 vor.
[32] Steuerwald 1988: 1063, s.v. *şahadet*. Bei diesem und allen folgenden Zitaten aus Wörterbüchern habe ich die technischen Angaben zum grammatischen Status des Wortes und andere hier nicht relevante Textbestandteile weggelassen.
[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 „*Märtyrer*, 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 legitim.

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 *Š-H-D* bzw. dem zu ihr gehörigen Verbum *šahida*[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 dahingehend zu relativieren, daß das Wort *şahadet/şehadet* qua seiner Verbindung mit dem durch „Märtyrer" übersetzbaren *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 Wörterbucheinträge 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 bestimmend geworden sind, die in ihrer Außenwirkung durchaus unterschiedlich sind[38].

[34] Steuerwald 1988: 1071, s.v. *şehit*.

[35] Eine analoge paradigmatische Beziehung besteht auch zwischen den beiden arabischen Wörtern, die die Kopiervorlagen von *şahadet/şehadet* und *şehit* bilden. Siehe Wehr 1985: 678, s.v. *šahīd* und *šahāda*. Zum Konzept des sprachlichen Kopierens im Türkischen und anderen Sprachen vgl. Johanson 1992.

[36] Vgl. Fußnote 3.

[37] So beispielsweise der Ausdruck *şehadete nail olmak* (Steuerwald 1988: 1063, s.v. *şahadet*), der als synonym mit *şehit düşmek*, *şehit gitmek* und *şehit olmak* geführt (Steuerwald 1988: 1071, s.v. *şehit*) und mit „1. auf dem Feld der Ehre fallen 2. in Erfüllung seiner (Berufs-)Pflichten den Tod finden" (Steuerwald 1988: 1071, s.v. *şehit*) übersetzt wird.

[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.

Zum einen ist dies der Typ des sogenannten „Schlachtfeld-Märtyrers" (arab. *šahīd al-ma'raka*). Hierbei handelt es sich um einen Kämpfer für die Sache des Islams, der in militärischer Auseinandersetzung mit den sogenannten Ungläubigen den Tod findet. Dieser Typ ist vor allem im sunnitischen Islam verbreitet.

Zum anderen gibt es eine Interpretation des Märtyrers als Opfer innerislamischer Auseinandersetzungen. Das Urbild dieses Märtyrers ist al-Husayn, ein Verwandter des Propheten Mohammed. Al-Husayn wurde auf Befehl des damaligen islamischen Herrschers, des Kalifen, im Jahre 680 n. Chr. bei Kerbela im heutigen Irak umgebracht. Der Tod al-Husayns lieferte das wichtigste role model des Märtyrers im schiitischen Islam. Im Unterschied zum aggressiv-militanten Charakter des sunnitischen *šahīd al-ma'raka* stehen bei der schiitischen *imitatio* al-Husayns dessen Leiden, seine Tugendhaftigkeit und seine Unschuld im Vordergrund.

Vor dem Hintergrund dieser nur kurz angerissenen historischen Dimensionen des islamischen Märtyrerbegriffs dürfte deutlich werden, daß auch mit der Klärung der Frage, ob in einem bestimmten Text von „Märtyrertum" oder von etwas anderem die Rede sei, nicht unbedingt die Frage nach gewaltverherrlichenden oder gar terroristischen Tendenzen beantwortet ist. Übrigens ist auch die einzige Bedeutungsangabe zu *şehadet* aus dem Steuerwald-Lexikon, die mit dem Martyrium den Tod der betreffenden Person gemeinsam hat („Tod auf dem Schlachtfeld od[er] bei Ausübung e[ine]r Berufspflicht") im Hinblick auf die Gewaltfrage nicht disambiguierend. Der nicht-religiöse, säkularisierte Begriff *şehit* kann im Türkischen alle möglichen Opfer von Gewalt-, Kriegs- oder Terrorhandlungen bezeichnen, wobei der Grad ihrer eigenen Gewaltausübung stark variiert. So gelten in der Türkei beispielsweise die im Koreakrieg (1950–1953) gefallenen türkischen Soldaten[39], die türkischen Opfer Krieges gegen die PKK[40] und im Dienst umgekommene Polizisten[41] als *şehitler* (Plural von *şehit*). Auf der anderen Seite bezeichnen auch dezidiert säkularistische, beispielsweise marxistische türkische Organisationen ihre Opfer als *şehit*[42].

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 „Mördern" 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

[39] Eine Google-Suche mit dem Begriff „Kore sehitleri" für „Korea-*şehits*" (türk. *Kore şehitleri*) am 27. Januar 2006 ergab ca. 17.000 Ergebnisse. Bei mindestens über 16.000 dieser Ergebnisse handelt es sich um Treffer mit Straßennamen, da bei Eliminierung des türkischen Wortes *cadde* „Straße" und seiner Abkürzung *cad* von diesen Treffern nur 894 übrig blieben. Dieses Resultat kann man wohl so interpretieren, daß das Gedenken an die in Korea gefallenen Soldaten am stärksten auf der architektonischen bzw. städtebauerischen Ebene stattfindet.

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

[41] Siehe beispielsweise die Online-şehit-Galerie der Polizei von Konya (Zentraltürkei) unter http://www.konya.pol.tr/sehitlerimiz.htm.

[42] Siehe beispielsweise die Auflistung linker und linksradikaler *şehit*s in http://www.devrimci.net.tf/.

einen religiösen oder säkularen Text handelt, sondern sich darauf konzentrieren, ob der Gebrauch von *şahadet/şehadet* gewaltsames Vorgehen und aggressive Militanz impliziert oder nicht.

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

Die Übersetzung des türkischen Wortes *şehadet* war ein Streitpunkt in der juristischen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Taşçı und der Ausländerbehörde. Der Imam argumentierte, seine Predigt sei fehlerhaft ins Deutsche übersetzt worden[43].

Im Laufe der Auseinandersetzung wurden zwei Übersetzungen für den von diesem gebrauchten türkischen Ausdruck *şehadet* 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 gönne 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 des Märtyrertods zuteil werden" [45].

Bei der zitierten Textpassage handelt sich um das Ende eines Bittgebets, 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 hervorgeht[46].

Zum anderen hat Schiffauer „Glaubenstod" statt des Wortes „Märtyrertod" in der Behörden-Übersetzung. Im Original steht dafür *şehadet*[47].

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.

[44] Zitiert nach Miller/Thomsen 2005. Klammern und Punkte stehen im Original. Auszüge der Übersetzung sind auch bei Nibbrig 2005 zitiert.

[45] Zitiert nach Miller/Thomsen 2005. Klammern und Punkte im Original. Die die Begriffe „Märtyrer" und „Märtyrertod" betreffenden Sätze sind sinngemäß und fast wörtlich auch in Nibbrig 2005 zitiert. Die Übersetzung von *gazi* als „Märtyrer" in dieser Äußerung Taşçıs ist bereits in Emmerich 2005c zitiert.

[46] Miller/Thomsen 2005.

[47] Miller/Thomsen 2005.

„Märtyrer" jedoch stark nahelegt. Vielmehr gibt es zahlreiche Beispiele für *gazi*s, die lebend aus ihren Kriegszügen zurückkehrten. Das im türkischen Kontext eindeutig prominenteste davon ist Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *der Gazi* schlechthin[48].

Die Auslassung des religiösen Bezugs, die Schiffauers Übersetzung „Kriegsheimkehrer" vollzieht, ist auf der anderen Seite nicht zwingend durch das Original vorgegeben, da *gazi* und das dazugehörige Substantiv *gaza* durchaus für Kriegszüge und Überfälle (*gaza* ist etymologisch mit dem deutschen Wort *Razzia* verwandt) im Namen des Islam stehen[49]. Das arabische Pendant des türkischen *gaza*, *ġazwa*, ist beispielsweise ein von den Organisatoren der Attentate des 11. September 2001 verwandter Ausdruck für diese Anschläge[50].

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

Die unterschiedlichen Übersetzungen von *şehadet* durch Schiffauer und den Verfassungsschutz haben Anlaß zu verschiedenen Interpretationen des Taşçı-Textes geboten. Einer davon zufolge meine der Schiffauersche Begriff „Glaubenstod" „deutlich weniger aggressiv das Ableben eines gläubigen Muslims an sich", „nicht aber das Attentat eines Sprengstoffträgers"[51]. „Deutlich weniger aggressiv" bezieht sich hier auf den Vergleich mit der Übersetzung „Märtyrertod" des Verfassungsschutzes. Diese Interpretation ist jedoch kaum einleuchtend. Denn die „Glaubenstod"-Übersetzung Schiffauers enthält zwar keinen expliziten Bezug zu Gewalt – anderseits wird eine Interpretation des „Glaubenstodes" als gewaltsames und/oder aggressives und terroristisches Vorgehen aber auch nicht ausgeschlossen. „Glaubenstod" ist ein im Hinblick auf den Gewaltcharakter neutraler oder zweideutiger Begriff.

Ähnliches gilt anderseits auch für „Märtyrertod". Wie die etymologischen Bemerkungen in Abschnitt 3.2. gezeigt haben, muß „Märtyrertum" 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.

[48] Mit dieser Titelbezeichnung ist der große Führer der Türken auch früh schon Stoff literarischer Bearbeitung geworden (Mikusch 1929).

[49] Zur Geschichte der Begriffe *gazi* und *gaza* siehe Johnstone 1965 und Mélikoff 1965. – Als Beispiele für die unterschiedlichen Bedeutungsinhalte von *gazi*/*gaza* siehe die folgenden aus türkischen Lexika extrahierten Belege. Bezmez/Blakney/Brown 1998: 273, s.v. *gaza* übersetzen dieses mit „military campaign on behalf of Islam", Eren et. al. 1988: 527, s.v. *gaza* in ähnlicher Weise mit *İslâm dinini korumak veya yaymak amacıyla Müslüman olmayanlara karşı yapılan savaş, kutsal savaş* „Krieg der gegen Nichtmuslime mit dem Ziel geführt wird, die islamische Religion zu schützen oder zu verbreiten, heiliger Krieg", und Püsküllüoğlu 1995: 623 definiert *gaza* als *Müslümanlığı yaymak ya da korumak ereğiyle İslam olmayanlara karşı yapılan savaş, din uğruna savaş* „Krieg, der gegen Nichtmuslime mit dem Ziel geführt wird, die moslemische Religion zu verbreiten oder zu schützen, Krieg um der Religion willen". Eine religiöse Definition geben Kardaş et al. 1995–1996, vol. 2: 961, s.v. *gazâ* durch *Allah (C. C.) yolunda İslâm düşmanlarıyla yapılan savaş ve kazanılan üstünlük* „Krieg, der auf dem Wege Allahs – Sein Ruhm ist ohnegleichen! – gegen die Feinde des Islams unternommen wird und die dabei errungene Überlegenheit", erklären das Wort in einem zweiten Ansatz jedoch einfach mit „Krieg" (*savaş*; Kardaş et al. 1995–1996, vol. 2: 961, s.v. *gazâ*).

[50] Kippenberg 2004: 77. Dort und in Fuess/ Khalfaoui/ Seidensticker 2004: 23 wird das arabische Wort an der betreffenden Stelle mit „Kriegszug" übersetzt.

[51] Diese Analyse stammt von den Journalisten Tobias Miller und Jan Thomsen (Miller/Thomsen 2005).

Vergleicht man daher nur die beiden Übersetzungen „Glaubenstod" und „Märtyrertod" miteinander, so erscheinen sie im hier besprochenen Zusammenhang als relativ vage und uneindeutige Begriffe, die sich ihrer semantischen Tendenz zudem kaum voneinander unterscheiden. Dieser Vergleich macht deutlich, daß *şehadet* von den einander gegenüberstehenden Parteien jeweils als ein Symbol, gewissermaßen ein Label für die divergenten Interpretationen der Rolle von Yakup Taşçı („Haßprediger" und Islamist mit Sympathien für Gewalttäter und Terroristen versus harmloser Geistlicher, der nur an seinem „Glauben" interessiert ist) genutzt wird, in Wahrheit aber kaum der Anlaß oder Ausgangspunkt dieser unterschiedlichen Auffassungen darstellen dürfte. Dafür ist die diesem Wort anhaftende Polysemie zu groß.

Die negative Beurteilung von Yakup Taşçı durch die Ausländerbehörde dürfte tatsächlich auf weiteren Informationen beruhen. Zu ihnen könnte seine Zugehörigkeit zu der islamistischen Organisation *Milli Görüş* („Nationale Sichtweise") gerechnet werden[52]. Diese ist seit eh und je aufs engste mit den von Necmettin Erbakan begründeten islamistischen Parteien in der Türkei verflochten[53] und gilt in der Türkei als „fundamentalistische Terror-Organisation"[54]. Taşçı soll der *Milli Görüş*-Bewegung als Gründungsmitglied der Berliner Sektion angehört und für sie Pilgerfahrten nach Mekka organisiert haben[55]. Auch gibt es neben der zitierten Passage weitere Aussagen Taşçıs, die ihm Vorwürfe einer islamistischen Gesinnung eintrugen[56].

Beim gegenwärtigen Stand des juristischen Verfahrens um Taşçı (27. Januar 2006) scheint inzwischen selbst die Berliner Ausländerbehörde nicht mehr davon auszugehen, daß die oben zitierte Rede Taşçıs einen hinreichenden Grund für die Ausweisung des Imams wegen gewaltverherrlichender Tendenzen liefern könnte[57].

Wenn man sich bilanzierend den Verlauf der Affäre Taşçı vergegenwärtigt, so ist leicht erkennbar, daß der eigentliche *essor* mit der Ausstrahlung des „Frontal 21"-Beitrages im November 2004 begann, als die ominöse Verwendung des Begriffes *şehadet* durch Taşçı bereits fünf Monate zurücklag. In diesem fünf Monaten ist es weder zu einem öffentlichen Aufschrei noch zu juristischen Schritten gegen den Kreuzberger Imam gekommen. Erst nach der ZDF-Sendung wurde die Rede Taşçıs vom Juni 2004 zur Basis rechtlicher Schritte gemacht. Nicht Taşçıs Gebrauch des Terminus *şehadet* erscheint somit als Auslöser der gegen ihn unternommenen rechtlichen Schritte, sondern die ZDF-Sendung. Im Unterschied zu der von Millionen Fernsehzuschauern zur besten Ausstrahlungszeit verfolgten Sendung war

[52] Vgl. Thomsen 2006. Zur Geschichte des *Milli Görüş* und seiner Ausbreitung in Deutschland siehe Bundesministerium des Inneren 2005: 211–216, vgl. Senatsverwaltung für Inneres, Abteilung Verfassungsschutz 2004. – Nur mit starken Vorbehalten ist die Beurteilung durch Averesh/ Seufert 2003 heranzuziehen, wo die islamistische Organisation *Milli Görüş* als „muslimische Organisation", „die zu der muslimisch-konservativen Politiktradition gehört", beschrieben wird und „auch liberale Kräfte" einschließe.

[53] Bundesministerium des Inneren 2005: 211, vgl. Hermann 2003.

[54] Türk. *kökendinci terör örgütü* (Yılmaz/Babacan 2003: 11).

[55] Seidel 2006. Zum Engagement Taşçıs in der *Milli Görüş*-Organisation vgl. auch Emmerich 2004.

[56] Einige davon sind zitiert in Schulz 2006.

[57] Thomsen 2006.

die Juni-Rede Taşçıs 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[58].

Die im Zusammenhang mit dem oben in zweifacher Übersetzung wiedergegebenen *şehadet*-Zitat erhobenen Vorwürfe dürften das Ergebnis des Versuches darstellen, den aufgrund des Fernsehberichts unbeliebt 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[59].

Diese Umwertung zieht verschärftes Vorgehen bundesdeutscher Behörden gegen islamistische Kreise nach sich. Dieses richtet sich auch gegen den ansonsten als gewaltfrei eingestuften *Milli Görüş* und operationalisiert verstärkt das Ausländerrecht. Ein strengeres Vorgehen der Behörden in dieser Hinsicht ist im Jahre 2005 beobachtet worden, also mitten in der noch laufenden Taşçı-Affäre[60].

Das Beispiel Taşçı zeigt die Schwierigkeiten auf, die durch die unterschiedliche Übersetzbarkeit zentraler Begriffe aus fremden Kulturen entstehen können. Daß es sich hier um keinen Einzelfall handelt, machen weitere Beispiele aus der jüngsten Vergangenheit deutlich, wie die Attentate des 11. September[61] und der Absturz des Egypt Air-Jets 990, bei dem die letzten, auf arabisch geäußerten Worte des Kopiloten und ihre mutmaßliche Bedeutung Anlaß zu Spekulationen gaben[62].

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 Originalautoren als auch des Übersetzers befragen.

Die Fremdheit einer Sprache und Kultur machen vermittelnde Instanzen unumgänglich. Selbst wenn diese Vermittler sich nach Kräften um Objektivität und angemessene Berücksichtigung der historischen Hintergründe und sonstigen Kontexte

[58] Vgl. Napoleoni 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.

[59] Zu dessen Position siehe Schomaker 2005.

[60] Cziesche/ Dahlkamp/ Stark 2005.

[61] Siehe Kippenberg/Seidensticker 2004 zu den verschiedenen mit der Übersetzung der von den Massenmördern des 11. September hinterlassenen „Geistlichen Anleitung".

[62] Diese Worte, eine dialektale Artikulation des hocharabischen *tawakkaltu alā'l-lāh* (Raimondo 2006), können wörtlich mit „ich habe meine Sache Gott anheimgestellt" übersetzt werden (Wehr 1985: 1433, s.v.. *wakala*, V). Entsprechend dramatisch wurde die Äußerung des Kopiloten auch in verschiedenen Presseberichten übersetzt, siehe beispielsweise Sniffen 2006, wo die Übersetzung „I made my decision now. I put my faith in God's hands" lautet. Der in dieser und der wörtlichen Übersetzung zum Ausdruck kommende eindringliche Bezug auf Gott zeichnet anderen zufolge jedoch ein falsches Bild von der pragmatischen Potenz der Äußerung. Tatsächlich handele es sich um eine Alltagsfloskel, die bei sehr vielen Gelegenheiten ausgesprochen werde (so Raimondo 2006).

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[63]. 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[64].

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 „Märtyrer"/*šahīd* kollidiert immer wieder mit der Lückenhaftigkeit der Überlieferung, der simultanen Existenz verschiedener Deutungen und nicht zuletzt der Nichtexistenz absoluter Bezugsgrößen, die die interessegeleiteten Partikularinterpretationen aufwiegen könnten.

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 Themenbereichen ist einerseits gemeinsam, daß sie früher oder später, wenn das verfügbare Material und Wissen sich erschöpft, an ihre Grenzen stoßen. Anderseits sind diese Grenzen (zwischen historisch-vergleichender und synchroner Sprachwissenschaft, literaturwissenschaftlicher Interpretation und historischer Einordnung) wechselseitig 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 Bewußtmachen kultureller Hintergründe und sprachlicher wie literarischer Semantisierungen kann dazu beitragen, den Reibungsverlust und die Anteile an Mißverständnissen bei diesem Transferprozeß zu minimalisieren.

[63] Vgl. die Kritik des Grünen-Abgeordneten Özcan Mutlu an „falschen Übersetzungen" zur Begründung einer möglichen Ausweisung Taşçıs (Thomsen 2006).
[64] Nach Thomsen 2006.

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

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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-shiʿr al-ḥurr*) but later the now generally-accepted term *metric verse* (*shiʿr al-tafʿīla*) 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 ʿAntara b. Shaddād. ʿAntara 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 ʿAntara 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 ʿAntara 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, ʿAntara 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 ʿAntara 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 show 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]

[1] A. Ṣāliḥ, *Funūn al-Adab al-Shaʿbī* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr, 1956) vol. 1, p. 41; Ṭ. Ḥarb, *Awwaliyyat al-Naṣṣ, Naẓarāt fī al-Naqd wal-Qiṣṣa wal-Usṭūra wal-Adab al-Shaʿbī* (Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-Jāmiʿiyya lil-Dirāsāt wal-Nashr wal-Tawzīʿ, 1999) 194, 221; F. Khurshīd, *Adab al-Sīra al-Shaʿbiyya* (Cairo: al-Sharika al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀlamiyya lil-Nashr, 1994) 54, 141; F. Khurshīd & M. Dhihnī, *Fann Kitābat al-Sīra al-Shaʿbiyya, Dirāsa Fanniyya Naqdiyya lil-Sīra al-Shaʿbiyya "Antara bin Shaddād"* (Beirut: Iqra, 1980) 87–8; S. Yaqṭīn, *Qāl al-Rāwī* (Casablanca: al-Markiz al-Thaqāfī al-ʿArabī, 1997) 30, 95.

[2] On folk biographies, see: A. al-Hawwārī, *al-Baṭal al-Muʾāṣir fī al-Riwāya al-Miṣriyya* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1979) 55–57; Ṣ. Ḥamādī, *Athar al-Turāth al-Shaʿbī fī al-Riwāya al-ʿIrāqiyya al-Ḥadītha* (Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-ʿArabīyya lil-Dirāsāt wal-Nashr, 1980) 63–4, 72, 80, 132–3, 165; Ḥ. Bdēr, *Athar al-Adab al-Shaʿbī fī al-Adab al-Ḥadīth* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1986) 51–6; Q. Qāsim, *Bayn al-Tārīkh wal-Fulklōr* (Cairo: ʿAyn lil-Dirāsāt wal-Buḥūth al-Insāniyya wal-Ijtimāʿiyya, 1993) 35; Ni. Ibrāhīm, *al-Siyar al-Shaʿbiyya al-ʿArabiyya* (Beirut: Sharikat al-Maṭbūʿāt lil-Tawzīʿ wal-Nashr, 1994), especially pp. 5–8, 34–5, 60–5, 133–237; Khurshīd; ʿA. Zāyid, *Istidʿāʾ al-Shakhṣiyyāt al-Turāthiyya fī al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī al-Muʿāṣir* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1997) 167; Yaqṭīn, especially pp. 25–9, 51, 87–102, 116–135; Ḥarb 76–80, 184, 187–193, 207–210. The most famous folk biographies among Arabs are: 1.

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.[3] 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.[4] 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

Sīrat Sayf bin Dhī Yazan, see: *Sīrat Fāris al-Yaman al-Malik Sayf Bin Dhī Yazan* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Sha'biyya, 1947); F. Khurshīd, *Sīrat Sayf Bin Dhī Yazan* (Beirut: Dār al-Shurūq, 1982); See also some remarks and notes about this biography: Sh. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm, *Mawsū'at al-Fulklōr wal-Asāṭīr al-'Arabiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-'Awda, 1995) 410–4; 2. *Sīrat 'Antara bin Shaddād*, see: *Sīrat Fāris Fursān al-Ḥijāz, Abī al-Fawāris, 'Antara Bin Shaddād* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Thaqāfiyya, 1979). See also the following studies: M. Dhihnī, *Sīrat 'Antara* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1984); 'A. Burhāna, *Sīrat Banī Hilāl, Ẓāhira Adabiyya, Dirāsa Adabiyya Lughawiyya Muqārana* (Sabaha: Manshūrāt Kulliyyat al-Ādāb wal-Tarbiya fī Jāmi'at Sabahā, 1994) 21–285. 3. *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*, see: *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Sha'biyya, 1970 [?]; 'A. Burhāna, *Sīrat Banī Hilāl, Ẓāhira Adabiyya, Dirāsa Adabiyya Lughawiyya Muqārana* (Sabaha: Manshūrāt Kulliyyat al-Ādāb wal-Tarbiya fī Jāmi'at Sabahā, 1994) 287–573; Sh. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm, *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Tanwīr lil-Ṭibā'a wal-Nashr, 1983). See also: Sh. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm, *Turāth Sha'bī* (Beirut: Dār al-'Awda, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 397–521. 4. *Sīrat al-Zīr Sālim*, see: 'Abd al-Ḥakīm, *Turāth Sha'bī*, vol. 2, pp. 243–396; 'Abd al-Ḥakīm, *Mawsū'at al-Fulklōr wal-Asāṭīr al-'Arabiyya*, pp. 333–340. 5. *Sīrat al-Amīra Dhāt al-Himma*: N. Ibrāhīm, *Sīrat al-Amīra Dhāt al-Himma, Dirāsa Muqārana* (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Akādīmiyya, 1994); Undo Steinbach, *Dhāt al-Himma- Kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu einem arabischen Volksroman* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1972); 'Abd al-Ḥakīm, *Mawsū'at al-Fulklōr wal-Asāṭīr al-'Arabiyya*, pp. 404–9. 6. *Sīrat al-Malik Bēbars*: *Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Bēbars* (Beirut: Dār al-Hudā al-Waṭaniyya, 1983); *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Bēbars* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1996). About this biography, its social and historical significance, see: Qāsim 119–154.

[3] See: Bdēr 53; Qāsim 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). Burhāna makes a historical study of *Banī Hilāl* and talks about the pre-literary origins of their biography (see: Burhāna 23–81; cf.: Sh. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm, *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*, pp. 5–12).

[4] On biography's hero see: al-Ḥawwārī 55–7; Bdēr 54; Khurshīd, *Adab al-Sīra al-Sha'biyya*, p. 53, 68, 75–6, 84, 89–91, 94, 97, 103–5, 115–7, 125; Ni. Ibrāhīm 133–237; Zāyid 167; Yaqṭīn 26, 51, 87, 92, 95–102, 117–120, 126–7, 131–5; Ḥarb 184, 193, 207. About the *Hilālic* character, see: Burhāna 113–167.

