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LA (AUTOANTONIMIA) AL- 'AḌḌĀD EN LAS LENGUAS, SEGÚN LA TEORÍA “EL ESQUEMA BÁSICO DE LA REFERENCIA”

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Abstract. The article discusses or addresses the phenomenon of *al- 'aḏḏād* the “autoantonym” or “conronym” in languages (here in Spanish and Arabic), according to the theory of “basic scheme of reference”, a theory developed in the Arab legacy and cognitive theory, which came out in 1987 in USA, thus we have used the terminology of cognitive grammar. Nonetheless, in the future this theory will only be the basis of a holistic modern language very different from traditional linguistics. It is the first academic article on the subject of “autantonym words” in the Spanish language.

Keywords: *al- 'aḏḏād*, theory of “basic scheme of reference”, traditional linguistics, autoantonyms

Introducción

Los lingüistas no árabes suelen quedar perplejos a la hora de interpretar el fenómeno de *al- 'aḏḏād*, – normalmente traducido en español como *palabras autoantónimas*¹– en la lengua árabe, en el que los arabistas, y entre ellos los españoles, han quedado asombrados ante este fenómeno. El jefe del tribunal de la defensa de mi tesis me pidió que le explicara este fenómeno según mi teoría “El esquema básico de la referencia”; pues me dijo que no podía imaginar que una palabra tuviera dos significados opuestos, y en ese momento le expliqué la palabra *al-bayn* البين que significa *la separación*, o *la relación* o *el enlace*, que comentaré más adelante. Esto me animó a plantear el fenómeno según mi teoría sobre el significado², lo que

¹ La palabra autoantónima fue acuñada por Arturo Ortega Morán Said, donde afirma que “He recibido algunos correos mencionando que la palabra *autoantónimo* ya aparece en la red con anterioridad a este artículo a veces en su forma separada auto-antónimos. Es cierto, por eso vale aclarar que la propuesta de este nombre, la hice por primera vez en la red, en una discusión en el Foro del Español del Centro Virtual Cervantes. Esto fue el 3 de septiembre del 2002. Quedó documentado en esta dirección: http://cvc.cervantes.es/foros/leer_asunto.asp?vCodigo=11237#37622”, véase Ortega, Arturo Morán Said: “Autoantónimos” en *Mundo hispanohablante*, 2009. En la lengua inglesa los términos “autonym” y “conronym” fueron acuñados originalmente por Joseph T. Shipley en 1960 y Arenque Jack en 1962, respectivamente, Un término relacionado, pseudo-conronym, fue propuesto por David Morice en 1987.

² Para más información véase nuestro libro: Hussein Abid, Abeer: *El esquema básico de la referencia. Un modelo del significado esquemático aplicado a las preposiciones españolas y árabes*. Publicado en Alemania,

facilitará la comprensión de un fenómeno que seguramente es general en las lenguas, pero que no se da cuenta de él.

Este tipo de antonimia – autoantonimia – es muy habitual en la lengua árabe y es común en la poesía, la prosa y las parábolas, por eso es más necesario todavía su conocimiento.

Hay mucha discrepancia entre los filólogos árabes por este fenómeno, porque hay filólogos que lo aceptan en la lengua, mencionando multitud de razones y motivos sobre su existencia. Entre estos filólogos encontramos Al-'Aşma'ī (m. 215 h.), Al-Siğistānī (m. 248 h.), Ibn al-Sikkīt (m. 244 h.), Abū Qāsim bin Salām (m. 222 h.), Al-'Anbārī (m. 328 h.) y 'Abū l-Ṭayyib 'Abd al-Wāḥid bin 'Alī al-Ḥalabī (m. 351 h.) y otros³. Esta aceptación de la autoantonimia es lo que encontramos claramente en sus libros.

Algunos de ellos niegan totalmente la autoantonimia, y entre ellos es Ibn Darstuwayh quien ha escrito un libro titulado “Anulación de la autoantonimia”, en el que niega todas las palabras autoantónimas⁴.

También encontramos muchos lingüistas que consideran este fenómeno en la lengua árabe como un tipo de falta de sabiduría y elocuencia – sin darse cuenta de que este fenómeno está en todas las lenguas –. Estos a los que Al-'Anbārī llama “gente que desprecia a los árabes”⁵.

En nuestra investigación, vamos a analizar qué quiere decir autoantonimia; las razones de su aparición en la lengua según las opiniones de los antiguos lingüistas árabes; luego vamos a escoger algunas palabras autoantónimas en árabe, dando explicaciones de su aparición en la lengua según nuestra teoría - modelo - “el esquema básico de la referencia”. No pretendemos ser totalizadores, sino sólo sugerir posibles métodos de análisis según nuestro modelo de la referencia, destacando el papel esencial de la comprensión imaginativa

U.S.A. y U.K. Editorial Académica Española, 2011; y Universidad de Alicante, 2008. En [www. Eltallerdigital.com](http://www.Eltallerdigital.com).

³ 'Abū l-Ṭayyib, 'Abd al-Wāḥid bin 'Alī : *Al-'aḍḍādu fī kalāmi l-'arab*. Edición crítica del doctor 'Izzat Ḥasan, Damasco, Dār Ṭalas, 2ª ed. , 1996, p. 13.

⁴ Al-Suyūfī, Abū Bakr bin 'Abd al- Raḥmān Ğalāl al-Dīn (m. 911 de la hégira): *al-Muzhiru fī 'ulūmi l-luġati wa 'anwā' i-hā*. Edición crítica de Muḥammad Aḥmad Ğād al-Mawlā y otros, Dār al-Fikra, volumen I, sin fecha, P. 396; Al-'Anbārī, Muḥammad bin Qāsim (m. 328 h.): *Al-'aḍḍād*. Edición crítica de Muḥammad Abū Al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Beirut, Al-Maktaba al-'aşriyya, 1987, p. 8.

⁵ Al-'Anbārī, Muḥammad bin Qāsim: *Al-'aḍḍād*, p. 1.

en la simbolización, la cual revela parte de la realidad, dependiendo de lo que llama la atención, e intenta resaltarla.

Esperamos facilitar la tarea para los investigadores en otras muchas lenguas, porque no encontramos un artículo académico sobre este tema – sino solo algunos diálogos entre los amigos en internet –, aunque podemos encontrar las palabras autoantónimas en cualquier lengua⁶.

1. Definición de la autoantonimia

Según los dialectólogos, el concepto de las palabras autoantónimas es diferente de lo que significan vocablos antónimos – aunque para nosotros los dos conceptos salen de la misma imagen esquemática superordinada *oposición* –. La antonimia es la oposición entre dos palabras complementarias⁷. Entonces en la antonimia se estudian las palabras que no existen en un mismo lugar o tiempo, como la relación entre *negro, blanco, rojo, etc.* Mientras que la autoantonimia se dedica o se interesa en estudiar las palabras que comparten el mismo significante, pero sus significados son opuestos, como en la palabra عفا *afā* que puede significar en algunos contextos زاد *aumentar*, نما *crecer*, y en otros significa محاذ *borrar*,

⁶ Por ejemplo, en español la palabra *regular*, como la aprendí según los diccionarios españoles (Cortés 1996; Corriente 1977, 1988; RAE 1960, 2001; Sánchez 2001) significa *normal, corriente*, عادي, que según nuestra comprensión imaginativa en árabe عادي da un sentido de *bien*. Un día pregunté a una amiga española sobre la salud de su madre que estaba enferma, y me respondió que “está *regular*”. Yo me alegré y le dije “gracias a Dios”, luego ella continuó sorprendida diciéndome que “está muy mal”; en aquel momento yo cambié mi cara y mis palabras, diciéndole ¡ay que lastima!. Entonces comprendí que la palabra *regular* significa *mal* también. Según mi comprensión imaginativa los españoles auguran mal de algo malo como la enfermedad, por eso lo llaman *regular*. *Regular* viene del latín *regula*, que significa ‘regla’, por ello su significado primero tiene que ser ‘continuo, sin alteraciones, que sigue una misma línea’, de ahí la posibilidad de entender el significado de ‘normal, corriente’, especialmente aplicado a cosas. Sin embargo, con las personas las expectativas que se tienen no son las de que sea una persona de vida ‘continua y sin alteraciones’, como ocurre con las cosas, sino que sobresalga por encima de lo normal, por ello, si no sobresale por encima de lo normal y no está BIEN (que significa ‘normal’ aplicado a personas), sino que está regular, su significado es que está MAL.

Es decir, el significado parece distinto aplicado a personas o cosas. Si es a cosas, el significado es ‘continuo, sin alteraciones’ > normal. Sin embargo, si es aplicado a personas, lo normal es que la persona esté BIEN, y ese sea su estado normal, por ello, si se encuentra menos que bien, es decir, regular, es que no se encuentra bien.

⁷ Cifuentes Honrubia, José Luis: “Relaciones semánticas”, copyright 2006 (en [www. Liceus. com](http://www.Liceus.com)), p. 5.

desaparecer, por eso los antiguos lingüistas árabes consideran la autoantonomia como un tipo de polisemia⁸.

2. Las razones de la aparición de la autoantonomia en la lengua

Los filólogos árabes mencionan varias razones o motivos de la aparición de los autoantónimos como, por ejemplo, motivos por derivación, motivos fonéticos, motivos semánticos o pragmáticos, así como por la visión diferente de las cosas, por optimismo o pesimismo, por pertenecer a dos dialectos o épocas diferentes, por analogía con otras lenguas, y por cambiar el sentido de una palabra⁹.

Como hemos probado en nuestro modelo (Hussein Abid 2008) –en coincidencia con las corrientes cognitivistas en el estudio de la lengua –, podemos afirmar que todos los aspectos del lenguaje son de naturaleza imaginativa; es un conjunto de tipos de relaciones de semejanza y analogía entre forma y significado – sea fónica, gráfica o motivada por metáfora, metonimia o analogía –, que no es arbitraria, es decir, los esquemas metafóricos e imaginativos cubren todos los aspectos del lenguaje. En todos estos tipos, la comprensión imaginativa desempeña un papel muy importante, que, posteriormente, adquiere un carácter convencional debido a la comprensión colectiva que comparten los hablantes de una comunidad de habla. Así, la gramática no constituye solamente un nivel formal y autónomo de representación, sino también un nivel imaginativo y significativo. Por eso vamos a ver que casi todas estas razones participan en la existencia de una palabra autoantónima.

También demostraremos la asunción cognitivista de que no hay unos límites concretos entre la semántica y la pragmática. Así, en nuestra comprensión imaginativa y enciclopédica de una entidad o significado existe una escala de centralidad que está basada en criterios tanto inherentes, que no pueden ser omitidos, como periféricos, que dependen de la comprensión colectiva de una comunidad de habla y de la comprensión individual de una persona que pertenece a esta comunidad.

⁸ Yūnis ‘Alī, Muḥammad Muḥammad : *Wasfū l-luġati l-‘arabiyyati dalāliyyan, fī daw’i maḥūmi l-dalālati l-markaziyya. Dirāsa ḥawla l- ma‘nā wa ḥilāli l-ma‘na*, Trípoli, Universidad del Fātih, 1993, p. 359.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 360.

3. Algunas palabras autoantónimas en la lengua árabe

3.1. القانع *al-qāni* ‘

Algunos lingüistas como Al-Aṣma‘ī, Al-Siġistānī, Ibn Al-Sikkīt creen que cada palabra que tiene dos sentidos opuestos, es autoantónima, aunque sus significados opuestos derivan de dos raíces o nombres de acción diferentes مصدر. Como en la palabra القانع *al-qāni* ‘ que puede significar *satisfecho* o *mendigo*; mientras que otros como Abū Al-Ṭayyib excluye la palabra القانع de las autoantónimas, alegándose que la palabra القانع que significa *satisfecho*, su raíz es *al-qanā ‘a* القناعة la *satisfacción*, mientras que القانع con sentido de *mendigo* viene de *al-qunū ‘a* القنوع la *humildad* o *sumisión*¹⁰.

Cuando buscamos en los diccionarios y los libros de antonimia (autoantonimia) en la lengua árabe¹¹, encontramos que algunos filólogos distinguen entre القناعة la *satisfacción* y القنوع la *humildad*, y no relacionan entre ellas de ninguna manera, afirmando que قنع vocalizada con *kasra* قنعا y قناعه significa *estar satisfecho*, mientras que قنع vocalizada con *fatha* يقنع و يقنوعا significa *humillarse* o *mendigar*. Como por ejemplo en la súplica:

"نسال الله القناعة ونعوذ بالله من القنوع"

- “pedimos de Dios la satisfacción y nos refugiamos en Él de la humildad”

Otros lingüistas no diferencian entre القناعة *al-qanā ‘a* y القنوع *al-qunū ‘a*; así usan القنوع en significado del القناعة y viceversa, como en el ejemplo:

"خير الغنى القنوع وشر الفقر الخضوع"

- “la mejor riqueza es *la satisfacción* y la peor pobreza es la *humildad*”

¹⁰ ‘Abū I-Ṭayyib, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid bin ‘Alī : *Al-‘aḍḍādu fī kalāmi l-‘arab*, p. 363.

¹¹ Cortés, Julio: *Diccionario de árabe culto moderno. Árabe-español*, Madrid, Gredos, 1996; Corriente, F.: *Diccionario árabe-español*, Madrid, Instituto hispano-árabe de cultura, 1977; Ibn Manzūr, Abū I-Faḍl, Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Makram: *Lisānu l-‘arab*, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, sin fecha; Al-Ġawāhirī, Ismā‘īl bin Ḥamād: *Al-ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luġa*. Edición crítica de Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Ġafūr ‘Aṭṭār, Beirut, Dāru l-‘ilm li-l-malāyīn, 4 ed. , 1987; Ibn al-Sikkīt, Abū Yūsif Ya‘qūb Ishāq: *Al-‘aḍḍād*. (dentro de tres libros sobre Al-‘aḍḍād), Editor August Hofnar, Beirut, Dāru l-mašriq, 1913, p. 243; Al-‘Anbārī, Muḥammad bin Qāsim : *Al-‘aḍḍād*, p. 66; ‘Abū Al-Ṭayyib, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid bin ‘Alī: *Al-‘aḍḍādu fī kalāmi l-‘arab*, p. 578.

De la misma manera interpretan la aleya:

– "واطعموا القانع والمعتر" 36/22

– “y alimentad a los necesitados y a los mendigos” (Melara Navío, A. G. 22/34)¹²

– “y alimentad al mendigo y al necesitado”¹³

Melara Navío interpreta القانع con sentido de *satisfacción* (los necesitados que no piden de la gente), mientras que en la segunda traducción interpreta la palabra القانع con su sentido opuesto que es *humildad* (los mendigos que piden limosna). Asimismo algunos de los intérpretes árabes del Corán como Al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī no distinguen entre los dos significados, sino que consideran que القانع es el pobre tanto si pide de la gente como si no pide¹⁴. Mientras que Al-Suyūfī considera que القانع es el que necesita, pero no pide de la gente, es decir, está satisfecho¹⁵.

Al-Ġawāhirī afirma que القانع es el que pide limosna (el mendigo), y acepta lo que van a dar tanto sea poco como sea mucho¹⁶.

En el diccionario “Lisān al-‘arab” se arguye que “puede ser que se llame el mendigo قانع *está satisfecho*, porque acepta lo que dan y está contento con lo que tiene, por eso las dos palabras salen de la misma raíz que es الرضا *la complacencia*”¹⁷.

Entonces vemos que la palabra القانع *al-qānī* tiene dos sentidos opuestos, que son *satisfecho* y *mendigo*, y salen de la misma imagen esquemática superordinada - más simple - que es الرضا *la complacencia*, pero القناعه significa رضا بدون سؤال *la complacencia sin pedir* (limosna), mientras que القنوع significa *la complacencia con pedir* (limosna), como en el esquema:

¹² Melara Navío, A. G.: *El noble Corán y su traducción en lengua española*, Reino de Arabia Saudita, Complejo del rey Fahd, 1417 de hégira.

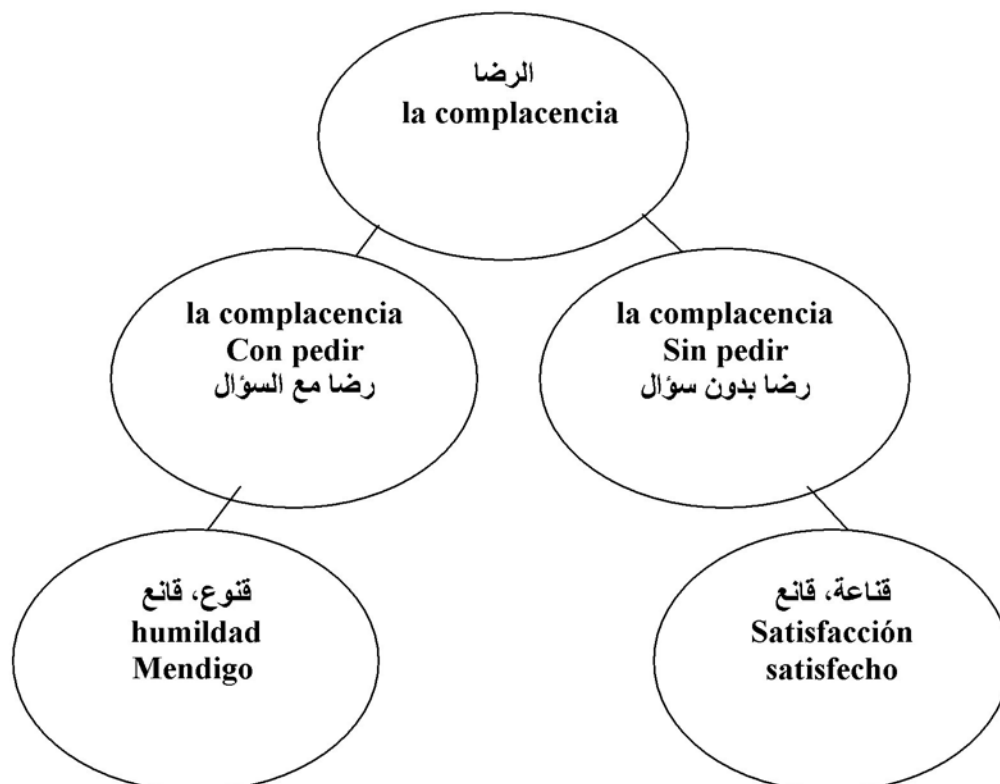
¹³ Véase: en <http://quran.al-shia.org/es/id/2/113.html>.

¹⁴ Al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Muḥammad Ḥusayn: *Al-mizānu fī tafsīri l-Qur'ān*, en <http://www.alseraj.net/a-k/quran/mizan/miz.htm>

¹⁵ Al-Suyūfī, Abū Bakr bin ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ġalāl al-Dīn: *Tafsīr dū l-Ġalālayn*, Bagdad, al-Dār al-‘arabiyya, sin fecha.

¹⁶ Al-Ġawāhirī, Ismā‘īl bin Ḥamād: *Al-ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luġa*, s. v. قنع

¹⁷ Ibn Manzūr, Abū l-Faḍl, Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Makram: *Lisānu l-‘arab*, s. v. قنع



La parte superior de la figura denota el nivel superordinado de la imagen esquemática la *complacencia*, abajo se designan dos sentidos – usos convencionalizados de la palabra *complacencia*. Podemos notar que entre ambos está perfilada una flecha discontinua que designa una cierta relación entre los dos conceptos. Según la categorización, se muestra que el eje horizontal indica que las categorías no son discretas, sino relacionadas entre ellos por algunos rasgos comunes. Y todo depende de la comprensión imaginativa de una realidad. Por otro lado, las dos flechas que vinculan el esquema de arriba – la imagen esquemática más simple o superordinada – son continuas indicando según el planteamiento de la categorización que la jerarquía vertical va de lo más abstracto a lo más específico o concreto.

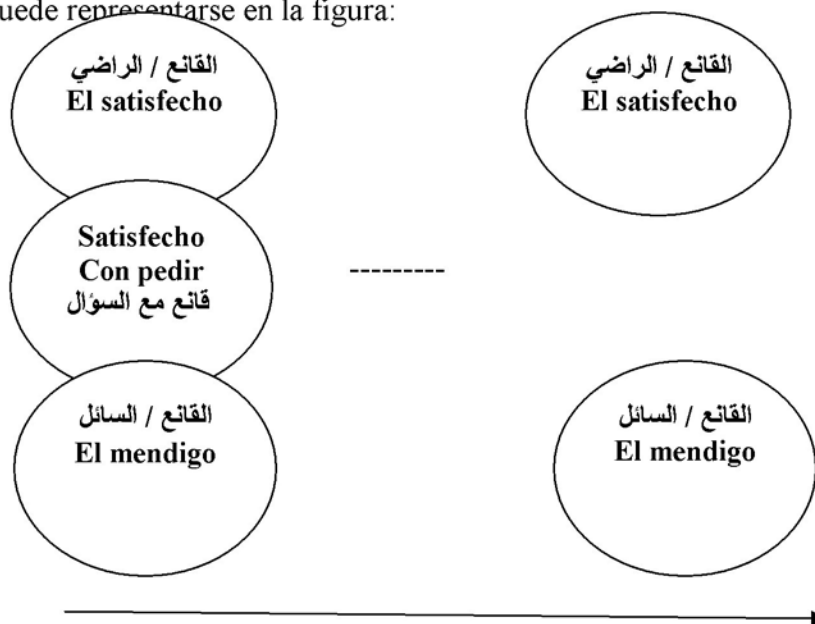
También esto demuestra que las categorías complejas se organizan a partir de una vinculación eslabonada entre los miembros centrales y otros miembros, y entre éstos y otros. Como en la figura siguiente:



Vemos que *la complacencia* no se relaciona directamente con *la satisfacción*, sino a través de la imagen compleja *la complacencia sin pedir*. Asimismo ocurre con *humildad* donde se vincula con *la complacencia* por medio de *la complacencia con pedir*, como en la siguiente figura:



Así es الراضي / القانع *el satisfecho* y السائل / القانع *el mendigo* forman un tipo de homonimia¹⁸ en árabe actual, porque constituyen dos significados opuestos –autoantónimos– para el hablante actual. Pero si se siguen los pasos de su evolución en el pasado, se ve que los dos significados salen de la misma imagen esquemática más simple *la complacencia* como mencionamos más arriba. De este modo, el cambio de la polisemia a la homonimia del vocablo القانع puede representarse en la figura:



¹⁸ Para más información véase nuestro artículo: Hussein Abid, Abeer: “Sinonimia, polisemia y homonimia en lengua árabe”, en MEAH, número 58, 2009, PP. 155-174.