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]

[5] About the great attachment of Arabs to the character of the biography's hero and the interaction between the two, see: M. 'Abbūd, *Mu'allafāt Mārūn 'Abbūd, al-Majmū'a al-Kāmila* (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1967) vol. 2, pp. 316–8; A. 'Abd al-Majīd, *li-Kull Ughniya Qiṣṣa* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjlō al-Miṣriyya, 1970) 4–5; Ḥamādī 64; Bdēr 6, 56; U. Al-Idlibī, *Naẓratun fī Adabinā al-Sha'bī* (Damascus: al-Shādī lil-Nashr wal-Tawzī', 1992) 77–80; Qāsim 37–8; N. Ibrāhīm, "Taqdīm", in: 'A. Burhāna, pp. iii; Ni. Ibrāhīm 5–6; Yaqṭīn 99; Ḥarb 76–80, 187–8, 207; M. 'Udwān, *al-Zīr Sālim, al-Baṭal Bayn al-Sīra wal-Tārīkh wal-Binā' al-Drāmī* (Damascus: Qudmus lil-Nashr wal-Tawzī', 2002) 27–8. About the social significance of *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* and its social features, see: Burhāna 85–111.

[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 régimes 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* (*Sīrat '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.[7]

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,[8] it should be pointed out, are usually no more than that, i.e. superficial mentions, usually in an ironic vein.

(Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wal-Nashr, 1979) 87–8, 128; cf.: B. al-Ḥaydarī, *Madākhil ilā al-Shi'r al-'Irāqī al-Ḥadīth* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1987) 56, 64; Adūnīs, "al-Shā'ir al-'Arabī al-Mu'āṣir wa-Thalāthat Mawāqif Izā' al-Ḥurriyya", in: M. Milsun & D. Semaḥ (eds.), *Muṭāla'āt wa Ārā' fi al-Lugha wal-Adab* (Jerusalem: Al-Sharq, 1971) 161–2; M.M. Badawi. *A Critical Introduction to Modern Arabic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) 208; S. Jayyusi, *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977) vol. 2, pp. 641–656; S. Jayyusi. "Modernist Poetry in Arabic", in: M.M. Badawi (ed.), *Modern Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 146–7; J. 'Uṣfūr, "Ma'nā al-Ḥadātha fī al-Shi'r al-Mu'āṣir", *Fuṣūl-Majallat al-Naqd al-Adabī* 4, p. 35; M. 'Āmir, *Qiyam Fanniyya wa-Jamāliyya* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1984) 174; Y. al-Khāl, *Al-Ḥadātha fi al-Shi'r* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalī'a lil-Ṭibā'a wal-Nashr, 1978) 49; 'I. Ismā'īl, *al-Shi'r al-'Arabī al-Mu'āṣir* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1978) 21; Ṣ. al-Ashtar, *Fī Shi'r al-Nakba* (Damascus: Maṭba'at Jāmi'at Dimashq, 1960) 40–1, 79, 94; M. Iṭēmish, *Dayr al-Malāk, Dirāsa Naqdiyya lil-Ẓawāhir al-Fanniyya fi al-Shi'r al-'Irāqī al-Mu'āṣir* (Baghdad: Dār al-Shu'ūn al-Thaqāfiyya al-'Āmma, 1986) 15; U. Al-Ḥājj, *Kalimāt Kalimāt Kalimāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahār lil-Nashr, 1987) vol. 2, pp. 399, 403–413; 445–8, 470–480, 634–6, 650, 761–4; Ṭ. Al-Kubaysī, "Mawqif al-Shā'ir min Qaḍāyā al-Taḥarrur wal-Wiḥda fī al-Waṭan al'Arabī", in: *Fī Qaḍāyā al-Shi'r al-'Arabī al-Mu'āṣir* (Tunis: Al-Munaẓẓama al-'Arabiyya lil-Tarbiya wal-Thaqāfa wal-'Ulūm, 1988) 19, 141, 150; S. Jubrān, *Al-Mabnā wal-Lugha fi Shi'r 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bayyātī, Dirāsa Uslūbiyya* [Akko: Dār al-Aswār, 1989] 64; N. Qabbānī, *Al-A'māl al-Nathriyya al-Kāmila* (Beirut: Manshūrāt Nizār Qabbānī, 1993) vol. 7, pp. 426–441; N. Qabbānī, *Al-A'māl al-Nathriyya al-Kāmila* (Beirut: Manshūrāt Nizār Qabbānī, 1993) vol. 8, pp. 262–4; R. Allen, "Arabic Poetry", in: A. Preminger & T.V.F. Brogan (eds.), *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 90; Y. Ḥallāwī, *al-Mu'aththirāt al-Ajnabiyya fi al-Shi'r al-'Arabī al-Mu'āṣir* (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1997) 7, 22–3; 'A. al-'Allāq, *al-Shi'r wal-Talaqqī, Dirāsāt Naqdiyya* (Amman: Dār al-Shurūq, 1997) 70–1, 152; Ḥ. Tawfīq, *Shi'r Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb, Dirāsa Fanniyya wa-Fikriyya* (Amman: Dār Usāma lil-Nashr wal-Tawzī', 1997) 127; Sh. Shrād, *Taṭawwur al-Shi'r al-'Arabī al-Ḥadīth* ('Ammān: Majdalāwī, 1998) 229–231; 'A. Ḥaddād, *Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb, Qirā'a Ukhrā* (Amman: Dār Usāma lil-Nashr wal-Tawzī', 1998) 18; Ṭ. Wādī, "al-Zaman al-Shi'rī fī Qaṣīdat al-Khuyūl", in: 'A. al-Ruwaynī (ed.), *Sifr Amal Dunqul* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1999) 513; A. Ḥallūm, *Al-Naqd al-Mu'āṣir wa-Ḥarakat al-Shi'r al-Ḥurr* (Ḥalab: Markiz al-Inmā' al-Ḥaḍārī, 2000) 78; S. al-Raḥbī, "al-Tajriba al-Shi'riyya wal-Kawn al-Barrī", in: *Ufuq al-Taḥawwulāt fī al-Shi'r al-'Arabī* (Amman: Dār al-Fāris lil-Nashr wal-Tawzī', 2001) 39–40; I. 'Abbās, *Ittijāhāt al-Shi'r al-'Arabī al-Mu'āṣir* (Rāmallā: Dār al-Shurūq lil-Nashr wal-Tawzī', 2001) 49–50. Samīḥ al-Qāsim (1939–) in one of his famous poems about the 1967 Arab defeat, published in his Collection *Suqūṭ al-Aqni'a* in 1969, says: "but, in order to make all the people understand what I have told them/ I repeat/ We, on the fifth/ Of June,/ Were born again!" (S. al-Qāsim, "Ḥadatha fī al-Khāmis min Ḥuzayrān", *al-Qaṣā'id* [Kufur Qar': Dār al-Hudā, 1991] vol. 1, p. 388).

[7] Bdēr and Zāyid notice this also, see: Bdēr 92–3; Zāyid 169.

[8] Most Arab scholars have used the term "ishāra/ reference" instead of "ilmā'/ allusion", but because of

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 ʿAntara 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.[9] Qabbānī, as pointed out above, made unusually copious allusions to ʿAntara, 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 ʿAntara and to analyze how his symbolism and artistic imagery developed over the years.

The life of ʿAntara in modern poetry

ʿAntara, man and hero

ʿAntara b. Shaddād of the ʿAbs 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 ʿAbla, to whom he dedicated many a line of ardent poetry.[10] 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 "ilmāʾ/ allusion", benefiting from a study done by Jābir Qmēḥa, and another by Sulaymān Jubrān, in which they use this term. (See: J. Qmēḥa, *Al-Turāth al-Insānī fī Shiʿr Amal Dunqul* [Cairo: Hajr lil-Ṭibāʿa wal-Nashr wal-Tawzīʿ wal-Iʿlān, 1987] 50; Jubrān 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.: Ḥaddād, *Athar al-Turāth fī al-Shiʿr al-ʿIrāqī al-Ḥadīth*, (Baghdad: Dār al-Shuʿūn al-Thaqāfiyya al-ʿĀmma, 1986) 86, 102; Qmēḥa 50; E. Miner, "Allusion", in: Primenger & Borgan [eds.], p. 39; Ḥ. Abū Ḥanna, *Riḥlat al-Baḥth ʿan al-Turāth* (Ḥayfā: al-Wādī lil-Ṭibāʿa wal-Nashr, 1994) 236–7, 242; Al-ʿAllāq 132; ʿA. Ḥaddād, *Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb, Qirāʾa Ukhrā*, p. 122; I. Fatḥī, *Muʿjam al-Muṣṭalaḥāt al-Adabiyya* [Cairo: Dār Sharqiyyāt lil-Nashr wal-Tawzīʿ, 2000] 51). Ben-Porat defines allusion as "the synchronic 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-Porat, "Bēn Ṭextuʾālyūt" *Ha-Sifrūt* 2, p. 172).

[9] See: Qabbānī, vol. 8, pp. 170–5; Sh. al-Nābilsī, *al-Ḍawʾ wal-Luʾba, Istiknāh Naqdī li-Shiʿr Nizār Qabbānī* (Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-ʿArabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wal-Nashr, 1986) 9, 12–5, 153, 484; J. Fāḍil, *Qaḍāyā al-Shiʿr al-Ḥadīth* (Beirut: Dār al-Shurūq, 1984) 249; See also Umniya Ṭalʿat's "Nizār Qabbānī, Shāʿir Ikhtaraq Qawālib al-Taṣnīfāt", in: http://nizar.ealwan.com/poet.php?action=fullnews&showcomments=1&id=248.

[10] See: ʿA. Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shiʿr wal-Shuʿarāʾ* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-ʿUlūm, 1987) 153–6; Dhihnī, *Sīrat ʿAntara*, pp. 57–76.

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.[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.[12]

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.[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.[14]

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, *al-naksa* ("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.[15] The political problems of the Arab world he usually treated

[11] See: Ḥamādī 14–5; Dhihnī, *Sīrat 'Antara*, pp. 149, 256–7; Kh. Al-Karkī, *al-Rumūz al-Turāthiyya al-'Arabiyya fī al-Shi'r al-'Arabī al-Ḥadīth* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1989) 54; Sh. Ḍēf, *al-'Aṣr al-Jāhilī* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1960) 369–374.

[12] About 'Antara's character in folk biography, see: Dhihnī, *Sīrat 'Antara*, pp. 204–277

[13] Dhihnī 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.: Ḥamādī 80; Bdēr 22–6, 136; Ḥarb 78). Abū 'Amsha, on the other hand, assumes that this figure, in Palestinian poems, is a symbol of the Arab savior (see: 'Ā. Abū 'Amsha, *Shi'r al-Intifāḍa* (Jerusalem: Ittiḥād al-Kuttāb al-Falasṭīniyyīn, 1991) 35.

[14] Dhihnī deals with the influence of 'Antara on some modern Arab writers (see: Dhihnī, *Sīrat 'Antara*, pp. 324–337).

[15] See: Qabbānī, vol. 7, pp. 430–4; al-Nābilsī 90, 115; R. Al-Naqqāsh, *Thalāthūna 'Āman ma' al-Shi'r*

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 Qabbānī 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".[16] His way of dealing with the Arabs' political and social problems naturally led to the use of folk biographies, especially that of 'Antara b. Shaddād, 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" ("Yawmiyyāt Imra'a lā Mubāliya") (1968) Qabbānī 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-'Absī* is behind my door
> He would slaughter me …
> If he saw my letter …
> He would behead me …
> If he saw my transparent garment[17]

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

wal-Shu'arā' (Kuwait: Dār Su'ād al-ṣubāḥ, 1992) 125–6, 156; R. 'Īd, *Falsafat al-Iltizām fī al-Naqd al-Adabī Bayn al-Naẓariyya wal-Taṭbīq* (Alexandria: Mansha'at al-Ma'ārif, 2000) 318–9; Y. Al-Ḥalaḥ, *Qirā'a fī Adab Nizār Qabbānī* (Damascus: Manshūrāt Dār 'Alā' al-Dīn, 2001) 18, 74, 83, 115. See also the following website: http://www.adab.com/modules.php?name=Sh3er&doWhat=ssd&shid=7.

[16] About Qabbānī's rejection of inherited Arab culture, history and conceptions, especially those related to sex and social relations, see: Qabbānī, vol. 7, pp. 426–432, 512–520, 567–9; Qabbānī, vol. 8, pp. 443–4. See also his poem "Tārīkhunā Laysa Siwā Ishā'a/ Our History is Nothing but a Rumor", in his collection *Hawāmish 'alā al-Hawāmish* (1991) (N. Qabbānī, *al-A'māl al-Siyāsiyya al-Kāmila* [Beirut: Manshūrāt Nizār Qabbānī, 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.: Naqqāsh 155–6; Ṣ. Faḍil, *Nabrāt al-Khiṭāb al-Shi'rī* (Cairo: Dār Qibā' lil-Ṭibā'a wal-Nashr wal-Tawzī', 1998) 19; Sh. Moreh, *Modern Arabic Poetry 1800–1970* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976) 275–6.

[17] N. Qabbānī, *al-A'māl al-Shi'riyya al-Kāmila* (Beirut: Manshūrāt Nizār Qabbānī, 1993) vol. 1, p. 577.

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 ʿAntara 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.[18] 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 ʿAntara 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" ʿAntara 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 ʿAntara'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. ʿAntara 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.
[19] See: Qabbānī, *al-Aʿmāl al-Shiʿriyya al-Kāmila*, vol. 3, pp. 75, 348, 213, 230; Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 46, 871

'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-MaḥÃar al-Kāmil li-Ḥādithat Ightiṣāb Siyāsiyya") in *Anger-Arousing Poems* (*Qaṣā'id MaghÃūb 'alayhā*) (1986); "A Poem of Apology to Abū Tammām" ("Qaṣīdat I'tidhār li-Abī Tamām") in *Political Works* (*al-A'māl al-Siyāsiyya*) (1981);[20] and "Cashmere" ("Wabr al-Kashmīr") in *Illegal Poems* (*Ash'ār Khārija 'alā al-Qānūn*) (1972).[21] 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* […][22]

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" ("'Āshiq Badawī fī 'Aṣr al-Ḥadātha") in *Nizār's Various Poems about the Place of Love* (*Tanwī'āt 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).

[20] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 348.

[21] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 46.

[22] Ibid., vol. 6, p. 302.

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[23]

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 Shaqqa 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:

[23] N. Qabbānī, *al-A'māl al-Shi'riyya al-Kāmila* (Beirut: Manshūrāt Nizār Qabbānī, 1998) vol. 9, p. 443.

1
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.

[24] Qabbānī, *al-A'māl al-Shi'riyya al-Kāmila*, vol. 6, pp. 541–554.

'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 Yashtarī Fleet Street") in *The Match Is in My Hand and Your Mini-States are Made of Paper* (*al-Kibrīt fī Yadī wa-Duwaylātukum 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 Taghlib ...
> 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 ʿAntara 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 ṭawīl al-ʿumr", 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 ʿAntara 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 ʿAbs, the pre-Islamic tribe to which ʿAntara 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. ʿAntara is one of the symbols of the Banū ʿAbs tribe and the latter, for the poet, constitute copies of ʿAntara, 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 ʿAntara's, and so is their reckless and violent Bedouin spirit, despite their attempts to hide it. But in their encounter with Western civilization "ʿAntara" 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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Notes on actionality and aspect in Hindi

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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 neccessary. 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 developped 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[1] 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*, τ_1), a *cursus* and a final limit (*terminus finalis*, τ_2). Actional phrases encode selected phases of the event referred to.

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

[1] I.e. non-obligatory supplement in the scope of the verb phrase (cf. Dik 1997: 51, 86–87). While Dik (1997: 51) characterizes satellites as 'lexical', satellites can in fact contain grammatical elements besides lexical material.

whether the initial or the final limit is critical, the phrase is *initio-transformative* [+ti] or *fini-transformative* [+tf]. Fini-transformative 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_R is the *terminus initialis*.

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

[+t]			[–t]	
[+tf]		[+ti]	[+dyn]	[–dyn]
[+mom]	[–mom]			

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:

	durative	telic	static
STATES	+	–	+
ACTIVITIES	+	–	–
ACCOMPLISHMENTS	+	+	–
ACHIEVEMENTS	–	+	–

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. *sitzen*) or Norwegian (*å sette seg ned* vs. *å sitte*), or in one verb as e.g. in Turkish (*otur-*) or Hindi (*baiṭh-*)[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.

Johanson	Vendler
[+tf, +mom]	ACHIEVEMENTS
[+tf, –mom]	ACCOMPLISHMENT
[+ti]	—
[–t, +dyn]	ACTIVITIES
[–t, –dyn]	STATES

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 [±t] 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 momentanity 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 τ_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 neccessarily 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

[–FOC]. 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*, Johanson 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 re-interpretation as anteriority, i.e. [+POST] → [+PAST], while with intraterminality it results in a loss of indicativity, i.e. [+INTRA] → [+MOD].[3]

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 converbs (also referred to as "absolutives" or "gerunds" etc.) like Hindi *baiṭhkar* and participles like *baiṭhā (hū)*[4].

It should be noted that the terminology of traditional aspectology, which mainly distinguishes "perfectivity" and "imperfectivity", is completely insufficient for the actional and aspectual 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-operandum relation.[5] Semantically, the interaction of aspect and actionality is one of the main factors contributing to *taxis* interpretations (see below).

Tense

Tense[6] is the grammaticalized deictic reference to an usually vague point in time relative to a basic point of reference $O^{\emptyset}$ ('orientation point', Johanson 2000a: 34–36), or (in languages equipped with appropriate linguistic means) to a secondary

[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^2 which in turn is related (i.e. put into a relation) to $O^{\emptyset}$. The canonical case for $O^{\emptyset}$ is the moment of the speech or writing event O^S, although $O^{\emptyset}$ may also be located freely within the fictional space. As soon as a temporal relation is established, a basic point of reference $O^{\emptyset}$ is automatically introduced too, irrespective of whether $O^{\emptyset}$ is explicitely located in time (e.g., $O^{\emptyset} = O^S$; 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,[7] 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: $V \downarrow O^{\emptyset}$, if this assumption is not cancelled by any external factor[8]) vs. *bol rahā thā* 'he was talking' (in which the aspect viewpoint is conceived of as preceding the basic point of reference: $V \rightarrow O^{\emptyset}$).

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 paṛ-* '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*[9]. For the purposes of this contribution, in

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

which mainly its scope is relevant, this category will be labelled *Modality*$_1$. Modality$_1$ 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 intraterminals as it is the case with the Hindi Subjunctive[10] (*dekhūṁ*, *dekeṁ* etc.) and the so-called Future (*dekhūṁgā* etc.). The same scopus position is held by Imperative items (*dekh*, *dekho*, *dekhie*). Semantically, these items convey neither objective nor subjective modality in the sense given here, but they carry either *emotive*[11] or *neutral* meanings. This class of items will be treated as *Modality*$_2$ here. Aspect and Modality$_2$ 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 hogā* '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$_2$. 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*$_3$ 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 perceiver 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:

(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)
Actional phrase	<	Modality$_1$	<	Aspect/ Modality$_2$	<	Modality$_3$/ Tense

Not all categories are intercombinable, e.g. tense and Modality$_3$ do not operate on Modality$_2$ in Hindi. Aspect and Modality$_2$ are mutually exclusive. The same is true

consider objective modality, Dik introduces two classes, viz 'inherent modality' and 'deontic objective modality', whereas what I consider subjective modality (Modality$_3$, see below) is labelled 'epistemic objective modality' by him. I cannot think of any 'objective' feature of this last class.

[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 voluntative items that cannot be considered strictly objective, but also include a subjective shade of meaning. Hindi *dekhie*, *dekheṁ* 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$_3$ and tense. On the other hand, Modality$_2$ and Modality$_3$ may operate on Modality$_1$, e.g. *kar sakegā* 'will be able to do', *kar sakeṁ* '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 Modality$_1$ 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 (*Aktionsart*) 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 τ_2 (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. Fini-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', *chīṁk-* 'to sneeze', *ṭūṭ-* 'to break', *pahuṁc-* 'to reach', *pā-* 'to get, to find', *phaṭ-* 'to burst', *bac-* 'to get spared', *bhej-* 'to send', *mil-* 'to meet, to receive', *śurū 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*.

[+tf, –mom]

Non-momentaneous fini-transformatives are characterized by a non-transformative phase followed by a transformative phase, or in other words a cursus preceeding 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': *maiṁ āyā hūṁ aur ab bhī ā rahā hūṁ* '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', *uṭh-* 'to stand up', *khul-* 'to open (itr.)', *khol-* 'to open (tr.)', *guzar-* 'to pass', *ghul-* 'to dissolve, to melt', *jagā-* 'to awaken (tr.)', *jam-* 'to get fixed', *jalā-* 'to light, to set on fire', *juṭ-* 'to join, to be collected', *juṛ-* 'to get connected', *ḍāl-* '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', *baṁṭ-* 'to split', *baṁdh-* 'to get tied', *ban-* 'to become, to be created', *banā-* 'to build, to make', *bāṁdh-* 'to tie, to connect', *biṭhā-* 'to cause to sit, to set', *bīt-* 'to pass', *bujh-* 'to become extinguished', *bhar-* 'to become full', *bhūl-* 'to forget', *mar-* 'to die', *miṭ-* 'to vanish, to expire', *muṛ-* 'to turn around', *rakh-* 'to put', *liṭā-* 'to lay', *le-* 'to take', *lauṭ-* 'to return', *saṭ-* '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').

[+ti]

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 bhī 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 fulfil 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 baiṭhūṁgā* '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: *ūṁgh-* 'to fall aslumber + to be aslumber', *ghir-* 'to become surrounded + to be surrounded', *gher-* 'to surround', *chip-* 'to hide', *chū-* 'to touch + to be in touch', *jal-* 'to become inflamed + to burn', *jāg-* 'to wake up + to be awake', *jān-* 'to grasp + to know', *ṭhahar-* 'to stop + to stand', *dikhāī de-* 'to become visible + to be visible', *dubak-* 'to hide', *pahan-* 'to put on + to wear', *baiṭh-* 'to sit down + to sit', *rah-* 'to get into a state + to remain', *lag-* 'to become attached + to be attached; to hit + to remain attached', *laṭak-* 'to be hung + to hang', *leṭ-* 'to lie down + to lie', *samajh-* 'to understand', *sunāī de-* 'to become audible + to be audible', *sulag-* 'to become lit + to glow', *so-* 'to fall asleep + to sleep'.

The initio-transformative nature of these verbs becomes obvious in certain aspecto-actional combinations. For instance, *vah baiṭh rahā hai* (i.e. *baiṭh-* 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. *vah baiṭhā 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 rahā hai* [–PAST (+INTRA^{+FOC})], *hotā hai* [–PAST (+INTRA^{-FOC})], *ho rahā 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'[12] on the one hand and *thā* 'was' on the other.[13] 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', *khaṛā ho-* 'to stop/to stand up + to stand') or fade totally (*śurū ho-* 'to begin' [+tf, +mom]).

[–t, +dyn]

Non-transformative verbs do not have a *critical limit* τ_C in the sense of a natural evolutional turning point. They do have, however, a *relevant limit* τ_R, after transgres-

[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 extralinguistic 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).

Examples for this phase structure type in Hindi are *uṛ-* 'to fly', *kah-* 'to say', *khel-* 'to play', *gir-* 'to fall', *ghūm-* 'to turn, to stroll', *cal-* 'to move', *jā-* 'to go', *jhar-* 'to trickle, to flow', *ḍhal-* 'to flow, to be poured', *nāc-* 'to dance', *paṛ-* 'to fall', *paṛh-* 'to read', *pī-* 'to drink', *pońch-* 'to wipe', *phail-* 'to spread', *badal-* 'to change', *baras-* 'to rain', *bah-* 'to flow', *bich-* 'to spread', *bol-* 'to speak', *bhāg-* 'to run', *muskurā-* 'to smile', *ro-* 'to cry', *soc-* 'to think, to ponder', *haṁs-* 'to laugh'.

The IPS of some of the verbs mentioned is especially sensitive to the context. For example, *gir-* and *paṛ-* 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.).[14] 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', *jī-* '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

[14] Lienhard (1961: 42, footnote 3) misinterprets *paṛ-* and *phail-* (together with *baiṭh-*) as "Zustandsverben". *paṛ-* and *phail-* are clearly dynamic verbs, and even the semantics of *baiṭh-*, 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 (*paṛā hai* 'is lying', *phailā hai* 'is spread', *baiṭhā hai* 'is sitting').

primitive features (in this case [–t, +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 fini-transformative actional phrases, serialization and homogenization are acts of non-transformativization and render non-transformative actional phrases. Factors able of producing recategorizing effects are arguments, satellites, plural, determiners, as well as pragmatical 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 τ_C 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, +dyn] +LIM → *kāne ko khā-* 'to eat the food' [+tf, –mom]; *sīgreṭ pī-* 'to smoke' [–t, +dyn] +LIM → *sīgreṭ ko pī-* 'to smoke the cigarette' [+tf, –mom]; *paṛ-* 'to fall' [–t, +dyn] +LIM → *farś par paṛ-* 'to fall to the ground' [+tf, –mom]; *caṛh-* 'to move upwards' [–t, +dyn] +LIM → *ghoṛe par caṛh-* 'to mount the horse' [+tf, –mom]; *jamā kar-* 'to collect' [–t, +dyn] +LIM → *sabke bartan, bāltiyāṁ jamā kar-* 'to collect the vessels and buckets of all' [+tf, –mom].

Often the final limit is established by the context or common knowlegde about extralinguistic circumstances:

ḍūb- 'to sink' [–t, +dyn] +LIM → *sūraj ḍūb-* 'the sun to set' [+tf, –mom].

Setting a *temporal* limit alone is not a limitation in terms of actionality: *do ghaṁṭe kitāb paṛh-* 'to read in a book for two hours' [–t, +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

marking, or from satellites indicating frequency like *kabhī* 'sometimes', *aksar* 'usually', *ām taur par* 'usually', *hameśā* 'always', *roz* 'daily', *bār bār* 'again and again'.