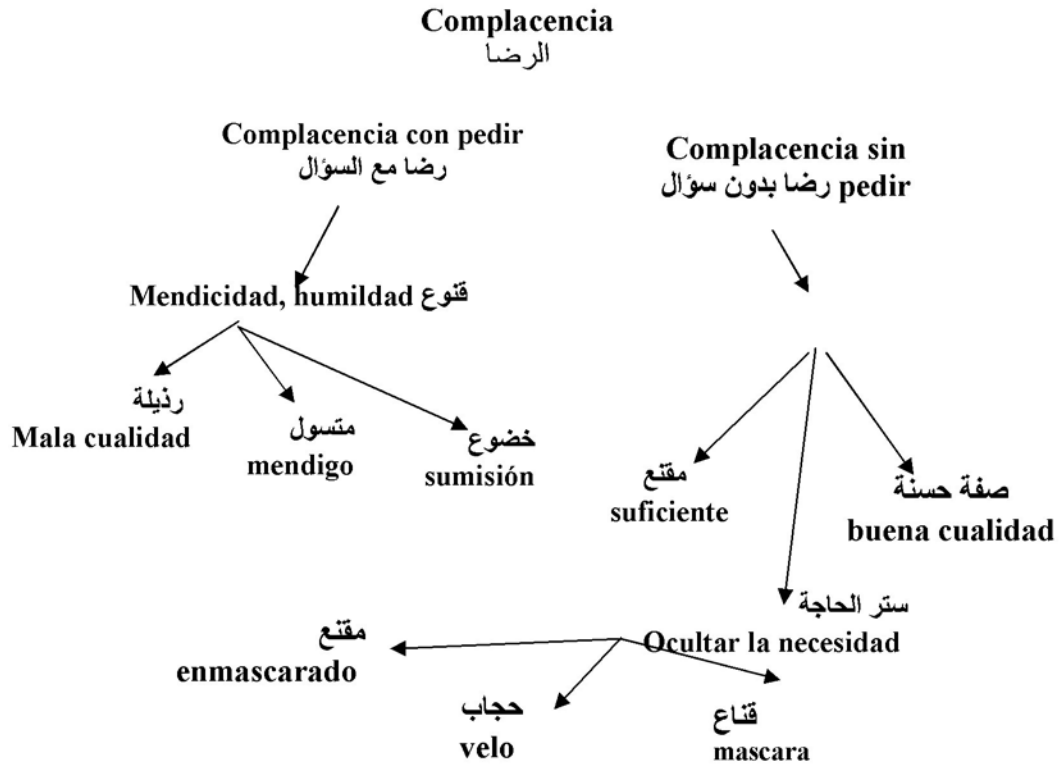
Así, a largo del tiempo, se pierde el nexo que existe entre los dos sentidos opuestos de القناع es decir, el resultado de estas relaciones son estructuras semánticas que construyen encadenamientos de significados, donde no todos los nudos de la red están directamente vinculados unos con otros. Ahora tendríamos una cadena basada en una relación de semejanza de familia¹⁹. Contemporáneamente ésta es la base de la teoría de categoría radial de Lakoff, categoría compleja de Langacker y semejanza de familia de Ludwig Wittgenstern²⁰.

Asimismo, de la imagen قناعه *satisfacción*, sale مقنعه *velo* قناع *mascar*, مقنع *enmascarado*, porque uno de los dominios cognitivos de قناعه *satisfacción*, es decir, una de las imágenes que viene a la mente al mencionar la palabra قناعه *satisfacción*, es ستر الحاجة *Ocultar la necesidad*. Al mismo tiempo surgen de las dos imágenes complejas la رضا مع السؤال *complacencia con pedir* y رضا بدون سؤال *la complacencia sin pedir*, cualidades opuestas, como por ejemplo: sumisión / orgullo, etc.

Todo esto muestra que el significado es de naturaleza enciclopédica, y se explica como una red compleja o radial que une los numerosos nudos de conocimiento que configuran una palabra. Una red de estas características es abierta e infinita y puede reproducir tanto relaciones jerárquicas de nivel de esquematicidad como extensiones entre el centro y la periferia, así como grados de fijación cognitiva. Las redes de conocimiento no deben interpretarse como mapas donde se sitúan los conceptos, sino como un concepto – dominio cognitivo o imagen – que sirve como un punto de acceso a una red, esto lo podemos esquematizar en la figura:

¹⁹ Cuenca, María Josep y Hilferty, Joseph: *Introducción a la lingüística cognitiva*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1999, p. 37.

²⁰ Lakoff, George y Johnson, Mark: *Metáforas de la vida cotidiana*. Versión española de Carmen González Marín, Madrid, Catedra, 1986, y *Metaphors we live by*, the University of Chicago, 1980; Langacker, Ronald W. : *concept, image and symbol: the cognitive Basis of grammar*, en René Dirven and Ronald w. Langacker eds. , cognitive linguistics Research I, Berlin –New Yourk, Mouton de Grayter, 1991; pp. 4-5 y *Foundations of cognitive grammar. Theoretical prerequisites*, California, Estandford Univers, Volumen I, 1993.



Parte de la red ilimitada de la palabra *complacencia*, y sus palabras autoantónimas

3. 2. عفا *afā*

afā forma una palabra autoantónima en árabe porque en algunos contextos puede significar *zād* *aumentar*, *namā* *crecer*, y en otros significa *maḥā* *borrar*, *desaparecer*. Así vemos en la interpretación de la siguiente aleya:

"ثم بدلنا مكان السيئه الحسنه حتى عفا وقالوا "94/7-

–“Inmediatamente pusimos, en lugar del mal, el bien hasta que ellos *borraron* de su memoria el castigo y dijeron” (Juan Vernet²¹, 7/93)

–“Y luego les dábamos bienestar en lugar de mal. Pero cuando *se veían prósperos* decían” (Melara Navío, A. G. 7/94)

Según la comprensión imaginativa de Juan Vernet, عفا significa *borrar*, mientras que Melara Navío percibe que عفا es *ver prósperos*, que uno de sus dominios cognitivos es ‘abundante’, ‘opulento’, etc., es decir, comprende عفا en este aleya como un tipo de *aumento*. De la misma manera hacen los intérpretes árabes²², comprendiendo la palabra عفا de manera opuesta en la misma aleya.

En nuestra investigación sobre la palabra عفا en los libros de autoantonomia y diccionarios árabes, encontramos que عفا sale de la imagen esquemática superordinada –prototipo– عفا الشعر او النبات *crecer el pelo o la planta*²³. Así se dice el profeta – sobre él sea la paz – en al-ḥadīṭ – dicho atribuido al profeta:

–"تُحْفَى الشوارب وتُعْفَى اللحي"

–“Que se afeite el bigote y deje *crecer* la barba”. O en la enunciado:

–"عفت الريح الاثار (اثار الديار)"

–“El viento borró las huellas de las casas” (esto ocurre en el desierto).

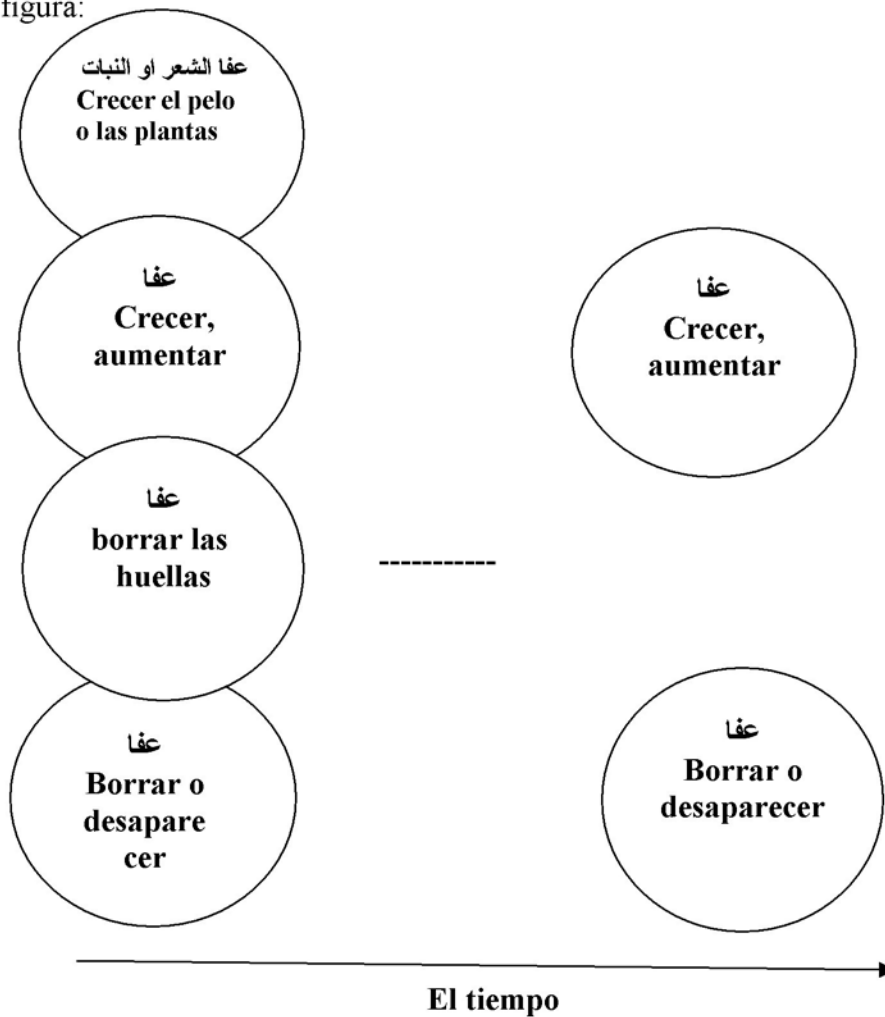
Ibn Al-ʿI ṛābī comentó este enunciado, afirmando que en la frase “El viento borró las huellas de las casas” significa que el polvo *aumenta* hasta que cubre las casas, luego borra las huellas.

²¹ Vernet, Juan: *El Corán*, Barcelona, Plaza y Juanes, 1ª ed. , 1980.

²² Véase Al-Ṭabāṭabāʿī, Muḥammad Ḥusayn: *Al-mizān*; Al-Suyūṭī, ʿAbū Bakr bin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḡalāl al-Dīn: *Tafsīr dū l-Ḡalālayn*, aleya 7/93.

²³ Ibn Manzūr, Abū l-Faḍl, Ḡamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Makram: *Lisānu l-ʿarab* ; Al-Ḡawāhirī, Ismāʿīl bin Ḥamād: *Al-ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḡa*; s. v. عفا ʿafā ; Ibn Al-Sikkīt, ʿAbū Yūsif Yaʿqūb Iṣḥāq: *Al-ʿaḍḍād*, p. 8; Al-ʿAnbārī, Muḥammad bin Qāsim: *Al-ʿaḍḍād*, pp. 86-88.

Vemos que de la imagen عفا *afā* que significa *aumentar el polvo* nace la imagen *borrar las huellas*, y con el paso del tiempo de éste surgen otros sentidos de ‘borrar’, como عفا عن *perdonar*, es decir *borrar las faltas, o picados*, العافية *la salud*, que se puede imaginar como ‘borrar la enfermedad y aumentar la salud’, etc. Esto significa que la extensión del significado no es pura casualidad, sino operaciones cognitivas, mentales e imaginativas por medio de la metáfora y la metonimia, pero con el paso del tiempo se olvida su desarrollo significativo, mientras que si pudiéramos seguir estos pasos uno a uno, encontraríamos el significado real de una palabra y luego veríamos que este significado sigue desarrollándose y viste cada día un vestido nuevo – es decir, adquiere cada día un sentido nuevo – y se interpreta en cada ámbito lingüístico de manera diferente y concreta, lo cual puede quedar esquematizado en la siguiente figura:



3. 3. العافية al-āfiyah

La misma palabra العافية *salud* que acabamos de ver que sale de la imagen esquemática superordinada عفا *crecer* forma autoantonomia, ya que en árabe clásico y casi en todos los dialectos árabes significa *salud*, como, por ejemplo, se dice en la súplica:

– "واوجدني حلاوة العافية، واذقني برد السلامة"²⁴–

–“Hazme degustar la dulzura de la *salud*, y permíteme saborear el deleite de estar sano”

Sin embargo, en el dialecto marroquí العافية significa *fuego*. En una ocasión, hablando con una chica marroquí en España, le dije:

–“الله يعطيك العافية”، literalmente “Que Dios te de *la salud*”, que es la forma habitual del dialecto iraquí. La chica se enfadó y me respondió:

– “ان شاء الله تشعل فيك (العافية)”, literalmente “Ojalá que te quemes – *el fuego*”.

En ese momento me quedé sorprendida, no entendí nada de lo que dijo. Más tarde pregunté a otra amiga marroquí sobre el significado de la palabra العافية *al-āfiyah* en su dialecto; y me explicó que la palabra العافية significa en este dialecto *el fuego*, porque como tienen temor por el fuego, o son pesimistas por el fuego, así lo denominan *salud*.

Esto mismo lo podemos encontrar en otras muchas palabras autoantónimas en árabe, como السليم *al-salīm*, que puede significar *sano* o *mordido por una serpiente o herido de muerte*, porque auguran el bien del *sano*, por eso llaman al mordido o herido de muerte *sano*²⁵. Así en el dialecto iraquí se dice al enfermo, herido o accidentado – سلامات que deriva de سليم – “Que te mejores”. De igual forma, en árabe llamamos *al ciego* بصير *baṣīr* persona

²⁴ Imam Zayn al- ‘Ābidīn ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusayn: *Al-Ṣaḥīfatu l-kāmilatu l-sayyidiyya*, Traducción: María Isabel Amoretti, Muhammad Mu‘allem Zadeh y Nestor Daniel Pagano, Edición digital: Biblioteca Islámica Ahlul Bait (P), en www.biab.org, Súplica número XV ante la enfermedad, p. 58 .

²⁵ Al-Siğīstānī (m. 248 h.) : *Al-‘aḏḏād*. (dentro de tres libros sobre Al-‘aḏḏād.), Editor August Hofnar, Beirut, Dār al-mašriq, 1913, p. 114; Al-‘Anbārī, Muḥammad bin Qāsim: *Al-‘aḏḏād*, p. 106; ‘Abū l-Tayyib, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid bin ‘Alī: *Al-‘aḏḏādu fī kalāmi l-‘arab*, p. 217.

que ve, por optimismo. Y llaman a una **مهره** *potra bonita o bella, fea* para que no la envidien²⁶, etc.

Todo esto muestra que la realidad se puede concebir de manera ilimitada según el nivel de la comprensión imaginativa colectiva e individual que nace de nuestras experiencias y entornos. Pero debemos aceptarlas todas para incrementar nuestras dimensiones de esta misma realidad.

Así en gramática cognitiva el tratamiento del polo semántico de un enunciado fomenta la activación de más espacio – para nosotros imagen esquemática – congruente de conocimiento, dichas estructuras de conocimiento se llaman *dominios cognitivos* que, según María Josep Cuenca y Joseph Hilferty, “son representaciones mentales de cómo se organiza el mundo y pueden incluir un amplio abanico de informaciones, desde los hechos más indiscutibles y comprobados empíricamente hasta los errores más flagrantes, las imaginaciones más peregrinas o las supersticiones. Es, por tanto, importante insistir en la naturaleza inherentemente enciclopédica de la semántica, lo que nos lleva a no disociar los aspectos denotativos (estrictamente léxicos) de los connotativos (tradicionalmente considerados como atribuibles al contexto, a lo pragmático)”²⁷.

3. 4. الجون *al-ğawn*

Se trata de una palabra autoantónima porque en algunos contextos se refiere al color *blanco*, como por ejemplo se denomina *el sol*, **جونه** es decir *blanca*, mientras que la palabra الجون en otros contextos, que pertenecen a otros dialectos árabes, significa el color *negro*, así se dice “الجون من الابل والخيول”, “*los negros de los camellos y caballos*”. En un verso de la poetisa Al-Ḥansā’, en que dice²⁸:

لن اصالح قوما كنت حربُهُم حتى يعود بياضا جونة القار –

²⁶ Al-ʿAnbarī, Muḥammad bin Qāsim: *Al-ʿaḏḏād*, p. 284; ʿAbū l-Ṭayyib, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid bin ʿAlī : *Al-ʿaḏḏādu fī kalāmi l-ʿarab*, p. 250.

²⁷ Cuenca, María Josep y Hilferty, Joseph: *Introducción*. pp. 70-71.

²⁸ Ibn al-Sikkīt, Abū Yūsif Yaʿqūb Ishāq: *Al-ʿaḏḏād*, p. 190; Al-ʿAnbarī, Muḥammad bin Qāsim: *Al-ʿaḏḏād*, p. 112; Ibn Fāris Aḥmad bin Zakariyā: *Miqyāsu l-luġa*. Edición crítica de ʿAbd Al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Dār al-fīkr, 6 volúmenes, 1399 H. - 1979 DC; Al-Fayrūz ʿābādī, Maġd al-Dīn bin Yaʿqūb: *al-Qāmūsu l-Muḥīṭ*, Egipto, Editorial Muṣṭafā l-Bābī l-Ḥalabī, 2ª ed., 1952, s. v. **جون**.

–“No voy a reconciliarse con una gente que estaba en guerra con ellos

Hasta que vuelva *el negro* de alquitrán blanco”.

La imagen esquemática superordinada – el prototipo – de la palabra الجون es ‘el color’. Se trata de una palabra persa que se traslada a la lengua árabe por el contacto con el pueblo iraní, y luego se difunde entre los dialectos árabes. Por eso en un barrio o una comunidad de habla árabe se nombra el color *blanco* جون. mientras que en otra se llama جون al color *negro*.

3. 5. البين *al-bayn*

La imagen esquemática superordinada – el prototipo – de la palabra البين *al-bayn* es ‘la distancia entre dos puntos’, como en la figura:



Según la comprensión imaginativa de algunas personas, en algunas situaciones se percibe البين como un tipo de *separación, diferencia, etc.*, mientras que se imagina en otros contextos como un tipo de *enlace, conexión, unión, relación, etc.*²⁹. Así البين forma una palabra autoantónima como se nota en las siguientes aleyas:

– " لقد تقطع بينكم وصل عنكم ما كنتم تزعمون "

–“se han roto ya *los lazos* que con ellos os unían, se esfumado vuestras pretensiones” (Cortés, J. 6/94)³⁰

–“Vuestro *vinculo* se ha roto y os ha extraviado aquello que afirmabais” (Melara Navío, 6/95).

En esta aleya se entiende que la palabra البين significa un tipo de *vinculo* o *lazo*. Mientras que en la siguiente aleya se imagina como un tipo de *diferencia, separación*:

–"فاتقوا الله واصلحوا ذات بينكم" 1/8

²⁹ Lo cual rememora la clásica distinción perceptiva entre el *vaso medio vacío* y el *vaso medio lleno*.

³⁰ Cortés, J. (traductor): *El Corán*, Qum-Irán, Ansariyan, 2000.

–“¡Temed a Dios! Arreglad vuestra *diferencia!*” (Juan Vernet, 8/1).

Asimismo en estos versos³¹:

الا يا غراب البين قد هجت لوعة

فويحك خبرني بما انت تصرخ

ابالبين من لبيني؟ فان كنت صادقاً

فلا زال عظم من جنحك يفضخ

¡Oh cuervo de *la separación!*, me has provocado ansiedad

¡Maldito seas! dime qué estás gritando ,

¿mi *separación* de Lubna? Si es así ,

que continúen brotando los huesos de tus alas.

3. 6. السميع *al-samī*‘

Es una palabra autoantónima que puede significar *el oyente quien escucha o oye o quien hace oír*, eso ocurre por un cambio fonético en el verbo de la forma morfológica *افتعل* hasta que se asemeja el participio *المُسمع al-musmi*‘ con el adjetivo *السميع al-samī*‘ como en la aleya:

"ان الله سميع بصير" 1/58-

–“Realmente Allah es Quien oye y Quien ve” (Melara Navío, 58/1)

"الداعي السميع اي المُسمع" -

–“el que llama y el que hace oír”³².

³¹ Yūnis ‘Alī, Muḥammad Muḥammad: *Wasf*, p. 175.

Conclusiones

Siguiendo los objetivos propuestos en esta investigación, hemos llegado a las siguientes conclusiones, todas ellas relacionadas entre sí y mutuamente complementarias:

1. La autoantonimia según nuestro planteamiento del significado, es el fenómeno por el cual una sola imagen esquemática superordinada y convencional presenta dos significados – imágenes – inspirados por ella y opuestos – sentidos autoantónimos –, es decir, que se diferencia de ella por intentar llamar la atención de otro rasgo o dominio cognitivo más preeminente, según la comprensión individual en primer lugar – antes de ser convencionalizada – y luego se convencionaliza por la comprensión colectiva, es decir, se codifica. Así nace la autoantonimia.

2. La autoantonimia no sucede por casualidad sino por operaciones cognitivas en las que la imaginación y la comprensión imaginativa juegan un papel primordial en su simbolización, es decir, el fenómeno de la autoantonimia no es pura casualidad, sino operaciones cognitivas, mentales e imaginativas por medio de la metáfora, la metonimia o la analogía, etc. , en que la comprensión imaginativa de una comunidad de habla juega un papel principal en su formación, pero con el paso del tiempo se olvida su desarrollo significativo, mientras que si pudiéramos seguir estos pasos uno a uno, encontraríamos el significado real de una palabra –la imagen esquemática superordinada –, como hemos hecho en nuestro trabajo.

3. Tanto en el significado simple como en el significado complejo son un tipo de redes polisémicas que muestran una organización interna en torno a una imagen esquemática superordinada, donde no todos los nudos de la red están directamente vinculados con esta imagen.

4. Algunas veces el motivo de la autoantonimia es por intervención de los dialectos de una lengua, es decir, cuando en dos dialectos de una lengua uno de ellos establece un significante – símbolo – para un significado y el otro adopta el mismo significante para otro significado, sin saber el uno del otro – como pasa ahora entre los dialectos de los países árabes, por la diferencia de la comprensión colectiva –, y luego se difunden los dos

³² Al-'Anbārī, Muḥammad bin Qāsim: *Al-'addād*, p. 83.

significados entre los dos dialectos, como hemos visto en la palabra autoantónima العافية *al-‘āfiyah*.

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A FEW REMARKS ON THE NEGATION IN THE SPOKEN ARABIC OF ZGHARTA

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Abstract. The current study focuses on emphasizing some general traits of the negation in the Spoken Arabic of Zgharta District, located in the Lebanese North Governorate, while pointing out certain particularities of the Zghartawian Arabic, as well. The study is based on translations offered by five local residents and on pieces of conversation collected by the author. There are three different particles that are used to render the negation in various contexts, *mā*, *lā* and *mīš*, of these only two *mā* and *lā* belong to the original Arabic spoken in Zgharta, while *mīš*, which also appears less in our study, being used only by two of the interviewed subjects, seems to represent an influence of the dialects spoken in North Africa.

Keywords: Arabic Dialects, Lebanese, Zgharta, Negation, Arabic, Feghali, Bizri, el-Hajjé.

Foreword

According to the study conducted by Henri Fleisch, *Premiers résultats d'une enquête dialectale au Liban*, the following villages belong to the northern group: Menjez, Beit Mellâte, Sîr Danié, Zgharta, Kfar Sghâb, Qnât and Bzîza. He adds that the dialect of this group is spoken mainly by Sunnites and Maronites and it is characterized by transforming emphatic *ā* into *ō*, and thus, *trâblōs* "Tripoli" becomes *trōbliš*. (Fleisch, 1974: 138).

The corpus of the analysis is based on sentences that a number of residents from the town of Zgharta or its surroundings were asked to translate and on pieces of conversation collected by the author in the mentioned district. The subjects that were used for the creation of the present study are of ages ranging from twenty-six to sixty, and are both male and female and both educated and uneducated. All of them were born in Zgharta and have lived most of their lives there. Although two of the interviewed subjects have moved in recent years due to marriage or work in different areas of Lebanon, however, they have continued visiting their relatives quite often and they have never broken the ties with their original communities. These two subjects will be referred to as N. and L., both are female. N. moved to Beirut after her wedding, which occurred three years ago, but kept on visiting her old town every weekend, whilst L. started working in Al-Koura District as an English and French teacher, but continued to return every evening to her town. Another important piece of information, which

might prove vital in explaining the differences that occur between the translations offered by the subjects, is that L. is from Zgharta town, while the others are from the village of Arjes located in the same district, at five kilometers from the main town of the district.

One last important mention regards the reference works that were used to compare the results of the current research. They can be divided into two groups, authors that have focused on studying the Spoken Arabic of a certain community, like Hassan el-Hajjé and his *Le Parler Arabe de Tripoli* and researchers who preferred to focus on the general traits of the different varieties of Spoken Lebanese, treating them as a wholesome, and such is the case with *Syntaxe des Parlers Arabes Actuels du Liban* by Michel Feghali. The option of focusing on the general traits of Spoken Lebanese is explained by Feghali, who suggests that in Lebanon there are no such things as different dialects or subdialects, but only local particularities. (Feghali, 1928: X).

1. General Traits of the Negation in Nominal Clauses

L. *il-kātēb bə-l^calbe*. “The book is in the box.”

il-kātēb mannu / mūš bə-l^calbe. “The book is not in the box.”

S. *iž-ižizdēn^c a-t-taḥət*. “The bag is on the bed.”

iž-ižizdēn mannu^c a-t-taḥət. “The bag is not on the bed.”

J. *il^calam^c a-l-kursī*. “The flag is on the chair.”

il^calam mannu^c a-l-kursī. “The flag is not on the chair.”

N. *il-walad bə-l-maṭbaḥ*. “The boy is in the kitchen.”

il-walad mīš bə-l-maṭbaḥ. “The boy is not in the kitchen.”

P. *iš-ṣəḥōn bə-l-mažle*. “The plates are in the sink.”

iš-ṣəḥōn manmun bə-l-mažle. “The plates are not in the sink.”

We can observe that three out of five subjects preferred to render the negation in a nominal clause with the help of particle *mā*, which changes its forms when united to the intermediary particle *-m-* and the suffix pronouns, and becomes *mannu* (3rd pers. masc. sing.) and *mannun* (3rd pers. masc. pl.). The same forms can be found in the study of Fida Bizri: *mann-é ḥābib rūḥ la^c and-on* “I don’t like to go to their place.” / *mann-ak dêris mnîh*. “You don’t have good study results.” (Bizri, 2010: 63). However, Hassan el-Hajjè in his study of the Spoken Arabic in Tripoli suggests the following forms: *māni* “I am not” (1st pers. sing.), *mānak* “you are not” (2nd pers. masc. sing.), *mānek* “you are not” (2nd pers. fem. sing.), *mānu* “he is not” (3rd pers. masc. sing.), *mānā* “she is not” (3rd pers. masc. sing.), *mānnā* “we are not” (1st pers. fem. sing.), *mānkun* “you are not” (2nd pers. pl.) *mānon* “they are not” (3rd pers. pl. (El-Hajjè, 1954: 171). Meanwhile, none of the subjects used the forms presented by Feghali, that include alongside the particle *mā* and the suffix pronouns, another particle *-š* which helps create the discontinued negation: *mānniš* “I am not” (1st pers. sing.), *mānnākš* “You are not” (2nd pers. sing.), *mānniškš* “You are not” (2nd pers. sing.), etc. (Feghali, 1928: 224).

On the other hand, we notice that two of the subjects, N. and L. used two other particles, *mīš* and *mūš*. Feghali explains these two particles as being formed from the direct joint of particle *mā* to the suffix pronouns belonging to the masculine and feminine third person, singular. (Feghali, 1928: 224). However, Fida Bizri considers that the particle evolved from the expression *mā šī* meaning, “nothing”. (Bizri, 2010: 82).

When these clauses are transformed into past or future ones, the verb *kēn* “to be” reappears similar to the verb *kāna* “to be” in Modern Standard Arabic:

Past

L. *kēn il-kātēb bā-l^calbe*. “The book was in the box.”

mā kēn il-kātēb bā-l^calbe. “The book wasn’t in the box.”

S. *iž-žīzdēn kēn^c a-t-taḥḥat*. “The bag was on the bed.”

iž-žīzdēn mā kēn^c a-t-taḥḥat. “The bag wasn’t on the bed.”

J. *kēn il-alam^c a-l-kursī*. “The flag was on the chair.”

mā kēn il-^calam ^ca-l-kursī. “The flag wasn’t on the chair.”

N. *il-walad kēn bə-l-maṭbaḥ.* “The boy was in the kitchen.”

il-walad mā kēn bə-l-maṭbaḥ. “The boy wasn’t in the kitchen.”

P. *iṣ-ṣaḥōn kēnū bə-l-maḥle.* “The dishes were in the sink.”

iṣ-ṣaḥōn mā kēnū bə-l-maḥle. “The dishes weren’t in the sink.”

Future

L. *il-katēb laḥ yikūn bə-l-^calbe.* “The book will be in the box.”

il-katēb mūš laḥ yikūn bə-l-^calbe. “The book will not be in the box.”

S. *iž-žizdēn laḥ yikūn ^ca-t-taḥət.* “The bag will be on the bed.”

iž-žizdēn mā laḥ yikūn ^ca-t-taḥət. “The bag won’t be on the bed.”

J. *il-^calam laḥ yikūn ^ca-l-kursī.* “The flag will be on the chair.”

il-^calam mā ḥ-yikūn ^ca-l-kursī. “The flag will not be on the chair.”

N. *il-^calam baddu yikūn ^ca-l-kursī.* “The flag will be on the chair.”

il-^calam mā raḥ yikūn ^ca-l-kursī. “The flag will not be on the chair.”

P. *iṣ-ṣaḥōn ḥa yikūnū bə-l-maḥle.* “The dishes will be in the sink.”

iṣ-ṣaḥōn mā ḥa yikūnū bə-l-maḥle. “The dishes will not be in the sink.”

We notice that informers J. and L. placed the verb *kēn* “to be” on the first position in the past sentences, as opposed to the other informers, who placed the subject first. This topic used by J. and L. can also be considered an influence of Modern Standard Arabic. Regarding the negation, we notice that all informers used particle *mā* in the past tense sentences, and four of them preferred this particle to render the negation also in the future ones. However, informer

L. chose to use particle *mūš* instead of *mā*: *il-katēb mūš laḥ yikūn* “The book won’t be.” The use of this particle in negative future sentences, although in its more common version *mīš*, is pointed out also by Raja T. Nasr: *huwwi mīš raḥ yidrus*. “He won’t study.” / *niḥna mīš raḥ mām*. “We won’t sleep.” (Nasr, 1966: 102). Another interesting evolution is the one of particle *raḥ* used to express the future, which comes from the verb *rāḥa* „to go”. It is worth mentioning that only N. uses *raḥ*, whilst in the other cases the alveolar trill consonant *r* transforms itself in the alveolar lateral approximant *l*, or disappears completely, leaving the form *ḥa-* or even *ḥ-*. We would like to point out also that informer N. uses the verb *baddu* „to want” as an auxiliary verb to express the future, instead of the more common one, used also by the other informers *raḥ*, derived from the verb *rāḥa* „to go”. A last observation regards the agreement in number between the subject and the predicate in the sentence *iṣ-ṣaḥōn mannun / mā kēnū / mā ḥa yikūnū ba-l-maḏle* “The dishes are not / were not / will not be in the sink.” As opposed to Modern Standard Arabic, where the predicate takes the form for the third person, feminine, singular when dealing with nouns not related to humans, here *iṣ-ṣaḥōn* “the dishes” are in full agreement with the predicate, which has the form for the third person, plural, used only for humans in Modern Standard Arabic.

2. Adjectival negation

L. *sāra maṛa naṣḥa*. “Sara is a fat woman.”

sāra maṛa mūš naṣḥa. “Sara is not a fat woman.”

S. *fēyz zalme ṣādi*. “Feyz is an honest man.”

fēyz zalme mannu ṣādi. / *fēyz zalme mīš ṣādi*. “Feyz is not an honest man.”

J. *leyla maṛa ḥilwe*. “Leyla is a pretty woman.”

leyla maṛa mannā ḥilwe. “Leyla is not a pretty woman.”

P. *farah šabb / zalme ṭawīl*. “Farah is a tall young man.”

farah šabb / zalme mannu ṭawīl. “Farah is not a tall young man.”

The mentioned above sentences, offered by four of the interviewed subjects, clearly prove the existence of the adjectival negation. And, thus, the negation doesn't precede the predicative nominal, but comes before the attributive adjective: *mūš naṣḥa* "not fat", *mannu ṣādi* / *mīš ṣādi* "not sincere", *mannā ḥilwe* "not beautiful", *mannu ṭawīl* "not tall". We noticed that both particles used to express the negation in nominal clauses, *mīš*, with its allomorph *mūš*, and *mā* combined with the suffix pronouns, and hence leading to the forms *mannā* "she is not" and *mannu* "he is not", were used in rendering the negation. Interesting, subject S. offered both possibilities, *mannu ṣādi* "he is not honest" and *mīš ṣādi* "he is not honest", showing the interchangeability of the two particles in one person's speech and the infiltration of particle *mīš*, even in the most conservative areas of Lebanon, such as little villages, knowing that this particle is more characteristic to other varieties of spoken Lebanese.

In the consulted studies, unfortunately, only Feghali focuses on the adjectival negation. However, he prefers *ḡayr*, the particle used also in Modern Standard Arabic: *el-'umūr el-ḡáír ḡauhriyè lāzēm tēbṭal* "The things that are not essential / unessential must change." (Feghali, 1928: 225).

3. The Negation in Possession Constructions

Present

L. *°indī siyyāra*. "I have a car."

mā °indī siyyāra. "I don't have a car."

S. *leyla mā°ā mṣriyyēt*. "Leyla has money."

leyla mā mā°ā mṣriyyēt. "Leyla doesn't have money."

J. *mīrā °indā kätub kätīr*. "Mira has a lot of books."

mīrā mā °indā kätub kätīr. "Mira doesn't have a lot of books."

N. *°annā bēt*. "We have a house."

mā °annā bēt. "We don't have a house."

P. *°annā knīse*. “We have a church.”

mā °annā knīse bə-ḍay°etnā. “We don’t have a church.”

Past

L. *kēn °indī siyyāra*. “I had a car.”

mā kēn °indī siyyāra. “I didn’t have a car.”

S. *leyla kēn ma°ā məşriyyēt*. “Leyla had money.”

leyla mā kēn ma°ā məşriyyēt. “Leyla didn’t have money.”

J. *mīrā kēn °indā kətub kətīr*. “Mira had a lot of books.”

mīrā mā kēn °indā kətub kətīr. “Mira didn’t have a lot of books.”

N. *kēn °annā bēt*. “We had a house.”

mā kēn °annā bēt. “We didn’t have a house.”

P. *kēn °annā knīse bə-ḍay°a tabə°etnā*. “We had a church in our village.”

mā kēn °annā knīse. “We didn’t have a church.”

Future

L. *lah yişir °indī siyyāra*. “I will have a car.”

mūş lah yişir °indī siyyāra. “I will not have a car.”

S. *leyla lah yikūn ma°ā məşārī*. “Leyla will have money.”

leyla mā lah yikūn ma°ā məşārī. “Leyla will not have money.”

J. *mīrā baddu yikūn °indā kətub kətīr*. “Mira will have a lot of books.”

mīrā mā baddu yikūn °indā kəṭub kəṭīr. “Mira will not have a lot of books.”

N. *raḥ yikūn °annā bēt.* “We will have a house.”

mīš raḥ yikūn °annā bēt. “We will not have a house.”

P. *ḥa yikūn °annā knīse.* “We will have a church.”

mā raḥ yikūn °annā knīse. “We will not have a church.”

We notice that all informers used the particle *mā* to render the negation in all present and past sentences. However, two of the informers, L. and N., who used *mīš / mūš* also in the future nominal clauses mentioned in the previous subchapter, preferred to continue with these two particles also when expressing the negation in future possessive constructions. Hadia Harb points out the differences between particle *mā* and particle *mīš* in rendering negative possessive constructions and, thus, she states that *mā* can replace *mīš* in some varieties of Spoken Lebanese. However, this doesn't work also the other way around as *mīš* can't replace *mā* in all situations. She continues by saying that *mā* is used to express the negation in verbal possessive clauses, while *mīš* appears in nominal possessive constructions, as in the following examples: *mā °indī maṣārī.* / *mā ma°ī maṣrī* “I don't have money with me.” / “I don't have money at my place.” As opposed to, *lmaṣārī miš °indi.* / *lmaṣārī miš ma°i.* “The money are not at my place.” / “The money are not with me.” (Harb, 1992: 81). We also observe again the use of the verb *baddu* “to want” as an auxiliary verb, this time by informer J.: *mīrā baddu yikūn °indā kəṭub kəṭīr.* “Mira will have a lot of books.” It is also worth mentioning that the possessive constructions are all impersonal, which can be seen by the lack of agreement between the predicate and the subject in all future and past constructions. Therefore, the verb *kēn* “to be” with its present form *yikūn*, always remains at the third person, masculine singular, even when the subject is feminine or plural: *kēn °annā knīse.* “We had a church.” / *leyla laḥ yikūn ma°ā maṣārī.* “Leyla we'll have money.” This varies from the rules applied in Modern Standard Arabic, which demand the use of agreement between subject and predicate in this particular case. Semantically, we see that the difference between *ma°* and *°ind* that exists in MSA, persists also in the spoken language, as the first one is used to point out to an object the actant has upon himself or herself, whilst the second one indicates something they have in general, at their place, in their town, etc.: *ḥa yikūn °annā knīse.* “We will have a church (in our village).” as opposed to *leyla kēn ma°ā maṣriyyēt.* “Leyla had money (with her / upon her).”

4. The Negation in Verbal Clauses

Present simple

L. *nūr mā bə-tibkī abad^m*. “Nur never cries.”

S. *lēš mā bə-tēkul šōrba?* “Why you don’t eat soup?”

J. *mā bə-ta^crəf tiṭbuḥ*. “She doesn’t know how to cook.”

N. *lēš mā bə-ta^crəf il-ḥaṭī’a?* “Why don’t you know the truth?”

P. *mā bə-yištigəl bə-l-marra*. “He never works.”

In order to render the negation of the imperfect mood, which prefixed with *b-* expresses a present, permanent or habitual action¹, similar to the present simple in English, all subjects used the particle *mā*, both in affirmative or interrogative sentences. This is the same way, the negation of the present tense was expressed in the consulted works, such as the studies of Hassan el-Hajjé *’akāl ’atle b^camru mā byənāshā*. “He was beaten up so bad he will never forget it.” (El-Hajjé, 1954: 50) or Fida Bizri *mā b-efham^c ala-(y)a mā^c-’enn-a b-t-ehké^c arabé*. „I don’t understand her, even though she speaks Arabic.” (Bizri, 2010: 85).

Present Continuous

L. *lēš mūš^c am ta^cmil farḍā?* “Why isn’t she doing her homework?”

S. *lēš mā^c am tēkul?* “Why aren’t you eating?”

N. *lēh hu mīš^c am yiḥḍar it-tilivīzīon halla’?* “Why isn’t he watching the television now?”

J. *mā^c am tiṭbāḥī*. “You’re not cooking.”

P. *mannī^c am ’aḥḍar šī*. “I’m not watching anything.”

¹ According to Hassan el-Hajjé, the imperfect mood can be used in the spoken Arabic of North Lebanon to either express present, permanent or habitual actions or actions or states which will occur in undetermined, prolonged further moments. (el-Hajjé, 1954: 50).

We notice that in expressing the negation of the imperfect mood, which according to Hassan el-Hajjé when preceded by particle *°am* has the same values of present continuous (el-Hajjé , 1954: 50), some of the subjects used particles *mīš* or *mūš*, whilst others preferred *mā*. The same duality can be encountered in comparing the different consulted works, such as Feghali's *'ánā mā °am bhākik*. "I'm not speaking to you." (Feghali, 1928: 221) and Fleyfel's *méch °am bya°aṭiné maw°ad* "He's not fixing an appointment with me." (Fleyfel, 2011: 65). One of the possible explanations for the use of *mīš* to render the negation in verbal clauses, although this particle is always described as a nominal one amongst the studies dedicated to the varieties of the Lebanese Arabic, is the nominal origin of *°am* particle. Hence, the subjects unintentionally tend to associate *°am* and the verb following it, with the particle *mīš*, which is usually used to express the negation in nominal clauses. To support this point of view, we have the study of Hassan el-Hajjé, who points out that *°am* and its allomorph *°amma* are contracted forms of *°ammāl*, a nominal intensive form, which denotes stronger or more concentrated action relative to the root on which the intensive is built (el-Hajjé , 1954: 50). Another argument in favor of this hypothesis, would be the need of subject N., on one hand, to use the personal pronoun *hu* "he" before *mīš*, as if she was dealing with a nominal construction, and the sentenced offered by subject P., on the other hand, where he doesn't use the simple *mā* particle, but uses the form combined with the intermediary particle *-(e)nn-* and the suffix pronouns, resulting in *mannak* "you are not". As is the case with *mīš*, *mannak* "you are not" is usually a form encountered in nominal clauses, and not verbal ones.

Past

L. *sarkīs mā'irī ir-risāle ba°d*. "Sarkis hasn't read the letter yet."

S. *'issa mā darsat*. "I haven't studied yet."

J. *maryam ba°d mā raḥet °a-l-knīse*. "Maryam hasn't gone to the church yet."

N. *mā'aret° l-katēb ba°d*. "She hasn't read the book yet."

P. *'issa mā'aret° l-katēb*. "She hasn't read the book yet."

As in the verbal sentences mentioned above, the actions of which rendering the English present simple tense, all the subjects of the current study chose *mā* as the single

particle to express the negation of accomplished actions in the Spoken Arabic of North Lebanon. Particle *mā* can be found with this precise value also in the consulted works, such as Fida Bizri's *ḥkīt-o bas mā fehem chī*. "I talked to him, but he didn't understand anything." (Bizri, 2010: 85) or Hassan el-Hajjé's *ləmnen dāššarūhā mā kānet ba°d ḥallset šəglā*. "When they left her, she hadn't finished her work yet." (El-Hajjé, 1954: 46).

Future

L. *mīš raḥ* 'ikul koktayl law šū mā šār. "I won't eat fruit salad no matter what."

S. *mā laḥ* 'iruh lā maṭraḥ. "I won't go to any place."

J. 'izā mā dəraset, biddā tis'ut bə-l-faḥəš. "If she doesn't study, she will fail the exam."

N. *lēh žānō mā biddā tərūḥ ma°nā bukra?* "Why Jano won't go with us tomorrow?"

P. *mā ḥada min° l-wuləd rāḥ °a-l-madrəse*. "None of the children went to school."

In order to render the negation of the mentioned above future statements, the interviewed subjects used both of the particles *mā* and *mīš*. The question raised by the appearance of *mīš*, can be related to the different ways of expressing the negation of the present continuous actions, as Hassan el-Hajjé points out both *raḥ* and *rāyeḥ*, the participle of the verb *rāḥ* "to go", are used to express a future action. Therefore, we can assume that *raḥ* might function as a contracted form of *rāyeḥ*, and thus explain the use of particle *mīš*, which as we said before is usually used in nominal sentences. In this case, the options offered by the consulted works also vary, as some studies consider the particle *mā* as the only way of rendering the negation, such as Hadia Harb's *mā raḥ tākli* 'abl ma trūḥi? "You won't eat before you leave?", while others, such as the study conducted by Raja T. Nasr *huwwi mīš rāḥ yidrus* "He won't study." (Nasr, 1966: 102), prefer to use particle *mīš*. We notice again the use of the pseudo-verb *baddu* "to want" as an auxiliary verb. Although, *lēh žānō mā biddā tərūḥ ma°nā bukra?* can rise some doubts regarding the interpretation of this interrogation, as it can be both translated as "Why Jano doesn't want to come with us tomorrow?" or "Why Jano won't come with us tomorrow?", the sentence offered by subject J., 'izā mā dəraset, biddā tis'ut bə-l-faḥəš, can only be seen as "If she doesn't study, she won't pass the exam.", as it is unlikely that one wishes not to succeed in an exam.

Imperative

L. *mā tǎballiṣ bǎ-l-bikī. / mā tibkī!* “Don’t start crying!” / “Don’t cry!”

S. *mā tǎrūḥ tǎr ’uṣ!* “Don’t go dancing!”

J. *mā tǎballiṣ bǎ-l-’akel.* “Don’t start eating!”

N. *mā tǎkzab ^calaynā!* “Don’t lie to us!”

P. *mā tǎttehmu!* “Don’t accuse him!”

As it appears, all subjects used particle *mā* to express the negation of the imperative, as opposed to certain studies, such as el-Hajjé’s, who claims that particle *lā* is still largely used in this context: *lā-thāfu* „Don’t be afraid!” (El-Hajjé, 1954: 49). However, Fida Bizri also prefers to replace *lā* by *mā* when rendering the imperative mood *mā téktob han nō^c mnel aghâné!* “Don’t write this type of songs!” (Bizri, 2010: 60).

5. The Negation of Verbal Constructions or Pseudo-Verbs

L. *buṭrus mā baddu yiḥfill.* “Butrus doesn’t want to leave.”

mīr mā fī šī bǎ-yibakkiyā. “There is nothing that makes Nur cry.”

mā^c a-bēlī ’ekul kibbi. “I’m not in the mood to eat kibbi.”

S. *mīlēd mā fīye yi ’rā.* “Miled can’t read.”

mā fīnī ’iktūb. “I can’t write.”

J. *lēh buṭrus mā biddu yekul halla’?* “Why Butrus doesn’t want to eat now?”

mā fīnī nēm. “I can’t sleep.”

N. *mā baddik tis ’alī ’addeš is-sā^c a halla’?* “You don’t want to ask me what’s the time now?”

mā fīye yiḏī. “He can’t come.”

P. *bāḥōs mā ba'ā biddu y'il-lī šī*. “Bakhos doesn't want to tell me anything anymore.”

'izā mā fīk, mā tižī. “If you can't, don't come.”