Examples:
kharraṭā 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-transformativizing recategorization process. It may be brought about among other things by introducing a homogeneous argument (*farś par gir-* 'to fall to the ground' [+tf, –mom] +HOM → *dupahar kī dhūp farś 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', *anavrat* '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 $modal_1$ 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 nikal-* 'people to emerge' [–t, +dyn]), which renders a non-transformative actional phrase. This in turn may be limited (*ve log nikal-* 'those people to emerge' [+tf, –mom]), which renders a transformative actional phrase, which may in turn be serialized (*har sāl ve log nikal-* 'those people to emerge every year' [–t, +dyn]) or homogenized (*ve log nikal 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 postverbial constructions. In some

languages, there are more or less unanalysable suffixes with similar functions. On the other hand, not all postverbs are actionality operators. Postverbial elements may also have non-actional meanings and concern e.g. Modality$_1$, like *STEM + sak-* 'to be able' as in *maiṁ unheṁ dekh bhī nahīṁ saktā thā* '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 + ḍāl-* 'to put' which marks something like [+force] as in *mujhe dekhte hī unhoṁne sāre niyam bhaṁg kar ḍāle* 'As soon as he saw me, he abandoned all his principles' (A: 94), *STEM + paṛ-* 'to fall' with a meaning of suddenness or spontaneity as in *vah ṭhahākā mārkar haṁs paṛī* 'She laughed out loudly' (A: 105) and *STEM + baiṭh-* 'to sit down, to sit', which adds a shade of undesirableness as in *unkī āvāz meṁ ek kālā-sā saṁśay ā baiṭhā 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 *mehrā sāhab ne āṁkheṁ mūṁd līṁ* 'Mr. Mehrā closed his eyes' (A: 175); *objective version*: *STEM + de-* 'to give' as in *unhoṁne mujhe ek laṁbā, caukor lifāfā hāth meṁ pakṛā 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 *aṁgīṭhī kī āg bujh calī thī* 'The fire in the hearth had expired' (A: 37)).

Even postverbial 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 postverbial 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 haṁsne lagīṁ* 'She started laughing loudly' (A: 23), *kuch der bād vah socte hue kahne lagā* 'After a little while, he continued talking thoughtfully' (A: 132) or *bas kahīṁ ruktī thī, yātriyoṁ ko letī huī, utārtī huī, phir calne lagtī 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 bhī nahīṁ calā, kab calte-calte maiṁ mehrā sāhab kī kåṭej ke nīce calā āyā, jahāṁ se murlīdhar kā kvārṭar dikhāī detā thā* 'I did not even

[15] The bulk of Hindi examples is taken from Nirmal Varma's novel *Aṁtim araṇya* (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 converb ("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 Murlīdhar'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 neccessarily represent grammatical operators, but may also be arbitrary, non-grammaticalized structures. For example, *jā baiṭh-* in *vah uṭhkar tīsrī jagah jā baiṭhe* 'He stood up, went to a third place and sat down' (A: 178) is not a postverbial construction consisting of *STEM + baiṭh-*, rather *jā* is the predicate of a converb clause, and *baiṭhe* is just another predicate: *jā baiṭhe* 'he went and sat down'. Another example is *unke dekhte hī maiṁ vah ho jātā thā, jo maiṁ kahīṁ pīche choṛ āyā thā* 'Simply by her looking at me, I became the one I had left somewhere behind before[18] I came' (A: 119), where *choṛ-* 'to leave behind' and *ā-* 'to come' refer to two different actions. In writing, there is no formal difference between arbitrary converb 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 *jab unkā sūp lekar āyā, to vah kamre meṁ nahīṁ the* 'When I brought his soup, he was not in the room' (A: 197), which is – unambiguously – composed of a converb clause (*...lekar* <take:CV>) and a superordinate matrix clause (*āyā* <come:FIN>), could obviously be expressed with a postverbial construction (*le āyā*) without any significant change of meaning.

For the purposes of this contribution, we will concentrate on postverbial 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 emphasise 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' is 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 converb clauses.

Examples:
(1) *tum kaise samjhoge? tum is jagah tab āe ho, jab sab kuch bīt cukā hai* 'How could you understand this? You came here when everything had already finished' (A: 73)
bīt- 'to pass, to happen' [+tf, –mom]; *bīt cuk-* 'to pass, to happen' [+tf, –mom]

(2) *unheṁ ab bhī yād thā, jise maiṁ haṁsī 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 miṭ cukā thā* 'The cognition of time had vanished long ago' (A: 269)
miṭ- 'to vanish, to expire' [+tf, –mom]; *miṭ 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 intercombinable with actional phrases of various IPSes. When combined with [+ti] verbs, the transformative actional phrase is highlighted, e.g. *baiṭh-* 'to sit down + to sit' [+ti] +LIM → *baiṭh jā-* 'to sit down' [+tf, –mom]. As transformativity implies dynamicity, *jā-* combined with non-dynamic verb stems introduces a dynamic momentum, e.g. *ūb-* 'to be bored' [–t, –dyn] +LIM → *ūb 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 pahle 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 nahīṁ batātī thīṁ, kaun-sī cīz unheṁ ṭhīk nahīṁ lagī, sirf unke cehre se patā cal jātā thā ki jo maiṁne kahā, vah usse bahut dūr hai, jo unhoṁne mujhse pūchā 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) *unheṁ calte hue bolnā akhartā thā, islie bolte hue khaṛe ho jāte the* 'It was difficult for him to talk while he was walking, therefore he stopped when he was talking' (A: 42)
khaṛā ho- 'to stop + to stand; to stand up + to stand' [+ti] +LIM → *khaṛā ho jā-* 'to stop' [+tf]

(7) *vah chajjā hī merā aslī veṭiṁg-rūm thā. bhītar ke dam ghuṭṭte vātāvaraṇ se chuṭkārā pāne ke lie maiṁ aksar vahāṁ ākar baiṭh jātā 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)
baiṭh- 'to sit down + to sit' [+ti] +LIM → *baiṭh jā-* 'to sit down' [+tf, –mom]

(8) *hamārī bāt bīc meṁ rah gaī* 'Our conversation remained incomplete' (A: 126)
rah- 'to remain' [+ti] +LIM → *rah jā-* 'to remain' [+tf]

(9) *maiṁ niraṁjan bābū ke ghar rah gayā thā... lauṭkar patā calā, āp āe the* 'I had stayed at Niraṁjan Bābū's house. When I returned I realized that you had come' (A: 95)
rah- 'to stay' [+ti] +LIM → *rah jā-* 'to stay' [+tf]

(10) *phir rah kyoṁ nahīṁ jāte, nīce jānā zarūrī hai?* 'Then why did he not settle down, why was it neccessary to return to the plain?' (A: 194)
rah- '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 unkī nigāheṁ mujh par ṭhahar gaīṁ* 'In the end, her glance (lit. glances) became fixed on me' (A: 126)
ṭhahar- 'to stop + to stand' [+ti] +LIM → *ṭhahar 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 atīt koī ek jagah ṭhahrā hū sṭeśan nahīṁ hai, jo ek bār guzarne ke bād gāyab ho jātā hai, vah yātrā ke daurān hameśā apne ko alag-alag jharokhoṁ se dikhātā rahtā 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)
gāyab ho- 'to vanish, to have vanished' [+ti] +LIM → *gāyab ho jā-* 'to vanish' [+tf, –mom]

(14) *maiṁ khaṛā ho gayā. vah baiṭh gae* 'I stood up. He sat down' (A: 50)
khaṛā ho- 'to stand up + to stand' [+ti] +LIM → *khaṛā ho jā-* 'to stand up' [+tf, –mom]
baiṭh- 'to sit down + to sit' [+ti] +LIM → *baiṭh 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. *baiṭh jā-* means 'to sit down' in contrast to *baiṭh-* which comprises both phases 'to sit down' and 'to sit'.

(15) *maiṁ jān gayā, vah kyā kahnā cāhte 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) *maiṁ apnī koṭharī meṁ lauṭ āyā, bhītar jāne kī himmat nahīṁ huī, vahīṁ barāmde 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 undivided, limited subject referent (in this example, *maiṁ* 'I') is mentioned (or understood). The postverb *jā-* alone has limiting force, too.

(17) *usne āge kuch nahīṁ kahā... islie nahīṁ ki vah jo kahnā cāhtā 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 milte the, jahāṁ se judā hue the. judāī 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 transformative.

(20) *sattar baras ke ḍhāṁce meṁ kitnā kuch sūkh gayā hai, badal gayā hai, bah gayā hai... yah maiṁ āpko batā saktā hūṁ?* 'Can I tell you how much has withered, changed, flowed away in a skeleton of seventy years?' (A: 99)
sūkh- 'to wither' [+tf, –mom]; *sūkh 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 āvāzeṁ bahut pahle aṁdhere meṁ ḍūb gaī thīṁ* '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 peṛ kī mudrā meṁ ek aise kon" meṁ moṛ kuch itnī zor se hilāī ki uskī god meṁ leṭā baṁsī farś par nīce luṛhak gayā aur zor se cīxne lagā. lekin jab usne āṁkh kholkar nānājī ko peṛ kī tarah jhūlte dekhā, to cup ho gayā, jaise usne kisī pret ko dekh liyā ho* 'Nankū twisted his body into the posture of a tree and shook it so strongly that Baṁsī, 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)
luṛhak- 'to roll' [–t, +dyn] +LIM → *nīce luṛhak jā-* 'to roll down' [+tf, –mom]
cup ho- 'to fall silent + to be silent' [+ti] +LIM → *cup ho jā-* 'to fall silent' [+tf, –mom]
luṛhak- is a non-transformative verb. The expression *farś par nīce luṛhak-* 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 *cup ho-* cf. example 12.

2.2.2. Participle + postverb

-(y)ā 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 *-(y)ā kar-* are qualified [–dyn].[20] Thus, marking with *-(y)ā 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 jaṁgal ke banaile jaṁtu 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) *klīnik nīce bāzār meṁ thī, lekin ghar ūpar thā, ghoṛe par caṛhkar vah roz ūpar-nīce 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) *"dūsroṁ ko klīnik meṁ dekhtā hūṁ, 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 maiṁ daur par rahtā thā, vah yahī kitābeṁ paṛhā kartī thīṁ* 'When I was on tour, she used to read these very books' (A: 132)
paṛh- 'to read' [–t, +dyn] +HOM → *paṛhā kar-* 'to be in the habit of reading' [–t, –dyn, +habit]

(27) *ammāṁ jī ke jāne ke bād vah kuch badal-sī gaī haiṁ. pahle ghaṁoṁ bāhar ghūmā kartī thīṁ, klab kī lāybrerī meṁ baiṭhī rahā kartī thīṁ... mujhe jākar unheṁ bulānā paṛtā 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 rah-* 'to remain seated' [–t, –dyn]; *baiṭhā rahā 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) *bacpan aur buṛhāpe se pare bhī ek sṭeśan hotā hai – jahāṁ maṇuṣya umr kā khūṁṭā chuṛākar sab sṭej ek sāth pār kartā jātā hai, āge-pīche kī diśāoṁ kā koī bodh nahīṁ 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 mujhe isīlie 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"ya us avasthā se dūr hotā jātā hai, jise ham 'nårmal' kahte haiṁ* '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 jitnā hī baṛhtā jātā hai, bhītar kā sab kuch khokhlā hotā jātā hai* 'The more it grows, the more everything inside becomes hollow' (A: 191)
baṛh- 'to grow' [–t, +dyn]; *baṛhtā 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].[21] 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 ṭrāṁsfar dūsre śaharoṁ meṁ hotā rahtā thā* 'When we were children, our father was transferred to another town every year' (A: 193)
ṭrāṁsfar ho- 'to be transferred' [+tf, –mom] +HOM → *ṭrāṁsfar hotā rah-* 'to keep being transferred' [–t, –dyn, +stat][22]

(33) *kuch der tak koī kuch nahīṁ bolā. sirf nāle kī āvāz sunāī detī rahī* '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) *ḍākṭar siṁh haṁsne lage... aur tab bhi haṁste rahe, jab usī kṣaṇrāvat jī pardā kholkar acānak pragaṭ ho gae, jaise vah bhī kisī vismaylok ke prāṇī hoṁ* 'Doctor Singh started laughing. And he was still laughing when in that very moment Rāvat jī drew the curtain and appeared suddenly, as if he was a creature of some kind of wonderland, too' (A: 100)
haṁs- 'to laugh' [–t, +dyn] +HOM → *haṁstā rah-* 'to remain laughing' [–t, –dyn, +stat]

(35) *murlīdhar kuch der tak muskurātā rahā, phir hamārī utsuktā par taras khākar bolā, "bas leṭ thī, isīlie itnī der ho gaī"* 'Murlīdhar remained laughing for a while, then he pitied 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]

[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 baiṭhā rahā* 'I remained seated there for a while' (A: 86)
baiṭh- 'to sit down + to sit' [+ti] +HOM → *baiṭhā rah-* 'to remain seated' [–t, –dyn]

(37) *maiṁ bhī yahī cāhtā thā ki vah kuch aur der mere pās baiṭhā 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 → *baiṭhā rah-* 'to remain seated' [–t, –dyn]
The semantics of *baiṭhā rah-* can be illustrated as follows: *baiṭh-* is an initio-transformative verb comprising the two phases 'to sit down + to sit'. Its Past Participle word form, *baiṭhā*, tells us that at a given point of view V the critical limit τ_C – in this case the initial limit τ_1 – has been transgressed.[23] Therefore, the psychological interest is focussed on the transformative phase 'to sit down'. The (non-finite) word form *baiṭhā* literally means 'having sat down'. The expression *baiṭhā 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 jī bamdūk lekar jānvaroṁ ko to ḍarā saktī thīṁ, lekin kyā ḍar ko bhagā saktī thīṁ, jo bāhar nahīṁ, ghar kī xālī konoṁ meṁ dubkā rahtā thā?* 'Annā jī 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)
dubak- 'to hide' [+ti] +HOM → *dubkā rah-* 'to remain hidden' [–t, –dyn]
dubak- is an initio-transformative verb which means 'to hide', 'to creep away + to lie hidden' and the like. *dubkā rah-*, on the other hand, is restricted to the non-transformative phase.

(39) *kåṭej kī battiyāṁ din meṁ bhī jalī rahtīṁ, par bhītar koī dikhāī nahīṁ detā thā* 'The lights of the 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]

	[+t]	[–t]	[+dyn]	[–dyn]	[+mom]	[–mom]	[+habit]	[+stat]
STEM + cuk-	x		(x)					
STEM + jā-	x		(x)					
-(y)ā kar-		x		x		(x)	x	
-tā jā-			x			x		
-tā rah-		x		x		(x)		x
-(y)ā rah-		x		x		(x)		x

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 [+ti] (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 Modality_2, Modality_3, 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. Intraterminals

Intraterminality 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}] intraterminals.[25] Focal items tend to represent their aspectual 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 intraterminals 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 intraterminals 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 intraterminals:

	[–PAST]	**[+PAST]**
[–FOC]	*-tā hai*	*-tā thā*
[+**FOC**]	*STEM + rahā hai*	*STEM + rahā thā*

[25] 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 jā-* 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).

[26] However, this needs not neccessarily be the case. *maiṁ jānā cāhtā huāṁ* '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 [+tf, –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_1) as the cursus lies between the implied τ_1 and τ_2. With [+ti] 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. *baiṭh-* 'to sit down + to sit') is irrelevant: *baiṭh rahā hai* (*baiṭh-* × [–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 lagtā, vah mujhe dekh utnā nahīṁ rahīṁ, jitnā sokh rahī haiṁ* 'I got the impression that she was rather absorbing me than looking at me' (A: 119)
dekh- 'to see' [–t, –dyn]; *mujhe dekh-* 'to look at me' [–t, +dyn]
sokh- 'to absorb' [+tf, –mom]
dekh- 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 *nahīṁ* does not negate *dekh-* (i.e. the whole actional phrase) but *utnā* '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, *lagtā* 'seems' refers to a viewpoint which is anterior to the point in time where the story is told (V → O^S).

(42) *do dinoṁ se barābar pānī baras rahā hai* 'It has been raining incessantly for two days' (A: 135)
baras- 'to rain' [–t, +dyn]

(43) *vah pichle do sāl se kośiś kar rahī hai* 'She has been trying for the last two years' (B: 76)
kośiś kar- 'to try' [–t, +dyn]

(44) *āp kahāṁ the? sāhib jī āp ko kab se bulā rahe haiṁ* 'Where have you been? The master has been calling you for a long time.' (A: 61)
bulā- '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.[27] Note that in Hindi, contents like that are

[27] Characteristically, satellites like these are not combined with fini-transformative actional phrases (see above, 2.1.).

expressed by intraterminals, while in English, [(+POST) (+INTRA)] items are employed (*has been X-ing*). As the examples show, the operator *STEM + rahā hai* can be applied both to events that occur once (as *baras-* 'to rain' in example 42) and to repeated events (*bulā-* in example 44).
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) *kal maiṁ jā rahā hūṁ* 'I will go tomorrow' (A: 237)
jā- 'to go' [–t, dyn]

(46) *"kyoṁ pūchte ho murlīdhar?" "islie ki agar koī nahīṁ hai to āp yahīṁ kyoṁ nahīṁ rah jāte?" "yahīṁ to rah rahā hūṁ..." "merā matlab hai – hameśā ke lie"*
'"Why are you asking, Murlīdhar?" "Because if 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 [±FOC] between *STEM + rahā hai* and *-tā hai*, but also the two phases of *rah-*. *rah jā-* in the second sentence denotes the action of settling down (i.e. the operator *STEM + jā-* reduces *rah-* to its transformative phase); it could also be translated with 'Why don't you come to stay?'. It is marked [+INTRA^{-FOC}] as the event referred to is not actually happening at V but is presented as something that might potentially occur. *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 [+INTRA^{+FOC}] is also combinable with non-dynamic actional phrases in Hindi. The reason for employing a focal item is that *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: *maiṁ yahīṁ rahtā hūv* 'I am staying here'. By employing the focal item *rah rahā hūṁ*, the expression obtains a provisional or temporary touch. Combined with a satellite like *hameśā ke lie* 'forever', it would be almost inevitable to use a non-focal item: *hameśā ke lie rahtā huṁ* 'I stay forever'.

(47) *"kuch dikhāī detā hai?" ḍåkṭar siṁh kī āvāz sunāī dī, "jahāṁ kuch dikhāī nahīṁ detā, usī ke bhītar kuch ho rahā hai... kal subah uṭhkar dekhoge, to tumheṁ hairānī hogī. jaṁgal ke bhītar tumhārī āṁkhoṁ se ojhal kitnā kuch ho rahā thā, jiskī tum kalpanā bhī nahīṁ kar sakte! yah ḍrāmā har roz hotā hai... sirf bāhar nahīṁ, balki manuṣya kī deh ke bhītar...* '"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) *tumheṁ sardī lag rahī ho, to bhītar baiṭhte haiṁ* '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 lagtī 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 τ_c, 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 *dikhāī de-* 'to be visible' and *sunāī de-* 'to be audible' in example 53[30] if the actional content is to be focussed upon.

(49) *maiṁne kabhī us śahar kā nām nahīṁ sunā thā... naqśe meṁ bhī pahlī bār dekhā... jahāṁ sacmuc dariyā kī nīlī rekhā 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 har roz '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 bhī* '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 kursiyoṁ, mezoṁ 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 meṁ āg jal rahī thī* 'Within the room, a fire was burning' (A: 82)
jal- 'to become inflamed + to burn' [+ti]

(52) *aṁgīṭhī kī āg bujh calī thī, lekin annā jī ne jo āg gilās meṁ ḍālī thī, vah kahīṁ 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) *bāriś kī jhaṛī ab aṁdhere meṁ nahīṁ dikhāī 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)
dikhāī de- 'to become visible + to be visible' [+ti]
sunāī de- 'to become audible + to be audible' [+ti]

[–PAST (+INTRA^{-FOC})]

As opposed to focal intraterminals, non-focal intraterminals 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 intraterminality 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 haiṁ* 'We will go soon, too' (A: 100)
cal- 'to move' [–t, +dyn]

(55) *"cāy aur lāūṁ?" "nahīṁ, ab calte haiṁ"* '"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?" "nahīṁ, yahīṁ acchā hai, [...] kuch der yahīṁ baiṭhte haiṁ"* '"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) *marīzoṁ ke jāne ke bād maiṁ yahīṁ baiṭhtā 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? nahīṁ bābūjī... vah koī dūsrā hotā hai, jiske lie ham rote haiṁ!* '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 phāṭak ke sāmne dikhāī de jātī haiṁ... to bhītar bulā letī haiṁ, kisī din jab unkā mūḍ hotā hai, to piyāno bajātī haiṁ... ve sabse acche din hote haiṁ. mujhe lagtā hai, misez mehrā ke jāne ke bād vah bahut akelī rah gaī haiṁ...* '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'
bhītar 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 haiṁ, jinke sāmne sirf patthar hū jā saktā 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 haiṁ?* '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 mujhe ajīb-sā lagte haiṁ... [...] sebоṁ kā sīzan xatm ho jātā hai... maiṁ*

apne ko acānak bilkul bekār pāne lagtā 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]
xatm ho 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 saktī thīṁ* '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 dinoṁ is śahar meṁ bagheṛoṁ ke lie kutte kabāb kī tarah hote the – zarā-sī āṁkh haṭī nahīṁ ki unheṁ nigal 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]
nigal jā- 'to gulp down' [+tf, –mom]
(65) *vah kabhī jab yahāṁ ātī thīṁ, to isī kursī par baiṭṭhtī thīṁ, jis par niraṁjan bābū baiṭhe haiṁ* 'Whenever she came here, she used to sit on this very chair, which Niraṁjan Bābū is sitting on' (A: 36)
ā- 'to come' [+tf, –mom]
baiṭh- 'to sit down + to sit' [+ti]

(66) *maiṁne ghaṛī dekhī. samay kāfī thā. mehrā sāhab ke pās murlīdhar śām tak baiṭhtā thā. mujhe rāt ko nīṁd nahīṁ ātī thī, isīlie maiṁne rāt kī śift apne lie bāṁdh*

lī thī. 'I looked at the watch. There was enough time left. Murlīdhar used to sit at Mr. Mehrā's side until the evening. I could not sleep at night, therefore I had taken the night shift upon myself' (A: 188)
baiṭh- 'to sit down + to sit' [+ti]
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 O^0 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) *murlīdhar sabke bartan, bālṭiyāṁ jamā karke jharne ke nīce rakh detā, ve guṛ-guṛ karke bharte jāte aur kuch der bād jab labālab bhar jāte, to vah aur baṁsī aur rādhā unheṁ uṭhākar ūpar cale jāte. ham jharne ke pās baiṭhe unke lauṭne kī pratīkṣā karte rahte the* 'Murlīdhar 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, Baṁsī and Rādhā 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]
pratīks˝ā kartā rah- 'to remain waiting' [–t, –dyn]

(68) *un dinoṁ jab maiṁ mehrā sāhab ko tiyā ke sāth ghūmtā hū dekhtā aur śām kī pīlī dhūp peṛoṁ se chankar baiḍmiṁṭan korṭ par phailī hotī aur merī khiṛkī ke sāmne se ve dhīre-dhīre guzarte hue dikhāī dete to mujhe acānak lagtā ki – bīttā kuch bhī nahīṁ hai* 'Those days when I saw Mr. Mehrā 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' [+ti]
dikhāī de- 'to become visible + to be visible' [+ti]
lag- 'to become attached + to be attached' [+ti]
bīt- '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 Participle[32] refers to the post-transformative state of being spread. This state is

[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 *unheṁ vah sab kuch yād ātā, jo sukh ke dinoṁ ke sāth juṛā hotā hai* 'He remembers all the things that are connected with the happy days' (A: 236), with *juṛā* 'connected' derived from the verb *jur-*, 'to get connected' [+tf, –mom], and *koī bhī sirā pakṛo, vah āge kisī aur sire 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 τ_C. 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 τ_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 (*battiyāṁ jalī haiṁ* 'The lights are lit' roughly equals *battiyāṁ jal rahī haiṁ* 'The lights are burning'). On the other hand, there are sometimes conventionalized aspecto-actional combinations, e.g. verbs like *baiṭh-* 'to sit down + to sit' and *leṭ-* '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.[33]

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:

[–PAST]	[+PAST]
-(y)ā hai	*-(y)ā thā*

Postterminality renders different taxis 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 imperfektiv 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 intercombinable with [+tf, +mom] without previous recategorization into [–mom].[34]

(69) *veṭar ne mujhe dekhā to ākar pūchā, sāhab, āpko koī sadmā pahuṁcā hai?* 'When the waiter saw me, he came and asked me, Sir, did you receive some kind of blow?' (A: 131)
pahuṁc- '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) *"niraṁjan bābū kaise haiṁ?" maiṁne khule darvāze se bāhar jhāṁkā, māno vah kahīṁ bāhar khaṛe hoṁ. "unhoṁne hī mujhe bhejā hai"* '"How is Niraṁjan 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) *dīvā unkī ziṁdagī tumhāre hāth sauṁpkar marī hai* 'Dīvā has died placing his life in your hands' (A: 225)
mar- 'to die' [+tf, –mom]

(72) *ab vah pahle jaise bairak nahīṁ hai... pūrā ek åbzarveṭarī meṁ badal gayā hai. maiṁṁne vahāṁ ṭelīskop 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 kisī aur kī bāteṁ kar rahe haiṁ, jo do meṁ baṁṭ gayā hai, ek vah jiske bāre meṁ annā jī batā rahī haiṁ, dūsrā vah jo kamre meṁ leṭā 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)
baṁṭ- 'to split' [+tf, –mom], *baṁṭ jā-* 'to split' [+tf, –mom]

(74) *vah jāne lage, to maiṁne kahā, "biṭiyā kī ciṭṭhī āī hai..." "tiyā kī?" vah darvāze par ṭhiṭhak gae, "kyā likhā hai?"* 'He turned to leave. I said: "A letter from Biṭiyā 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 → *ciṭṭhī 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 *ciṭṭhī 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 gāṁvoṁ kī ḍispeṁsarīz kā daurā karne gaī haiṁ* '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 [+ti]. 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 nāśtā lekar leṭe haiṁ* 'Now he has had breakfast and lain down' (A: 222)
leṭ- 'to lie down + to lie' [+ti]
He has lain down implies *he is lying* at V. This content could alternatively be expressed intraterminally (*leṭ rahe haiṁ*).

(77) *"kyā bahut der se baiṭhe ho?" "nahīṁ, abhī kuch der pahle hī āyā hūṁ"* '"Have you been sitting here very long?" "No, I have just arrived/I arrived just a moment ago"' (A: 233)
baiṭh- '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 intraterminally (*baiṭh rahe ho*).

(78) *tum to jānte ho, vah ek ūṁce afsar rahe haiṁ* 'You know, he is a high officer' (A: 102)
rah- 'to get into a state + to remain' [+ti]
Literally: 'He has got into the state of a high officer'.
(79) *halkā-sā sṭṛok hai, jo blaḍ-preśar ūṁcā ho jāne se hū hai* 'It is a minor stroke which has happened because the blood pressure had become high' (A: 225)
ho- '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 donoṁ hī mujhe bhūl gae haiṁ, jaise vahāṁ maiṁ hūṁ hī nahīṁ* '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) *niraṁjan bābū ne cāy ke paise cukāe. lekin beṁc se nahīṁ uṭhe, jaise abhī kuch kahnā bāqī rah gayā hai* 'Niraṁjan Bābū payed 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) *unheṁ mujhe ḍhūṁḍhnā nahīṁ paṛā. himmat siṁh kī nigāhov se hī patā cal gayā, maiṁ kahāṁ baiṭhā hūṁ* 'He had not to look for me. From Himmat Singh's glances he understood where I was sitting' (A: 233)
baiṭh- 'to sit down + to sit' [+ti]

(83) *dūsre ks,an" bhūl gae, mujhse 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^{Θ}. 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 τ_C 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

[35] Lienhard (1961: 186) correctly remarks that "Der Gebrauch von Perfekt und Plusquamperfekt hängt vielfach eben davon ab, wie groß ein Sprecher den Abstand einer vergangenen Handlung im Verhältnis zum Augenblick des Sprechens empfindet."

(85) *maiṁ tumse māfī māṁgne āyā thā* 'I have come to beg your pardon' (A: 233)
ā- 'to come' [+tf, –mom]

The sentence above is uttered in a situation of uninterrupted presence. The speaker could easily have said *āyā hūṁ* '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)ā thā 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) *gavarnar! maiṁ haṁsne lagā. muddat bād unhoṁne mujhe is nām se bulāyā thā... śurū ke dinoṁ meṁ jab misez mehrā jīvit thīṁ, vah mujhe isī nām se bulāte the... is nām kī śurūt bhī ajīb ḍhaṁg se huī thī* '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. Mehrā 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)
bulā- 'to call' [–t, +dyn]
ho- 'to become + to be' [+ti]

In this example, the actional contents *haṁsne lag-* 'to start laughing' and *bulā-* 'to call' are mentioned in the opposite order of their temporal sequence. That is, the temporal succession is *bulā-* → *haṁsne lag-*, while the textual succession is *haṁsne lag-* → *bulā-*. In order to invert the temporal relation, *-(y)ā thā* is used.

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

(87) *kuch bhī nahīṁ hil rahā thā, sivā unke jhūle ke, jis par vah avicalit baiṭhe the* 'There was no movement at all, except of his swing which he was sitting on without motion' (A: 71)
baiṭh- 'to sit down + to sit' [+ti]

(88) *uske jāne ke bād bhī der tak maiṁ barāmde meṁ baiṭhā rahā. kåṭej kī battiyāṁ jalī thīṁ, lekin kahīṁ koī āvāz sunāī nahīṁ detī thī* '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) *unkā sir ab bhī hairānī meṁ hil rahā thā aur āṁkheṁ kitab kī ek foṭo par jamī thīṁ* '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) *ūpar tāroṁ kā jāl bichā thā aur cāroṁ taraf ek rupahlī-sī rośanī phailī thī, jiske pīche har cīz... makān, peṛ, jhāṛiyāṁ... bhutailī pret-chāyāoṁ se dikhāī 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 → *cārom̐ taraf rośanī phail-* 'light to spread in the four directions' [+tf, –mom]

(91) *murlīdhar koī bhī bāt kahne se pahle uskā raṁgmaṁc taiyār kartā thā. śāyad yah bāt usne mālik mehrā sāhab se sīkhī thī* 'Before Murlīdhar started any talk, he prepared his stage. Maybe he had learned this from his master, Mr. Mehrā' (A: 107)
sīkh- 'to learn' [–t, +dyn] +LIM → *is bāt ko sīkh-* 'to learn this' [+tf, –mom]

(92) *yunivarsiṭī meṁ mancāhī naukrī kar sakte the. phir kaise yahāṁ āne kā nirṇay le liyā, yah abhī 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" ḍ̣åkṭar siṁh 'ciraṁtantā' kī bāt kar rahe the – ṭhīk us ks"an" sārā jaṁgal ek alag veś badalkar vicitra ākāroṁ meṁ ḍ̣hal gayā thā. vahāṁ na patthar the, na pahāṛ na peṛoṁ ke jhurmuṭ* '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)
ḍ̣hal- 'to be poured, to be cast (into form)' [–t, +dyn] +LIM → *ḍ̣hal 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)ā*. 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)ā* by no means excludes intraterminal or postterminal *interpretations*, it is simply unmarked for these notions.[36] 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)ā* 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)ā* 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).

synchronically (pseudo-intraterminal reading), while 104–106 show that marking with *-(y)ā* 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-postterminal reading).[37]

On the other hand, the feature [–INTRA] results in an affinity of *-(y)ā* 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 "-*nunc*", which in turn leads to the interpretation "PAST". However, although "PAST" is a systematic secondary interpretation of *-(y)ā*, it does not constitute a linguistic feature of this item. Quite on the contrary, it is not impossible at all to understand *baiṭhā* as 'is sitting' in some contexts. On the other hand, the reading "PAST" of *-(y)ā* is strong enough to assign the notion of anteriority to a discourse (cf. examples 80–83 above).

As [(–INTRA)(–POST)] comprises 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.

[+tf] × [(–INTRA)(–POST)]

(94) *kuch hī der bād maiṁ bhūl gayā, maiṁ kahāṁ baiṭhā hūṁ* 'A little later I forgot where I was sitting' (A: 108)
bhūl jā- 'to forget' [+tf, –mom]

(95) *maiṁ barāmde meṁ ākar baiṭh gayā* 'I went to the veranda and sat down' (A: 223)
baiṭh jā- 'to sit down' [+tf, –mom]

(96) *jab vah bistar par leṭ gae, to maiṁne unheṁ razāī se ḍhaṁk diyā* 'When he lay down on the bed, I covered him with the blanket' (A: 213)
leṭ jā- 'to lie down' [+tf, –mom]
ḍ,haṁk de- 'to cover' [+tf, –mom]

[+ti] × [(–INTRA)(–POST)]

(97) *vah uṭhkar tīsrī jagah jā baiṭhe* 'He stood up, went to a third place and sat down' (A: 178)
baiṭh- 'to sit down + to sit' [+ti]

(98) *bahut sāl pahle maiṁ unheṁ saṛak par dekhā to kartī thī, par unse bāt karne kā hauslā kabhī nahīṁ hū* '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' [+ti]

[37] It is therefore wrong to say that "das Präteritum [...] das absolute Abgeschlossensein eines Vorgangs bezeichnet" (Lienhard 1961: 139).

(99) *kuch der tak ham cup khaṛe rahe, phir unkī dhīmī āvāz sunāī dī* 'We remained standing silent for a while, then his low voice became audible' (A: 241)
khaṛā rah- 'to remain standing' [–t, –dyn]
sunāī de- 'to become audible + to be audible' [+ti]

[–t, +dyn] × [(–INTRA)(–POST)]
(100) *unhoṁne 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]

(101) *ḍåkṭar siṁh kuch nahīṁ bole, sirf rūmāl se apne caśme ke śīśoṁ 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)]
(102) *us rāt maiṁ der tak apne kamre meṁ nahīṁ jā sakā. bāhar barāmde meṁ baiṭhā rahā, ādhā bhītar, ādhā bāhar... jhāṛiyoṁ se ātī jhīṁguroṁ 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:

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

(105) *"mujhe bahut der ho gaī, caltī hūṁ." annā jī uṭh khaṛī huīṁ, lekin tiyā vaise hī baiṭhī rahīṁ, unkī jhukī huī niścal deh meṁ zarā bhī harakat nahīṁ huī* '"It has become very late for me, I will go now." Annā jī stood up, but Tiyā remained seated as she was, not the slightest movement occurred in her crouched, motionless body' (A: 153)
ho jā- 'to become' [+tf, –mom]
uṭh khaṛā ho- 'to stand up' [+tf, –mom]
baiṭhā rah- 'to remain seated' [–t, –dyn]
ho- 'to become + to be' [+ti]

The pseudo-postterminal reading in 105 is confined to *der ho gaī* 'it has become late'. The other predications are interpreted as preterite.

(106) *maiṁ śarīr ko dekhtā hūṁ. navgī āṁkh se na dikhāī de, to eks-re se dekhā jā saktā hai... lekin man ke bhītar jo hotā hai, use dekhne kā koī yaṁtra abhī ījād nahīṁ hū* '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)
ījād ho- 'to become + be invented' [+ti]

3.1.4. Some remarks on Modality$_2$ and Modality$_3$

As stated above, Modality$_2$ 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 Modality$_2$, a split has occurred into the Subjunctive *-e* on the one hand, which among other things conveys voluntative notions and, additionally, is triggered by specific conjunctions, and into the Future *-egā*[38] 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').[39] None of these interpretations constitue a linguistic feature of *-egā*, nor is it a *future* sensu stricto[40] (as is shown by the fact that it is combinable with the satellite *abhī* 'now', which should be incompatible with the notion 'future').[41] In the light of its history, it seems reasonable to assume that *-egā* represents the purely neutral view of the actional phrase without reference to its limits – i.e. [(–INTRA)(–POST)] – and without the feature of indicativity[42] – which distinguishes this item from the neutral aspect *-(y)ā*. Both in terms of function (scope) and semantics, the so-called Future *-egā* 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, Modality$_2$ and especially the neutral modal item *-egā* is also of practical value for our present considerations. As the view with *-egā* 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 *-gā* to Sanskrit *gata* and Prakrit *gaa* 'having gone'.
[39] Cf. Lienhard 1961: 205–208.
[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 *leṭ-* 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], *leṭā hai* 'has lain down' = 'is lying', cf. example 76), it suffices to apply *-egā* to *leṭ-* and check the result:

(107) *"laiṁp bujhā dūṁ?" maiṁne pūchā. "abhī rahne do... maiṁ kuch der aise hī leṭūṁgā"* '"Shall I switch off the lamp?" I asked. "Let it be... I will lie (*lie down) for a while like that"' (A: 213)

leṭ- 'to lie down + to lie' [+ti]

The example is taken from a situation in which the person who says *leṭṭūṁgā* is already in lying position – hence it is clear that *leṭ-* cannot be a [+tf] verb meaning 'to lie down' exclusively. On the other hand, *leṭūṁgā* 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 *baiṭh-* 'to sit down + to sit', *ṭṭhahar-* 'to stop + to stand' and *rah-* 'to stay' behave similarly. In the following example, *rahūṁgā* is uttered by a person that is already there and has been staying for a while:

(108) *bābū jī, āp cale jāeṁ... maiṁ to unke pās rahūṁgā hī* 'You go, Sir, I will stay at his side' (A: 231)

rah- 'to stay' [+ti]

Modality$_3$ 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 dūkānoṁ par gaī hogī* 'She will probably have gone to the shops with Mītā' (B: 195)

The Subjunctive is usually triggered by conjunctions like *jaise* 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 hogā... 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, jaise kuch parakh rahī hoṁ, jo laṁbe aṁtarāl 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 nahīṁ thī. māno aisī ghaṭnāeṁ roz ghaṭtī hoṁ* '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 pahle nazar palaṁg par paṛī. vah kuch itnā svacch aur kuṁvārā-sā jān paṛā, jaise ab tak use kisī ne chū na ho, leṭne kī bāt dūr rahī*

'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:

	[INTRA]	[POST]	[FOC]	[PAST]	[MOD]
-tā hai	+	–	–	–	–
-tā thā	+	–	–	+	–
STEM + rahā hai	+	–	+	–	–
STEM + rahā thā	+	–	+	+	–
-(y)ā hai	–	+	+	–	–
-(y)ā thā	–	+	+	+	–
-(y)ā	–	–	–	–	–
-egā	–	–	–	–	+

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 aspectual oppositions occur: Converb clauses, attributive clauses and secondary predications. *Converb clauses* have adverbial status in the matrix sentence[43], as *ham <barāmde meṁ baiṭhe hue> śām ke kuhāse meṁ bāriś kā girnā 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 predicates. The predicates of attributive clauses are verbal adjectives, i.e. participles as in *jab tak bas chūṭ nahīṁ gaī thī, vah vahīṁ bāhar khaṛī rahīṁ. choṭe kasbātī śahar ke us <ūṁghte, dhūp meṁ camakte hue> sṭeśan 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 *maiṁne use <pahlī bār 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 pahāṛī nagar meṁ sarprāiz kī bāt tabhī hotī thī, jab koī bhūkā bagheṛā apnī māṁd se nikalkar <kaṁṭonmeṁṭ kī saṛak par cahalqadmī kartā hū> pāyā jātā thā yā kahīṁ jaṁgal meṁ āg kī lapṭeṁ dikhāī detī thīṁ* '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 prediactions, 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 converb clauses, the inventories of converb 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 *-Ø* 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 marking would 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 exacly as *muskurāte hue* [+INTRA] in 115 ('smilingly'):

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

(115) *maiṁne <muskurāte hue> unkī or dekhā* 'I looked at him smilingly' (A: 83)

In example 116, *baiṭhkar* [(–INTRA)(–POST)] evokes the same interpretation as *baiṭhe* [+POST] in 117 ('having sat down = sitting'):

[44] This need not neccessarily be the case. In Turkish, for example, the inventory of secondary predications includes items like *-Iyor*, basically a finite form, and *-(V)rken*, 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 <ghoṛe par baiṭhkar hī> jāie* 'You go there on horseback (lit. 'sitting on the horse')' (A: 100)

(117) *maiṁ unheṁ vahāṁ dekhne kā itnā abhyast ho gayā thā ki jab kabhī vah bāzār meṁ milte, to lagtā, jaise vah <sṭṭūl par baiṭhe> cale ā rahe haiṁ* '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 intraterminally, as *ṭhahākā mārkar* lit. 'beating a guffaw' (121), *khilkhilākar* 'laughing loudly' (122) and *khī-khī karke* 'making heehee' (123).

Examples for pseudo-INTRA readings:

(118) *calie, iske bāre meṁ <ghar calkar> soceṁge* 'Let's go, we will think about it while we are going home' (A: 258)

(119) *sab log unheṁ <tiyā yā tiyā biṭiyā kahkar hī> bulāte the* 'Everybody called her Tiyā or Biṭiyā Tiyā (lit. 'Everybody called her, saying Tiyā or Biṭiyā Tiya ')' (A: 116)

(120) *"naukrī kaisī hai?" usne <haṁskar> pūchā* '"How is the job doing?", she asked laughingly' (B: 73)

(121) *vah <ṭhahākā mārkar> haṁs paṛī* 'She roared with laughter' (A: 105)

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

(123) *parde ke pīche se ek camkīlī khilkhilāhaṭ sunāī dī... murlīdhar kī aurat rādhā <khī-khī 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> bhītar ā gaī* 'Mary opened the door and entered' (B: 77)

(125) *<muṛkar> merī or dekhā* 'He turned around and looked at me' (A: 71)

(126) *maiṁ bhī <jaldī se <kapṛe badalkar> bāthrūm se apne hisse kī xālī bālṭiyāṁ, jag aur loṭe lekar> unke sāth julūs meṁ śāmil ho jātā* 'I quickly changed my clothes, took my share buckets, jugs and pots and entered the procession together with her' (A: 117)

(127) *<yahāṁ ākar> vāpis lauṭnā kaise lagtā hai?* 'How does it feel to come here and return again?' (A: 76)

Examples of indifferent readings:
(128) *vah <mujhe dekhkar> haṁs dī* 'Looking at me, she laughed/She looked at me and laughed' (B: 73)

(129) *tum <sab kuch choṛkar> 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 laughes 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 converb *-kar* can be negated by *binā* 'without' (130) or with the negation particle *na* (131).[46] It is then understood pseudo-intraterminally:

(130) *"mujhe yah budāpesṭ kī tarah lagtā hai", usne <binā merī or dekhkar> kahā* '"This reminds me of Budapest", she said without looking at me' (B: 59)

(131) *ṭebul laiṁp mez par thā, par uskī rośanī <unke cehre par na paṛkar> apne hī dāyre meṁ simaṭ gaī thī* '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 converb clauses. This item is a participle (see below) in adverbial function. This converb may be either in the oblique masculinum *-te hue* or agree with the subject (examples 134 and 136). This converb tends to operate on actional phrases with a dynamic cursus, but it can operate on non-dynamic actional phrases, too.

(132) *unhoṁne <taulie se hāth poṁchte hue> mujhe dekhā* 'He looked at me while he was wiping his hands with the towel' (A: 102)
poṁch- 'to wipe' [–t, +dyn]

(133) *unhoṁne <haṁste hue> merī or dekhā* 'He looked at me laughingly' (A: 132)
haṁs- 'to laugh' [–t, +dyn]

(134) *nālī meṁ pānī ab bhī <churr-churr sīṭī bajātā hū> bah rahā thā* 'The water was still flowing in the drain with a whistling sound' (A: 191)
sītī bajā- 'to whistle' [–t, +dyn]

(135) *"itnī caṛhāī bābā..." annā jī ne <uṭhte hue> kahā, "maiṁ ab cal nahīṁ saktī"* '"Such a steep slope..." Annā jī said while she was rising, "I can't climb it any more"' (A: 40)
uṭh- 'to stand up' [+tf, –mom]

(136) *niraṁjan bābū kī kåṭej bahtī huī dhuṁdh meṁ stabdh-sī khaṛī thī, <khultī huī>, <chiptī huī>, kisī prāgaitihāsik guhā-sī yamyīn, <samay kī chātī par adhar*

[46] As the examples suggest, the meaning is obviously not totally identical. In 130, the converb clause seems to function as a specifier, while in 131 the converb seems to function as a connector.

meṁ ṭikī huī> 'Niraṁjan 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. *ṭikī huī* '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) *maiṁ ab <binā hāṁphte 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 masculinum *-(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 āṁkheṁ gaṛāe> cal rahī thī* 'She was walking, her eyes fixed to the ground' (B: 210)
gaṛā- 'to fix' [+tf]

(139) *murlīdhar ekdam darvāzā nahīṁ kholtā thā, kuch der <usse kān saṭāe> khaṛā rahtā, jaise bhītar se kisī ajñāt signal ke āne kī pratīks"ā kar rahā ho* 'Murlīdhar 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)
saṭṭā- 'to join, to lean' [+tf]

(140) *vah <āṁkheṁ mūṁde> baiṭhe the* 'He was sitting there with his eyes closed' (A: 16)
mūṁd- 'to close' [+tf]

(141) *ham sab khule darvāze kī dehrī par <sāṁs roke> khaṛe the* 'We all stood breathlessly (lit. 'having stopped the breath') on the threshold of the open door' (A: 114)
rok- 'to stop (tr.)' [+tf]

(142) *murlīdhar <muṁh bāe> khaṛe unheṁ dekhtā rahā* 'Murlīdhar stood there with his mouth open and looked at him' (A: 170)
bā- 'to open' [+tf]

(143) *ghar lauṭṭā to aṁdhere meṁ murlīdhar kī lālṭen dikhāī dī. vah <merī koṭhrī kī sīṛiyoṁ par baiṭhā> bīṛī pī rahā thā* 'When I returned home, Murlīdhar's lantern

could be seen in the dark. He was sitting on the stairs of my hut and was smoking a Bīṛī.' (A: 61)
baiṭh- 'to sit down + to sit' [+ti]

(144) *vah āvāz mujhe rāt ko bhī sunāī detī thī, jab maiṁ <apne kamre meṁ leṭā hū> nīṁd kī pratīkṣā kartā thā. mujhse dūr jātī huī, mere pās ātī 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)
leṭṭ- '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) *maiṁ khaṛā ho gayā, <binā soce-samjhe>, bharī bas meṁ maiṁ kyā karne jā rahā hūṁ* '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 thoṛā-sā pīne ke bād> uskī jhijhak miṭ jātī thī* '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^{HF}] 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 converb) 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 converb 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 jātī huī, mere pās ātī huī* is not a converb clause, but an attribute to *āvāz*, that has been moved behind the finite predicate.

(146) *<do uṭhī huī pahāṛiyoṁ ke bīc nīce jātā hū> tābūt, jismeṁ unkī patnī leṭī haiṁ* 'A coffin <that is descending between two rising hills>, in which his wife is lying' (A: 11)
jā- 'to go' [–t, +dyn]
uṭhī huī is a postterminal participle, see below.

(147) *len kī*[48] *donoṁ or ghar the aur unkī dīvāroṁ par ham apnī <bhāgtī> chāyāoṁ ko dekh lete the* 'On both sides of the lane there were houses, and we saw our <running> shadows on their walls' (B: 205)
bhāg- 'to run' [–t, +dyn]

(148) *vah cupcāp sigreṭ pītī huī <nācte hue> logoṁ ko dekh rahī thī* 'Smoking her cigarette silently, she was watching the <dancing> people' (B: 228)
nāc- 'to dance' [–t, +dyn]

(149) *sirf uskī lālṭen kī surx <tarertī> āṁkh ūpar uṭh jātī* 'Only the red, glaring eye of his lantern was rising' (A: 14)
tarer- 'to glare' [–t, +dyn]

(150) *jise tum tabdīlī kahte ho... vah <sabkuch ke bhītar bahtī huī> līlā hai* 'What you call change is a drama that is flowing within everything' (A: 98)
bah- 'to flow' [–t, +dyn]

(151) *<takie par girtī> ṭebul laiṁp kī rośanī* 'The light of the table lamp falling on the pillow' (A: 181)
gir- 'to fall' [–t, +dyn]

(152) *maiṁne unkī or dekhā, vah thir āṁkhoṁ se <aṁgīṭhī par jaltī> lakṛiyoṁ 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> jaṁgal* 'the forest surrounding all these things' (A: 199)
gher- 'to surround' [+ti]

3.2.2.2. [+INTRA^{HF}]

The participle *STEM + rahā* 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) *videś maṁtrī jasvant siṁh <kārgil sīmā par cal rahī> videśī golābārī se bexabar, madhya eśiyā ke deśoṁ se maitrī sambandh banāne meṁ vyast haiṁ. aur hamāre raks"āmāmtrī, jārj farnāṁḍis <yogoslāviyā par ho rahe> naiṭo-amrīkī hamloṁ par aṁtarrās"ṭrīy sammelan kar rahe haiṁ... koī bhī pārṭī, netā yā rājnetā <deś kī uttarī sīmā par cal rahe> is visphoṭak yuddh par na to ciṁtā vyakt kar rahā*

[48] The text has *ke*, which is clearly a printing mistake.

hai, na koī bayān de rahā hai, jabki uttarī sīmānt par kārgil-drās ke ilāke meṁ pākistānī topeṁ pichle pakhvāṛe se apne bārūdī bayān lagātār darj kar rahī haiṁ! '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 attacs <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 <nīce phaile> śahar ko dekhtī rahī* 'For a while, she remained looking at the town that lay spread out below' (B: 146)
phail- 'to spread' [+tf, +lim]

(156) *<pahāṛī par uṭhā> kāsal* 'The castle that was standing on the hill' (B: 272)
uṭh- 'to stand up, to be erected' [+tf, –mom]

(157) *peṛ ke aṁdhiyāre meṁ <unke muṁh se niklā> yah śabd sahasā mujhe sahmā-sā gayā* 'In the darkness below the trees, these words <that hade come out of his mouth> suddenly frightened me' (A: 195)
nikal- 'to come out' [+tf, –mom]

(158) *sāth meṁ <saṭā hū> bāthrūm thā* 'Included was an attached bathroom' (A: 85)
saṭ- 'to get joined' [+tf, –mom]

(159) *cuṁgi kī caukī ke nīce simiṭrī kā maidān thā... <patthar kī dīvār aur cīṛ ke peṛoṁ se ghirā 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) *<jālīdār reliṁg se ghire> barāmde ke bhītar apnī ārāmkursī par baiṭh 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) *maiṁ unheṁ <har jagah ghūmtā> dekhtā thā* 'I saw him wandering around everywhere' (A: 190)
ghūm- 'to turn, to stroll' [–t, +dyn]

(162) *lekin kabhī maiṁ apnī koṭharī ke barāmde meṁ baiṭhā hū bāriś kī bauchār <devdāroṁ par girtī huī> dekhtā hūṁ, to lagtā hai ki merī 'miḍal ej' kā saṁtāp pahāṛ kī aviral śāṁti meṁ ghul gayā 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 dīvār meṁ dhaṁsī aṁgīṭhī par lakṛiyoṁ ko <sulagtā> dekhte 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) *maiṁ khiṛkī se unheṁ <ātā hū> dekhtā thā* 'Through the window I saw him come' (A: 54)
ā- 'to come' [+tf, –mom]

3.2.3.2. [+POST]

(165) *mujhe <asamaṁjas meṁ paṛā> dekhkar usne kahā* 'When he saw me in the quandary, he said' (B: 21)
asamaṁjas meṁ paṛ- 'to fall in a quandary' [+tf]

(166) *maiṁ sāhib jī ko <kitāb meṁ khoe hue> dekhtā thā* 'I saw the master lost in a book' (A: 207)[49]
kho- 'to get lost' [+tf]

(167) *gale ke nīce māṁs kī salvaṭeṁ <aur adhik phail gaī> jān paṛtī 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 Obliquus + 'ko', so steht die neutrale Form auf -ā" (1988: 64). — On page 65, the same authors quote another counterexample to their own claim: *maiṁ ne mohan ko bolte (hue) sunā* 'I heared Mohan talking'. However, the authors misinterpret *bolte (hue)* as 'adverbial' in function. If it was adverbial (i.e. a converb clause), *bolte (hue)* had to be co-indexed with the agent: *maiṁ$_i$ ne mohan$_j$ ko bolte (hue)$_{j/i}$ sunā$_i$*. It is, though, co-indexed with the undergoer: *maiṁ$_i$ ne mohan$_j$ ko bolte (hue)$_j$ sunā$_i$*. Hence, *bolte (hue)* is a secondary predicate, not a converb.