We observe that all these verbal constructions, which form pseudo-verbs, such as particle *fī* “in” combined with suffix pronouns that express the English verb “can” or used alone to show the lack of existence of a certain object, the combination between particle *bi-* “in” / “with”, the verbal noun *wadd* “love, affection, wish, desire”² and the suffix pronouns, which renders the English “to want”, the expression *ʿa bēlī* “on my mind” that expresses a desire as well; the negation of all of them is being done with the particle *mā*, used in verbal constructions, which shows that the subjects treat these verbal expressions as full verbs. Another argument would be the use by subject S. and J. of the form of the suffix pronoun for the first person, singular that is usually used for verbs *-nī*, instead of the one used when the suffix is attached to nouns, *ī*. It is worth mentioning that the same particle *mā* is used to render the negation of verbal expressions or constructions also in the consulted studies, such as Fida Bizri's *mā baddé eḥké māʿ-kon la'enn-kon mech mnāḥ*. “I don't want to talk to you, because you're not good (people).” (Bizri, 2010: 85) or Hadia Harb's *'ayya skarbīne baddik? ḍḍay'a? lā mī baddi ḍḍay'a baddi lwās'a*. “Which shoes do you want? The tight ones? No, I don't want the tight ones, I want the loose ones.” (Harb, 1992: 88).

6. Particle *lā*

Particle *lā* in the Spoken Arabic of Zgharta is mostly used as a negation particle in response to questions, to express disagreement:

S. *smaʿte fīh? lā!* “Did you hear him? No!”

J. *kātabtī l-maktūb? lā*³. “Did you write the letter? No!”

N. *biddak tekul haydā? lā*. “Do you want to eat this? No.”

P. *'akaltī l-bīzzā? lā*. “Did you eat the pizza? No.”

² The verb comes from the expression used also in Modern Standard Arabic *bi-waddinā* meaning “we would like”. (Wehr, 2011: 1058).

³ *lā* is the allomorph of *lā*.

Both Michel Feghali and Hassan el-Hajjé suggest that particle *lā* is still used to express the negation of the imperative: *lā-thāfu* „Don’t be afraid!” (El-Hajjé, 1954: 49) (Feghali, 1928: 214). However, all the interviewed subjects used *mā* to render the negative imperative, as seen in a previous subchapter, dedicated to the negation in the verbal clauses: *mā tarūh tar’uṣ* “don’t go dancing”, *mā taballiṣ bə-l-’akel* “don’t start eating”. We also saw, in the mentioned subchapter that more recent studies, such as Fida Bizri’s *mā téktob han nō^c mnel aghâné!* “Don’t write this type of songs!” (Bizri, 2010: 60), use the particle *mā* to render the negation of the imperative.

Also, particle *lā* in the reference works appears in expressions taken from Modern Standard Arabic, such as: *lā tzem hada la tjarbo* “Don’t ever say bad things of a person before you test him.” (Atallah, 2002: 186) and *la tkoun karm^c a janb darb* “Don’t be a winery on the edge of the road.” (Atallah, 2002: 187).

Particle *lā* is used to render the equivalent of the English expression “neither...nor”, in both nominal and verbal clauses:

- Nominal clauses: *la samak wala laḥmé*. “Neither fish, nor meat.” (Bizri, 2010: 84) / *uhâlen lā šâur ulâ dastûr balléšt be^cl-mâr*. “Immediately, without any authorization or order started to build.” (Feghali, 1928: 215);
- Verbal clauses: *la chéft-o wala smé^cto*. “I have neither seen him, nor heard him.” (Bizri, 2010: 83) / *ma baddi lā ’ākol w-lâ ’āṣrab*. „I neither want to eat, nor to drink.” (El-Hajjé, 1954: 170).

A similar example of this particular value expressed by *lā* was collected also from a piece of conversation with subject L.: *mā ’akaleṭ būza wə-lā kōkteyl*. “She ate neither ice-cream, nor fruit salad.”

Particle *lā* can also suggest supposition, as mentioned by Fida Bizri: *lā y-kûn mêt*. “What if he died.” (Bizri, 2010: 83). In our research we have encountered a similar value, offered by subject L., in an interrogative supposition: L. *bəṭhebbī bayek lā?*. “You love your father, don’t you?”

A last example of the use of particle *lā* is offered this time by subject S.: *mā fînī^c amil šī law-lā wə-llāhī l-^cazīm law-lā ḥaliṣ ḥa’ ’ā min^o l-bank deš fāḍilā ’issa* “I can’t do anything. If only the credit for it (car) from the bank had finished. How many months still?” Here, *lā* is

used after *law*, similar to *law-lā* “if it wouldn’t been” in Modern Standard Arabic (Wehr, 2011: 881). However, the meaning of the phrase is “if only the credit had finished”, and thus *lā* here doesn’t necessarily indicate negation, but expresses a desire.

In conclusion, the particles used to render the negation in the spoken Arabic of Zgharta are *lā*, *mā* and *mīš* and *mūš*. Of these, *lā* and *mā* originally belong to the dialect, as they are almost always used by three of the interviewed subjects, and in most cases by the other two. Whilst, particle *mīš* appears especially in the studies that refer to the Spoken Arabic of Lebanon as a wholesome, and thus mention all the particles found in all the varieties of Spoken Lebanese. In our research, particle *mīš* is used almost entirely by subjects N. and L., who although were born and lived for the majority of their lives in Zgharta have come in contact with other varieties of spoken Lebanese, throughout marriage or working in different districts. However, subject N. kept on visiting her original community almost weekly, while subject L. kept on living in Zgharta, although she works in another district. And thus, we can explain why they use particle *mīš* only partially and sometimes they replace it with *mā* even when expressing similar values. In addition, both subjects are young female, who might try to distance themselves from their original community by imitating other Lebanese accents, such as the one spoken in Beirut.

Semantically, *lā* was only used by the subjects as a negative answer to a question, in order to express disagreement, to render the English “neither...nor” construction in both nominal and verbal clauses, to express supposition in an interrogative sentence or to express a wish after conditional particle *law*.

The particle *mā* is used a lot more than *lā*. It can be encounter in both nominal and verbal clauses, although when found in nominal clauses it appears only in combination with the intermediary particle *-e(m)-* and the suffix pronouns. In verbal clauses, it can be used to render the negation of all tenses expressed by the perfect and imperfect moods and we can encounter it also preceding verbal constructions or pseudo-verbs. It can appear also as a negation for the possessive constructions.

Last, particle *mīš* is considered to be mostly a nominal particle. However, some of the reference works and subjects L. and N. have used *mīš* to express the negation of the present continuous and future tenses. A possible explanation for the use of *mīš* before *‘am* or *rah* is offered by Hassan el-Hajjé, who suggests that *‘am* is a reduced form of *‘ammāl*, while *rah* is a contracted form of *rāyeḥ*.

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IRAQ'S LATE HASHEMITE MONARCHY FROM WIEN

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Abstract. This innovative approach narrates one of the crises of the late Hashemite monarchy from Wien. The Austrian capital (still under Soviet military occupation) took an unexpectedly-prominent role as the setting for both Iraq's centrist and extremist politics. During 1954, Hassan Abdul Rahman (serving as Minister of Social Affairs) accompanied his son for medical treatment. A member of the United Popular Front political group, his party's Executive Committee demanded that the Cabinet lift martial law within 10 days; Abdul Rahman's resignation opened the way for imposition of authoritarian controls in Iraq. Later that same year (following passage of the notorious decrees 16, 17, 18, and 19) a series of activists who had been deprived of their civil status turned up at the Soviet Embassy in Vienna.

Keywords: Austria, Cabinet of ministers, Communist Party of Iraq, International Atomic Energy Agency, Peace Partisans, Political party.

1. Iraq's History, Europe's Cities

a. London

Among all Europe's cities, historians of Iraq acknowledge the significance of London for the politics of Mesopotamia. Peter Sluglett and William Roger Louis are prominent among their number (Sluglett 2007; Louis 2006). Each year, graduate students research the history of modern Iraq at the Public Records Office in Kew (al-Dewachi 2008, Getman 2011, Norton 1997). After all, it was to the benefit of Great Britain's Foreign Office that the former Ottoman *vilayets* of Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra were united into a new political entity; it had been to London that King Feisal I retreated, when French forces drove him out of the capital of the independent Arab kingdom after World War I.

Iraq's Hashemite monarchs continued a sustained cultural affiliation with England. While Feisal I died in 1933, members of his family took part in celebrations at the end of World War II; at the time, his nephew the *emir* Abdul Ilah was serving as Regent for the child Feisal II. It was a celebratory crowd that gathered along Pall Mall on Victory Day, including

the foreign prince, his intelligence officer “minder,” the Admiral of the Mediterranean Fleet, and a Captain had just broken off his engagement with a colonial administrator’s daughter.¹ De Gaury recounted, their happy camaraderie on the city streets: “Hugh Cruddas, the Regent, Harwood and I linked arms to avoid being separated; others were doing the same – soldiers, sailors, airmen, civilians – everyone, of course, was in the greatest good humor” (de Gaury 1961: 140).

This cultural affiliation was based on political intervention. At the beginning of the war, the *emir* Abdul Illah cooperated with British military figures to remove the “Golden Square” generals (Elliot 1996, Fattah 2009: 177; Gerrard, 2006). Now, this party of men enjoyed walking through the streets of London together on a day of general celebration. Some historians of Britain point to London as a place where social classes mix easily, whether professionally (Copelman 1996: 35), residentially (Elkin 1974: 89), or in their personal lives (Goldberg 1984: 58). In the midst of “this scene of democratic jubilation” on Pall Mall, a woman stopped in front of Iraq’s Regent and the group of men with him, making “a very low curtsy. It was Lady (Charlotte) Bonham-Carter, accompanied by Harold Freese-Pennefather, of the Foreign Office, who bowed. As they did so they brought to a halt a line of sailors, arms linked, whose faces wore the most comical expressions as they looked at the scene just in front of them” (de Gaury 1961: 140).

The cultural affiliation had grown over time. Faisal’s son, Ghazi, and grandson Feisal II, had both been educated at Harrow; and the ties between the two countries grew, as well. Iraqi Airways announced weekly Viscount services to London, with stops in Istanbul and Vienna.² Feisal II’s State visit to London during 1956 served as final confirmation of the success of his grandfather’s struggle for recognition of Iraq’s independence; as the young King wore a field marshal’s uniform of the Iraqi Army. At Guild Hall, the grandson pronounced his speech in Received Pronunciation English, and duly kissed Queen Elizabeth II’s hand as court protocol required. During that visit, he and his uncle the *emir* Abdul Illah left London only for a weekend at Balmoral Castle, where they were photographed with the Queen, Prince Philip, and their infant children.

The cultural affiliation and its political basis was at its strongest, that summer of the 1956 State visit. Feisal I’s companion-at-arms, Nuri es-Said, had accompanied the grandson.

¹ “Marriages”, *The London Times*, 2 June 1944.

² *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, 55-56 (1956).

The young man and the old one lingered after the State visit had concluded, in order to spend the summer in the cool of London. Both were guests of Anthony Eden, seated under the high, arched ceiling of the paneled state dining room at 10 Downing Street on that lovely June evening when they learned that Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt had nationalized the Suez Canal Company's assets. While the Iraqi premier's advice to his British counterpart may be apocryphal: "hit Nasser and hit him hard" (Alexander 2005: 86; Jankowski 2002: 84; Kunz 1991). Radio Baghdad promised its listeners that pressure on Egypt would produce results, since the Egyptians were no more than 'a gang of gypsies, ' 'stateless, vagrant mercenaries' without religion or ethics.³

b. Paris

Of all European cities, not all the history of the Hashemite monarchy can be told from London; some aspects of Iraq's politics were evident over the Channel, from France's capital. During the 1920s, the *emir* Faisal had fought for privileges his descendants would enjoy in London, in Paris. After the French had expelled him from Damascus, he relocated to the "capital of the nineteenth century", renting a modest apartment while he attended the peace talks' "Council of Ten" (Antonious 1939: 286; Manela 2007: 59; Nevakivi 1969: 86). From the position that his "army was representative of Arab exemplars and was composed of young Syrians, Lebanese, Hejazis, Mesopotamians, Palestinians, and Yemenis", he argued that Arab uprising justified recognition as the military force of a nation (George 1937: 665).

Referring back to the Hussein-McMahon correspondence of 1915 and 1916, he specifically argued in Paris that the sons of the *bilad ash-sham* had purchased its political independence with their blood: "the Arab army fought to win its freedom. It lost heavily, some 20, 000 men were killed. Allenby acknowledged its services in his dispatches. "Even though he recounted his military and political accomplishments, popular writers responded to what he wore ("captivated the Council with his gold- embroidered black gown, silk headdress crowned with gold- bound white braid, and the gold dagger at his belt") (Brown 1994: 55) just as his contemporaries responded to how he acted ("thoroughly entertained by the spectacle of Occidentals enjoying themselves") (Burgoyne 1958: 175). It was in Paris that King Feisal I agreed to the foundation of a Jewish national home in Palestine (Segev 2001: 129.).

Finally, it was in Paris that (as George Antonious related), Feisal I's disappointment

³ *Amman, Arab Broadcasting Station - 1956-02-21, AMMAN RADIO CRITICISES EGYPTIAN PRESS DAILY REPORT. FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS, FBIS-FRB-56-037 on 1956-02-23 .*

was extreme when he learned that a commission of inquiry was being formed without a French representative. “When news of the decision reached Faisal’s ears, he drank champagne for the first time, and drank it as though it were water. “Suitably inebriated by a late hour, he engaged a carriage and ordered the driver to choose a route past the Hotel *Crillion* where the American delegation slept in luxury through the long winter nights, the *Hotel Majestic* where the British delegation had been allotted small rooms, and the wrought-iron-and-gilt fence guarding the dark and silent colonnades of France’s foreign ministry and archives on the Quai d’Orsay. From his carriage, the founder of the Hashemite house heaved cushions in the general direction of the dark and silent buildings, “saying that, as he had no bombs, he could only express his feelings in that way” (Antonious 1939: 288).

Forty-five years after King Feisal I’s symbolic attack on the *Ministre des Affaires Étrangères*, Paris witnessed an unlikely political agreement forged between his nephew the *emir* Abdul Illah as Regent, and former comrade-at-arms Nuri es-Said. If the enemies of King Feisal I had lodged in the Hotel *Crillion*, the *Majestic*, and the Quai d’Orsay – the Regent and Nuri es-Said were one another’s worst political enemies. The US Ambassador to Baghdad had noted, “Nuri’s strong-mindedness and Abdul Ilah’s insistence on having a say in all decision of any importance did not make for an easy relationship” (Gallman 1964: 5). Given their enmity, it was only Paris’ distracting guilt that allowed the Palace to reconcile with restoring the aged statesman to the Premiership, and the city’s *haute joaillerie* stood ready to commemorate such an unlikely political alliance. In an interview with the Jordanian news agency *Al-Sharqiya*, the *emir*’s sister Princess Badiya bint Ali bin Hussein of the Hejaz recounted that, following this 1954 meeting, she received a gift of amethyst earrings from Cartier.⁴

c. Bonn

As much as the founder of the Hashemite house knew his way around Paris, and given that his Anglophile family had found their way to Place Vendôme – Iraq’s “Free Officers” who led the revolution against the monarchy considered the German-speaking world to be remote and alien from Arab politics. Shortly after the *Tammuz* revolution, the “Supreme Leader” Abdul Karim Qassem appointed his onetime ally Abdul Salam Aref to serve as the

⁴ “Thrones, ” interview with Behiya bint Hussein bin Ali, *Al-Sharqiya* (viewed 8 February 2011), <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U05YvFzjGIM&NR=1>.

country's ambassador to West Germany. By 1958, West Germany had become something of a Siberia, as far as Iraqi politics were concerned. As historian George M Haddad explains, Aref: "refused the appointment, and at a crucial moment on 11 October 1958, while several officers were persuading him to leave because the country was divided due to him, it is said that he attempted to fire at Qassem in the latter's room at the Ministry of Defense." Haddad adds that the Qassem (the former staff college instructor) eventually forgave him, on the proviso that his former pupil would leave Iraq. Bonn was political exile in the sense that that city was removed from sources of stimulus that influenced Arab nationalist politics. "Aref spent one night at Bonn, made a tour of western and central Europe, and returned to Baghdad" (Haddad 1965: 289).

d. Vienna

If London, Paris, and Bonn function as locations for key events in the Hashemite monarchy's and successor Republic's emergence and challenges, Wein merits similar consideration. I argue that Vienna provided a home away from home for those who had invested in Iraqi politics. Unlike London, however, which was the seat of the Hashemite monarchy's coercive powers, and unlike Paris, which provided couture garments and glittering jewels for the established monarchy, Wein under military occupation offered a supportive environment to Iraqis who were established in their national politics, as they struggled for democratic freedoms from a variety of different political positions during the monarchy.

2. The Past Is Another Country

To recognize the role that these individuals played in Iraqi politics from Vienna, though, will require an additional step for historians of central Europe. While the previously-cited historians of both Great Britain and France readily recognize these capital cities' postcolonial heritage, the nation remains a central concept for those commenting on public affairs in Central Europe. Journalist Hella Pick notes, "Austria is exceeded only by Israel in possessing a tunnel-vision about its country's affairs" (Pick 2000: 34). The "Issue of Foreigners" became a focal point for discussion of domestic politics twenty years ago (when Austria received a wave of refugees from the former Yugoslavia, and Germany witnessed a simultaneous upsurge of right-wing xenophobia against foreigners). While such concerns emerged in

Vienna's 1991 municipal elections, they were little evident during the 1950s, when Austria's laws had not yet distinguished between economic refugees and asylum seekers to control and guide access to the country (Secher 1994: 257).

Members of Vienna's historical aristocracy maintained their commitment to being informed and informing others regarding foreign affairs into the Cold War years. On the basis of a tour he made through the Middle East, journalist Otto von Hapsburg called on the United States to exercise "direct diplomatic action" to increase food aid to Palestinian refugees and ease the current situation in the region. Lecturing a university audience in the U. S. on "The Mohammedan World and Communism", he called members of the Iran/ Iraq/ Pakistan/ Turkey multilateral agreement "entirely reliable" allies against communism. He told his Chicago audience, "all of these countries (except Iraq) border Russia and have always fought Russian colonialism", concluding by anthropomorphizing, "and Iraq is close enough so that it feels the communists' hot breath." ⁵

Vienna enjoyed a long history as "home away from home" for political exiles. As journalist Andy Walker points out, communist internationalist Leon Trotsky and Aryan supremacist Adolph Hitler were habitués of the same café. Both "frequented Café Central", with its high arched windows and parquet floors, "where cakes, newspapers, chess and, above all, talk, were the patrons' passions."⁶ Sasson Hakhham Heskeli, who became Minister of Finance in his country's first post-Ottoman cabinet, graduated from Vienna's Faculty of Law in the late 1880s (and had been one of the first Iraqis to graduate from a university)⁷

While Iraqi's roots for the love of democracy were deep in Austrian soil, few leaves sprouted on new wood during the petroleum era. None of Sasson Hakhham Heskeli's grandchildren's generation enrolled in his *alma mater*. When the Iraqi government began to grant petroleum-funded bursaries, most of the students who took advantage of them studied in Arab Egypt or Lebanon, or even the US; those travelling to Europe preferred England and France. A few brave individuals represented Iraq in universities in Italy and Switzerland. There is, however, no suggestion that students choose Austria for higher education during the

⁵ "Russ Seek Middle East War, Archduke Asserts", *Los Angeles Times*, 14 February 1956.

⁶ Andy Walker, "1913: When Hitler, Trotsky, Tito, Freud and Stalin All Lived in the Same Place", *BBC News*, 17 April 2013.

⁷ *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, Volumes 11-12 (1969), p. 59.

postwar wave of international students.⁸ Those who were in Vienna had completed their education elsewhere; and their political activities were an exception the era's youth-dominated politics (Haj 1997; Khadduri 1951; Marr 1985).

3. Austria Under Military Occupation

Vienna during the early 1950s was (I would argue) a place and time in which the colonizer/colonized divide faded into insignificance, and this leveling of global difference facilitating Iraqis' contributions to the development of democracy in their own country. Remaining under military occupation after World War II, the parameters of Austrians' political experience depended on the policies embraced by foreign states. As Hella Pick delineates, the key questions for those living under occupation were quite similar to the key questions of a state that enjoyed ambiguous sovereignty, such as Iraq: "how would the occupying powers behave? How far would they go in rooting out [adherents to banned political parties]? What importance did they attach to the country's recovery and its restoration as a sovereign nation? How would the occupation forces go about their everyday dealings with [their hosts]?"¹

During those immediate postwar years, there were attempts to return life in the capital to how it had been before the war. Tramcars clattered along some routes. Its historic house having been damaged during the war, the State Opera Company staged Mozart's *Nozze di Figaro* in the Volksoper, a theater on the northwest belt boulevard. The coffeehouses, too, were back in business (Hofmann 1988: 295). Historian William Bluhm described the Constitution of the Second Republic as an agreement between the People's Party and the Socialist Party to reactivate the Federal Constitutional Law as it stood before the Dollfuss coup. The political parties established a coalition, dividing between them ministerial posts and "a detailed rubric for the day-to-day conduct of policy making during the subsequent legislative period" (Bluhm 1968: 153).

As historian Paul Hoffman points out, Social Democrat Karl Renner headed Austria's new government. It comprised a coalition of other SDs, Christian Socials, and Communists, all friendly to the interests of the Soviet Union (Hofmann 1988: 295). William T. Blum notes

⁸ Government of Iraq. Ministry of Economics, "Students of the Educational Missions and the Countries in which they Study", *Statistical Abstract* (1955), p. 114.

that local politics were based on “a continuous series of large- and small-scale contractual agreements based on compromise”. The parties to this compromise divided between them the offices of state at the ministerial level, proportional representation for staffing government corporations and nationalized industries, establishing a detailed rubric for day-to-day policy making with an elaborate series of checks and balances (Bluhm 1968: 154).

Historian Paul Hofmann associates the emergence of United Nations offices to Bruno Kreisky’ insistence. As he explained, Kreisky’s policy was to attract as many United Nations offices to Vienna as possible, arguing that when Hitler was about to invade Austria, the Schuschnigg government’s plea for help went unheard. The presence of global organizations in Vienna guaranteed that the city would not be forgotten, written off, or bartered away in time of crisis (Hofmann 1988: 313). New UN offices clustered on Wagramer Straße, a gaggle of modernist glass towers across the Danube from the historical city center, among them a new 80-nation International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA).

The Soviet Union preferred Vienna as the home for this agency that the Eisenhower administration had characterized as “vital to American prestige and influence in the world, that it is essential to advancing the peaceful use of atomic energy throughout the world, and that it will greatly help the export of atomic equipment by American industry.”⁹ The IAEA was designed to serve as a bank, receiving deposits and lending out not cash, but reactor fuel. “Big atomic powers, namely the US, Britain and Russia, would provide the fuel to start with. The agency would pay for the fuel from Uncle Sam or whoever else provides it. Then the agency would lease or sell the fuel to the using country.”¹⁰

In Austria, delegates from the Britain, France, the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. served on a censorship agency that scanned international post, radio communications, telegrams, and telephone conversation; foreign correspondents could only avoid censorship if they kept their accreditation.¹¹ Even after the four occupying powers (Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and United States) abolished censorship of Austrians’ private communications, the powers reserved the right to prohibit the publication of any material that they deemed political.

⁹ Neal Stanford, “US weighs role in atom agency”, *Christian Science Monitor* (10 May 1957).

¹⁰ John R. Gibson, “International Atom; Ike’s Aides Open Push for Global Unit Today But Some Senators Balk”, *Wall Street Journal*, 10 May 1957.

¹¹ Volney D. Hurd, “American Air Bases Seen Forthcoming for France”, *Christian Science Monitor* (26 February 1951).

Historian Egon Schwarz emphasizes that postwar politics were based on self-censorship. DeNazification, which he considers to have been, “ a dubious enterprise at best, was practiced in Austria only briefly and half-heartedly; [whereas] those who had been expropriated [by the National Socialist government] and driven into exile were never asked to return... one need only consider that 600, 000 Austrians had been card-carrying members of the National Socialist party, and along with their families and countless sympathizers, they constituted a very large part of the population” (Schwarz 2004: 178).

4. Hashemite Iraq: “The Trappings of Independence”

The parallel between postwar Austria and postcolonial Iraq that characterized the first postwar years remained stable throughout the decade. Like Austria, Iraq’s policies and news reporting of them were severely circumscribed. The terms of the 1930 Anglo-Iraq treaty (which remained in force until 1955) granted the Royal Air Force access to bases in Iraq, without commensurate powers being granted to Baghdad. At the time, Iraqi citizens entered Austria carrying passports of a state which was one of the original signatories to the United Nations; Austria, however, was itself admitted to the UN in 1955¹².

Like Austria, Hashemite Iraq had been permitted “the trappings of independence, “in that it possessed an indigenous government. Like Austria, the members of one political party maintained interests which the occupying powers found reassuring: in the case of Iraq, this was the loose group of individuals identified with the Constitutional Union Party of Nuri es-Said. These were tribal heads and owners of vast agricultural estates whose economic interest was the export of agricultural commodities, at a time when Britain suffered from food insecurity. Those affiliated with the CUP would be reelected to the legislature’s lower house, the Chamber of Deputies, without the need to contest their seats; in exchange, they were prepared to ratify Nuri es-Said’s planned pact with Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

Neal Stanford reported for the *Christian Science Monitor* that, “despite delays in implementing Mr. Eisenhower’s ‘Atoms for peace’ proposals through the UN, the United States had made considerable progress on its own in providing nations with small amounts of

¹² *Jerusalem (Jordan) – 1953-03-17*, ARAB LEAGUE AGENDA QUESTIONS ANNOUNCED, DAILY REPORT. FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS, FBIS-FRB-53-052 on 1953-03-18 .

fissionable materials and setting up research reactors abroad”, and that the U. S. “has signed 29 such bilateral agreements and is preparing to sign another soon with Iraq.”¹³ Following a period of negotiations, the White House eventually approved an “agreement for cooperation between the government of the United States of America and the Government of Iraq Concerning the Civilian Uses of Atomic Energy, “leasing up to six kilograms of contained U-235 in uranium enriched up to a maximum of 20% for use as reactor fuel; article V of the agreement also permitted the commission to transfer limited quantities of U-235 and plutonium “for defined research projects related to the peaceful uses of atomic energy.”¹⁴ This would require that representatives of Iraq’s government establish communications with the new IAEA in Vienna.

In Iraq, the government also screened foreign news reporters carefully.¹⁵ The Ministry of the Interior required foreigners to apply for and obtain permission if they planned to travel in the rural areas outside Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul. The government habitually jammed the broadcasts of foreign radio stations, particularly Cairo Radio’s “Voice of the Arabs” program (Podeh 1995). As a foreign correspondent recalled, “the police pounce upon any clandestine printing press they can find”¹⁶, as when five were arrested with small printing press, booklets, and publications;¹⁷ and a printing press, documents, and thousands of leaflets and publications “ready for distribution.”¹⁸ When, in Iraq, the authorities imposed martial law at the end of 1952, censorship was imposed on all newspapers; even when martial law was lifted following King Faisal II’s Coronation, censorship remained in place.¹⁹

¹³ “Richards Jingles \$200M in Aid: Funds Earmarked”, *Christian Science Monitor*, 13 March 1957.

¹⁴ Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum, White House Central Files, Records as President. Iraq Case File, OF 108-F-2 Atoms for Peace, Agreements between Foreign Governments and the US re: Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy (5), box 454.

¹⁵ “More Curbs Found on Free News Flow”, *New York Times*, 1 July 1951.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Monroe, “‘Pink Communism’ in the Middle East”, *New York Times*, 7 June 1953.

¹⁷ *Limassol, Sharq al-Adna - 1954-08-26*, BAGHDAD POLICE RAID 2 COMMUNIST CELLS, DAILY REPORT. FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS, FBIS-FRB-54-167 on 1954-08-27 .

¹⁸ *Limassol, Sharq al-Adna - 1955-04-23*, CP HEADQUARTERS LOCATED IN BAGHDAD, DAILY REPORT. FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS, FBIS-FRB-55-080 on 1955-04-25 .

¹⁹ “Censorship Being Eased in Some Areas”, *Washington Post*, 27 December 1953; “News Censorship is Little Changed”, *New York Times*, 4 July 1954.

5. Iraqis in Vienna

The noted structural factors and new institutions identified above provide backdrop to evidence that the Austrian capital assumed a unique role as the setting for Iraq's parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics. Both Iraqi ministers and members of illegal political organizations found new homes in the apartments, pensions and hotels of the former Hapsburg capital. Iraqi government figures included Vienna in their plans, whether for summer vacations outside Iraq during the hottest months, and/or biomedical treatment (Baghdad's hospitals were notorious for poor food, and abusive service) for themselves and for members of their families. Leftist political figures travelled to Vienna in order to attend international political meetings; and, when necessary, as asylum-seekers.

a. Parliamentary Politics

In Iraq, the Palace frequently imposed martial law. Citizens' civil liberties were suspended in November 1952 (the College of Pharmacy riots) and remained suspended until October 1953. Among Army officers, a number were alleged to be: "subscribed to the view that a country such as Iraq should exist under a permanent state of martial law, as did Turkey after Mustafa Kamal's revolution."²⁰ The Lawyers' Syndicate, however, called for full restoration of civil liberties before the scheduled summer 1954 elections; their position was that the proscription of free speech and public assembly, as well as the provisions granting the authorities the right to seize persons and hold them without trial, impaired the democratic process.

The previous summer's events over the border in Iran, alarmed democracy-lovers in Baghdad. In neighboring Teheran, members of the National Front had resigned from the *majlis*, making a quorum impossible and bringing all government business to a halt.²¹ Under these circumstances, foreign agents brought about a change of government. US CIA officer Kermit Roosevelt turned to Brigadier General Robert A. McClure; he had run the army's Psychological Warfare Division during the Korean War (Weiner 2007: 87-88.). Roosevelt commissioned a (legally-dubious) royal decree dismissing Mohammed Musaddeq as prime

²⁰ 15 February 1954. British Embassy, Baghdad, to Mr. Anthony Eden, London, 17 February 1954, enclosing annual report by office of the military attaché, British embassy, Baghdad, on Iraq army forces for the year 1953 [FO 371/222023], *Records of Iraq*, XI, pp. 130ff.

²¹ "Mossadegh Terms *Majlis* Dissolved", *New York Times*, 16 August 1953.

minister, and appointing former Army Chief of Staff Fazlollah Zahedi in his place. US Ambassador to Iraq Burton Berry (on Roosevelt's advice) suggested the Shah broadcast a statement saying he had fled in the face of a left-wing revolution; Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi did so from the BBC's Broadcast House in Baghdad (Weiner 2007: 100). With the transfer of power from the legislature to the executive, the population's general resistance to nuclear proliferation had no means by which it could restrict Iran's commitments to multilateral treaties.

With the treat of similar events in their own country, Iraqi parliamentarians sought full restoration of civil freedoms. And even though Iran's crisis was tripped when members of the National Front had resigned from the legislature, Iraqi political figures valued party discipline as the basis for orderly political life. Iraqi Minister of Social Affairs Hassan Abdul Rahman was in Austria during the winter of 1953-1954 where he accompanied his son for medical treatment. He was a member of the Mohammed Ridha al-Shabibi's miniscule United Popular Front (*al-Nabha al-Shabiyya al-Muttahida*) political party. The Front's Executive Committee had demanded that Iraq's Cabinet lift martial law within 10 days. When designated date passed without the restoration of full civil liberties, that Abdul Rahman cabled Baghdad from the *Hauptpostamt*, stating that he would abide by the party decision and tender his resignation.²²

The United Popular Front leaders subsequently met, justifying their individual decisions by their loyalty to the political party and its needs. They submitted a copy of the Front's charter and internal regulations to Prime Minister Fadhil al-Jamali, who replied with a letter accepting their decision. Al-Jamali's text stated, "I received your gracious letter, dated 17 October 1953, in which you notified me of the decision of the United Popular Front Party as representatives of your honorable Party in my Cabinet. I am thankful to the Party for its confidence and am proud of it. I likewise read the Charter of the United Popular Front and I ask God to guide all for the achievement of Iraq's supreme ideals and the sincere service of the people."²³ As a result of the United Popular Front's actions, the Cabinet retained 4 representatives of the Nuri es-Said's Constitutional Union party, along with 12 Independents.²⁴

The United Popular Front's members' party discipline permitted Nuri es-Said and his

²² "Minister Resigns", *Iraq Times*, 8 January 1954.

²³ "United Popular Front Resumes Activity", Baghdad, Iraqi Home Service, 5 November 1953, 1500 GMT) [DAILY REPORT. FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS, FBIS-FRB-53-218 on 1953-11-06.

²⁴ "Dr. Jalili followed party decision when he resigned cabinet post", *Iraq Times*, 9 January 1954.

political allies to take control of the government without external intervention. As a result of Hassan Abdul Rahman's *Hauptpostamt* resignation, no military coup occurred in Iraq. While the summer elections were exceptional in their inclusiveness, the King prorogued the Chamber of Deputies after only one day. A pliant Chamber of Deputies was elected in the autumn. The Deputies duly ratified the new multilateral treaties the following January and April. There had been no need for a Teheran-style coup in Baghdad.

b. Peace Partisans

While the city was being chosen as the headquarters for the new IAEA, Vienna had welcomed delegates to a global Congress of Peoples for Peace during December 1952. This was the Congress identified with the distinctive "dove" poster Pablo Picasso drew for the "Peace Partisans," political allies of such international non-governmental organizations as World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Federation of Democratic Women, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth (all of which had numerous sympathizers among Iraq's left). The platform of the *Ansar as-Salam* was that that "the Anglo-American imperialists are trying hard to transform the Arab countries into a military bridgehead in addition to considering them as a source of raw material and manpower for [their] fighting forces."²⁵

A number of Arab delegates attended the Vienna meeting (Ginat 1993: 51, n. 99). The Partisans' movement, "included in its ranks people of differing political inclinations, particularly from among the intelligentsia."²⁶ Two poets represented Iraq: Mohamed Mahdi al Jawahiri²⁷ and Baḥr al-'Ulūm (Litvak 2002: 6). Al-Jawahiri, who had served as an editor for a newspaper that the authorities had recently closed down, cycled through a series of temporary homes in Egypt and Syria, from whence he traveled to Austria. It was then also from the *Hauptpostamt* that he sent his report of the conference to the editors of the Baghdad daily, 'Al-Rai al-Am.²⁸ The Vienna conference recommended the "unconditional banning of weapons of mass destruction, and primarily of atomic, chemical, and bacteriological

²⁵ "Arab World Supports WPC Peace Appeal", Moscow, Soviet Near Eastern Service, in Arabic, DAILY REPORT. FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS, FBIS-FRB-50-097 on 1950-05-18 .

²⁶ Aziz Sharif. "Nadezhnaia krepost' mira", March 1959 P. 57.

²⁷ Public Records Office, Foreign Office 481/12. "Further Correspondence Respecting Iraq, Part 12, January to December 1958", p. 26.

²⁸ *Bulletin of the World Council of Peace*, No. 5, January 1954, p. 6. ,

weapons.”²⁹ Iraq’s other poet-representative, Baḥr al-‘Ulūm published a book on the movement, including a Shi’i *fatwa* condemning weapons of mass destruction (Abdul Jabbar 2002: 216).

c. Communist Party of Iraq

At the time, Austria and Iraq didn’t maintain embassies in each other’s capitals;³⁰ for this reason, there were no Iraqi cultural attachés at a Vienna embassy to spy on nationals. Other Iraqi leftists would retrace the steps of Mohamed Mahdi al Jawahiri and Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, since “the distance from Kirkuk to Vienna is about equal to that from Texas to New York.”³¹ Iraqis on the political left used Wien as their “home away from home,” a city where they enjoyed free access to the Soviet Embassy and a measure of respite from the Iraqi police’s Criminal Investigations Department (which, rather than pursuing criminals, spent their time pursuing communists). More Iraqi leftists made the journey after passage of the notorious decrees 16, 17, 18, and 19 that had been passed during the summer of 1954.

While the original text of article 51 of the 1938 Iraqi penal code specified seven years’ imprisonment (or a fine) for propagation of communism, anarchism, or immorality (and, in 1948, an amendment added “Zionism” to this list), even more stringent regulations were announced on 22 August. The new decree 16 required that all non-governmental organizations re-register with the Ministry of the Interior. Members of organizations, “whether direct or through organizations aimed at serving the above-mentioned purposes or doctrines under the screen of any name, such as the Peace Partisans, the Democratic Youth, and so forth,” were threatened with seven years’ imprisonment for failure to do so.³²

Not all non-governmental organizations’ applications would be approved, and this provision revoked the legal status of so-called “communist front groups” such as the Peace Partisans, and the citizenship of any convicted under article 51.³³ Decree 17 entrusted the minister of the interior with the arrest and deportation of those convicted, and decree 18 closed

²⁹ World Council of Peace, *Documents and Papers on Disarmament, 1945-1955*. Vienna, 1956. P. 87.

³⁰ *Baghdad, Iraqi Home Service - 1955-01-03*, FOREIGN POLICY DISCUSSED IN BUDGET DEBATE, DAILY REPORT. FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS, FBIS-FRB-55-002 on 1955-01-04 .

³¹ Canadian Institute for International Affairs, *International Journal*, Volumes 11-12 (1955), p. 201.

³² *Baghdad, Iraqi Home Service - 1954-09-01*, CONVICTED COMMUNISTS TO LOSE CITIZENSHIP, DAILY REPORT. FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS, FBIS-FRB-54-171 on 1954-09-02

³³ “Iraq Action Against Communists”, *London Times* (2 September 1954).

all labor unions (Ismael 2008: 53.). Members of the National Democratic Party (*al-Hizb al-Watani al-Dimuqrati*) vehemently attacked decrees 16, 17, and 18 and demanded their withdrawal declaring: “We consider these reactionary decrees issued by this government the worst of any government’s action, not only in Iraq but in the world as a whole... not because it is contrary to the basic principles of democracy and violates the constitution, but because it violated one of the natural human rights of citizens which is the right of citizenship” (Ismael 2008: 54).

During the following months, a number of Iraqis turned up at the Soviet Embassy in Vienna. A man carrying a passport made out in the name of “Mohammed Jabbar” claimed he was a member of the Communist Party of Iraq, and should be permitted to study in the Soviet Union in accordance with the decision of his party’s Central Committee. Khaled Hussein (the party name of Sharif esh-Sheikh) took a more sophisticated approach; he first appealed to Friedel Fürnberg, general secretary of the Communist Party of Austria, and identified himself as a candidate member of the Central Committee before approaching the Soviet Embassy. According to Sherif ash-Sheikh’s personal file in Moscow, his other party name was “*Kharis*” (guard). He had been elected a candidate member of the communist party of Iraq during 1954, the same year he traveled to Vienna. In Austria, he was responsible for the party organizations of students abroad, and the Communist Party of Iraq’s liaison with the fraternal parties. Unsuccessful in his attempts to enter the Soviet Union, he return to Iraq the following year.³⁴

Conclusion

Established during the 1920s, the Hashemite monarchy of Iraq experienced a series of crises in parliamentary governance (exacerbated in events during the summer of 1953, over the border in Iran) which culminated in the dual elections of 1954. These crises affected both parliamentarians, and the members of illegal political parties; the political activities of both were particularly evident while they were out of the country in Vienna. The Austrian capital (still under Soviet military occupation) took an unexpectedly-prominent role as the setting for both Iraq's politics. During 1954, Hassan Abdul Rahman (serving as Minister of Social Affairs) accompanied his son for medical treatment. A member of the United Popular Front

³⁴ Российский государственный архив социально-политической истории (РГАСПИ), f. 495, Op. 216, delo 157.

political group, his party's Executive Committee demanded that the Cabinet lift martial law within 10 days; Abdul Rahman's resignation opened the way for imposition of authoritarian controls in Iraq. Later that same year (following passage of the notorious decrees 16, 17, 18, and 19) a series of activists who had been deprived of their civil status turned up at the Soviet Embassy in Vienna.

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Š-AKŪ MAKŪ? A LEXICAL-SEMANTIC APPROACH TO THE SPECIFIC VOCABULARY OF THE SPOKEN ARABIC OF IRAQ

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Abstract. This paper aims to deliver a hopefully thorough lexical-semantic analysis of Spoken Arabic of Iraq specific lexemes, as they have been defined by the Iraqi speakers themselves, selected from a corpus recorded across the last year, with entries from the Internet (social networking sites, Q/A sites and forums).

Keywords: Baghdadi Arabic, Iraqi Arabic, Arabic Dialects, Mesopotamian, Etymology, Iraqi Social Networks.

Introduction and objectives

This study focuses on the specificity of a series of words or expressions found in the spoken Arabic of Iraq (especially in the Baghdadi Arabic variety), that the Iraqi speakers take pride of, as being “unique” and understandable only by other Iraqis. These lexemes, following Iraqis’ statements, are distinguishing not only within this variety (they are, in other terms, “Iraqi Arabic specific lexemes”), but also within the bigger boundaries set by the other varieties of Arabic (whose speakers might not find understandable or, at the very least, understand them at a smaller degree, remaining rather opaque with their Iraqi meaning). Nonetheless, I have surveyed a series of speakers of other Arabic varieties to confirm whether they perceive these lexemes as pertaining to their dialect or not and the results were: half, in favor of the research and half against it, as some of the people surveyed either did not recognize them at all (or they scarcely did), or they had them in their own dialects (Syrian, Lebanese, North-Mesopotamian, etc.).

During my several visits to Iraq, when meeting people for the first time, they would express their admiration for my literary Arabic usage. Shortly after, however, they would reproach me with not knowing Iraqi Arabic. I would then reply that I had started learning Iraqi Arabic not long ago. From that moment on, most of the conversations revolved around terms that Iraqis take pride of and expressions considered to be unique among the entirety of the Arabic varieties. The usual questions would then be: *to‘ruf barmaki?* – “do you know (what) barmaki (means)?”; *hāy šinū zagnabūt?* – “what is *zagnabūt*?”, etc. I am trying to

seek, through this study, the etymological reality behind the terms employed in the Spoken Arabic of Iraq (known as SAI henceforth), to see what makes them remarkable to the degree implied by the Iraqis themselves or see if they are nothing more than usual dialectal lexemes pertaining to the entire South-Mesopotamian Area and even further from its designated borders.

This paper aims to deliver a thorough lexical-semantic analysis of these so-called Spoken Iraqi specific lexemes (henceforth named as SISL), selected from a corpus recorded across the last year, with entries existent on the social networking sites, taken from web pages like *facebook.com* (أكبر تجمع; تحشيشات عراقية; نكات عراقية; Iraqi jokes عراقية; عراقية نتكافش سويه) like *facebook.com* (أكبر تجمع; تحشيشات عراقية; نكات عراقية; Iraqi jokes عراقية; عراقية نتكافش سويه) and others), and various forums or Q/A sites like *ejabat.google.com*, *ejaaba.com*, *iqr3.com*, *shakwmakw.com* and others.

Data corpus and approach

Specially mentionable is the fact that all the corpus entries represent written material, that required me to seek the help of native SAI speakers to read them several times, in order to render the transcription valid. Most of the informants that helped the transcription take the current shape are currently living in Baghdad, while another group of informants are Iraqis that live in Bucharest. Their ages range from twenty to fifty-plus years.

Moreover, for a better etymological approach, I have chosen a series of dictionaries of various languages that I assumed to be at the origins of some of the lexemes encountered, later on, confirming or denying whether the said statement is etymologically valid. Among the consulted dictionaries, I would like to point to Woodhead (1967), Al-Hanafi (1978) et alia, present in the bibliography of the paper.

The corpus of gathered data consists of a series of more than two hundred entries, representing SISL employed in the SAI variety. I have chosen out of this corpus some representative examples for each category that I have been able to isolate and render as a common denominator for each term. On analyzing the corpus, I have therefore been able to divide the lexemes into the following categories:

1. Lexemes originated in Semitic languages. This category contains lexemes that have been inherited from a Semitic sub-layer. I have left room for discussion regarding the

possibility of these words occurring even farther than the south-Mesopotamian area that is under study. In other terms, it is not entirely impossible to encounter them even in the Arabic varieties spoken in Syria or Lebanon or even Turkey. Their etymology is yet to be entirely resolved and a much more detailed analysis shall be employed in a future paper.

2. Unknown etymologies.

3. Lexemes originated in an ad-layer, of loan-words from the neighbouring languages of SAI.

3.1. Lexemes originated in Iranian languages. The SAI and much concisely the SAB (Spoken Arabic of Baghdad), as a representative dialect within SAI, has created connections and kept contact with a series of Iranian languages, among which one could take into account not only Persian, but Kurdis-h varieties as well.

3.2. Lexemes originated in Turkic languages. SAI has not only preserved contact with Iranian languages but also with Turkish and Turkmen.

3.3. Lexemes originated in English languages. During Great Britain's mandate in Iraq, on top of some English words that entered SAI, out of which, some of have been generally introduced in most of the dialects of the area and some are specific to only the variety discussed here – see Biṭunā (2011). There has also been a series of words brought in by the British soldiers of Hindu and Pakistani origins (for example, the term *sida*, meaning “straight ahead”, or *panka*, from the Hindu *pañkhā*, employed with the meaning of “fan, ventilator, cooler”). The English sublayer knows extensions even in nowadays expressions, brought in by the worldwide known American events, but I have not decided whether to place them in the same category, as I require time to confirm if they survive in the living language or not. They will, nonetheless, be the subject of another study.