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 participal 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:

	[INTRA]	[POST]
-kar	–	–
tā hū	+	–
-(y)ā (hū)	–	+

Attributive clauses:

	[INTRA]	[POST]	[FOC]
-tā (hū)	+	–	–
STEM + rahā	+	–	+
-(y)ā (hū)	–	+	–

Secondary predicates:

	[INTRA]	[POST]
tā (hū)	+	–
-(y)ā (hū)	–	+

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 O^{0} by tense marking, and the marking of non-indicativity by $Modality_2$ and $Modality_3$ 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. Modality$_2$ and Modality$_3$ 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 *-ne 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 succeding 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) *pichlī rāt der tak nīṁd nahīṁ āī.* (168b) *aṁdhere meṁ dhāṁy-dhāṁy kī āvāz sunāī detī rahī,* (168c) *jaise koī dūr pahāṛī par cāṁdmārī kar rahā ho.* (168d) *bāhar barāmde meṁ āyā,* (168e) *to pāyā ki* (168f) *āvāz annā jī kī kåṭej kī or se ā rahī hai...* (168g) *kyā vah baṁdūk lekar kisī bagheṛe ko bhagā rahī thīṁ,* (168h) *jo kabhī-kabhār apne āhār kī khoj meṁ pahāṛī se nīce utar āte 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 jī'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]
cāṁdmārī kar- '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 *pīchlī rāt* 'last night', which indicates that the viewpoint of the following predication (*āī* 'came') precedes the basic orientation point O^o, which is some hypothetical point 'now' that needs not neccessarily coincide with the time of writing (or reading). There is a total of four occurrences of

neutral aspect [(–INTRA)(–POST)], namely *āī* 'came' (168a), *sunāī detī rahī* '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 aspectual perspectives are related to *one* viewpoint or to a *succession* of four consecutive viewpoints. It is only the context that suggests that *nīṁd nahīṁ āī* 'sleep did not come (to me)' (168a) and *āvāz sunāī detī rahī* 'sounds remained audible' (168b) refer to two simultaneous actional contents and that <sleep 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, *cāṁdmārī kar rahā 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 *cāṁdmārī kar-* is viewed within its limits ($\tau_1 \rightarrow V \rightarrow \tau_2$), which is interpreted to the effect that at V the actional content is in progress. The marking with Modality$_3$ (*STEM* + *rahā 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 (τ_2 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 *nīṁd nahīṁ 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 rahī 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 rahī hai* (168f) in fact covers the whole situation from 168a–168g. 168g has another [+INTRA^{+FOC}] item, viz *bhagā rahī thīṁ* '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 *aspectual perspectives*.

In 168g there is another actional phrase, *baṁdūk le-* 'to take the rifle', which is marked by the converb *-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 rahī thīṁ*. The event referred to by a converb 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}] *pahāṛī se nīce 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 focality, 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 [+tf, –mom]) were to be viewed, the intraterminal perspective would be unsuitable in this context (as shooting becomes neccessary 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) *maiṁne apnā caśmā aur fāuṁṭen pen baig meṁ rakhe.* (169b) *maflar pahnā.* (169c) *mez kī darāz se brāṁḍī nikālī,* (169d) *aur binā gilās meṁ ḍāle hī uskā ek laṁbā, gahrā ghūṁṭ liyā,* (169e) *tāki unkā sāmnā karne kā sāhas juṭā sakūṁ.* (169f) *phir safed rabaṛ ke jūte pahne* (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' [+tf, –mom]

pahan- 'to put on + to wear' [+ti]
nikāl- 'to take out' [+tf, –mom]
le- 'to take' [+tf, –mom]
juṭā- 'to collect' [–t, +dyn] +HOM → *juṭā sak-* 'to be able to collect' [–t, –dyn]
bāhar calā ā- 'to step out' [+tf, –mom]

All finite predications but one (*juṭā sakūṁ* '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 inversed with respect to their occurence in the text though – exept 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 meṁ rakhe* 'I put into the bag' (169a) → *maflar pahnā* 'I put on the scarf' (169b)→ *brāṁd̤ī nikālī* 'I took out the brandy' (169c) → *ghūṁṭ liyā* 'I took a gulp' (169d) → *jūte pahne* 'I put on the shoes' (169f) → *bāhar calā āyā* 'I went outside' (169g).

The postterminal converb form *binā gilās meṁ ḍāle* 'without having poured it into a glass' (169d) refers to the same V as the subsequent finite predicate *ghūṁṭ liyā* 'I took a gulp' (169d). As the converb 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 juṭā sakūṁ* '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$_2$ 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	converb
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
O^0	basic orientation point
O^2	secondary point of orientation
O^S	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*

τ_1	initial limit, *terminus initialis*
τ_2	final limit, *terminus finalis*
τ_C	critical limit
τ_R	relevant limit
Ø	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

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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 'Ādiyā', 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-Qurayẓiyya, 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

[1] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-Amthāl* [*The Assembly of Proverbs*] (ed. by Na'īm Ḥusayn Zarzūr) (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1988), II, pp. 441–442. On the poet and his loyalty, see also Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* (London & New York: Routledge, 1998), II, pp. 685–686.

[2] For the poem, see Abū Tammām, *al-Ḥamāsa* (Cairo: Muḥammad 'Alī Ṣabīḥ, n.d.), I, p. 36. Together with an English translation, see A.J. Arberry, *Arabic Poetry: A Primer for Students* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 30–33.

[3] On Arab-Jewish poets in the pre-Islamic period, see Abū Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* [*The Book of Songs*] (Cairo: n.pub., 1964), XXIV, pp. 97–128. On Sārra al-Qurayẓiyya, see al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, XXII, pp. 102–105; Michèle Bitton, *Poétesses et lettrées juives: une mémoire éclipsée* (Paris: Editions Publisud, 1999), pp. 43–46.

Islamic literature and deeply influenced by it, Jews in the expanding Muslim Empire gradually became thoroughly Arabicized. The Judeo-Muslim symbiosis began at the very birth of Islam, in which process the Jews played an important role; the Qur'ān provides solid testimony of this. Arab Jews had an intimate knowledge of the holy book of Islam and its source texts[4] 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."[5] 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."[6] 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 other. 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."[7] The factors that made possible the deep

[4] On knowledge of the Qur'ān among Jews, see H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 143–160.

[5] N.A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), p. 61.

[6] A.S. Halkin, "The Judeo-Islamic Age: The Great Fusion," in: L.W. Schwarz (ed.), *Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People* (New York: The Modern Library, 1956), pp. 220–221. On Arabic as a unifying element among the various religious and ethnic groups in the Muslim empire and as a universal medium of intellectual expression among both Muslims and non-Muslims, see A.G. Chejne, *The Arabic Language: Its Role in History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969), pp. 13–16.

[7] R. Brann, "The Arabized Jews," in: M.R. Menocal, R.P. Scheindlin, and M. Sells (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: The Literature of al-Andalus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 441–442. On the connections of Hebrew literature with Arab culture in al-Andalus, see also R.P. Scheindlin, *Wine, Women & Death: Medieval Hebrew Poems on the Good Life* (Philadelphia, New York & Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1986); R.P. Scheindlin, *The Gazelle: Medieval Hebrew Poems on God, Israel, and the Soul* (Philadelphia & New York: The Jewish Publication Society,

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.[8] 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.[9] 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 *Dalālat al-Ḥā'irīn* (*The Guide for the Perplexed*).[10] One can also mention Sa'īd ibn Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī, known as Sa'adia 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 Sūra, 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*.[11] 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.[12]

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

1991); R.P. Scheindlin, "The Jews in Muslim Spain," in: S.K. Jayyusi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* (Leiden–New York–Cologne: Brill, 1992), pp. 188–200.

[8] See P. Fenton (Yinnon), "Karaites and Sufis – The Traces of Sufism in Karaite Manuscripts" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 90 (2002), pp. 5–19; P. Fenton-Yinnon, "Two Akbarī Mss. in Judeo-Arabic" [Hebrew], in: Y. Tobi (ed.), *Ben 'Ever le-'Arav: ha-Maga'im ben ha-Sifrut ha-'Arvit le-Ben ha-Sifrut ha-Yehudit bi-Yme ha-Benayim uba-Zman he-Hadash* [*Between Hebrew and Arabic: Contacts between Arabic Literature and Jewish Literature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times*] (Tel-Aviv: Afikim, 2004), III, pp. 82–94.

[9] M.R. Cohen and S. Somekh, "In the Court of Ya'qūb ibn Killis: A Fragment from the Cairo Genizah," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* LXXX.3–4 (January–April 1990), pp. 283–314.

[10] On Maimonides and his connection with Arab culture, see Meisami and Starkey, II, pp. 494–495. On the text of *Dalālat al-Ḥā'irīn* 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).

[11] On the particular nature of Sa'adia Gaon's translation, see J. Blau and S. Hopkins, "Ancient Bible Translation to Judeo-Arabic" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 83 (2000), pp. 4–14.

[12] On Sa'adia Gaon and his attitude to Arabic poetics, see Y. Tobi, "Sa'adia Gaon, *Poet-Paytan*: The Connecting Link between the Ancient Piyyut and Hebrew Arabicised Poetry in Spain," in: T. Parfitt (ed.), *Israel and Ishmael: Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000), pp. 59–77; Y. Tobi, "The Reaction of Rav Sa'adia Gaon to Arabic Poetry and Poetics," *Hebrew Studies* 36 (1995), pp. 35–53; Y. Tobi, *Proximity and Distance: Medieval Hebrew and Arabic Poetry* (Leiden & London: Brill, 2004), pp. 65–175.

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.[13]

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."[14] The Jewish communities in the various Arab countries shared that 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.[15] 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,[16] 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.

[13] S.D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts Through the Ages* (New York: Schocken Books, 1955), p. 130.

[14] C. Goldscheider and A.S. Zuckerman, *The Transformation of the Jews* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 4–5.

[15] See the various contributions in H.E. Goldberg (ed.), *Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewries: History and Culture in the Modern Era* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996).

[16] On the Arabic literature of the Iraqi Jews, see R. Snir, *Arviyut, Yahadut, Ziyonut: Ma'avak Zehuyot ba-Yezira shel Yehude 'Iraq [Arabness, Jewishness, Zionism: A Struggle of Identities in the Literature of Iraqi Jews]* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2005) as well as the articles: "Cultural Changes as Reflected in Literature – The Beginning of the Arabic Short Story by Jewish Authors in Iraq" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 36 (1988), pp. 108–129; "Jewish-Muslim Relations in the Literature and Periodicals of Iraqi Jewry" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 63 (Spring 1995), pp. 32–33; "Arabic Literature of Iraqi Jews – The Dynamics of the Jewish Cultural System and the Relationship with the Arabic Cultural System" [Hebrew], *Miqqedem Umiyyam* 6 (1995), pp. 255–288; "Women in the Arabic Belles Lettres of Iraqi Jewry in the 20th Century" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 82 (Winter 2000), pp. 119–149; "Iraqi Jewry after 1945 – Literature, History and Historiography" [Hebrew], *Miqqedem Umiyyam* 7 (2000), pp. 245–271; "'My Heart Beats with Love of the Arabs': Iraqi Jews Writing in Arabic in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 1, 2 (2002), pp. 182–203.

Literary and Cultural Activities

The Jesuit scholar Louis Cheikho (Shaykhū) (1859–1927) subsumed Arab authors under two rubrics: Muslim authors (*al-Udabā' al-Muslimūn*; *Udabā' al-Muslimīn*; *Udabā' al-Islām*) and Christian authors (*Udabā' al-Naṣārā*; *al-Udabā' al-Naṣārā*).[17] 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 authors. While Cheikho 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.[18] As a non-Muslim, his immersion in the local culture was not at all a given; in

[17] Cheikho's studies were generally published in the magazine *al-Mashriq* which he founded in Beirut in 1898. The studies were collected in three volumes and published by al-Maflba'a al-Kāthūlīkiyya li-l-Ābā' al-Yasū'iyyīn in Beirut: *al-Ādāb al-'Arabiyya fī al-Qarn al-Tāsi' 'Ashar: min al-Sana 1800 ilā 1870* [*Arabic Literature in the 19th Century: From 1800 to 1870*] (1924); *al-Ādāb al-'Arabiyya fī al-Qarn al-Tāsi' 'Ashar: min al-Sana 1870 ilā 1900* [*Arabic Literature in the 19th Century: From 1870 to 1900*] (1926); *Ta'rīkh al-Ādāb al-'Arabiyya fī al-Rub' al-Awwal min al-Qarn al-'Ishrīn* [*Arabic Literature in the First Quarter of the 20th Century*] (1926). See also Cheikho's *Shu'arā' al-Naṣrāniyya ba'da al-Islām* (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1967).

[18] On Ṣanū' and his activities in various spheres of Arab culture, see Philip de fiarrāzī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa al-'Arabiyya* [*History of the Arab Press*] (Beirut: al-Maflba'a al-Adabiyya, 1913), II, pp. 254–257, 281–286, III, pp. 8–9; Ibrāhīm 'Abduh, *Abū Nazzāra: Imām al-Ṣiḥāfa l-Fukāhiyya al-Miṣriyya al-Muṣawwara wa-Za'īm al-Masraḥ fī Miṣr* [*The Man with Glasses: The Leader of Humorous Illustrated Journalism and of Theater in Egypt*] (Cairo: al-Maflba'a al-Namūdhajiyya, 1953); *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, I (1960), pp. 141–142 (by J.M. Landau); I.L. Gendzier, *The Practical Visions of Ya'qub Sanu'* (Cambridge, MA: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University, 1966); *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: The Macmillan Company, 1971), XIV (1971), column 850; M. Moosa, "Ya'qūb Ṣanū' and the Rise of Arab Drama in Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5 (1974), pp. 401–433; P.C. Sadgrove, *The Development of the Arabic Periodical Press and its Role in the Literary Life of Egypt (1798–1882)*, Ph.D Thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 95–173, 225–263; M.A. Al-Khozai, *The Development of Early Arabic Drama (1847–1900)* (London & New York: Longman, 1984), pp. 123–168; M.M. Badawi, "The Father of the Modern Egyptian Theatre: Ya'qūb Ṣanū'," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 16 (1985), pp. 132–145; S. Moreh, "Ya'qūb Ṣanū': His Religious Identity and Work in the Theater and Journalism, According to the Family Archive," in: S. Shamir (ed.), *The Jews of Egypt, a Mediterranean Society in Modern Times* (Boulder & London: Westview Press, 1987), pp. 111–129; S. Somekh,"Lost Voices: Jewish Authors in Modern Arabic Literature," in: Mark R. Cohen and Abraham L. Udovitch (eds.), *Jews Among Arabs: Contacts and Boundaries* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1989), p. 10 (the article was published also in Hana Wirth-Nesher [ed.], *What Is Jewish Literature?* [Philadelphia & Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1994], pp. 188–198); A. Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 44–45, 48–49; P.C. Sadgrove, *The Egyptian Theatre in the Nineteenth Century (1799–1882)* (Reading: Ithaca, 1996), pp. 89–124; M. Moosa, *The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction* (Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997), pp. 41–66; Meisami and Starkey,

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.[19] Born in Cairo, at the age of twelve Ṣanū' read the Old Testament in Hebrew, the Gospels in English, and the Qur'ān 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 Naẓẓāra 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-Ḥarīm* (*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 (*fuṣḥā*) – helped legitimize colloquial dialect in the theater and would serve as precedent for the composition of all future Arab light comedies in the vernacular.

Ṣanū''s performances were so successful that the Khedive Ismā'īl invited him to stage them at his palace. However, in view of Ṣanū''s critical approach toward the Khedive's corrupt rule, their relationship was to rapidly and severely deteriorate. Ṣanū''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, Ṣanū' 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", Ṣanū' 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,[20] it was argued that he had converted to Islam. His Jewish mother "conceived

II, p. 688; R. Ostle, E. de Moor, and S. Wild (eds.), *Writing the Self: Autobiographical Writing in Modern Arabic Literature* (London: Saqi Books, 1998), pp. 51–60.

[19] T. Philipp, *The Syrians in Egypt 1725–1975* (Stuttgart: Frantz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1985), p. 103.

[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 Aḥmad Sūsa (Ahmed Sousa), born as Nissīm Sūsa (1900–1982), was one of the most famous of these. On Sūsa, see Mīr Baṣrī, *A'lām al-Adab fī al-'Irāq al-Ḥadīth* [*Eminent Personalities in the Literature of the New Iraq*] (London: Dār al-Ḥikma, 1994), II, pp. 524–525. The figure of Aḥmad Harūn Sawsan, the protagonist-narrator in the Hebrew novel *Ve-Hu Akher* [And He Is Other; English title: *The Other One*] (Tel-Aviv: Zmora-Bitan, 1991), by the Iraqi-Jewish writer Shimon Ballas (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 Ṭarrāzī, the writer of his biography (to be included in a book on the history of Arab journalism; on Ṣanū''s participation in this field, see below), Ṣanū' requested that the words "the young man then adopted the Muslim religion" (*fa-tabi'a al-fatā ḥīna'idhin dīna al-islām*) be struck.[22] Indeed, Ṭarrāzī's book published in 1913 omitted any reference to his alleged conversion. Ṣanū' 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'qūb Ṣanū', 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 Raḥamīm Bībās 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'ārif near the Jaffa Gate and among the audience were Muslims, Christians and Jews.[24]

Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me'uḥad in 2005. For the last pages of the novel in English translation, see *The Literary Review* 37.2 (1994), pp. 188–194. A section of the novel (pp. 95–105 of the original) was published in English translation (by Ammiel Alcalay and Oz Shelach) in *Fascicle* 1 (Summer 2005). A full English translation of the novel, entitled *Outcast* (by Alcalay and Shelach), will be published by City Lights Books in San Francisco. Two other famous Jewish converts to Islam in the 20th century were not of Arab origin, but underwent a process of Arabization before their conversion: the Austrian Muḥammad Asad, born Leopold Weiss (1900–1992), and the American Maryam Jameela (Jamīla), born Margaret Marcus (b. 1934). On Asad, see M. Parker, "Death of a Muslim Mentor," *The Middle East*, issue No. 211 (May 1992), pp. 28–29; Hasan Zillur Rahim, "Muhammad Asad: Visionary Islamic Scholar," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, September 1995, pp. 45–46; T. Gerholm, "Three European Intellectuals as Converts to Islam: Cultural Mediators or Social Critics," in: T. Gerholm and Y.G. Lithman (eds.), *The New Islamic Presence in Western Europe* (London & New York: Mansell, 1988), pp. 263–277; M. Kramer, "The Road from Mecca: Muhammad Asad (Born Leopold Weiss)," in: M. Kramer (ed.), *The Jewish Discovery of Islam* (Tel-Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel-Aviv University, 1999), pp. 225–247. On Jameela, see J.L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), III, pp. 59–60. On conversion of Jews to Islam, see the special issue of *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 42 (1990).

[21] *Al-Masraḥ*, September–October 1970, p. 74. The source of this narrative is Ibrāhīm 'Abduh's chapter on Ṣanū''s childhood which he said was based on Ṣanū''s own written memories kept with his daughter in Paris ('Abduh, *Abū Naẓẓāra*, pp. 17–18). Cf. Moosa, "Ya'qūb Ṣanū' and the Rise of Arab Drama in Egypt," pp. 401–402; Moreh, "Ya'qūb Ṣanū'," p. 112. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ghunayim says that Ṣanū' himself probably invented this tale in order to gain the sympathy of the Muslim society within which he was living (*Ṣanū' Rā'id al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* [*Ṣanū' the Vanguard of Egyptian Theater*] [Cairo: al-Dār al-Qawmiyya li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-Nashr, 1966], pp. 22–23.

[22] See the text of the letter in Shamir, *The Jews of Egypt*, pp.261–262. Cf. Moreh, "Ya'qūb Ṣanū'," pp. 115–116; S. Moreh, "New Light on Ya'qūb Sanua's Life and Editorial Work Through his Paris Archive," in: A. Elad (ed.), *Writer, Culture, Text: Studies in Modern Arabic Literature* (Fredericton: York Press, 1993), pp. 104–105.

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

[24] Yaacov Yehoshua, *Yerushalayim ha-Yeshana ba-'Ayin uba-Lev* [*The Old Jerusalem in the Eye and the Heart*; English title: *Nostalgic Jerusalem*] (Jerusalem: Keter, 1988), pp. 220–221.

Another outstanding Jewish figure in Egyptian–Arab culture was the Karaite journalist, writer, poet and translator Murād Faraj (Morad Farag) (1867–1956).[25] 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 Ḥilmī. 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-'Ibriyya* (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.[26]

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-Qudsiyyāt* (*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;[27] following the escalation of the national conflict in Palestine, the Zionist motifs in Faraj's writings disappeared. Although in the Arabic literary

[25] On Faraj, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica* VI (1971), columns 1178–1179; L. Nemoy, "Mourad Farag and his Book *The Karaites and the Rabbanites*," *Revue des Études Juives* CXXXV.1–3 (1976), pp. 87–112; L. Nemoy, "A Modern Karaite-Arabic Poet: Mourad Farag," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 70 (1979–1980), pp. 195–209 (the article includes short excerpts from of Faraj's poetry in both English transliteration and translation with explanatory notes); Maurice Mizrahi, *L'Egypte et ses juifs le temps revolu* (Genève: Avenir S.A., 1977), p. 88; Mourad El-Kodsi, *The Karaites of Egypt 1882–1986* (Lyons, NY: Wilprint, Inc: 1987), pp. 244–257; S. Somekh, "Participation of Egyptian Jews in Modern Arabic Culture," in: Shamir, *The Jews of Egypt*, 130–140; Somekh,"Lost Voices," pp. 11–14; N.A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times* (Philadelphia & New York: The Jewish Publication Society, 1991), pp. 228–230; Glenda Abramson (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Modern Jewish Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 2005), I, pp. 252–253.

[26] For an earlier essay on the topic, see Murād Faraj, *Maqālāt Murād* [*The Essays of Murād*; French title: *Essai sur la morale*] (Cairo: Maflba'at Ibrāhīm Rosenthal, 1912), pp. 255–260.

[27] Faraj also translated into Arabic the novel *Ahavat 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-Yahadut ha-Kara'it* [*The History of Karaite Jewry*] [Ramla: Ha-Mo'aza ha-Arzit shel ha-Yehudim ha-Kara'im be-Yisrael, 1979], I, 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-ḤḤakham ha-Bavlī me-Calcutta – Ḥakham Shelomo Tuwayna vi-Ytzirato ha-Sifrutit be-'Ivrit u-be-'Arvit-Yehudit* [English title: *The Hacham from Baghdad in Calcutta – Hacham Shelomo Twena and his Works in Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic*] (Tel-Aviv: Archaeological Center Publication and "Magen Aboth" for Calcutta's Jews, 2002), I, 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 of 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.[28] 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 Aḥmad Shawqī (1868–1932). It is not surprising therefore to find in the opening of Faraj's second volume three verses by Shawqī 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 Shawqī refers to Faraj's Jewish faith by way of alluding to one of the ancient Muslim traditions concerning *Banū Isrā'īl*.[29] 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'al ibn 'Ādiyā' was in fact a Christian.[30] Faraj quotes a verse from the aforementioned *qaṣīda* of al-Samaw'al:

tu'ayyirunā innā qalīlun 'adīdunā
fa-qultu lahā: inna al-kirāma qalīlu

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."[31] 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.[32] However, Rajā' al-Naqqāsh says that he checked the protocols of the academy and he did not find the name of Faraj.[33] It seems that because of Faraj's knowledge of Arabic his name was confused with Rabbi Ḥayim Nāḥūm

[28] *Majallat al-Shubbān al-Qarrā'īn*, 2 August 1937, p. 1.
[29] *Dīwān Murād* (Cairo: Matba'at al-I'timād, 1924), II, opening page.
[30] *Dīwān al-Samaw'al* (ed. by L. Cheikho) (Beirut: al-Maṭba'a al-Kāthūlīkiyya li-l-Ābā' al-Yasū'iyyīn, 1909), pp. 4–5.
[31] Murād Faraj, *al-Shu'arā' al-Yahūd al-'Arab* [*The Arab Jewish Poets*; French title: *Les poètes Israèlites Arabes*] (Cairo: al-Maflba'a al-Raḥmāniyya, 1929), p. 13.
[32] Al-Gamil, *Toldot ha-Yahadut ha-Kara'it*, I, p. 165; Somekh, "Participation of Egyptian Jews in Modern Arabic Culture," p. 133.
[33] See *al-Ahrām*, 13 September 2004; quoted in Muḥammad Abū al-Ghār, *Yahūd Miṣr min al-Izdihār ilā al-Shatāt* [*The Jews of Egypt from the Flowering to the Dispersion*] (Cairo: Dār al-Hilāl, 2004), p. 48.

(1872–1960), the chief *Ḥakhām* 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.[34]

Apart from Ṣanū' 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-Ḥadītha* ('The New School'), a literary circle which played an important role in the development of Egyptian fiction in the 1920s, one can find Shālūm Dāwud ibn Mas'ūda, a physician considered as the "philosopher" of the circle.[35] Jewish intellectuals also participated in various literary and intellectual activities[36] even after 1948, for instance in the literary salon of 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād (1889–1964).[37] Some Jewish writers published collections of prose and poetry. Sa'd Ya'qūb Mālikī (1897/9–1980?) came out with a book of short stories entitled *Yarā'ī al-Awwal* (*My First Pen*) (1936).[38] Hilāl Shattā published a selection of his poetry entitled *al-Shafaq al-Aḥmar* (*The Red Dusk*) (1937),[39] and Hārūn Zakī Ḥaddād (b. 1907) authored four books: *Dā'irat Ma'ārif al-Ḥubb* (*The Encyclopedia of Love*) (1948), *Sayyidat al-Fajr* (*The Lady of the Dawn*) (1949), *Mi'a Qiṣṣa wa-Qiṣṣa Miṣriyya wa-Gharbiyya* (*One Hundred Egyptian and Western Stories*) (1950), and *Farā'id al-Gharb* (*The Pearls of the West*) (1951).[40]

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.

[34] It was said that Rabbi Ḥayim Nāḥūm was very close to King Fu'ād and even prepared for him the crown speech which the king used to deliver before the Egyptian parliament (I thank Yosef Marzuq for these details; e-mail communication, 21 February 2006). On the special relationship between Rabbi Nāḥūm and King Fu'ād and how he helped him in translating documents from Turkish to Arabic and how Rabbi Nāḥūm misused the trust of the king, see Jamīl 'Ārif, *al-Mu'āmarāt al-Ṣihyūniyya alā Miṣr* [*Zionist Conspiracies Against Egypt*] (Cairo: al-Maktab al-Miṣrī al-Ḥadīth, 1999), pp. 113–118.

[35] Ḥusayn Fawzī, *Sindibad fī Riḥlat al-Ḥayāt* [*Sindibād in the Journey of Life*] (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1968), pp. 34, 63. Cf. Somekh, "Participation of Egyptian Jews," p. 134.

[36] See Luwīs 'Awaḍ, *al-'Anqā' aw Ta'rīkh Ḥasan Muftāḥ* [*The Phoenix or the History of Ḥasan Muftāḥ*] (Beirut: Manshūrāt Dār al-fialī'a, 1966), pp. 10–12.

[37] Anīs Manṣūr, *Fī Ṣālūn al-'Aqqād Kānat Lanā Ayyām* [*In al-'Aqqād's Salon, We Had (Beautiful) Days*] (Beirut & Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 1983), pp. 303–336.

[38] S. Moreh, *Ḥibure Yehudim ba-Lashon ha-'Aravit 1863–1973* [*Arabic Works by Jewish Writers 1863–1973*] (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1973), p. 143; Itzhak Bezalel, *Kitve Sofrim Yehudim Sfaradiyim bi-Lshonot Yehudiyot ve-Zarot* [*The Writings of Sephardic and Oriental Jewish Authors in Languages Other than Hebrew*] (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University & The Ministry of Education and Culture, 1982), I, p. 296; 'Arafa 'Abduh 'Alī, "The Influence of Arab Culture on the Culture of the Jewish Groups" [Arabic], *al-Hilāl*, March 1991, p. 120.

[39] Moreh, *Ḥibure Yehudim*, p. 86; Bezalel, *Kitve Sofrim Yehudim*, I, p. 310.

[40] Moreh, *Ḥibure Yehudim*, pp. 23, 26, 142.

Oh, God, please shine
Deep in the hearts
Like the Sun; you know
What is hidden behind the secrets.[41]

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*, *ghuluww*),[42] 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."[43] 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.[44]

With the exception of Ya'qūb Ṣanū', 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 Mizraḥī (1901–1987), who early in his career used the Arab name Aḥmad al-Mashriqī (literally, "Aḥmad the Oriental").[45] Of a total of some 270 films made in Egypt between 1923 and 1946, Mizraḥī – at a certain point as owner of Aflām Togo Mizraḥī (Togo Mizraḥī'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 *Kūkāyīn* (*Cocaine*) (1930), made at his private studio in Alexandria, where it was first shown under the title *al-Hāwiya* (*The Abyss*). He produced his last film, *Sallāma*, in 1946, before leaving Egypt after he had been accused of supporting Zionism. He died in exile in Italy.[46]

[41] *Al-Shams*, 14 September 1934, p. 1.

[42] Cf. 'Abd al-Qādir, *Fann al-Badī'* [*The Art of the Good Style*] (Beirut & Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 1983), pp. 82–89; Magdi Wahba, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1974), pp. 229–230.

[43] H.V. Canter, "The Figure Adynaton in Greek and Latin Poetry," *American Journal of Philology* 51 (1930), p. 41.

[44] See for example the poem *al-Rabī'* (The Spring), by the Iraqi-Jewish poet Anwar Shā'ul (1904–1984) published in the first issue of *al-Miṣbāḥ* (The Candlestick) in Baghdad (*al-Miṣbāḥ*, 10 April 1924, p. 2. Cf. Snir, *Arviyut, Yahadut, Ziyonut*, pp. 34–35).

[45] According to one source, the young actor Togo Mizraḥī used this pseudonym for fear of incurring the wrath of his traditional father, who considered acting in films a kind of disgrace (Ḥilmī, al-Rafla, "Togo Mizraḥī, previously Aḥmad al-Mashriqī [Arabic], *Majallat al-al-Sīnamā wa-l-Masraḥ*, February 1976, p. 28). See also Maḥmūd Qāsim (ed.), *Mawsū'at al-Mumaththil fī al-Sīnamā al-'Arabiyya* (Cairo: Madbūlī, 2004), p. 43.

[46] On Togo Mizraḥī, see *al-Ṭalī'a*, March 1973, p. 155; Somekh, "Participation of Egyptian Jews," p. 132; Maḥmūd Qāsim, *Ṣūrat al-Adyān fī al-Sīnamā 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,[47] 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 song – eleven of which for Umm Kulthūm (1903–1975), the most popular Arabic singer in the 20th century.[48] The Jewish banker Jāk Rūmānū (Romano) from Alexandria was so appreciated for his brilliant singing that Ḥāfiẓ 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.[49]

On the academic level, Dr. Isrā'īl (Israel) Wolfensohn (Abū Dhu'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.[50] In the first issue of the aforementioned *al-Shams*, he published an article entitled "My Greetings to *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 renais-

(Cairo: al-Markaz al-Qawmī li-l-Sīnamā, 1997), pp. 238–241; Mustafa Darwish, *Dream Makers on the Nile: A Portrait of Egyptian Cinema* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1998), p. 16; 'Arafa 'Abduh 'Alī, *Milaff al-Yahūd fī Miṣr al-Ḥadītha* [*The File of the Jews in Modern Egypt*] (Cairo: Madbūlī, 1993), pp. 78–79; 'Arafa 'Abduh 'Alī, *Yahūd Miṣr: Bārūnāt wa-Bu'asā'* [*The Jews of Egypt: Barons and Miserables*] (Cairo: ¡trāk li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī', 2001), pp. 147–149. On the role of Jews in the development of Egyptian cinema, see Eyal Sagi Bazāwī, "Jews in the Film Industry in Egypt" [Hebrew], *Ha-Kivun Mizraḥ* 7 (2003), pp. 83–98. See also Maḥmūd Qāsim, *Dalīl al-Aflām fī al-Qarn al-'Ishrīn fī Miṣr wa-l-'Ālam al-'Arabī* [*Directory to Films in the 20th Century in Egypt and the Arab World*] (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 2002), pp. 17–90.

[47] On Da'ūd Ḥusnī, see Mizrahi, *L'Egypte et ses juifs le temps revolu*, p. 89; El-Kodsi, *The Karaites of Egypt 1882–1986*, pp. 258–266; Somekh, "Participation of Egyptian Jews," pp. 131–132; J. Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry: Culture, Politics, and Formation of a Modern Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 81–82; I. Perlson, *Ha-Mosadot ha-Musikaliyyim shel ha-Mehagrim me-Artzot ha-Islam ba-Shanim ha-Rishonot shel Medinat Yisrael* [English title: *The Musical Tradition of the Emigrants from the Islamic Countries during the First Years of the State of Israel*], Ph.D Thesis (Tel-Aviv University, 2000), pp. 52–53; 'Alī, *Milaff al-Yahūd fī Miṣr al-Ḥadītha*, 79–82; 'Alī, *Yahūd Miṣr*, pp. 159–160; Abū al-Ghār, *Yahūd Miṣr*, pp. 55–56; Robert Ṣafadī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mūsīqā al-'Arabiyya* [*The History of Arab Music*] (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 2004), pp. 25–31.

[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" (Virginia Danielson, *The Voice of Egypt: Umm Kulthūm, Arabic Song, and Egyptian Society in the Twentieth Century* [Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997], p. 26). According to Najīb Maḥfūẓ one of the sons of Ḥusnī, who was the owner of Qashtamar Cafe in Cairo, might have converted to Islam (Jamāl al-Ghīṭānī, *al-Majālis al-Maḥfūẓiyya* [*The Maḥfūẓian Sessions*] [Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 2006], p. 36). Maḥfūẓ titled one of his novels after this cafe (*Qashtamar* [Cairo: Maktabat Miṣr, 1988]); however, although the owners of the cafe are mentioned several times in the novel (e.g., pp. 69, 111) there is no allusion to their religious identity.

[49] Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, *Dīwān* (Beirut: Dār al-'Awda, n.d. [1937]), I, pp. 221–222. Cf. 'Alī Shalash, *al-Yahūd wa-l-Māsūn fī Miṣr* [The Jews and the Freemasons in Egypt] (Cairo: al-Zahrā' li-I-I'lām al-'Arabī, 1986), pp. 86–87.

[50] Isrā'īl Wolfensohn (Abū Dhu'ayb), *Ta'rīkh al-Yahūd fī Bilād al-'Arab fī al-Jāhiliyya wa-Ṣadr al-Islām* [*History of the Jews in Arab Lands in the Jāhiliyya and Early Period of Islam*] (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'līf wa-l-Tarjma wa-l-Nashr, 1927). The book was translated into Hebrew: Israel Ben-Ze'ev, *Ha-Yehudim be-'Arav* [*The Jews in Arab Lands*] (Tel-Aviv: Mizpe, 1931).

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."[51] 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.[52]

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.[53] 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.[54] In 1946, a year after marrying the Egyptian actor and director Anwar Wajdī (1904–1955), she publicly announced her conversion to Islam.[55] Wajdī directed the most famous of the twenty-one films in which Laylā Murād appeared – *Gahzal al-Banāt* (*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.[56] Other Jewish women who played a role in the popular culture of Egypt were Najma Ibrāhīm (1914–1976), Lilyān Kūhīn (Cohen), nicknamed Kāmīlyā (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.[57]

[51] *Al-Shams*, 14 September 1934, p. 1.

[52] On Ben-Ze'ev, see 'Alī, *Yahūd Miṣr*, pp. 124–125.

[53] R. Snir, "Women in the Arabic Belle-Letters of Iraqi Jewry in the 20th Century" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 82 (Winter 2000), pp. 119–149.

[54] *Layla Mumflira* (*The Rainy Night* [Arabic word for "night" is pronounced the same as the name], 1939), *Laylā Bint al-Rīf* (*Laylā, the Girl of the Countryside*, 1941), *Laylā Bint al-Madāris* (*Laylā, the School-Girl*, 1941), *Laylā* (1942), *Laylā fī al-'alām* (Laylā in the Dark, 1944).

[55] In the story *Maqhā Lanshānū* (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 Shabtāy wa-Ḥikāyāt min Ḥārat al-Yahūd* [*Sheikh Shabtāy and Stories from the Jewish Quarter*] (Shfaram: Dār al-Mashriq, 1979), pp. 73–82.

[56] According to www.albawaba, 30 October 2005. On Laylā Murād, see Kamāl al-Najmī, *Turāth al-Ghinā' al-'Arabī* [*The Heritage of Arab Singing*] (Cairo & Beirut: Dār al-Shurūūq, 1993), pp. 235–239; Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*, pp. 83–85, 232–233; 'Alī, *Milaff al-Yahūd fī Miṣr al-Ḥadītha*, p. 76; Ṣāliḥ Mursī, *Laylā Murād* (Cairo: Dār al-Hilāl, 1995); 'Alī, *Yahūd Miṣr*, pp. 160–161; Darwish, *Dream Makers on the Nile*, p. 24; Bazāwī, "Jews in the Film Industry in Egypt," pp. 90–92; Abū al-Ghār, *Yahūd Miṣr*, pp. 56–57; Qāsim, *Mawsū'at al-Mumaththil fī al-Sīnamā al-'Arabiyya*, 443.

[57] On the role of Jewish women in the popular culture of Egypt, see Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*, pp. 83–85; 'Alī, *Yahūd Miṣr*, pp. 149–159; Bazāwī, "Jews in the Film Industry in Egypt," pp. 92–98. On the love affair between Kāmīlyā and King Fārūq, see Nabīl 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Sayyid Aḥmad,

Press and Journalism[58]

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, those 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.[59]

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.[60] It was for this reason that when the Jewish press in Egypt became the subject of academic research the tendency of at least some

al-Ḥayāt al-Iqtiṣādiyya wa-l-Ijtimā'iyya li-l-Yahūd fī Miṣr 1947–1956 [*The Economic and Social Life of the Jews in Egypt 1947–1956*] (Cairo: Madbūlī, 1991), pp. 159–160.

[58] Details on newspapers and periodicals in the present study have been taken from libraries and archives as well as from various printed sources. In many cases a certain periodical was checked directly in a certain archive or library, in addition to its being mentioned by several sources. I have made use of the following sources: Philip de fiarrāzī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa al-'Arabiyya* [*History of the Arab Press*] (Beirut: al-Maflba'a al-Adabiyya, 1913 [vol. I–II], 1914 [vol. III], 1933 [vol. IV]); Moreh, *Ḥibure Yehudim* as well as Moreh's survey on the press in the Middle East and North Africa in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: The Macmillan Company, 1971), vol. XIII (1971), columns 1041–1042; 'Awāflif 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Ṣihyūniyya fī Miṣr 1897–1954* [*Zionist Journalism in Egypt 1897–1954*] (Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfa al-Jadīda, 1979); Sihām Naṣṣār, *al-Yahūd al-Miṣriyyūn bayna al-Miṣriyya wa-l-Ṣihyūniyya* [*Egyptian Jews between Egyptian Nationalism and Zionism*] (Beirut: Dār al-Waḥda, 1980); Sihām Naṣṣār, *al-Yahūd al-Miṣriyyūn wa-Ṣuḥufuhum wa-Majallātuhum 1877–1950* [*The Egyptian Jews and Their Newspapers and Periodicals 1877–1950*] (Cairo: al-'Arabī li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī', 1980); Sihām Naṣṣār, *Mawqif al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya min al-Ṣihyūniyya Khilāl al-Fatra min 1897–1917* [*The Position of the Egyptian Press Toward Zionism during the Period 1897–1917*] (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1993), Maḥmūd Sa'īd 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Yahūd Miṣr: Dirāsa fī al-Mawqif al-Siyāsī 1897–1948* [*The Jews of Egypt: A Study of the Political Situation 1897–1948*] (Cairo: Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Sharqiyya, Jāmi'at al-Qāhira, 2000); A. Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[59] On the Arabic press of Jews in general, see "Press, Arab-Jewish," in: Abramson (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Modern Jewish Culture*, II, pp. 697–704.

[60] On the pro-Zionist press in Egypt, see M.M. Laskier, *The Jews of Egypt, 1920–1970, in the Midst of Zionism, Anti-Semitism, and the Middle East Conflict* (New York & London: New York University Press, 1992), pp. 17–38.

scholars was to look for the role played by this press in promoting Zionist propaganda.[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 Ṣanū', who, apart from being regarded as the father of Arab theater, was one of the founders of satirical and humorous Arabic journalism.[62] After his theater in Cairo was closed down as a result of his criticism of the Khedive Ismā'īl, Ṣanū' 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 Ṣanū' 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 Naḍḍāra, had become favorite nicknames for Ṣanū' 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 Ḥalīm 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, Ṣanū' 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 Ṣanū''s journalistic publications in Paris we find *Riḥlat Abī Naẓẓāra Zarqā'* (*The Journey of the Man with Blue Glasses*) (first issue: 7 August 1877); *Abū Naḍḍāra Zarqā'* (*The Man with Blue Glasses*) (first issue: 21 March 1879); *al-Naẓẓārāt al-Miṣriyya* (*The Egyptian Glasses*) (first issue: 16 September 1879); *Abū Zammāra* (*The Clarinetist*) (first issue: 17 July 1880); *Abū Ṣaffāra* (*The Flutist*) (first issue: 4 June 1880); *al-Ḥāwī* (*The Magician*) (first issue: 5 February 1881); *al-Waṭanī al-Miṣrī* (*The Egyptian Patriot*) (first issue: 29 September 1883); *al-Tharthara al-Miṣriyya* (*The Egyptian Chatter*) (first issue: 1886); and *al-Tawaddud* (*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-Tahdhīb* (*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*

[61] For example, the aforementioned studies by 'Awāṭif 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Sihām Naṣṣār, and Maḥmūd Sa'īd 'Abd al-Ẓāhir. Cf. T. Mayer, "The Image of Egyptian Jewry in Recent Egyptian Studies," in: Shamir, *The Jews of Egypt*, pp. 203–204; Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*, pp. 244–247.

[62] For references to the activities of Ṣanū' 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 Salīm Līsha'). 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 *Maqālāt 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-Isrā'īlī* (*The Jewish Association*) from 20 April 1924 till 1929, with Baruch-Lītū-Manjūnī as editor in chief.[64] Another journal published in Arabic by the Young Karaite Jewish Association (YKJA) was the bimonthly *al-Kalīm* (*The Spokesman*;[65] French title: *Al-Kalim, Revue Israélite Caraite*) with Yūsuf 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 Kāstilī, owner of a publishing house, founded *al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī* (*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 Mizraḥī and its editor was Najīb Jarjūr. The periodical survived for two years, during which time it focused on local social issues. Appearing in 1890, the periodical *Nahḍat Isrā'īl* (*The Renaissance of Israel*) concentrated on Jewish affairs. The magazine *al-Yānaṣīb* (*The Lottery*) was published in September 1894 by David Yārḥī. *Ḥazz al-Ḥayāt* (*The Fortune of Life*) was published in Alexandria in 1895 by Salīm Ibrāhīm Rūmānū (Romano). In October 1898 the first issue of the weekly *al-Naṣīb* (*The Fate*) was published by Zakī Kūhīn (Cohen) and his son Rūfā'īl. The journalist Nissīm Ya'qūb Mallūl (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. Mallūl, who was the first occupant of the Hebrew Language Chair at the University of Cairo, also published

[63] Faraj, *Maqālāt 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-Kalīm* is also an epithet for Moses.

[66] Cf. J. Beinin, "Egyptian Jewish Identities: Communitarianisms, Nationalisms, Nostalgias," *Stanford Electronic Humanities Review* V.1 (1996), pp. 6–7. *Al-Kalīm* was the only Jewish newspaper which continued to appear in Egypt after 1948.

[67] On Mallūl, see Moshe David Gaon, *Yehude ha-Mizraḥ be-Eretz Yisrael* [*The Jews of the East in the Land of Israel*] (Jerusalem: Author's Publication, 1937), II, pp. 432–434; Ya'qūb Yehoshua, *Ta'rīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa al-'Arabiyya al-Filasṭīniyya fī Bidāyat 'Ahd al-Intidāb al-Barīṭānī 'alā Filasṭīn (1919–1929)* [*The History of the Arabic Palestinian Press in the Beginning of the Period of the British Mandate in Palestine (1919–1929)*] (Shfaram: Dār al-Mashriq, 1981), pp. 206–217; Bezalel, *Kitve Sofrim Yehudim*, 295; Naṣṣār, *Mawqif al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya min al-Ṣihyūniyya*, pp. 110–112.

articles in the general Egyptian press such as *al-Muqaṭṭam*, *al-Ahrām* 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 fianflāwī and Nissim ibn Sahl.

In January 1904 the Zionist newspaper *Miṣrayim* (*Egypt*) appeared in Arabic in Hebrew letters. On 27 November 1904, the owner, Isḥāq Karmūnā (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 Mūṣayrī (Mosseri) (1868–1933), the promoter of early Zionist thought in Egypt, and his wife Mazal-Matilda (Mathilde) Mūṣayrī (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 Murād Faraj, and then Yusūf Manūflā and the aforementioned Sa'd Ya'qūb Mālikī; and the Hebrew edition whose editors were Mazal-Matilda Mosseri and Yehoshua Kantrovich. 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]

[68] J.M. Landau, *Jews in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (New York: New York University Press & London: 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, *Yehude ha-Mizraḥ be-Eretz Yisrael*, 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-Artzot ha-Islam* [*Hebrew Thought*

Among the other newspapers published in Cairo by Jews was *Barīd al-Maḥākim* (*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 Capital'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 Mālikī, who had taken part in editing the Arabic edition of *Israël*. In the opening article of the first issue published on 19 September 1934, Mālikī 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.[72] 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.[73] After the weekly surceased, its owner and editor Sa'd Ya'qūb Mālikī emigrated to Israel, where he abandoned the pursuit of journalism.[74]

One should also not fail to mention the Jewish Lebanese-born Esther Lazari-Moyal (Istīr Azharī-Mūyāl) (1873–1948),[75] one of the first feminist activists in Arab

in the Lands of Islam; English title: *Studies on Jewish Themes by Contemporary Jewish Scholars from Islamic Countries*] (Jerusalem: World Hebrew Union and World Jewish Congress, 1981), pp. 275–290. On *Israël* and the role of the Mosseri family in its publication, see Hillel, *"Israël" be-Kahir: 'Iton Ziyoni be-Mizrayim ha-Le'umit, 1920–1939* [*Israël in Cairo: A Zionist Newspaper in Nationalist Egypt 1920–1939*] (Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 2004). On the journalistic activities of the Mosseri family, see Laskier, *The Jews of Egypt*, pp. 18–72.

[72] See David 'Ivri, *Dudi* (Jerusalem: Ha-Makhon le-Ḥeker Tnu'at ha-Maḥteret ha-Ziyonit-Ḥaluzit be-'Iraq, 2002), p. 214.

[73] On *al-Shams*, see also Victor Nachmiyas, "*al-Shams* – A Jewish Newspaper in Egypt, 1934–1948" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 16 (1983), pp. 128–141; Robert L. Tignor, "Egyptian Jewry, Communal Tension, and Zionism," in: Amnon Cohen and Gabriel Baer (eds.), *Egypt and Palestine: A Millennium of Association* (868–1948) (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1984), pp. 340–345.

[74] On the Jewish press and journalism in Egypt, apart from the aforementioned references, see also Aḥmad Muḥammad Ghunayim and Aḥmad Abū Kafī, *al-Yahūd wa-l-Ḥaraka al-Ṣihyūniyya fī Miṣr 1897–1947* [*The Jews and Zionist Movement in Egypt 1897–1947*] (Cairo: Dār al-Hilāl, 1969), pp. 44–50; Mizrahi, *L'Egypte et ses juifs le temps revolu*, pp. 98–100; A. Ayalon, "The Jewish Press of Egypt" [Hebrew], *Qesher* 4 (November 1988), pp. 85–95; Aḥmad, *al-Ḥayāt al-Iqtiṣādiyya wa-l-Ijtimā'iyya li-l-Yahūd fī Miṣr 1947–1956*, pp. 140–153; Sa'īda Muḥammad Ḥusnī, *al-Yahūd fī Miṣr min 1882–1947* [*The Jews in Egypt from 1882 to 1948*] (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1993), pp. 141–148; 'Alī, *Yahūd Miṣr*, pp. 117–119.

[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'iyyat Bākūrat Sūriyā* (*The Association of the Renaissance of Syria*) and *Nahḍat al-Nisā'* (*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),[76] 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 fiarrāzī describes Lazari-Moyal as one of the best female Arab journalists of her time.[77]

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*).[78] Also, in 1945 the distinguished Harari Cairene family established *Sharikat al-Kātib al-Miṣrī li-l-Ṭibā'a wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Adawāt al-Kitābiyya* (*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 Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (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.[79] Among those published in *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* were distinguished writers such as Maḥmūd Taymūr (1894–1973), Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm (1898–1987), Muḥammad Mahdī al-Jawāhirī (1899–1997), Yaḥyā Ḥaqqī (1905–1992), Suhayr al-Qalamāwī (1911–1997), and Luwīs 'Awaḍ (1915–1990). There is no mention in the journal that Egyptian Jews were behind its publication, but the introduction to the first issue, *Barnāmaj* (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

Baron, *Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 20–21, 52, 75, 105, 176; S. Moreh and P. Sadgrov, *Jewish Contributions to Nineteenth-Century Arabic Theater* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 81.

[76] On Shimon Moyal, see Moshe David Gaon, *Yehude ha-Mizraḥ be-Eretz Yisrael*, II, p. 381; Ya'qūb Yehoshua, *Ta'rīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa al-'Arabiyya fī Filasṭīn fī al-'Ahd al-'Uthmānī (1908–1918)* [*The History of the Arabic Press in Palestine in the Ottoman Period (1908–1918)*] (Jerusalem: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1974), pp. 122–125; Moreh and Sadgrove, *Jewish Contributions*, p. 80.

[77] fiarrāzī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa al-'Arabiyya*, IV, p. 287.

[78] See M. Mizrahi, "The Role of Jews in Economic Development," in: Shamir, *The Jews of Egypt*, p. 90.

[79] Cf. Somekh, "Participation of Egyptian Jews," p. 133.