3.4. Lexemes originated in modern European languages. Among these lexemes, I would like to mention the terms originating in French, Italian, Russian or other European languages, which have, just as the ones from the English category, entered and been preserved in most of the varieties of the area, which made me not focus on this category in particular. I would like to remind terms from my corpus, like: *durnaḥīs*, from the French *tournevis*, employed in SAI with the same meaning, “screwdriver”; *ṣōnda*, from the French *sonde* – “probe, measuring tube”, with the meaning of “tube, hose”; *qaryūla* – “a small bed or sofa with a metal frame”, from the Italian *cariolla* – “cart, hand-cart, push cart”.

4. Specific lexemes originated in a historical Baghdadi reality. As a mere example, one could take into account a term like barmaki – “spender, squanderer, luxurious”, which entered SAI via the Barmakid dynasty¹.

In the present paper, I shall approach only the words that have established themselves a statute as any other inherited Arabic words, the ones known and recognized by the majority of the Iraqi population and the ones that have adapted to the phonetics of the language and have been integrated into the Iraqi morphological patterns.

Lexemes originated in Semitic languages

As previously stated, I have been able to isolate these terms as pertaining to the Semitic sublayer of SAI, as the following lexemes have been etymologically identified in the Syriac language. Nonetheless, a far more ample and thoroughgoing study is required to state the exact origin of the said terms.

ǧalāfiṭ / جلافيط – it is employed when referring to meat leftovers that were almost uneatable because of the fat and cartilage content. In Woodhead: “*ǧalfūta - ǧlāfiṭ*: gristle, fat, waste (of meat)” (1967). This lexeme can be connected with the Syriac *glapā* – “squamae” (Brockleman, 1928), “scales”, “sawdust”, “grindings” and it can also be connected with the root *ǧ-l-f* from Arabic, where one can find meanings like “decortication” (Kazimirski, 1944) and the like. In the example below it has been employed as a metaphor for someone whose body is full of fat.

المشي احسن رياضة لكل الجسم للارداف حتى البطن تروح والجسم ينشد يعني ميصير جلافيط

il-mašī aḥsan riyāza li-kill ¹l-ǧisim li-l-ardāf ḥattā l-baṭīn ¹trūḥ w ¹l-ǧisim yinšidd
ya‘nī mo yšīr ǧalāfiṭ

walking is the best sport for all the body, for the buttocks, even the belly goes away, and the body becomes strong, that is, it doesn’t become one of a blimp

¹ The Barmakids (al-barāmika / al-barmak) was an Iranian family of secretaries and *wazīrs* of the early ‘Abbāsid Caliphs. Besides being known for their patronage of literature, philosophy and science, they also promoted public works, such as canals and mosques, but also squandered money on building luxurious palaces by the Tigris (Sourdel, 1986: 1033-1036).

ṭarṭabīs / طرطبيس - used when referring to someone that is blatantly stupid. It may be connected with the Syriac *ṭūrtāba* –var. *qūrṭāba* – “thistle” (Brockleman, 1928).

مرة شيخ... مو جانت طرطبيس ما تعرف الجمعة من الخميس قبل ما تطلع من العراق... هسه رجعت
وهسه هي مسوؤله ورجلها الشيخ بالبرلمان

maṛṭ šeyḥ... mū čānet ṭarṭabīs mā to‘ruf¹l-ḡum‘a mn-¹l-ḥamīs gabul mā təṭla‘¹mn-¹l-‘irāq... hassa riḡa‘at w hassa hiyya mas’ūla w raḡil-hā š-šeyḥ bi-l-barlamān

the wife of a *sheikh*... she wasn’t completely dumb, not making the difference between Friday and Thursday, before going out from Iraq... now she returned and she’s an accountant and her man is in the Parliament

bazzūne / بزونه/بزونة (pl. bazāzīn / بزازين) – term employed for designating a cat (Woodhead, 1967). It may be connected with the Syriac root *b-z-z*, with the meaning “to hunt”, “to capture”, “to booty” (Brockleman, 1928). The lexeme exists, nonetheless, outside SAI (Turkey, Central Asia), as per Behnstedt and Woidich². There is also *bsēne* in Syria, which is likely to be related as well.

يمة هذا وحش مو بزونة بس اريد اعرف بزونة على شنو مخروعة

y-^umma, hāḏa waḥiṣ mū bazzūne, bass arīd a‘ruf bazzūne ‘alā šinū maḥrū‘a

goodness gracious! This is a beast, not a cat. still, I want to know what is the cat scared of?

²“Mit Diminutivsuffix" -ūne gebildet ist die Formen nordost-syr. Dialekte aus Anatolien: *bassūne*. Für Anatolien selbst nicht belegt in VOW und JAS-1. Ganz ähnlich lautet typisch irak. *bazzūn(a)*. Kommt schon im ausersten Zipfel Nordost-Syriens vor (s. Karte), u.a. bei den südlichen Khawētna (idem TAY-5). Irak: LAN-2:1135 “Mesopotamie”, Internet, WB, FB Baghdad, FB Basra, Babylon *bezzūne* (MEI), ‘Āna *bezzūn* (BLA-2:147), christl.-baghdadisch *bazzūni* pl. *bazēzīn* (HAI-2:185), dort geschlechtsneutral “Kater” oder “Katze” (HAI-2:71 Fn.5), Kwayriš *bazzūna* (WEI 330a). Ist auch in zentralasiatischem Arabisch üblich: *bazzūn* Afghanistan (ING-8:114), Uzbekistan *bazzūna* (VIN). Es liegt wieder einmal ein eindeutiger lexikalischer Bezug zwischen ZAA und Mesopotamien vor” (Behnstedt & Woidich, 2011: map 112, p. 328).

mgaddī / مكدي – lexeme defining a beggar, a mendicant. Can be connected with the Syriac *gaddā* – “luck”, “faith” (Brocklemann, 1928). Also, in Classical Arabic, there is the verb *kaddā - yukaddī* – “to beg”. Nonetheless, it is very hard to explain the switching of /k/ into /g/ from CA to SAI. The lexeme has been subjected to other studies.³

فد يوم سألو مكدي اذا ربحت مليون دولار شتسوي بيهم كلهم ابني جامع جبير واكعد اكدي بالباب مالتة

fadd yōm si'law mgaddī idā ribḥet malyūn dūlār š 'tsawwī bī-hum kull-hum abnī
ḡami' čibīr w-ag'ud agaddī bi-l-bāb malt-a

One day they asked a beggar: if you won a million dollars, what would you do with them? (he replied) I'd build a big mosque and I would be begging at its' entrance.

Unknown etymologies

The following lexemes have proven to be rather opaque, when it comes to their etymological approach. Therefore, I have placed them into this category, as they require a thorougher analysis. They will be dealt with in a future study, more focused on the Semitic layers that the SAI is built on.

diṭū / دثو (pl. diṭāwa / دثاوه) – it is a contemptuous term, employed for calling someone a sluggard or an idiot (Woodhead, 1967).

والله يا قمر هذا مو غبي هذا دثو

waḷla, yā gamar, hāḍa mū ḡabī, hāḍa diṭū

by god, by the moon, this (guy) isn't stupid, he's an idiot.

³ See the introduction of *Al-Hamadhānī, Maqāmāt (Séances), choisies et traduites de l'arabe, avec une étude sur le genre*, by Régis Blachère and Pierre Masnou, 1957.

za‘ṭūṭ / زعطوط (pl. za‘āṭīṭ / زعاطيط) – employed when speaking about a very young child (Woodhead, 1967). It has also been encountered in Lebanon (see ‘Abū Sa‘d: 1987).

صورتني من جنت زعطوط منو يعرف منو اني بيهم اله تقييم مع

sūrt-ī min činit za‘ṭūṭ min-nu^h yo‘ruf min-nu^h ’anī bī-hum ’ila taqyīm ha‘

my picture since I was a child, who knows which one of them is me, let’s evaluate
huh

zagnabūt / زقنبوت – employed for very unpleasant food, sometimes utilized as a nickname for uneatable food, also “poison” (Woodhead, 1967), employed figuratively. There is also a verb that emerged from this lexeme: “*zaqṇab* – to feed someone in order to do them harm” (Grigore, 2010:58).

هو ميعرف شنو زقنبوت رايح ركض وفرحان لأمه كايمل ماما فوفو سوتلنا زقنبوت واني صرت
هيجي... بعد ما خلصو كلها تكول عاشت ايدج الزقنبوت كلش زين جان

huwwa mo yo‘ruf šīnu zagnabūt rāyih rikaz w farḥān la-’umm-a gāyil māmā
māmā fūfū sawwat ^ol-nā zagnabūt w anī širit hīčⁱ... ba‘ad mā ḥilṣaw kull-^ha ygūl
‘āšet [’]īd-eč⁴ iz-zagnabūt kulliš zēn čān

he doesn’t know what zagnabūt is, he went happily running to his mom, saying:
“mommy, mommy, Fufu made us zagnabūt”, I was like this... after they finished
all of it, he says: ”thank you (lit. long live your hands) for the zagnabūt, it was
very good”

zalanṭaḥ / زلنطح – term used when referring to a snail (Woodhead, 1967). Behnstedt and Woidich state that this form is “reminiscent of the *ḥ-l-z-n* [“snail” in other Arabic varieties] and *z-l-ḥ-f* [“turtle” roots]⁵.

⁴In the corpus recording selected here, we have the occurrence *ايدج*, where the *’alif* marks the presence of a *glottal stop*, therefore rendering our transcription as *’īd*, confirmed in Woodhead (1967, 21).

جنه نرش ماي على الزلنطح ونغنييه هيجي، خطيه هو من الماي هيجي يسوي مو من الاغنيه

činnā nrušš māy⁶ ‘alā l-zalanṭaḥ w ^ungannī l-a hīčⁱ, ḥaṭiye huwwa mn-^l-māy hīčⁱ
ysawwī mū mn-^l-^ugniye

we were sprinkling water on the snail and singing to it, poor thing, he was doing
like that because of the water not of the song

ṭarṭūr / طرطور (pl. ṭarāṭīr / طراطير) – a boaster, a two-penny, a coward (Woodhead, 1967). Just like *ṭarṭabīs*, *ṭarṭūr* seems onomatopoeic. It has also been found in Lebanon (see ‘Abū Sa‘d: 1987).

أنت ليش باقي؟ ليش أسمك يبدأ بحرف الطاء؟ فأجاب عزت بصوت خافت: لا سيدي بس جنابك دائما أتدللني
وتسميني طرطور

‘enta lēš bāqi? lēš ism-ak yibda’ ‘b-ḥarf ‘ṭ-ṭā’? fa- ‘aḡāba’⁷ ‘izzet bi-ṣawt ḥāfit: lā,
sayyidī bass ḡanāb-ak dā ‘iman ‘tdallil-nī w ^utammī-nī ṭarṭūr

why are you still (here)? why? does your name start with the letter T? and ‘izzet
answered with an inaudible voice: no, sir, but Your Graceness always cuddles me
and calls me a two-penny

‘itwi / عتوي (pl. ‘atāwī / عتاوي) – it is the lexeme employed when referring to a very big tom
cat (Woodhead, 1967).

⁵ Die irak. Form *zalanṭaḥ*, -a in WB, FB Baghdad, zahlreiche Internet-Quellen, erinnert an *hlzn* und *zlhf* “Schildkrote” (vgl. oben Zitat DO II:428) (2011: map 127, p. 376).

⁶ The predominant form encountered in SAB and generally in SAI, is *mayy*. Nonetheless, other forms can be heard, such as the abovementioned.

⁷ This occurrence, as well as other occurrences encountered in the corpus, proves to us that SAI (and probably the rest of the Arabic varieties) is fluctuant to such a degree, that there is always the probability of a literary Arabic term (or even more – see the example of *‘itwi*) to appear in the speech (and, in this case, the written speech) of the informants.

قبل قليل طلعت للحديقة وفجأً اجه عتوي اسود وكف كدامي باوعتله باوعتله هم رجع باوعلي
 كئلته بشت اشووو نفخ عليه اتقربت عليه وخالني الزمه والعب ويايه ابتعدت عنه وصحته اشووو اجاني
 ركض يم رجليه شنو الفلم مادري فهموني اول مره اشوفه بل الحديقه عتوي اسود جبير واتفضلو الصور

qabla qalīl ṭila‘et la-l-ḥadīqa w fağ’an iğā ‘itwi aswad wugaf giddām-ī bāwa‘et l-
 a bāwa‘ l-ī hamm bāwa‘et l-a hamm riğa‘ bāwa‘ l-ī gelet l-a *bišit* ⁱšū, naffah ‘aley-
 ya, iqtarabet ‘aley-^h w ḥallā-nī alzim-a w-al‘ab wiyyāy-a, ibta‘adet ‘ann-a w šeḥet-
 a ^ašū, iğā-nī rikaz yemm riğley-ya šinū –l-film ma-^adrī fah^hmū-nī awwal marra
^ašūf-a b-^l-ḥadīqa ‘itwi ‘aswad čibīr w ^tfazzilū ṣ-ṣuwar

not before long, I went out in the garden and suddenly, a big black tomcat came
 before me, I looked at him, he looked at me too I looked at him then he turned and
 looked at me, I told him *shoo* and he fluffed up and I got close to him and he let
 me touch him and play with him and then I got away from him and screamed at
 him *shoo* and he came running next to my leg, what’s the catch? I don’t know,
 make me understand! It was the first time I saw him in the garden, a big black
 tomcat, here you have the pictures

Lexemes originated in Iranian languages

‘*armūt* / عرموط – it is a very mellow summer pear, small and yellow. It may come from the
 Persian *امرود* / *amrūd* – var. *ارمود* / *armūd* (Aryanpur-Kashani, 1996) (Steingass, 1892), with
 the same meaning of “pear”. Although its’ etymology has been analyzed by Behnstedt and
 Woidich⁸, as going back to the Turkish *armut*, “pear”, I believe its onward origin must be in
 the Persian language, as a result of the desonorization of /d/ into /t/.

⁸ Vom türk. *armut* abzuleiten sind *armūt* Cukurova (FB); Urfā *armut* (FB); Antiochien/Iskenderun ‘*armūt* (FB);
 ‘*armūd* in Syrien nach DEN nach einer Quelle von 1925, ‘*armūt* in Aleppo (EM), nach YAS III: 1034 besonders
 um die Stadt Lattakia herum, nicht in BAR, jedoch in ASA-V:378 ‘*urmūt*, nach ihm aus dem türk. *ārmūd*, dieses
 aus dem Pers. und dieses wiederum aus dem Monglischen; Irak ‘*armūt* WB, FB Baghdad, FB Basra, Internet. Im
 Jemen offensichtlich gekreuzt mit ‘*amb* “Mango, Papaya”: Ṣaṇ n‘ā’ ‘*ambarūd* (FB), Ḍafār *ambarūd* (FB), Zabīd
ambarūtu (FB), Aden ‘*ambarūt* (FB), in PIA ‘*ambarūd*, ‘*anbarūt* aus dem Hindustani *āmrūd*. Zahlreiche Belege
 aus dem Internet. Bedeutet jedoch im Sudan Saudi-Arabiens “Papaya” (Internet mit Abbildung) Im Jemen
 offensichtlich gekreuzt mit ‘*amb* “Mango, Papaya”: Ṣaṇ ‘ā’ ‘*ambarūd* (FB), Ḍafār *ambarūd*(FB),
 Zabīd *ambarūtu* (FB), Aden ‘*ambarūt* (FB), in PIA ‘*ambarūd*, ‘*anbarūt* aus dem Hindustani *āmrūd*. Zahlreiche

تفاح مهروس بالخلاط مع موز و شوي عصير تفاح او عرموط مهروس تضيفين عليه السيريلاك توست مع
جين كيري

tuffāḥ mahrūs bi-l-ḥallāṭ ma‘ mōz w šwayy° ‘ašīr tuffāḥ ‘aw ‘armūt mahrūs ‘tẓīfīn
‘aley-^h il-sīrīlāk tōst ma‘ ḡibin kīrī

mashed apples with the mixer, along with bananas and a bit of apple or pear juice,
you add over it the Cerelac Toast with Kiri cheese

istikān / istikāna / استكان \ اسكانة – it is a lexeme employed by SAI speakers only for the tea glasses. All the other types of glasses are *glāṣ*, borrowed from English (Woodhead, 1967). It is found in persian, as *istakān* (Steingass, 1892), and Azerbaijani as *stəkan*, with the same meaning. Apparently it arrived in SAI, through these languages, coming from russian *гранёный стакан* (*granyonyi stakan*) – “faceted (table) glass”. The lexeme is employed even farther from SAI⁹.

يا سلام على هالجاي المخدر ولك عاشرت إيدك على هالاستكانة

yā salām ‘alā hā-č-čāy l-ⁱmḥaddir w lakk¹⁰ ‘āšat ‘īd-ak ‘alā hā-l-istikāne

how fantastic is that psychedelic tea and look at you, praise you (lit. long live your
hands) for that tea cup.

pāča / باجة \ باجة (pāčāči / باجاجي – the one that cooks or sells the *pāča* (Woodhead, 1967), it is a compound of the Persian word *pačeh* and the Turkish occupation suffix *či*) – it is an Iraqi traditional dish, it consist in a warm broth made of sheep heads, stomachs or hooves, with bread sunken in the mixture. The lexeme may have arrived from the Persian *kaleh pačeh* (كلهپاچه) (Steingass, 1892), which in its’ turn is also a traditional Iranian dish, made of mainly the same ingredients. The lexeme is encountered even in Turkish, in the expression *kelle*

Belege aus dem Internet. Bedeutet jedoch im Süden Saudi-Arabiens “Papaya” (Internet mit Abbildung). (Behnstedt & Woidich, 2011: map 172, p. 500).

⁹ See, for example, the Gulf varieties (Holes, 2001: 12).

¹⁰ Term that may have come from the English *look*, used, after passing through the SAI development, at the imperative.

paça, meaning “boiled head and trotter soup” and, if taken separately, *kelle* – “boiled sheep’s head” and *paça* – trotter (especially that of a sheep) (Youssouf, 1888) or jellied trotter. The last part, the jellied trotter, made me look for the word even farther and it has been found even in Bulgarian: *Па̀ча чор̀ба* (*pač̣a čorba*) – trotter soup made of pork legs, ears and tail, served warm or left in a cold place, until it becomes jelly-like. It even entered Romanian, under the designation of *pacea* (pl. “pacele” - *pačele*) – which in the southern part of the country is employed for naming a stew made of lamb or calf legs, mixed with eggs, vinegar and garlic. I must add that *pāč̣a* is encountered in most of the other Arabic varieties in the area surrounding SAI.

أني أدري!!!!!! أني اكلتهه يمكن ثلاث مرات بحياتي واموت عليها وهسه اتحصر على ايامهه عمي العاني
مخالف جيبهه على الريوك بس المهم باجة ناكلهه

anī adrī!!! anī akalet-ha yimkin ṭalāt marrāt ‘b-ḥayāt-ī w-amūt ‘aley-ha w hassa
‘tḥaṣṣar ‘alā ‘yyām-ha¹¹ ‘amm-ī l-‘ānī ma-yḥālif ḡīb-ha ‘alā r-rayyūg bas l-
‘mhimm pāč̣a nākul-ha

i know! I ate it maybe three times in my life and I would die for it and now I long
for its’ days. buddy, the suffering doesn’t matter, bring it at the breakfast, but the
important thing is that we eat the pāč̣a

ḡuluq / جلق – means “jerking off” (Woodhead suggests the translation for *ḡuluq* as
”masturbation”, 1967), found in the expression “yuzrub ḡuluq” – “he is jerking off”, coming
from the Persian expression “جلق زدن” (*ḡalak zadan*) (Steingass, 1898), with the same
meaning.

الجادين اليردون ونسه يدخلون والي ميريد خل يضرب جلق أحسن

il-ḡāddīn ‘llī-yrīdūn unsa yidaḥlūn w-‘llī ma-yrīd ḥalli yuzrub ḡuluq aḥsan

the serious ones that wan’na have fun come in, and who doesn’t want, let them
jerk off, it is better

¹¹ The quantity of the final vowels is variable depending on the speaker and context, and it does not have a phonematic role, as seen in the series of examples given throughout this study.

banzīn-ḥāne / بنزين خانة\ بانزين خانة – with the meaning of “gas station”, it is a nominal group, built from a loaned English/French word (*benzine*) alongside a location-indicational particle from Persian, *ḥāne*, that literally means “house”, employed in many similar constructions: كتابخانه (ketābhāne) – “library” (lit. *house of books*), مریضخانه (marīzḥāne) – “hospital” (lit. *house of sick people*), مسافرخانه (mosāferḥāne) – “inn”, “guesthouse” (lit. *house of travelers*) (Steingass, 1892).

فد يوم رحنت الى هاي البانزين خانة صاحبتها بيها مرية عراقية كلش خوش مره

fadd yōm rehet lā hāy ¹l-banzīn-ḥāne čānet šāḥbat-hā bī-hā mrāye ‘irāqiyye kulliš
ḥōš maṛa

one day i went to that gas station, there was the owner, an Iraqi chick, a very nice woman.

taḥta/taḥet / تختة\تخت – term employed for designating a type of bed, very popular in most of the Arabic varieties in the area. Arrived in SAI from Persian, existent even in Kurdish (Nizāmuddīn, 1977), with the meaning of “plank”: تخت / *taḥt* or تختة / *taḥta* (Steingass, 1892) (Aryanpur-Kashani, 1996).

دخلت وي فطومه لغرفتها جاننت حلوه وطفوليه بس ستغربت بيها فراش بالكاع وفراش على تخت

dihlet wiyyā faṭṭūme la-ḡurfat-ha čānet ḥelwa w ṭufūliyya bass ¹stagrebet bī-hā
firāš bi-l-gā‘ w firāš ‘alā taḥet

I entered with Fatima (dim.) in her room, it was nice and childish, but I was surprised: there was a mattress on the floor and one on the bed

ḥāšūge / خشوكة (pl. ḥwāšīg / خواشيك) – term used for designating “a spoon”, borrowed from Persian (قاشق – qāšūq – “spoon”) (Woodhead, 1967). The word is found in most of Syria as well (Behnstedt, 1997: map 391).

اكو واحد راح يقابل حبيبتة اخذ وياة خاشوكة ليش حتى يحرك مشاعرها

akū wāḥed rāḥ yqābil ḥabībt-a aḥaḍ wiyyā-^h ḥāšūge lēš ḥattā yḥarrīk mašā‘ir-ha

there is a guy who went meeting his girlfriend and he took a spoon with him.
why? so that he would stir up her feelings

čingāl / جنكال – term employed with the meaning of “hook” (Woodhead, 1967), or “fork - for eating”, arrived from Persian چنگال / *čengāl*, with the meanings of “talon, rake, prong, fork” (Aryanpur-Kashani, 1996). It developed in SAI until it generated a verb: *čangal – yčangil* - “to hook up (with someone)”. *čingāl* also exists in this form or forms “slightly different” in Syria, for example¹².

إذا تحب بنية اقصر منك وانت تريدها \ ... \ اشترى الهة كعب عالي الاختيار الثاني سويلهه تمارين كل يوم
على الاقل \ ... \ مال تعليق بلجنكال يعني انت بعد بكيفك دور بالسكف اي جنكال يعجبك مثل اذا عجبك
جنكال البنكة عادي نزل البنكة وعلكهه

ida ḥibb 'bnāye aqṣar minn-ak w-enta trīd-ha [...] ištīrī l-ha ka'ab 'ālī l-iḥṭiyār iṭ-
fānī sawwī l-ha tamārīn kull yōm 'alā l-'aḡall [...] māl ta'līg bi-l-čingāl ya'nī enta
ba'ad bi-keyf-ak dawwir bi-s-suguf ay čingāl yu'ğib-ak miṭil ida 'ağab-ak il-
panke 'ādī, nazzil il-panke w- 'allig-ha

if you love a girl that is shorter than you and you want her... buy her high heels
or, the second option, do exercises with her everyday at least... the ones with
hanging by the hook, I mean afterwards, you do what you want, search on the
ceiling for any hook that you like, for example, if you like the one from the air-
fan, it's ok, bring the fan down and hang her.

الي متزاعل وية حبيبة او حبيها خل يتصالحون والسنكل خل يجنكل وية حاتة لو حات

ellī mitzā'il wiyya ḥabībt-a aw ḥabīb-ha ḥalli yiṭṣālḥūn w s-singil ḥalli yčangil
wiyya ḥāta lo ḥāt

¹² I owe a great debt of gratitude to Professor Jérôme Lentin, who had the time and patience to share some of his knowledge, on helping me to solve the etymologies suggested throughout this paper.

The ones who are upset with their girlfriends or boyfriends, let them make up, and the singles go hook up with a babe or a stud¹³

čafčīr / جفجير – a big spoon similar to a ladle used to take the rice from the rice pot. It is employed in Persian – also found in Kurdish (Nizāmuddīn, 1977) – with a different phonetic structure – *kafgīr* / كفگیر – (Steingass, 1892) and with a similar meaning, “skimmer, spoon, ladle, generally perforated like a colander”.

يابة تعالو شوفو سلعود شكذ ما جو عان سوة لسانة جفجير اكلك الجفجير ميكفي حتى يضرب براحتة خطية

yā ba, ta‘ālū šūfū sil‘ūd išgadd mā gō‘ān sawwa lisān-a čafčīr agul l-ak ič-čafčīr
ma-ykfi hattā yuzrub bi-rāht-a ḥaṭiyye

oh my, come and see sal‘ūd how hungry he is, he made a ladle out of his tong, I’m telling you, a big rice spoon is not enough until he hits satisfaction, poor wretch.

Lexemes originated in Turkic languages

adabsiz / أدب سز (pl. *adabsiziyya* / ادب سزيه) - A postpositional phrase built from the noun *adab* (which in Arabic states for *literature, decency, politeness, courtesy*) and the Turkish postposition *siz*, which is employed for building adjectives with privative meaning. These adjectives are generally antonyms of the adjectives formed with the suffix *-li*: *tat* - “taste”; *tatlı* - “tasteful”; *tatsız* - “tasteless” (Youssof, 1888). It is likely that the borrowing of *adab* occurred from Arabic into Turkish (it is still present and employed in the modern vocabulary Turkish vocabulary). The second step was the re-borrowing of the entire Turkish postpositional-phrase *adabsiz* (lit. meaning *without manners*) and employed in SAI with the same meaning (Woodhead, 1967). This lexeme, as well as the one found in the next example *dimāgsiz* or *terbiyyetsiz* and others like them are utilized as negative appellatives nowadays.

مدیر مدرسه ابتدائية موبس ادب سز بل تربیة سز

mdīr madrasat ibtidā’iye mū bass adabsiz bal terbiyyetsiz

¹³The word *ḥāta* (masc. *ḥāt*) is a discorteous term employed for describing a person who dresses up very provocatively and lusciously. It may have arrived in SAI through the English *hot* – „very good looking, sexy”.

a director of a primary school, which is not only manner-less but also education-less

dimāğsız / دماغ سز (pl. *dimāğsızıyya* / دماغ سزیه) – term employed with the meaning „brainless” (Woodhead, 1967). Postpositional phrase built with the same Turkish postposition *sız*, as it was the case of *adabsız*. This time, it proves the successful use of the Turkish element along with its syntactic behavior in SAI, next to an Arabic word (although *dimāğ* exists as synonym for *beyin* - “brain” – in Turkish as well (Youssof, 1888) – therefore, it might also be the case of *adab*, reloaned).

إذا كلنا الاب راح يسمونا مشركين واذا نكول الله ميقبلون شيريدون هل دماغ سزیه

iḍa gelna l-ab rāḥ ysammū-na mušrikīn w-iḍa ngūl alḷa ma-yqablūn š-yrīdūn hā-l-dimāğsızıyye

if we say “the father” they will name us polytheists and if we say “Allah” they won’t accept (it). What do these idiots (brainless people) want?

ağā / اغا – found also in the expression *ağātī* / اغاتي with the meanings “sir”, “lord”, “master” (used when addressing someone with the purpose of courtesy and attentiveness) (Woodhead, 1967); 2. also: person who doesn’t know how to read nor write. From the Turkish *ağa* (Youssof, 1888) (Wells, 1880), with the meaning *lord, master, elder brother*, etc. Also used when addressing an illiterate man. The following are two sayings one in Turkish, and the other in Arabic, to better explain the versatile use of this term: tc.: *Ben ağa, sen ağa! İnekleri kim sağa* (I am a lord, you are too. Who is watching over the cows?); ar.: *’anā amīr ’anta amīr man yaqūdu l-ḥamīr* (I am a prince, you are too. Who will lead the donkeys?).

مشكور اغاتي ع التقرير. احترامی

maškūr ağātī ‘a-t-taqrīr. iḥtirāmī

thank you, sir, for the report. with all my respect.

اغا ذیل حصانك طین، كله ملعون كوم اغسله

agā, dīl ḥiṣan-ak tīn, gal l-a mal‘ūn gūm ḡsil-a

oh, master, there is mud on the tail of your horse, then he (the master) told him,
you bastard, start washing it.

būrī / بوري (pl. būriyāt / bwārī – بوريات \ بوازي) – a pipe or a tube (Woodhead, 1967). Used even with the meaning of hose, in the expression *mazrūb būrī* - “beaten with the hose”, which has the meaning of “flat-head, jackass”. From tc. *boru* - “pipe” (Youssouf, 1888). It also exists in Syria,

والله لو شما يسوي بيقة مضروب بوري

walla lō š-ma ysawwī yibqa mazrūb būrī

by God, whatever he does, he will be (remain) a flat-head.

tibsī / تبسي – term borrowed from Turkish: *tepsi* - “tray, baking tin” (Youssouf, 1888), utilized in SAI with a somewhat connected meaning: it is either a deep pot or a “large, flat pan” (Woodhead, 1967) or sometimes employed for designating a special Iraqi dish. In Syria, it is employed when referring to a small plate or an ashtray.

اذا تسوي تبسي بيتجان وحدة بدون بتينة رشلة رشلة خفيفة شكر وشوف شلون تبسي ايصير عندك ايخبل
وبالعافية مقدما

iḍa tsawwī tibsī bētingān wahda bi-dūn puteyta rušš ‘l-ha rišša ḥafifa šeker w šūf
šlōn tibsī yšīr ‘and-ak yḥabbil w *bi-l-‘āfiya muqaddiman*

if you make tibsī with eggplants, one without potatoes, sprinkle on top of it some
sugar and see how the tibsī goes for you... you’re going to go crazy! food appetite
beforehand!

Some final remarks

SAI proved to be very versatile regarding the power to not only loan words and expressions from other languages, that pertain, most of the times, to entirely different language classes and families, but also create, re-create, simply or develop internally, having in mind that semantically, there have been occurrences of lexemes preserving their original meaning and others that lost it.

The examples given in this paper represent a mere sample of the multitude of “specific” Iraqi lexemes that provide the ornamentation of the SAI. Notwithstanding, more than half of these so-called “specific” Iraqi words, as the Iraqis themselves call, prove to be found and utilized in many other Arabic varieties.

Highly mentionable is the fact that the pride of the Iraqis regarding the “unique” SAI words, although their popular etymologies sometimes reach the sublime (we have taken into account, for example, an etymology suggested by a SAI speaker for the lexeme *istikān*, with the explanation that the British soldiers from the time of their former mandate in Iraq used to call the tea cup *East tea can – istikān* – in order to not mistake them for the normal cups), is well deserved and just, having in mind the oncoming flow of internal developments caused by the loans researched in this paper, fact that proves yet another aspect, the vivaciousness of this Arabic variety.

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THE ARABIC LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL IMPACT ON SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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Abstract. Arabic learning began to influence greatly sub-Saharan Africa with the advent of Islam. In West Africa, Islam and Arabic were introduced in the early centuries of Hijra, mostly by Al-Murabitin mainly from areas constituting now Morocco and Tunisia, to the northern parts of sub-Saharan Africa. Islam also came along the West Coast of Africa, to such areas of the coast as Yorubaland. Arabic and Islam also spread as a result of the trans-Saharan trade carried on by Arabs and Imazighen, especially Sanhaja and the Tuareg. In East Africa, there has been a long sustained contact between Arabic and the Semitic and the Cushitic languages of Ethiopia and Somalia on the one hand and between Arabic and the Bantu languages on the other. Although considerable effort and attention have been extended on the study of loan words in these languages, the research on this aspect is far from being exhaustive. There is need to study from a historical perspective the historical and cultural contexts that motivated the adaptation of Arabic words. There is also a need to explore the linguistic and professional mechanisms used so far in the adaptation of Arabic loans in the African languages concerned to satisfy the current and emerging lexical deficiencies in the technical and scientific domains in these languages.

Keywords: Arabic, language contact, Sub-Saharan Africa, Islam, loans, Swahili, Hausa, modernization, trade, historical context, Afro-Arab cultural relations, common terms.

Introduction

For several centuries before European colonization, much of East and West Africa was a product of two civilizations – indigenous African culture and the impact of Islam. This duality included the great Mali Empire which flourished at its height from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. In this paper, an attempt will be made to trace the historical interaction between Arabic and certain African languages, particularly Swahili, in the context of the current aspirations to foster cultural, economic and political cooperation between North African and Sub-saharan peoples.

Linguistic evidence shows that there has always existed languages grouped as Afro-Asiatic that are genetically related to Semitic languages in North Africa and the Middle East of which Arabic is a major representative. Greenberg (1966) mentions five coordinate branches of Hamito-Semitic, namely: 1) Semitic, 2) Berber, 3) Ancient Egyptian, 4) Cushitic,

and 5) Chadic. The Cushitic group includes languages like Somali and Galla spoken as far south as in North Kenya. Of the Chadic group of languages the best known representative is Hausa. Such linguistic evidence points to the strong possibility that a very large portion of North Africa and the areas around the Horn must have had a linguistic affinity with the Semitic speaking areas of the Arab peninsula, including North Africa, as far back as pre-historic times.

Arabic learning began to influence greatly sub-Saharan Africa with the advent of Islam. In West Africa, Islam and Arabic were introduced in the early centuries of Hijra, mostly by Al-Murabitin mainly from areas constituting now Morocco and Tunisia, to the northern parts of sub-Saharan Africa. Islam also came along the West Coast of Africa, to such areas of the coast as Yorubaland. Arabic and Islam also spread as a result of the trans-Saharan trade carried on by Arabs and Imazighen, especially Sanhaja and the Tuareg. It would seem that the first group of West Africans to accept Islam were the Fulani, and through them the Hausa. By the sixteenth century, a number of centers of Arabic learning grew up in Timbuktu, Kano, Kastina, and Bornu. Such centers taught the traditional Islamic subjects like theology, jurisprudence, sufism, exegesis of the Qur'an, Hadith and Arabic grammar. It was from such an educational system that literacy in Arabic, and a literate tradition using the Arabic script for writing Hausa, developed (Abdulaziz 1979).

In East Africa, there has been a long sustained contact between Arabic and the Semitic and the Cushitic languages of Ethiopia and Somalia on the one hand and between Arabic and the Bantu languages on the other. When Arab geographers like Ibn Battuta (14th century) and Al-Idrissi (12th c.) visited the East Coast of Africa, Islamic cities, which were comparable in architecture to the North African and Arab cities were already flourishing. Arabic was the language of formal education and learning in general. Through Qur'anic schools and mosque colleges, the Swahili speaking people were introduced to Islamic studies, philosophy and Classical Arabic literary works. Up to the beginning of the twentieth century, most writing in Hausa, Fula, Yoruba and Swahili were done using the Arabic script. Even with the introduction of the Roman script during the British and the French rule, the writing of letters and documents can still be found in Arabic script (cf. Were 1971).

The use of Arabic script enabled African writers and learned people to record their history, literature and other aspects of their culture in written form and therefore made possible the thriving of literate and literary traditions in African languages. Similarly, contact

with Arabic greatly enriched the lexicon of these African languages. On the other hand, African languages like Swahili, Somali, Hausa have influenced Arabic dialects in areas where Arabic-speaking communities have lived side by side with speakers of African languages. These interchanges between Arabic and African languages are still continuing under the influence of the media and education.

The Arabic language in Sub-Saharan Africa

Arabic learning really began to influence sub-Saharan Africa with the advent of Islam, although as hinted above, contact between Arabic and certain African languages had existed even before Islam.

Many Arabic learning centres were created in the 16th through the 20th centuries, and were visited by some leading Arabic-speaking itinerant scholars and notables among whom was Mohammad b. Abd al-Karim al-Maghili (d. 1504) who established himself in Kano. Other smaller centres of Arabic learning grew up especially near courts of local rulers. Such centres taught the traditional Islamic subjects like theology, jurisprudence, Sufism, exegesis of the Quran, Hadith (or the Prophetic traditions), aspects of the Arabic language especially grammar, correct usage, rhetoric and semantics. At the lower levels, especially Quranic schools, children were taught to read and write in Arabic script and to recite the Quran. It was from such an education system that literacy in Arabic, and a literate tradition using the Arabic script for writing Hausa developed. For example Uthman Dan Fodio (1754-1817) the great Fulani religious leader who led a holy way, his brother Abdullahi and his son Mohammad Bello wrote between them over one hundred and fifty works in the Arabic language. Another great West African Arabist was Umar bin Said Futa Jalon (19th century) from Senegal who studied in Hejaz, Arabia and established important centres of Arabic learning in West Africa. There were other important writers in Arabic like Ibn Al-Sabbagh and Abdulla Sikka (both 17th century scholars); the former had his circle in Katsina while the latter established himself in Kano (Abdulaziz, 1979; Ennaji, 2005: Chapter 1).

Hausa had vigorous indigenous oral verse in the form of praise songs, long before the literary influence of Arabic emerged. With the Islamic reformist movement of the 17th and 18th centuries, there developed in Hausaland a local Islam-inspired literature using Arabic verse forms. The presence in Hausa of long and short syllables similar to those of Arabic meant that Hausa could borrow both the metric and the rhyme patterns of the various Arabic

verse forms. Thus, Hausa verses were written using such Arabic forms as Basit, Kamil, Tawil, Mutaqarib and Khafif, side by side with poems cast in indigenous verse forms (Abdulaziz, 1979).

As a result of the sustained contact between Arabic and such West African languages as Hausa, Fula and Yoruba, there was free borrowing of words of Arabic origin. Up to the beginning of the twentieth century, most writing in Hausa and Fula (and to some extent Yoruba) was done using the Arabic script. Even with the introduction of the Roman script, writing of letters and documents can still be found in Arabic script, among the Hausa, Fulani and Yoruba peoples. For example, the Hausa newspaper called *Gaskia* (Truth) was originally published wholly in Arabic script. It changed to Roman script during British rule, but reverted to Arabic script on certain pages during the Nigerian civil war of 1966-1970 simply for the practical purpose of making the newspaper available to a wider audience (Abdulaziz).

In Eastern Africa, there has been a long sustained contact between Arabic and the Semitic and Cushitic languages of Ethiopia and Somalia on the one hand and between Arabic and the coastal Bantu languages on the other.

The teaching and learning of Arabic must have already started by the second or third century of the Al-Hijra, in the coastal city-states of Mogadishu, Kismayu, Pate, Lamu, Malindi, Mombasa, Zanzibar and Kilwa. When Arab geographers like Ibn Battuta (14thc.) Al-Idrissi (12thc.) and Al-Masudi (13thc.) visited the East Coast of Africa, Islamic cities were already flourishing. The Muslim city states (referred to by early Portuguese travellers as Moorish towns) were comparable in architecture and general style of life to the more prosperous medieval towns of North Africa and the Arab peninsula. There was considerable intermarriage between the Arab immigrants and traders and local inhabitants of these coastal towns, giving rise to an African Islamic culture with Swahili as its language of expression (Kitula King'ei, 2000).

Arabic was the language of formal education and learning in general. Through Quranic schools and mosque colleges the Swahili speaking people were introduced to Islamic theology, jurisprudence, exegesis of the Quran, Hadith or Prophetic tradition, philosophy, and the various Classical Arabic literary works, both religious and secular, all of which came to have a profound influence on the development of Swahili. There is a strong belief that a literate and literary tradition in Swahili had already grown by the 13th century, using the Arabic script. Owing to cultural and in some cases ethnic contact with the Arabian Peninsula,

especially the Hadramaut, Oman, the Gulf areas, Yemen and Hijaz, the Swahili language borrowed freely from Arabic (Polome, 1967).

The influence of Arabic on Swahili also extended to literary forms. Almost all Swahili verse forms using metric and rhyme patterns were adopted from existing Arabic forms and adapted to suit the structure of this Bantu language. All the five Swahili forms of metric composition, namely “shairi”, “utendi”, “takhmis”, “utungo wa Hamziyya”, and “uimbo”, were inspired by Arabic poetic forms. The themes too, especially those that philosophize about life, or deal with religious matters are close to similar themes in Arabic poetry (Abdulaziz, 1979).

When European colonization of the East Coast of Africa took place from the last decade of the 19th c. , Europeans found the Africans of these coastal towns already living an urban life, comparable to the medieval civilization of Europe in material terms and possessing well established literate and literary traditions using the Arab script. It is interesting to note that the first missionaries to land in places such as Mombasa and Zanzibar, found Swahili the language best equipped, in terms of relevant vocabulary, to translate the Bible, since this language had already been used for centuries to translate the Quran and other religious works (Kitula King’ei, 2000).

African languages as vehicles of modernisation

It is interesting to observe that such African languages as Swahili, Hausa, Yoruba and Somali, which have had a literate tradition using the Arabic script, are among the most adaptable as vehicles of modern expression. All these languages are used as national and official or semi-official languages in the respective regions where they are recognized. Swahili, for example, is the national language of Tanzania and Kenya, and one of the national languages of Uganda and Zaire. It is no doubt one of the fastest developing languages in Africa. In Tanzania and Kenya it is used as a language of Parliamentary debating and political organization. In Tanzania it is the sole medium of instruction throughout primary education and steps are being taken to extend its use as a medium in the higher schools. In that country it is also used as the official language of civil-service correspondence, of the armed forces and the police, of the lower courts and parastatal organizations (Abdulaziz, 1979). This has meant the setting up of language councils, committees, institutes and departments where the teaching of this language and research into it are undertaken.

In spite of the long contact now between Swahili and such a powerful language as English, Arabic remains one of the two most important sources of borrowing of technical, scientific and cultural words, the other source being English, since the majority of users of Swahili now are most likely to know English rather than Arabic. Knowledge of Arabic is still confined to small Muslim communities along the coast.

The evidence of the existence of Swahili-speaking people on the East African coast from Southern Somalia to Northern Mozambique goes back beyond the first century A.D. (Whiteley, 1969). However, it is the advent of the Islamic faith and culture in this region starting in the seventh century that ushered in an era of commercial, socio-cultural, religious and linguistic cross-fertilization which has lived on to this day between the Arabs and the Bantu Africans living there (Guthrie, 1948).

Of course, the trade ties between the East African coastal towns of Sofala, Kilwa, Tanga, Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu, Pate and Siu, among others, date back to the distant past. These ties were greatly expanded with the growth of exports from the region following the industrial revolution in Europe and the United States in the late 18th century. This necessitated the transfer of Omani's Sultanate from Muscat to Zanzibar by the then reigning Sultan, Seyyid Said in 1832 (Kitula King'ei, 2000).

According to Mbaabu (1991:1), the Arabic linguistic influence on Swahili started around the 9th and 10th centuries, probably much earlier with the first trade contacts that forced the Arab merchants to stay for long periods on the coast and later to venture into the hinterland in search of commercial items such as ivory, leopard skins, arrow heads and others which they exchanged with daggers, beads, cloth, soap, spices and other related commodities. The most important step following the introduction of the Islamic faith among the "Waswahili" was the adoption of the Arabic script for use by Swahili Islamic scholars to write poetry and religious literature.

Arabic Loans in Swahili

Most, if not all, Arabic loans in Swahili are adapted to the Bantu syllabic structure. This fact makes it easier to identify an Arabic loan in Swahili because, in Arabic, words mostly end in consonants. Here are some examples:

<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Swahili</i>	<i>English</i>
raiat	raia	(citizen)
rais	rais (i)	(president)
jamhur	jamhuri	(republic)
kitab	kitabu	(book)
safar	safari	(journey/tour)

Apart from the technical registers, many nouns borrowed from Arabic denote common articles, deeds, or ideas. This is evidence of the extent of the entrenchment of Arabic culture and linguistic influence on Swahili (Zawawi, 1974). Examples of Arabic loan words in Swahili include:

dawa	(medicine)
hewa	(air)
safari	(journey)
saa	(watch; clock; an hour)
sahani	(plate)
sabuni	(soap)
salamu	(greetings)
naam	(yes)

Among the stock of the Arabic loan words are also included such grammatical categories as conjunctions (Kitula King'ei, 2000). Here are some examples:

ama	(or)
tena	(again)
sababu	(because)
lia	(except)
au	(or)
wala	(neither ; nor)
bila	(without)
lakini	(but)

It is also worth noting here that Swahili has borrowed heavily in certain areas of usage but not in others. Below, are examples of areas where Swahili has a heavy dose of Arabic loans (Kitula King'ei, 2000). These include religious, commercial, marine life, law, literature, linguistics and political science. Examples of loans in each of these fields or registers are discussed below.