> 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 Ṭāhā 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, Ṭāhā 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 (*Ḥārat 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,1 (October 1945), p. 3.

[81] On this topic, see the introduction by 'Abd al-'Azīz Sharaf to *al-Majmū'a al-Kāmila: al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* [*The Complete Collection: The Egyptian Scribe*] (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1998), I, pp. 22–30. Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *al-Ṣiḥāfa al-'Arabiyya fī Muwājahat al-Ikhtirāq al-Ṣihyūnī*, pp. 149, 152; Naṣṣār, *al-Yahūd al-Miṣriyyūn bayna al-Miṣriyya wa-l-Ṣihyūniyya*, pp. 76–79; Abū al-Ghār, *Yahūd Miṣr*, pp. 51–55.

[82] Pierre Cachia, *Ṭāhā Ḥusayn: His Place in the Egyptian Literary Renaissance* (London: Luzac & Company Ltd, 1956), p. 64.

[83] Muḥsin 'Alī Shūmān, *al-Yahūd fī Miṣr al-'Uthmāniyya ḥattā Awā'il al-Qarn al-Tāsi' 'Ashar* [*The Jews in Ottoman Egypt till the Early 19th Century*] (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya 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'ribīn* is not mentioned there – in p. 144 the words *ṭā'ifat al-yahūd al-m[iṣrīyīn] al-mustaghribīn* are mentioned in transliteration, quoting from *Kitāb Taṣāduq*, dated 28 May 1572 A.D. in addition to *ṭā'ifat al-yahūd al-maghāriba* and *ṭa'ifat al-yahūd al-qarrā'īn*. In view of such, it would seem that Shūmān's reading is a reasonable one.

[84] Gudrun Krämer, *The Jews in Modern Egypt, 1914–1952* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1989), p. 28; Abū al-Ghār, *Yahūd Miṣr*, pp. 50–51. On the Karaites as an Arab-Jewish community, see J. Beinin, "Egyptian Jewish Identities: Communitarianisms, Nationalisms, Nostalgias," *Stanford Electronic Humanities Review* V.1 (1996), pp. 5–9; Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*, pp. 39–44.

[85] Jacques Hassoun, "The Jews, a Community of Contrasts," in: Robert Ilbert and Ilios Yannakakis with Jacques Hassoun (eds.), *Alexandria 1860–1960; The Brief Life of a Cosmopolitan Community* (trans. by Colin Clement) (Alexandria: Harpocrates Publishing, 1997), p. 51. Cf. H.J. Cohen, *The Jews of the Middle East 1860–1972* (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1973), p. 112.

'Arab qabla an nakūna yahūda),[86] 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-llāhi wa-l-waṭan li-l-Jamī'* ('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.[87] For most of these intellectuals their Arab identity was uppermost – they were "Arab Jews" or "Arabs of the Jewish faith."[88] 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.[89] The Wafd party was active under this banner,[90] 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.[91] Yet even in this context it was

[86] By 'Ezra Ḥaddād (1900–1972); see Nissim Rejwan, *The Jews of Iraq, 3000 Years of History and Culture* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1985), p. 219; N. Rejwan, *The Last Jews in Baghdad: Remembering a Lost Homeland* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), p. 107.

[87] Anwar Shā'ul, *Qiṣṣat Ḥayātī fī Wādī al-Rāfidayn* [*The Story of my life in Mesopotamia*] (Jerusalem: Rābiflat al-Jāmi'iyyīn al-Yahūd al-Nāziḥīn min al-'Irāq, 1980), pp. 119, 223; Salmān Darwīsh, *Kull Shay' Hādi' fī al-'Iyāda* [*All is Quiet in the Surgery*] (Jerusalem: Rābiṭat al-Jāmi'iyyīn al-Yahūd al-Nāziḥīn min al-'Irāq, 1981), p. 202.

[88] David Semah, "Mīr Baṣrī and the Resurgence of Modern Iraqi Literature" [Arabic], *al-Karmil – Abḥāth fī al-Lugha wa-l-Adab* 10 ā1989), pp. 88–89.

[89] See S. Shamir, "The Evolution of the Egyptian Nationality Laws and Their Application to the Jews in the Monarchy Period," in: Shamir, *The Jews of Egypt*, p. 33.

[90] In a dialogue between two of the protagonists in Najīb Maḥfūẓ's aforementioned novel *Qashtamar*, Ismā'īl Qadrī says: "There are in Egypt four religions: Islam, Christianity, Judasim and the Wafd." fiāhir 'Ubayd says ironically: "The last religion is the most popular" (p. 29).

[91] Cf. Beinin, "Egyptian Jewish Identities: Communitarianisms, Nationalisms, Nostalgias," p. 4. The slogan was probably coined by the Copt intellectual Tawfīq Dūs in the Coptic congress in Asyut; see B.L. Carter, *The Copts in the Egyptian Politics* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 290 and p. 304, n. 2. The first part of the slogan appeared (also as as *al-dīnu li-l-dayyāni*) in many writings such as in an elegy by Aḥmad Shawqī (1868–1932) for the Coptic Prime Minister Buflrus Ghālī assassinated in 1910 (Aḥmad Shawqī, *al-Shawqiyyāt* [Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, 1964], III, pp. 144–145), and in elegy for Sa'd Zaghlūl (1859–1927) written in 1927 by Naṣr Lūzā al-Asyūṭī (Muḥammad Sayyid Kaylānī, *al-Adab al-Qubṭī Qadīman wa-Ḥadīthan* [*The Coptic Literature – Past and Present*] [Cairo: Dār al-Qawmiyya al-'Arabiyya li-l-Ṭibā'a, 1962], p. 167. It also appeared in a manifesto of Arab nationalists disseminated from Cairo at the beginning of the First World War (Aḥmad 'Izzat al-A'ẓamī, *al-Qaḍiyya al-'Arabiyya* [*The Arab Issue*] [Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-Sha'b, 1932], IV, pp. 113–114. Cf. Sylvia G. Haim, *Arab Nationalism – An Anthology* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962], p. 86. See also Ṭāriq al-Bishrī, *al-Muslimūn wa-l-Aqbāṭ fī Iṭār al-Jamā'a al-Waṭaniyya* [*The Muslims and Copts in the Framework of National Unity*], [Cairo & Beirut: Dār al-Shurūq, 1988], p. 62; Wilyam Sulaymān Qilāda, *al-Masīḥiyya*

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[92] 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)[93] and Marcel (Marsīl) Israel (Ceresi, Shīrīzī) (b. 1913), leader of *Taḥrīr al-Sh'ab* (The People's Liberation).[94] Hārūn Shiḥāta (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-tā'ih*). 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."[95]

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), Ḥakham Bashi (Chief Rabbi) of Alexandria from 1857 until his death, published *She'erit ha-Naḥala* (*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.[96]

wa-l-Islām fī Miṣr wa-Dirāsāt Ukhrā [*Christianity and Islam in Egypt and Other Studies*] [Cairo: Sīnā li-l-Nashr, 1993], p. 239; Būluṣ Bāsīlī, *al-Aqbāṭ Waṭaniyya wa-Ta'rīkh* [*The Copt's Nationalism and History*], [Cairo: Dār Nūbār li-l-Ṭibā'a, 1999], pp. 165, 277, 281, 282, 283, 284). The same slogan has even been used in recent years, e.g. by Usāma al-Bāz, the presidential political adviser, as quoted by the Egyptian State Information Service on 31 January 2000; *Al-Ahram 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-Ahrām*, 21 April 2005, p. 1). See also the slogan *al-waṭaniyya dīnunā wa-l-istiqlāl ḥayātunā* (patriotism is our faith and independence is our life) which is found in Coptic writings (Samīra Baḥr, *al-Aqbāṭ fī al-Ḥayāt al-Siyāsiyya al-Miṣriyya* [*The Copts in the Political Egyptian Life*] [Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo al-Miṣriyya, 1979], pp. 94–95. See also p. 100).

[92] For example, Albert Mizraḥī used it in his newspaper *al-Tas'īra* (The Price List) when Shaykh Aḥmad fiāhir 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-Ahram Weekly*, 2–8 December 2004.

[94] See Marsīl Shīrīzī, *Awrāq Munāḍil Iṭālī fī Miṣr* [*Papers of an Italian Fighter in Egypt*] (Cairo: Dār al-'Ālam al-Thālith, 2002), pp. 46–47.

[95] Hārūn Shiḥāta, *Yahūdī fī al-Qāhira* [*A Jew in Cairo*] (Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfa al-Ḥadītha, 1987), p. 41. Cf. Abū al-Ghār, *Yahūd Miṣr*, pp. 234–236.

[96] Israel Moshe Ḥazzan, *She'erit ha-Naḥala* (Italian title: *Ressiduo alla Successione*) (Alexandria; Tipografia Ottolenghi, 1862), pp. 9–15. Cf. Hassoun, "The Jews, a Community of Contrasts," p. 43. See

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."[97] A book on the Egyptian Jews published in 1938 by Maurice Fargeon, an active member of the Ligue Contre L'Antisémitisme (LICA),[98] made virtually no mention of the participation of the Jews 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 immigrants[104] such as Jacqueline Kahanoff (1917–1979)[105] and Yitzhak Gormezano-Goren (b. 1941).[106] While dozens of Iraqi-Jewish immigrants

also Norman A. Stillman, *Sephardi Religious Responses to Modernity* (Australia: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), pp. 15–16.

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 origins 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.

101 S. Shamir, "The Evolution of the Egyptian Nationality Laws and Their Application to the Jews in the Monarchy Period," p. 53. Cf. G. Krämer, "Political Participation of the Jews of Egypt Between World War I and the 1952 Revolution," in: Shamir, *The Jews of Egypt*, pp. 68, 71–74.

102 Krämer, *The Jews in Modern Egypt*, pp. 26–29, 168–172.

103 André Aciman, *Out of Egypt – A Memoir* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1994), pp. 215–292.

104 For example, J. Kahanoff, *Mi-Mizraḥ Shemesh* [*From the East the Sun*] (Tel-Aviv: Yariv, 1978), p. 26; Y. Gormezano-Goren, *Kayitz Aleksandroni* [*An Alexandrian Summer*] (Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 1979), pp. 9–14. Cf. J.M. Landau, "Bittersweet Nostalgia: Memories of Jewish Emigrants from the Arab Countries," *The Middle East Journal* 35.2 (Spring 1981), pp. 230–231; J.M. Landau, "The Confused Image: Egypt as Perceived by Jewish Emigrants," in: Cohen and Baer, *Egypt and Palestine*, pp. 371–372; J. Beinin, "Egyptian Jewish Identities: Communitarianisms, Nationalisms, Nostalgias," pp. 13–14. That superiority characterized also the attitude of the intellectual elite of the Jews in Egypt to native Arab culture. That elite in turn suffered from the sense of superiority showed to them from the Zionist establishment which felt contempt towards the "Levantine culture" of the Egyptian Jews; cf. Ruth Kimche, *Pe'ilut ha-Tnu'a ha-Ziyonit be-Mitsrayim ve-Hitpatḥut Yaḥase ha-Gomlin Bena le-ben ha-Yeshuv be-Eretz Yisrael: 1918–1948* [*The Activity of the Zionist Movement in Egypt and its Relations with the Yishuv: 1918–1948*], Ph.D Thesis (Haifa University, 2005), pp. 612–617.

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-Kivun Mizraḥ* (*The Direction Is East*) with 12 volumes thus far.

to Israel in the 1950s were still writing in Arabic after their arrival,[107] 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.[108]

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 Farīd. 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 (*Israeli 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-Ḥikāyāt 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."[109] He dedicated the book to the Israeli Prime Minister, Menaḥem Begin, and President of Egypt, Anwar al-Sādāt, in appreciation of their efforts at peace.[110]

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.[111] 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

[107] On the activities of Iraqi Jews in Israel in the 1950s, see R. Snir, "'We Were Like Those Who Dream': Iraqi-Jewish Writers in Israel in the 1950's," *Prooftexts* 11 (1991), pp. 153–173; R. Snir, "'Forget Baghdad!': The Clash of Literary Narratives among Iraqi-Jews in Israel," *Orientalia Suecana* LIII (2004), pp. 143–163.

[108] See, for example, the aforementioned Kimche, *Pe'ilut ha-Tnu'a ha-Ziyonit be-Mitsrayim*.

[109] Shammās, *al-Shaykh Shabtāy wa-Ḥikāyāt min Ḥārat al-Yahūd*, p. 6. On the collection, see *October* 138 (17 June 1979); Landau, "Bittersweet Nostalgia," p. 231; Landau, "The Confused Image," pp. 372–373; Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*, pp. 231–233. I use *ibn al-balad* in the present article as meaning a native Egyptian Arabic speaker, without any allusion to a low social and cultural status – in the sense that the Egyptian novelist Ibrāhīm Aṣlān (b. 1939) described his compatriot Najīb Maḥfūẓ as the product "of grassroots life, a true *ibn balad*" (*Al-Ahram Weekly*, 13–19 December 2001).

[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 Ḥārat al-Yahūd 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 Najīb Maḥfūẓ (1911–2006). In "Za'balāwī,"[112] 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 Maḥfūẓ'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.[113] His poem "al-Nās fī Bilādī" (*People in my Country*)[114] alludes to a poem of the same title published more than thirty years before the publication of Shammās' poem by the Egyptian poet Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Sabūr (1931–1981) in a collection bearing the same title.[115] However, as in the aforementioned allusion of Shammās' story to that of Maḥfūẓ, 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.[116]

[112] It was first published in *al-Ahrām*, 12 May 1961, p. 12 and then was incorporated in *Dunyā Allāh* [*God's World*] (Cairo: Dār Miṣr, 1963), pp. 158–175. An English translation can be found in Denys Johnson-Davies, *Modern Arabic Short Stories* (London: Heinemann, 1981 [1967]), pp. 135–145. For an analysis of the story see Sasson Somekh, "Za'balāwī – Author, Theme and Technique," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 1 (1970), pp. 24–35.

[113] Mūrīs Shammās, *Sab' Sanābil Hazīla* (Jerusalem: n.pub., 1989), pp. 16–17, 24, 41–42, 85–90, 91–94.

[114] Ibid., p. 81.

[115] Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Sabūr, *al-Nās fī Bilādī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ādāb, 1957), pp. 59–62.

[116] Shammās describes the poem as *min al-shi'r al-mutkham bi-l-nathr* (from the poetry, which is overstuffed with prose).

In 2003 Shammās published his autobiography, *'Azza Ḥafīdat Nafratītī* (*'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."[117] 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.[118] 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'ān, and I did it deeply in order not to live as a foreigner on the margins of life in my homeland Egypt."[119] 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'a 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[120] 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

[117] Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*, p. 240.

[118] Victor Naḥmiyās, *al-Rajul alladhī Wulid Marratyni – Qiṣṣat Yahūdī Miṣrī Hājara ilā Isrā'īl* (*The Man Who Was Born Twice – The Story of an Egyptian Jews Immigrated to Israel*) (Jerusalem: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 2004). On the book, see *Ha'aretz*, 27 October 2004.

[119] Naḥmiyās, *al-Rajul alladhī Wulid Marratyni*, 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.[121] 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.[122] 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.[123]

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

[121] Cf. Esther Meir-Glitzenstein, "From Eastern Europe to the Middle East: The Reversal in Zionist Policy vis-à-vis the Jews of Islamic Countries," *The Journal of Israeli History* 20.1 [2001], pp. 28, 34–35.

[122] The journalist Arye Gelblum 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 coolie 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 afflict 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-Selekzia* [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'ilut 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 *Isrā'īliyyāt*, a term used by classical Muslim authors to denote material ascribed to Jews (*Banū Isrā'īl*), 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 Qadhdhāfī. 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 Moslem 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-

[124] On the *Isrā'īliyyāt* and relevant references, see Jane Dammen McAuliffe, "Assessing the *Isrā'īliyyāt*: An Exegetical Conudrum," in: Stefan Leder (ed.), *Story-Telling in the Framework of Non-Fictional Arabic Literature* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998), pp. 345–369.

[125] Jacob Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 121.

[126] Cf. Bernard Lewis, "The Judeo-Islamic Heritage" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim – Studies in Oriental Jewry* 20 (1984), pp. 3–13.

[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 *sharī'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."[128] 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."[129]

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.[130] 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.

[128] Bat Ye'or, *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide* (Lancaster: Gazelle Book Services, 2002), pp. 316–317.

[129] FrontPageMagazine.com 27 July 2004. Reacting to Littman's arguments, the Lebanese writer Raghīd al-Ṣulḥ 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-Ḥayāt*, 30 August 2005).

[130] For a summary of the debate, see N.A. Stillman, "The Judeo-Islamic Historical Encounter: Vision and Revision," in: Parfitt, *Israel and Ishmael*, p. 217; D.J. Schroeter, *The Sultan's Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 6–7. In his book on the Egyptian Jewry, J. Beinin rejects both approaches and opts instead for a Marxist interpretation of the political events and the question of identity (especially, pp. 1–28). For a discussion of his approach, see S.H. Katz's review in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31 (1999), pp. 457–459.

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."[131] 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."[132] 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."[133] 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."[134]

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This article was written at Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, the Institute of Advanced Study (2004–5) as part of my fellow project on the Arab culture and literature of the Jews. My thanks go to the library of the institute and to Mr. Georges Khalil, the scientific coordinator of the working group Modernity and Islam, who provided me with important sources from his own library; our discussions on the role played by the Jews in Egypt triggered new insights and helped me to crystallize my arguments. I also thank Kevin McAleer from the institute for the style editing. An earlier shortened version of the article was published entitled "'A Carbon Copy of Ibn al-Balad'?: The Participation of Egyptian Jews in Modern Arab Culture," *Archiv Orientální* 74 (2006), pp. 37–64.

APPENDIX

Sheikh Shabtāy by Maurice Shammās

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 Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*, p. 240.
[132] H. Hever, "Matalon, Ronit," in: Sorrel Kerbel (ed.), *Jewish Writers of the Twentieth Century* (New York & London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003), p. 365. On Matalon, see also *The Literary Review* 37.2 (1994), pp. 253–265; Alcalay, *Keys to the Garden*, pp. 205–220.
[133] Israeli Television, Channel 1, interview with Ari Shavit, 29 September 2003 (my emphasis – R.S.)
[134] Ilios Yannakakis, "The Death of Cosmopolitanism," in: Ilbert and Yannakakis, *Alexandria 1860–1960*, p. 194.

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 unnatural 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 nervologist, 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 Khamīs 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' (tshaṣɔnaŋ) 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 twentyfive 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 *koinē*.[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 *koinē* 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 'Pengin 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 family[7] 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] Ntsanpa is the name of a Buddhist deity.

Example (1)
Text I (L.337)

təni	tɕɛigawa	gɔŋ-la	ɲan	dou	ləma	tɕhə-la	kər
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 (sɛrlə), Silver Le (ŋulə) and Conch Le (tɔŋlə), respectively.[8] 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)

tɕhia	ndɛnŋa	ɲi-tɛ	ndɛmɔ	ɔŋndoulɛ
the oldest	middle	two-DET	witch	EQUA

The oldest and the middle (daughters), the two, were witches.

tɕhɔŋŋa-tɛ	nkhandɔma	ri
youngest-DET	dakini	EQUA

The youngest (daughter) was a dakini.

This particular example is linguistically striking because it uses two different copulas for the third-person subject (*ɔŋndoule* and *ri*), which may be related to the narrator's viewpoint, i.e., the narrator is partial to the youngest daughter. *ɔŋndoule* connotes

[8] Some Nangchen girls' nicknames are composed of short names and the particle *lə* (romanized as *le* in the English translation), such as Chole (pronounced as *tɕhölə*, 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 to 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 moutain 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)

təni	tɕhitɕhu	tɕhu	tɕhə	ntɕhu	təni	tɕhə	thama	səm-la	ntɕhu
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.

ɭa	ntshaŋ pa	tshaŋ-la	ntɕhu	tsin	marpɔ	tshaŋ-la	ntɕhu
deity	PN	family-DAT	make offering	tsin	red	family DAT	make offering

dɛi	napɔ	tshaŋ-la	ntɕhu	dzɛ-lɛ
devil	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.[9] 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.

[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,Yungdrung 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

(L.1)

tɛi	rɛi	əlɛ
family	a	EXIST[1]

There was a family.

(L.2)

tɛ-la	pəmɔ	səm	əlɛ
that-DAT	daughter	three	EXIST

(L.3)

pha	ma	tou	əlɛ
father	mother	like that	EXIST

That family had three daughters, father and mother, like that.

(L.4)

təni	la	pharnaŋ-la	sɛinphɔ	əlɛ
then	mountain pass	behind-LOC	devil	EXIST

There was a devil behind a mountain pass.

(L.5)

sɛinphɔ-tɛ-kɛ	pəmɔ	nɛla	ʒɛn	gɔ-lɛ
devil-DET-ERG	daughter	fiance's family-DAT	give	should-PAST

(L.6)

tɕhou	ou	wi	ndou-dʑə	ələ-ma	dzɛ-lɛ
you	like	this do	live-NOM	EXIST-NEG	say-PAST

"(You) should give the daughter to the fiancé'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.[10] 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

[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)

phɔʂɔ	rouɕɔŋ	sɛrma	mɛi	tɕhu	jar-ndɔ	ɛŋ-shɔ
raven	black cute	golden	eye	you	up-go	EQUA.SELF-CONJ

(L.114)

mar	ndɔ	ɛŋ
down	go	EQUA.SELF

Cute black, golden-eyed ravens, are you going up or going down? (he asked).

(L.115)

tɕhu	jar-ndɔ	ɛŋ-na
you	up-go	EQUA.SELF-CONJ

(L.116)

tɕha	kər	u
message	entrust	EXIST.SELF

(L.117)

mar	jɔn	ɛŋ-na
down	come	EQUA.SELF-CONJ

(L.118)

kɛitɕa	ɕu	dzɛ-lɛ
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)

phɔʂɔ-kɛ	jarndɔ	ɛŋ	dzɛ-lɛ
raven-ERG	up-go	EQUA.SELF	say-PAST

The ravens said, "We are going up."

(L.120)

sɛrlə	sɛrndzɔ	tʂhɛi	da	dzu
PN	gold cow[11]	bring	EXIST	tell

(L.121)

si-ə	ʑəra	tɕhi-ɕɔ	dzu
gold-GEN	jera[12]	bring-come	tell

(L.122)

si-ə	ʑɔzɔ	tɕhi-ɕɔ	dzu
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)

phə-ni	shɛma	pɔŋ -ɕɔ	dzu
upper valley-LOC	butter & tsampa offering	heap-come	tell

(L.124)

nda-ni	ndara	pɔŋ-ɕɔ	dzu
lower valley-LOC	dara[13]	heap-come	tell

(L.125)

tɕapndɔ	mɐŋlan	ŋu-ɕɔ	dzu	dzɛ-lɛ
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*[14] and butter called *shɛrma* 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 (*ndzɔ*, a short form of *ndzɔmɔ*) here is actually a cow-yak cross. *ndzɔ* can be both male and female.

[12] *Jera* (*zəra*) 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 *ɛŋ* 'be' and the existential u 'have' used with the first person speaker.

(L.119)

phɔʂɔ-kɛ	jarndɔ	**ɛŋ**	dzɛ-lɛ
raven-ERG	up-go	EQUA.SELF	say-PAST

The ravens said, "We are going up."

(L.116)

tɕha	kər	**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 'conjuct/disjunct distinction.' Traditional grammarians may refer to this phenomenon as person marking: egopharic refers to first person subject and non-egopharic 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 egopharic 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)

tɕapndɔ	ɲɛŋ lan	ŋu-ɕɔ	dzu	dzɛ-lɛ
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 *dzɛ* (past tense form) or *dzɔ* (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 Nangchen-mi daily speech.

4. Many verbs in the Nangchen dialect function as secondary verbs and indicate aspect and mood. For example, *ɕu*, the imperative form of the verb 'tell' in *tɕhiɕɔ* '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 *-kɛ*, 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': *ndzɔ* for non-past and *shɔŋ* 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*, *wɛ*, *tɕi* '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

Group I	**IMPERATIVE**	**PAST & NON-PAST**
'to stand; get up'	lɔŋ	laŋ
'to follow'	ɲ̥ɔ	ɲ̥a
'to blow'	shɔr	shar
'to catch'	sɔŋ	zɔŋ
'to send'	ŋɔ	ŋa
'to tell, say'	ɕu	ɕɛ
'to tie'	tɕhɛn	tɕhɛ
'to connect'	thɛi	nthɛi
'to wake up'	shɔ	sɔ
'to roll'	di	ndi
'to scatter'	thu	tu
'to laugh'	gu, gɛ	Gɛ

Table 2. Past vs. non-past and imperative forms

Group II	**NON-PAST & IMPERATIVE**	**PAST**
'to show'	tun, tin	tun
'to practice'	dəp	ndəp
'to find'	ɲ̥ou	ɲ̥ɛ

Table 3. Past, non-past and imperative forms

Group III	**NON-PAST**	**PAST**	**IMPERATIVE**
'to look, watch'	ta	tɛ	tu
'to kill'	su	sɛ	shu
'to eat'	sa	su	shɔ
'to say, call'	dzɔ	dzɛ	dzu
'to throw'	nphiŋ	nphaŋ	nphɔŋ
'to yell'	kədʑa	kədʑap	kədʑɔp
'to get, fetch'	liŋ	lan	lɔn
'to chop'	si	sɛ	shi
'to take away'	lin	lan	lɔn
'to distribute'	gɔ	gu	ku
'to show'	tun	tin	thun
to sleep'	ɲɛi	ɲi	ɲu
'to sit; stay'	ndou	dɛ	du
'to break'	ɲɔʔ	ɲʔ	ɲɔ
'to boil'	tsɔ	tsu	tshu
'to milk'	ʒɔ	ʒu	ɕu
'to put'	ʑɔʔ	ʑaʔ	ɕɔʔ

Table 4. No distinctions for all the tenses and the imperative

Group IV	**PRESENT**	**FUTURE**	**PAST**	**IMPERATIVE**
'to bring, take'	tʂhɛi	tʂhɛi	tʂhɛi	tʂhɛi
'to move'	nɛi	nɛi	nɛi	nɛi
'to carry'	khər	khər	khər	khər
'to hide'	kəp	kəp	kəp	kəp
'to drink'	nthɔŋ	nthɔŋ	nthɔŋ	nthɔŋ

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' *ntɕhi* (future form) vs. *tɕhi* (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 /ɔ/. 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:

	NON-PAST	PAST	IMPERATIVE
'to kill'	su	sɛ	shu
'to chop'	si	sɛ	shi
'to show'	tun	tin	thun

Imperative distinguished by means of devoicing:

	NON-PAST	PAST	IMPERATIVE
'to distribute'	gɔ	gu	ku

Imperative distinguished by means of glottal deletion:

	NON-PAST	PAST	IMPERATIVE
'to break'	ɲɔʔ	ɲaʔ	ɲɔ

Although there are numerous verbal 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.[15] Tense and aspect in the latter is indicated by tense suffixes and sentence-final auxiliaries that are grammaticalized from copula and existential verbs.[16] 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

[15] In Lhasa dialect most verbs have distinctive forms for the imperative, but there are few distinctions for the three tenses.

[16] On auxiliaries and their grammaticalizations in Tibetan dialects, see Beilmeier (2000).

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: *lɛŋ* and *nɛŋ* (to be used with the speaker) and *lɛ* and *nɛ* (for the non-speaker). They are used according to the following rules:

lɛŋ and *lɛ* are used when the preceding verb ends in a vowel or a stop, e.g., *dzɛ-lɛŋ* '(I) said (it)', *tɕhi-lɛ* '(she) brought (it)', *ʒɛŋgɔ-lɛ* '(he) should give (it)', *tsəp-lɛŋ* '(I) arrived (there)'. *nɛŋ* and *nɛ* are used with the nasal finals e.g., *ʦʂhɛishɔŋ-nɛ* '(he) took (it)'.[17]

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: *lɛŋ* conveys an intention on the part of the speaker and *ngu* the lack of intention.

Example (*6*):
Text I (Ls. 161–162)

ŋɛ	shaçɛn	mɛ-la	saça-**lɛŋ**	sha	rɛi	mə	rɛi	ɲam-la
I.ERG	bird skin	fire-LOC	burn-EM-**PAST.SELF**	bird	a	human	a	together

dɛi-dʑə	mə-dạ	san-**ngu**	dzɛ
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) *ngu* 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 *nɛŋ* in our texts.

Example (*7*):
Text IV (L.36)

pɛngin-kɛ	pəmə	ŋə	tɕɛ-ʂə-la	tɕə	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)

pinphan	gə-rə	wɛ-**ngu**	dzɛ
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: *dʑin* (or *dʑə*) for first person speaker and *li* for non-first.

Example (*9*):
Text I (L. 90)

tɕhou	ndə-**dʑin**	dzɛ
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	tɕhou-a	sha-ndə-**li**	dzɛ-lɛ
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 *ɕɔ* is used, as in *tɕhi-ɕɔ* 'bring it.' Alternatively, the secondary verb *shɔŋ* 'go (pt; imp)' can also be used to form an imperative construction, as in (11).

Example (*11*):
Text IV (Ls. 18–21)

pɛngin-kɛ	tima	ɛŋ -na	ku-**shɔŋ**	tima	ɛŋ-na
old monk-ERG	no hurry	EQUA.SELF-CONJ	pass around-**go**	hurry	EQUA.SELF-CONJ

gun-**shɔŋ**
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

Verb 'do'	Past	Present	Future	Imperative
SELF	wɛ-lɛŋ	wi-lɛŋ	wi-gɔ	
	'I did (it)'	'I do (it)'	'I'll do (it)'	
OTHER	wɛ-lɛ	wi-lɛ	wi-li	tɕi
	'You/He/She/ They did (it)'	'You/He/She/ They do (it)'	'You/He/She/ They will do (it)'	'Do (it)!'

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)

kɔnnkha	tɛin--na	si	rɛi	pap	tɕitɕi tɕitɕi	**dzɛ-dɛ-lɛ**
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 *dzɛ* 'say,' the secondary verb *dɛ* 'stay' that is also in the past form and the past tense suffix *-lɛ*. 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	ɛŋ -khu	**ʈʂin in-dɛ-lɛ**
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 *shɔŋ* 'go (pt)' and *thi* 'pass (pt)' indicating perfective aspect, *ndɔ* '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	tɕhou-a	**sha-ndɔ-lɛ**	dzɛ-lɛ
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 Rgyalthang 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 *da* or *əlɛ* 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	wɛ-də u	wi-mdou-khu
	'I have (or had) done (it)'	'I am (or was) doing (it)'
OTHER	wɛ-də da-əlɛ	wi-ndou-hə dạ
	'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 *khə* (variant form *hə*) and the egophoric existential *u*. When they are combined with the perfect marker *də* (grammaticalized from dɛ 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

[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] *-də* has become a full grammatical morpheme, as it is phonologically reduced. *ndou* has not yet undergoe 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

CONJ	Conjunctive suffix
COP	Equational copulas
DAT	Dative case marking
DET	Determiner
ERG	Ergative case marking
EXIST	Existential copulas
LOC	Locative case marking
NEG	Negative marker
NOM	Nominalizer
PAST	Past tense marker
SELF	Egophoric or conjunct markers

Conjugated verb forms are presented in lower case in parentheses, such as *dzɛ* (pt) and *dzɔ* (np) meaning the past and non-past tense forms of the verb 'say.'

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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, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand, December 6–9, 2005.

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Book Reviews

Klaus Mylius, *Wörterbuch des kanonischen Jinismus* (Beiträge zur Kenntnis südasiatischer Sprachen und Literaturen 13). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2005. Pp. vii, 203.

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 Ardhamāgadhī (*Wörterbuch Ardhamāgadhī-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. v), 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 *chāyā*s (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 Ardhamāgadhī term.

Some points noted in the review of Mylius's Ardhamāgadhī 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 "Ardhamāgadhī alphabet" (p. 21) (and it includes the nasals *ṅ* and *ñ*, which are not used in the book); the privative prefix *a(ṇ)-* 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-*; *puvva* (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 *ṣoḍaśa-* "sixteen"). Unlike in the Ardhamāgadhī dictionary, attested *chāyā*s 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 *tiaṁkara* "name of a monk"), with or without literal translation of the name before or after the gloss (e.g. *paṁkappabhā*: name of the fourth hell ("mud"), *caṁḍī* [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. *caṁḍavaṇṇa* and *caṁḍasiṁga* being merely glossed as such, while *pala*, *palaṁba*, *pāṇata* etc. come with additional explanations).

The generous layout makes readng 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 *titthaṁkara* "maker of a passage; term for a group of holy men" is quoted in the Old Indic form *tīrthaṁkara* in the explanations of the names of the holy men themselves; *jakkha* "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.

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Linguistic Convergence and Areal Diffusion. Case Studies from Iranian, Semitic and Turkic. Ed. by Éva Ágnes Csató, Bo Isaksson and Carina Jahani London, New York: RoutledgeCurzon 2005. Pp. ix, 373.

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 Filiz Kıral "Modal Constructions in Turkic 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 *īst-* 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 *īst-* in Tajiki, a particularly archaic variety of Persian in several respects, might continue the use of the verb as an auxiliary in *perfectum praesens* function in Middle Persian (Henning 1934:246, cf. also Rastorgueva/Molčanova 1981:114–117), e.g. (transliteration and German translation of both examples in Andreas/Henning 1933:299–300): *(...) gōhr ī gyān andar ēn nibēg pad was gyāg paydāgēnēd ēstēd* "(…) 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), *gyān (...) andar tan ā'ōn āmixt ud passāxt ud bast ēstēd če'ōn ...* "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 Uyghur 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 Elamic 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 Ṣādeqī 1987:230: "The glottal stop is distinctive at the beginning, middle and end of words". Using

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 Metatypized 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 *eẓāfe*), 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 converb 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 continous. 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. *xwardū-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 *xwardū-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 uninflected form of the verb, for which one would surely compare the Persian past imperfective *mī-kardam*, 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 Éva 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 Isaksson 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 Bulut, 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 *Türki-yi Acemi* 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 *ġuṭi* "tin, box" and *yāqa* "collar", which are not Persian, but Turkic (see Doerfer nos. 1569, 1802); *bāj* "tythe" not Turkic, but Persian (Horn no. 148), thus also *cākūc* "hammer" (Persian *čakuš*, Horn and Hübschmann no. 443, maybe with influence from *čāqū* "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", *šāl* "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 Ṛgveda X, 129.1a: the Vedic imperfect *āsīd* "was" ("is" according to Ingham, misquoting Macdonnel 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 *-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 Kıral) 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; *œ* instead of *œ* in Johanson's article, etc.), which in some places render the material somewhat ambiguous (e.g. which syllable of *ma aᶜrafs* (p. 179 l. 4) should have been in italics (here used to indicate stress)?; what do *ğ* and *c* in Arabic words on p. 176–178 stand for?). Transcription of language material is not always consistent (for instance, *c*, *ç* and *tʃ*, *dʒ* for the affricates, *ê* etc. vs. *e:* etc. for long vowels, both *ñ* and *ɴ* 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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Agnes Korn, *Towards a Historical Grammar of Balochi* (Beiträge zur Iranistik 26). Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag 2005. Pp. 469.

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. *Vāžegān va eṣṭelāḥāt-e baluči be guyeš-e mardom-e zāhedān va zābol va negareši bar tārix-e baluč* (258 handwritten pages) by Soleimān Rēgī, 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. Grjunberg and A. R. Pahwal, 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. *rϑ* in Balochi is discussed on the basis of the two Balochi words *pahlawān* 'bard' and *puhl, pōl* '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. *rϑ* 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. *upakāra-" 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 Psht. [Pashto C. J.] (*pə-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 *rōč šut* 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 *ž*. The discussion on p. 93 and pp. 323–327 shows that the author assumes that OIr. *ž* 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 "*ž* 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 Baloch (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 nouns like *nākō* 'uncle', *pišší* 'cat', *abar* 'news', *jinik* '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

[1] One example of this phenomenon from the Balochi dialect spoken in Turkmenistan is:
pāī ṭūtirēn liṭṭikē joṛ-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 *o* 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 *-iš* 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, *balōč*, when she discusses this issue (pp. 45–47), namely the one proposed by Muhammad Sardar Khan Baluch (Baluch 1984[3]: 4–5) which connects the word *balōč* 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 consonsants in all positions of the word". She first presents two alternative solutions to the retention of the OIr. stops and affricates with or without Parthian as a link between OIr. 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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Julian Rentzsch, *Aspekt im Neuuigurischen*. (Turcologica 65.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2005. Pp. 200.

In dieser Monographie, einer Mainzer Dissertation, präsentiert Julian Rentzsch eine erste systematische Beschreibung des Aspektsystems der modernen uigurischen Literatursprache. Dieser Sprache, die in der westlichen Literatur als „Osttürkisch" (Eastern Turki), „Neuuigurisch" (New Uighur) oder „Uigurisch / Uyghurisch" (Uyghur) bezeichnet wird, widmete Gunnar Jarring 1933 seine bahnbrechende Monographie *Studien zu einer osttürkischen Lautlehre*. 1984 erschien Wolfgang-Ekkehard Scharlipps Buch *Auxiliarfunktionen von Hauptverben nach Konverb in der neuuigurischen Schriftsprache von Sinkiang*. Beide Arbeiten behandeln spezielle sprachwissenschaftliche Themen. Zwei praktische Grammatiken sind Gustav Raquettes *Eastern Turki Grammar. Practical and Theoretical with Vocabulary* (1912–1914) und Michael Friederichs *Uyghurisch Lehrbuch* (2002). Ein Konversationsbuch mit genauen Angaben zur Phonologie liegt in Reinhard F. Hahns *Spoken Uyghur* (1991) vor. In westeuropäischen Sprachen sind auch einige wenige Aufsätze zum Neuuigurischen erschienen. Die Untersuchungen von Jarring und Raquette basieren auf Materialien, die eine frühere Sprachstufe darstellen. Julian Rentzschs Monographie ist ein sehr willkommener Beitrag zur Beschreibung der heutigen Entwicklungsphase dieser wichtigen, aber ungenügend erforschten türkischen Sprache. Die Arbeit ist nicht nur für Turkologen interessant, sondern auch für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaftler, besonders für diejenigen, die sich mit typologischen Untersuchungen zum Aspekt-Tempus-System beschäftigen.

Neben einem Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen, Glossen und Symbole (S. 7–10) sowie Bemerkungen zu Transkription und Glossierung (S. 10–12), besteht die Monographie aus drei großen Teilen: „Präliminarien" (S. 13–53), „Finite Aspekteinheiten im Neuuigurischen" (S. 54–120) und „Nichtfinite Aspekteinheiten im Neuuigurischen" (S. 121–193). Ein Literaturverzeichnis (S. 194–200) schließt den Band ab.

Im ersten Teil werden zuerst einige wichtige grammatische Begriffe wie Aspekt, aktionaler Inhalt, und Aktionalphrase definiert. Danach werden verschiedene aktionale Strukturen

anhand von Klassifikationskriterien vorgestellt. Hier vergleicht der Verfasser Vendler'sche und Johanson'sche Klassifikationen, die in Hans-Jürgen Sasses langem Aufsatz „Recent activity in the theory of aspect: Accomplishments, achievements, or just non-progressive state?" (*Linguistic Typology* 6–2, 2000: 199–271) eine wichtiges Diskussionsthema sind. Darauf folgt eine intensive Vorstellung von Johansons Klassifikationskriterien. Diese sind in einigen wichtigen Publikationen von Lars Johanson selbst, vor allem in *Aspekt im Türkischen. Vorstudien zu einer Beschreibung des türkeitürkischen Aspektsystems* (1971) und in „Viewpoint operators in European languages" (Ö. Dahl ed., *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*, 2000, 27–187) systematisch dargelegt worden. Rentzschs Ausführungen basieren hauptsächlich auf modernen uigurischen Beispielen aus einigen literarischen Werken aus Xinjiang. Gelegentlich werden die Materialen mit Daten aus dem Türkeitürkischen und europäischen Sprachen verglichen. Der Verfasser skizziert auch die Hauptfunktionen der Aktionsartsoperatoren des modernen Uigurischen (S. 25–33). Diese werden in der turkologischen Literatur oft als Postverbien oder Postverbialkonstruktionen bezeichnet.

Der zweite Teil beginnt mit einer Untersuchung der intraterminalen Finiteinheiten, wie *Edu*, *Ivatidu*, *mEktE* sowie *Etti*, *Ivatatti* und *mEktE idi*, die hinsichtlich der Opposition [±PAST] klassifiziert werden (S. 54–81). Diese Einheiten unterscheiden sich von Einheiten, die ähnliche Funktionen aufweisen und durch Merkmale [±HF], [±MOD] etc. charakterisiert sind (S. 81–93). Rentzsch gibt hier auch einen kurzen Überblick über die diachrone Entwicklung der modernen uigurischen Intraterminalia (S. 93–98). Diese Darstellung wird durch ähnliche Untersuchungen der vier Postterminaleinheiten *GEn*, *Iptu*, *GEn idi* und *Ividi* erweitert (S. 99–118). Durch seine neutrale Haltung gegenüber allen Klassifikationskriterien (S. 100) bleibt die Einheit *Di* nahezu unbeschrieben; in der Merkmaltabelle wird sie immer mit (-) markiert.

Im dritten Teil diskutiert der Verfasser die nichtfiniten Aspekteinheiten, deren Untersuchung nicht nur in der sprachwissenschaftlichen Turkologie, sondern auch in der allgemeinen Aspektologie 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).

Bei den Konstituentensätzen untersucht Rentzsch hauptsächlich die fünf Einheiten *Gen*, *Ediγan*, *Ivatqan*, *Iš* und *mEk* (S. 123–142). In den Relativsätzen (S. 143–162) und in den sekundären Prädikaten (S. 188–193) werden *Gen*, *Ediγan* und *Ivatqan* analysiert.

Die Zahl der Aspekteinheiten in Konverbialsätzen ist hoch. Sie umfasst nicht nur die primären Konverbien auf *Ip*, *GEč*, *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.

Bei allen hervorragenden Leistungen weist diese Monographie jedoch auch einige fragliche Behauptungen auf. Bei den Erläuterungen verwendet der Verfasser nicht nur die uigurischen Entsprechungen der türkeitürkischen Beispiele in Johansons *Aspekt im Türksichen*, sondern auch eigene Beispiele, leider nicht immer erfolgreich. Von den fünf Beispielen, die er für die Erklärung der Serialisierung der Aktionalphrase *kitap oqu-* (S. 24–25) diskutiert, ist keines korrekt. Besonders problematisch ist das Beispiel *hemme adem yil mu yil kitapni oqušti* (S. 25), das niemand als einen uigurischen Satz akzeptieren würde. Im übrigen trifft man bei den Erklärungen auf einige merkwürdige Beispiele, z.B. *derya aq-* ‚(Fluß) fließen' (S. 19), *beyδiŋge oltur-* (S. 24, *bendiŋde oltur-* ?), *urdi ve ta hazirγiče uruvatidu* (S. 19), *birini de-* (S. 65), *ay nur čač-* (S. 86), *birnėmini de-* (S. 102) etc., die mangelhaft oder künstlich anmuten. Gelegentlich erscheinen nur Teile von komplexen Phrasen, z.B. *kör-* statt *teyyarliq kör-* ‚vorbereiten' (S. 78), *qal-* statt *haŋ-taŋ qal-* ‚völlig überraschen' (S. 80), *tur-* statt *matem tur-* ‚trauen' (S. 80).

Die Analysen der Intraterminaleinheiten *Ivatidu*, *Ivatatti*, *mEktE* und *mEktE idi* (S. 69–93) sind interessant. Nach Rentzschs Behauptung vertreten die Einheiten *Ivatidu* und *Ivatatti* nicht mehr den Wert [+INTRA] in seiner höchstfokalen Ausprägung, weil im Neuuigurischen

mEktE als eine fokalitätserneuernde Einheit auftritt (S. 81). Es scheint mir allerdings fraglich, ob es im modernen Uigurischen eine Fokalitätserneuerung durch *mEktE* wirklich gibt. Die Verwendung von *mEktE* ist auf den formellen Stil der Behörden- und Zeitungssprache beschränkt. Diese Tatsache betrachtet der Verfasser als eine unrichtige Einschätzung von Muttersprachlern (S. 81). Soweit mir bekannt ist, gibt es aber weder einen uigurischen Dialekt noch einen Diskurstyp in der Literatursprache, in der *mEktE* als eine höhere fokale Einheit als *Ivatidu* verwendet werden könnte. (Hier darf man allerdings *mEktE* nicht mit *mEktE idi* verwechseln.) Auch bietet der Verfasser kein einziges Beispiel aus der Alltagssprache, um seine Behauptung zu belegen. Es bleibt auch unklar, in welchen Diskurstypen der Literatursprache die beiden Einheiten wirklich konkurrieren würden. Überraschend ist, dass fast alle Beispiele in diesem Abschnitt (mit Ausnahme von zwei Beispielen auf S. 86 und einem Beispiel auf S. 91) aus einem Bericht einer Reise des Schriftstellers Zordun Sabir nach Deutschland vor dem Fall der Berliner Mauer stammen. Abweichend von der türkeitürkischen Einheit *mEktE*, deren Funktion keineswegs auf die 3. Person beschränkt ist (Johanson 1971: 128), erscheint das moderne uigurische *mEktE* normalerweise nur in der 3. Person; nur sehr selten wird es in der 1. Person verwendet. Wie in *Hazirqi zaman uyγur edebiy tiliniŋ imla ve teleppuz luγiti* (Ürümči 1997) dargelegt wurde, hat *mEktE* weder eine Form der 2. Person noch Frage- und Negationsformen (S. 960). Infolgedessen ist eine Fokalitätserneuerung durch *mEktE* kaum zu erwarten. Wenn dies dennoch zutreffen würde, dann nur in einem bestimmten Stil der Schriftsprache und in der 3. Person.

Auf S. 66 diskutiert der Verfasser spezielle Fälle der konventionalisierten Kombinationen COND + *bol-* ‚können', COND + *bolma-* ‚nicht können' und NEG.COND + *bolma-* ‚müssen'. Zu letzterem Fall heißt es: „Vgl. das Japanische, wo NEG.COND + *naranai* die Default-Konstruktion zum Ausdruck von „Müssen" ist, z.B. *yomanakereba naranai* ‚lesen müssen'. Im Neuugurischen ist die Default-Konstruktion indes nicht NEG.COND + *bolma-*, sondern Iš.POSS + *kėrek/lazim*" (Fn. 7). Meiner Meinung nach ist die moderne uigurische Verbindung „NEG.COND + *bolma-*" die Default-Konstruktion zum Ausdruck von ‚müssen', ebenso wie seine japanische Entsprechung NEG.COND + *naranai*, bzw. NEG.COND + *narimasen*. So wird *yomanakereba naranai* ‚lesen müssen' im modernen Uigurischen durch *oqumisa bolmaydu* ausdrückt. Dies wird auch durch das Beispiel (32) auf S. 67 unterstützt, wo *öginip bolmisam bolmaydu* vom Verfasser mit ‚Ich muss zuendelernen' übersetzt wird. Die mit Iš.POSS + *kėrek/lazim* vergleichbare japanische Konstruktion ist normalerweise INF + *hitsuyouga aru* bzw. INF + *noga* + *hitsuyou desu*.

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 *Iver-* (< *E yiber-*) und *Ivet-* (< *Ip evet-*) auf S. 27 sowie die Analysen der Einheit *Etti* (S. 94).

Weiterhin behauptet Rentzsch: „*mEk* ist verglichen mit *Iš* in frequentieller Hinsicht hoch markiert" (S. 133). Der Grund dieser Behauptung ist mir unklar, aber die zitierten Bespiele für *mEk* stammen zum Großteil aus ein und demselben Text. Mit Ausnahme von (47) und (53), erscheint *mEk* jedoch bei bestimmten Verben, z.B. *čüšendür-* in (47) und (48) oder in erstarrten Ausdrücken wie in den Beispielen (51)–(54) auf S. 140. In allen Fällen ist *mEk* durch *Iš* ersetzbar. Außerdem klingen die Sätze mit *Iš* natürlicher. Soweit ich weiß, ist die Funktion von *mEk* in den diskutierten Fällen schon seit mehr als 70 Jahren schrittweise von *Iš* übergenommen worden. Wenn wir eine Opposition zwischen den beiden Einheiten aufstellen wollen, ist das Merkmal [±archaisch] wohl das wahrscheinlichste. Beide Beispiele für *mEk üčün*, nämlich (28) und (29) auf S. 173–174, entstammen Publikationen von Autoren aus Chotan. Bei beiden Werken handelt es sich um historische Themen. In der Tabelle auf S. 142 fehlt die Negationsform von *Iš*, die wie bei *mEk* eigentlich *mEslik* lauten sollte. Die tatsächliche Verwendung dieser Einheit als Negationsform von *mEk* im modernen Uigurischen ist jedoch sehr fraglich.

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.

Bei der Beschreibung der Aktionsartsoperatoren (S. 25–33) fehlen einige wichtige Konstruktionen wie *Ip sal-*, *Ip öt-*, *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 *hayajanlanmay*, das vom Verfasser als Hauptverb betrachtet wird, mit anderen Wörtern ersetzen, z.B *tinč / jim* ‚ruhig', *hayajansiz* ‚ohne Aufregung'.

Abgesehen von *ešip čüš-* ‚überholen, übersteigen' und dem zitierten Beispiel *bėsip čüš-* ‚überholen' (S. 29) sind weitere postverbiale Verwendungen von *čüš-* nicht bekannt.

Auf S. 101 erscheinen im Beispiel (91) zwei Wörter, die beide Ableitungen von *gül* ‚Blume' sind, in falschen Formen: *külliniš* statt *gülliniš* und *küllenmeslik* statt *güllenmeslik*. Weiterhin fehlt in diesem Beispiel ein Possessivsuffix zwischen *ma'arip* und *-niŋ*. Das Verb *güllen-* erscheint im Beispielsatz in der falschen Form; vielleicht liegt der Fehler schon im Original vor. Richtiger ist … *šu millet ma'aripiniŋ gülliniš güllenmeslikige* … Dies gilt natürlich auch für die Wiederholung des Beispiels (33) auf S. 135.

Als Erklärung steht auf S. 110 *ikki dukan ėčip ber-* ‚zwei Läden eröffnen', aber im Beispielsatz fehlt *ikki* ‚zwei'.

Die Phrase *iłya qil-* auf S. 131 muss nicht unbedingt als ‚unterscheiden' übersetzt werden; hier hat sie eher die Bedeutung ‚klar sehen' (vgl. *Hazirqi zaman uyγur edebiy tiliniŋ imla ve teleppuz luγiti*, Ürümči 1997, S. 1349).

Im Beispiel (30) auf S. 134 fehlt zwischen *ačiqiš* und *oxšaš* ein Dativsuffix, ohne das der Satz unvollständig ist (vgl. die Wiederholung des Satzes auf S. 191).

Die auf S. 167, Fn. 9 geäußerte Vermutung des Verfassers ist richtig. Beim Beispiel (9) handelt es sich offensichtlich um das Postverb *qal-* bzw. *qėlip*, da es im modernen Uigurischen kein Postverb *qil-* gibt. Wenn im Original *qil-* steht, muss dies sicherlich als ein Druckfehler angesehen werden.

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 Aspektsystems und für die systematischen Untersuchung der uigurischen Morphosyntax darstellt.

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ISSN 0078-6578