Religion

As pointed out above, the introduction of the Islamic faith among the Swahili speaking peoples of the East African coast, brought with it a new way of life that included the use of the Arabic script to write Swahili (Prins, 1961; Kitula King'ei, 2000). The newly converted faithfuls were taught literacy and numeracy in the Islamic schools (madrasa) with a view to enabling them to read, translate and interpret the Quranic scriptures. Since the medium of teaching the Quran was Arabic and later on to a less extent, Swahili, the Africans learned Arabic and also adapted the new concepts from Arabic into Swahili. Under this process, many Arabic words used in the religious discourse found their way into Swahili. As a result, Islamic scholars of repute came into being (e.g. Seyyid Bin Ali Bin Abdalla). Here are some examples of such loan words in common use in the religious field (Greenville, 1972) :

msahafu	(holy literature)
dhambi	(sin)
tubu	(repent)
rehemu	(save)
ahera	(paradise)
jahanamu	(hell)
dini	(religion)
madarasa	(Quranic school)
abudu	(worship)
afriti	(devil)
maulidi	(the Prophet's birthday celebrations)
zaka	(alms)
sadaka	(sacrifice or offering)
futur	(break the fast)
sali	(pray)
karima	(God the giver or the kind)

The literary documents in Swahili, especially religious poetry produced in the pre-20th century era, are extremely rich in Arabic words (e.g. Inkishafi composed around 1810, which means "the soul's awakening", (Kitula King'ei, 2000). However, the religious terminology derived or borrowed from Arabic is, by no means, confined to Islamic discourse but is used by all speakers of the language and in all relevant contexts and subjects.

Commerce

The Arabs were among the first visitors of the East African coast. Their major quest was to conduct trade with the local Africans. As pointed out above, these trade ties go back to the mythical past although the volume of trade reached its zenith in the 18th and 19th centuries. By this time, the Arabs penetrated the interior of East Africa in search of trade commodities the most important of which were ivory, leopard skins, rhino horns and domestic slaves.

Since the Waswahili and their Miji Kenda neighbours learned the art of long distance trade and commerce from the Arabs, it was only natural that they borrowed many words from Arabic to express a number of foreign concepts that sprung up in the new commercial environment (Kitula King'ei, 2000). Here are some examples of Arabic loanwords in this field:

dhahabu	(gold)
almasi	(diamonds)
faida	(profit)
hasara	(loss)
daftari	(register/record)
bakhsishi	(discount)
thamani	(value)
dhamana	(deposit)
hazina	(treasure)
tajiri	(rich)
maskini	(poor person)
rushwa	(bribe or bribery)
raslimali	(capital)

In this connection, Arabic has given Swahili the names of most concepts in commerce including minerals and other precious articles of trade. This is definitely an area which will continue to enrich Kiswahili for the foreseeable future given its productivity even though East African contemporary commercial life is dominated by Western countries (Kitula King'ei, 2000).

Science

It is a fact that the Arabs were one of the earliest civilizations to systematise the study of such science subjects as Chemistry, Algebra, Astronomy and Mathematics. Here are some examples of common terms in this register borrowed into Swahili from Arabic:

Units

sita	(six)
saba	(seven)
tisa	(nine)

Tens

Ishirini	(twenty)
Thelathini	(thirty)
Arobaini	(forty)

Units

mia	(hundred)
elfii	(thousand(s))

Tens

Hamsini	(fifty)
sitini	(sixty)
Sabini	(seventy)
Themanini	(eighty)
Tisini	(ninety)

Minerals

dhahabu	(gold)
fedha	(silver)
lulu	(pearl/s)
marijani	(red coral)
almasi	(diamond)

Colours

Hudhurungi	(deep brown)
Samawati	(sky or sea blue)
Kahawia	(coffee brown)

algebra	(algebra)
kemia	(chemistry)

Maritime Life

Again, the Arabs were the first to visit the East African coast using large sailing vessels. Although the Waswahili had ventured out to sea and had been conducting trade on a small scale long before the coming of the Arabs, it is the Arabs who introduced the use of large vessels and their language gave Swahili many terms to express new concepts in this area. Also included in this field are names of marine creatures such as fish as well as concepts regarding sea life in general (Kitula King'ei, 2000):

merikebu	(ship)
abiria	(passengers)
rubani	(pilot)
forodha	(customs)
nauli	(fare)
kusi	(southerly winds)

All the terms of the compass:

kaskazini	(north)
kusini	(south)
mashariki	(east)
magharibi	(west)

Law

The introduction of the Islamic faith also brought with it the Islamic law which was to regulate the day to day conduct of the faithful. Accordingly, the Waswahili had to borrow a lot of Arabic vocabulary to communicate new concepts in this field. These words have stuck in the language to this day (Kitula King'ei, 2000). This is because at the introduction of English law in East Africa, Swahili was already equipped with adapted Arabic legal terminology which was expressive enough, making it unnecessary to borrow English replacements. Here are some examples:

mahakama	(court of law)
hakimu	(magistrate or judge)
hukumu	(ruling or judgement)
wakili	(advocate)
shitaki	(sue)
mashitaka	(litigation)
mshitakiwa	(the accused)
adhabu	(punishment)
hatia	(guilt)
ruhusa	(permission)
idhini	(consent)
sheria	(law)
shahidi	(witness)
rufani/rufaa	(appeal)

Literature and Linguistics

As mentioned above, literacy in the East African coast was introduced in the medium of the Arabic script. This means that all the pre-20th century manuscripts were written in this script. It was only natural that the Arabic language bequeathed Swahili many words in the field of literacy, literature and linguistics. These loans have been so completely Africanised that they are hardly distinguishable from the Bantu forms (Kappert, 1971; Kitula King'ei, 2000). Again, this is another field of usage where Swahili still continues to draw a lot of new loanwords to express and translate many emerging technical concepts. Examples:

kalamu	(pen)
karatasi	(paper)
sarufi	(grammar)
lugha	(language)
isimu	(linguistics)
fasihi	(literature)
mantiki	(logic)
fasiri	(interpret)
tafsiri	(translate)
nadharia	(theory)
hakiki	(critique)
taharuki	(suspense)
maudhui	(theme)
hariri	(edit)
arifu	(breaknews)

Names for the poetic and literary genres:

shairi	(noem)
takhmisa	(5-line per stanza poem)
tarbia	(4-line per stanza poem)
tathlitha	(3-line per stanza poem)
tathnitha	(2-line per stanza poem)
riwaya	(novel)
hadithi	(story)
hekaya	(funny short story)
tamthilia	(play)
methali	(proverb)

Politics

Swahili has also benefited a great deal from Arabic in the area of public administration and politics in general (Kindy, 1972). The long rule by various Arab dynasties on the East African coast beginning with the famous Nabahany Sultanate in Pate and Siu in the 9th century up to the 18th and 19th century rule of the Omanis in Zanzibar, exposed Swahili to various Arabic terminology in this field (Abdulaziz, 1979). Examples:

siasa	(politics)
ushuru	(levy or tax)
taji	(crown)
wilaya	(district)
taarafa	(division)
wizara	(ministry)
waziri	(minister)
idara	(department)
naibu	(deputy)
mhazini	(treasurer)

Apart from the above specialised or technical registers, the entrenchment of Arabic words in Swahili is overwhelming and accounts for about 30% (Mbaabu, 1978:X). These loan words are to be found naturally in competitive position alongside Bantu forms as synonyms.

It is of linguistic interest to note that colloquial Arabic as spoken by immigrant Arabs in the coastal towns of East Africa such as Mombasa and Zanzibar is influenced by Swahili in regard to word borrowing and even idiomatic patterns. The sociological explanation is that most of the immigrant Arabs have come from the Hadramaut (or Southern Yemen) and Oman. The majority were from working class groups, often illiterate in modern standard or classical Arabic. And since the urban areas of the East Coast represent a more modern urban setting with a higher material civilization than parts of southern Arabic, or simply because of the presence of facets of culture alien to their own in their original home, the local Arabs borrow freely from Swahili. This is particularly true of Arabic speakers who are for one reason or another culturally cut off from centres of modernity in the Arab World. Here are a few Swahili or swahilized words that are frequently heard among Arabic speakers (Kitula King'ei, 2000):

<i>Swahili</i>	<i>English</i>
gari	vehicle
simu	telephone
mkebe	tin
siagi	butter
barua	letter
spaki	electricity

Sometimes interesting Swahili idioms are translated literally into Arabic, making them incomprehensible to a Middle Eastern Arab:

piga simu dhrub siim make a telephone call (lit. strike seymour)

fungu (goli) asaba score (a goal) (lit. tie a goal)

kula dawa kul dawaa take medicine (lit. eat medicine)

Also there is a tendency for the second generation immigrant Arabs born in Africa to grow up as bilingual speakers of Swahili and Arabic, with one or the other as their stronger language. Among them there is free mixing of Swahili and Arabic even in one sentence, or as topics shift. In fact it is such unstable bilingual speakers who have always enriched Swahili with Arabic words. For many Swahili speakers on the Coast it is “uppish” to interlace Swahili with Arabic phrases and idioms, just as upper class Englishmen used to do with French or Latin phrases (Kitula King’ei, 2000).

The place of language in Afro-Arab Cultural Relations

In the last four years a number of meetings of subcommittees, conferences and symposia have been held to discuss the question of Afro-Arab cooperation in the economic, political and cultural fields. At the Afro-Arab symposium held in Sharjah, U. A. E. 14th - 18th December 1976 one of the resolutions adopted with reference to cultural cooperation was that Arabic should be taught in all major Universities in Africa and that the major African languages should equally be introduced in Arab Universities. The Afro-Arab summit conference of March 1977 held in Cairo stressed among other aspects, cooperation in the social, cultural and educational fields.

Arabic is now taught in a number of African Universities. In Nigeria Departments of Arabic studies exist in the Universities of Ibadan, Zaria and Kano (Abdulla Bayero University). Arabic is also taught in the University of Ghana, Accra, and Nairobi. In the University of Nairobi great interest was generated when Arabic was introduced.

Arab countries should likewise think seriously about introducing departments of African studies in at least the major Universities if cultural cooperation is to be effectively fostered.

Morocco created in the 1990s the Institute for African Studies, and African literature courses are taught in all universities. Such institutes or departments could offer African languages as subjects of University study. There are departments and programmes of Arabic and African languages in many European, American and Asian Universities, and the time is opportune for African and Arab Universities to do the same, if current aspirations to promote cultural cooperation are to be transformed into reality.

Conclusion

The influence of the Arabic language and culture on African languages and cultures has a long history. Indeed, it is not possible to state with certainty the exact date when the Arabs and the inhabitants of the East and West African coasts first came into contact. Similarly, it is also difficult to pin-point the facets of African culture that have received the heaviest dose of the Arabic-Islamic way of life.

This paper has attempted to trace and identify the main areas of usage in which major African languages have borrowed widely from the Arabic. Comments on the most likely disposing factors for the borrowing have been offered as well as examples of such loans. I have attempted to survey the linguistic impact resulting from contacts between Arabic and major African languages like Swahili, Hausa, Fula, and Somali. Major parts of Sub-saharan Africa and the Arab countries of North Africa and the Arab peninsula have had very close cultural, commercial, political, economic and linguistic links from time immemorial. Geographical proximity and natural travel routes along the great rivers, across the seas and land enabled the peoples of these areas to develop all forms of links, including ethnic, which are still manifest. My main concern was the cultural and linguistic interaction between Arabic and African languages. It was shown that some of the great literary figures in Arabic were black Africans; similarly some of the classical works in African languages were written by

people of Arab stock. The most significant contribution of Arabic to languages such as Hausa, Swahili, Yoruba, Somali, Fula and Berber as the provision of the Arabic script, and through Arabic medieval sciences and civilization were introduced to black African peoples.

Use of the Arabic script enabled African writers and learned men to record their history, literature and other aspects of their culture in written form and therefore made possible the growth of thriving literate and literary traditions in African languages. Today hundreds of thousands of pages of written material in African languages exist in Arabic script in various archives in institutes in Africa, Europe and America. Many of these manuscripts have already been analysed; still many more await researchers.

Contact with Arabic, one of the greatest languages of learning in the middle ages, greatly enriched the lexicon of the African languages concerned. Swahili has influenced local dialects of Arabic; Somali, Ethiopic languages and Hausa have equally influenced local Arabic dialects where Arabic-speaking communities have lived side by side with speakers of African languages.

Although considerable effort and attention has been extended on the study of loan words in these languages, the research on this aspect is far from being exhaustive. There is also need to study from a historical perspective the historical and cultural contexts that motivated the adaptation of Arabic words. Additionally, there is also a need to explore the linguistic and professional mechanisms used so far in the adaptation of Arabic loans in the African languages concerned to satisfy the current and emerging lexical deficiencies in the technical and scientific domains in these languages.

Contact between Arabic and African languages is still continuing, and if the various resolutions of Afro-Arab meetings on cultural matters are seriously followed up, there should emerge greater understanding of Arabic and African languages respectively in African and in Arab countries. A start could be made at the University level in those countries where Arabic and African languages are not taught at all. The possibility of introducing Arabic and selected languages at lower levels of education such as secondary and high schools should be seriously explored.

Organizations like UNESCO, ALECSO, the AU, and Arab and African Universities can play positive roles in promoting closer cultural links between Arabic speaking and sub-Saharan

African countries. Such links are necessary if broader areas of cooperation are to be established on a firm basis.

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Note

¹ The origin of "Swahili" is still shrouded in mystery. Although the fact that Kiswahili is an African language of the Bantu family is no longer in doubt, (Guthrie, 1944; Ashton, 1944; Polome, 1967; Heine, 1970 and Mbaabu, 1978), there are two divergent views regarding the meaning and origin of the name "Swahili". On one hand, the term is traced to the Arabic, "sahil" which means "people living on the sea shore or coastal land" (Kitula King'ei, 2000). On the other, the word is attributed to the phrase, "wa-ziwa-hili" (Mbaabu, 1985) which means in Kiswahili, "people living on this coastal land", i. e. the land that borders the sea (Indian Ocean).

SYNTAX AND MEANING IN SĪRĀFĪ AND IBN SĪNĀ¹

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Abstract: In spite of his great originality, al-Ġurġānī was certainly an heir to the Arabic linguistic tradition that traces back to Sībawayhi. At the same time anybody who knows the logical tradition represented by al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, and reads al-Ġurġānī's writings on rhetoric, can see at once that al-Ġurġānī was aware of the logical tradition with its strong interest in semantics. If al-Ġurġānī could in some sense unify these traditions, it makes sense to look for the common ground in writings already before him. We will point to some common threads in the writings of al-Sīrāfī (a logically-aware linguist) and Ibn Sīnā (a linguistically-aware logician).

Key words: Syntax, semantics, Arabic, Sīrāfī, Ibn Sīnā.

1. Introduction²

‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Ġurġānī (died c. 471/1078) was a linguist who was clearly aware of logical issues about the nature of language and meaning. Larkin (Larkin 1995) presents a convincing case that Ġurġānī owed his logical notions primarily to the Mu‘tazilite theologians, and to ‘Abd al-Ġabbār in particular, rather than to the professional logicians. This movement of ideas between the logicians, the theologians and the linguists illustrates a sophisticated intellectual world where theology, literature, linguistics and logic were all of them things that any educated person would know something about.

As one traces back from the 11th century to the creation of Arabic grammatical theory in the 8th century, the presence of logic in the background becomes steadily harder to see. Māzin al-Mubārak (al-Mubārak 1971: 159-164) speaks of the ‘involution’ of grammar, from the first

¹ Although the ideas of this paper come from a joint research project of both authors, in the present article Manuela E. B. Giolfo is to be held responsible for paragraphs 1, 3 and 4, and Wilfrid Hodges for paragraphs 2, 5, 6 and 7.

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moments, when it was closer to the spirit of the language, to the stadium of the influence of Greek philosophy, when the whole way of thinking appears as a series of ‘lucubrations’ separated from the object of the analysis, i. e. the language itself. In the last few decades, researchers have examined this situation from two points of view. First, they have asked whether, and how, Greek logic influenced early Arabic linguistic theories. Two books of Versteegh (Versteegh 1977), (Versteegh 1993) illustrate this line of inquiry. And second, they have studied how the Arabic writers themselves drew the demarcation between grammar and logic. Three works that cover this question are (Elamrani-Jamal 1983), (Anghelescu 1993) and (Gunaydin 2006).

Without implying any criticism at all of these two approaches, we intend to ask a quite different question about the relation between linguistics and logic in the medieval Arabic world. Already by the early 10th century there are stories of social contact between linguists and logicians, some friendly and some not. So there was a shared intellectual world. The question we raise is how far we can pin down the assumptions and methods that were shared between linguists and logicians. This question is quite independent of whether the linguists and logicians themselves articulated these assumptions and methods, and whether they saw them as belonging to one discipline or the other. Coming from the twenty-first century, we can only understand these medieval linguists and logicians to the extent that we can put ourselves in their frame of mind. Answering the question we are posing in this paper should be an essential part of that process.

As far as we know, the question has not been posed in these terms before. So we confess at once that this is only a cautious and provisional first step. One of us is by trade a linguist and the other a logician, so we are partly learning to understand each other through understanding the Arabic writers.

We chose to start with a comparison of some views of the linguist al-Sīrāfī (died 368/979) and the logician Ibn Sīnā (370/980–428/1037). Sīrāfī thought that his knowledge of linguistics gave him some expertise in logic. Ibn Sīnā for his part regularly called on facts about actual or possible languages in his logical writings – e. g. (Hodges 2012). So there is clearly scope for some common interests. These two authors are comparable in another way too: their major writings in linguistics and logic respectively are commentaries on the creators of their two disciplines. Ibn Sīnā commented on the logical writings of the classical Greek author Aristotle, using excellent 9th and early 10th century Arabic translations. Sīrāfī commented on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi (c. 135/752 – c. 180/796), the foundation document of

Arabic linguistics. Almost certainly some of the ideas that we cite from Sīrāfī or Ibn Sīnā should be attributed either to Sībawayhi or to Aristotle, or at least to the traditions that they gave rise to.

We will concentrate on some questions relating syntax and meaning. Our general conclusion will be that although Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā belong to different professions and address very different kinds of problem, they have a large body of shared assumptions and concepts, some of which are at odds with today's approaches to similar questions. But pinning down the common element between Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā will also highlight some issues on which they differ sharply.

2. Rules of language and logic

In the medieval Arabic world, both linguists and logicians were concerned with right use of language. But they had in mind different uses of language.

For the linguists, we use language to communicate. So for example Sīrāfī refers often to conversations between a 'speaker' (*mutakallim*) and an 'interlocutor' (*muḥāṭab*). A central question for the linguists was to describe what would be correct sentences of Arabic for the speaker to use if s/he wanted to express some idea or pass some information to the interlocutor.

The logicians were concerned with the production and checking of cogent logical arguments expressed in natural language. It's important to note that we don't need a speaker and a listener to do logic. Single individuals can create and check arguments on their own. Describing the reasons why we need language, Ibn Sīnā remarks:

... we have to use expressions, in particular because of the impossibility of arranging the meanings unless the expressions for them come to mind together with them... (Ibn Sīnā 1952: 22. 17f)

In other words, we need language even for thinking on our own.

Both Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā treated language as an empirical phenomenon. Sīrāfī followed Sībawayhi in using Arabic poetry and the Qur'ān as a kind of corpus. Sībawayhi had also collected many phrases used or accepted by Bedouin speakers, and he had reported them in

his *Kitāb*. There is no evidence that Sīrāfī did any similar kind of field research, but he presumably fed in material from his own experience of Arabic. Ibn Sīnā was more concerned with how scientists and philosophers reason, and he had a keen eye for the kinds of sentence that occur in scientific writing. He also appealed to his own and his reader's linguistic intuition (*šū'ūr*).

3. Meaning versus intention

We can distinguish between (a) the meaning of a word or phrase and (b) the intention with which somebody utters a sentence. The meaning (a) is a part of the language and it could be recorded in a dictionary. The intention (b) is specific to some occasion when the speaker utters the sentence, and it includes everything that the speaker hopes to achieve by uttering the sentence in that particular situation.

At first sight we can trace this distinction in both Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā. For example both speak of the 'meaning' (*ma'nā*) of a word or phrase:

People in Medina refer to mercury as *zāwuwīq* whereas other people say *zi'baq* with the same meaning (*ma'nā*). (Sīrāfī, 2012: I. 178. 16)

'Living' doesn't have the same meaning (*ma'nā*) as 'rational'. (Ibn Sīnā, 1970: 104. 16)

For the intentions behind utterances of sentences, both writers use the same words as each other – 'intends' (*'arāda*, *yurīdu*), 'purpose' *qaṣd* or *ḡaraḍ*.

You say 'I passed them, all of them' and you intend (*'aradta*) 'I didn't leave out any of them'. (Sīrāfī, 2012: II. 344. 20)

He says 'Some people are literate', intending (*yurīdu*) to signify by this that the other people are not literate. (Ibn Sīnā, 1970: 104. 12)

On the basis of many examples like these, one might get the impression that both Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā had a clear notion of the difference between lexicography and pragmatics.

This impression doesn't survive a closer look. First, both authors are happy to speak of the 'purpose' or 'intention' behind a single word:

The radiation of the sun can be called 'sun', as when one says 'Don't sit in the sun' and one intends (*yurīdu*) its radiation. (Sīrāfī, 2012: IV. 62. 2f)

[Things represented in the mind] are called 'meanings' (*ma'ānī*), i. e. what the mind intends (*maqāṣidu l-nafs*). (Ibn Sīnā, 1970: 3. 2)

And second, both authors refer to what a certain speaker intended by a sentence as the *ma'nā* of that sentence:

In my view, what al-Ḥalīl meant (*ma'nā*) by his remark about the purpose of the definite article was that... (Sīrāfī, 2012: II. 346. 24)

Though it is true that '[The moon is eclipsed] while it is eclipsed, necessarily', this and the previous sentence do not have the same meaning (*ma'nā*). (Ibn Sīnā 1964: 33. 3f)

On the basis of these and similar passages, it seems that neither Sīrāfī nor Ibn Sīnā makes any principled distinction between the lexical meaning of a word and the intention of someone who utters a sentence. The broad preference of *ma'nā* for the former and *qaṣd* etc. for the latter may reflect only that sentences are complex and hence tied more closely to particular occasions.

A priori this leaves us with three possibilities: (a) Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā see a continuum of kinds of meaning, ranging from lexical meaning at one end to speaker's intention at the other. (b) They both regard a speaker's intention as being a complex sort of lexical entry. (c) They regard a lexical entry as reducible to the intentions of speakers who use the word.

We see no evidence for (a), and indeed we don't know what kind of continuum would fill the gap. Possibility (b) seems too implausible to take seriously. But there is some evidence to support (c), in both authors. Namely, both authors talk of a 'custom' (*āda*) to use words with certain intentions. Thus Ibn Sīnā:

So this name is, so to say, borrowed or transferred because of the similarity, without its being the intention (*yurāda*) that the word is used in an unqualified

way as it would customarily (*mā ǧarati l-‘āda*) be understood. (Ibn Sīnā, 1959: 192. 18f)

Ibn Sīnā often speaks this way, for example at (Ibn Sīnā 1970: 103. 8f). Similar expressions occur in Sīrāfī, for example at Sīrāfī (2012: II. 395. 12) where he talks of how praise can be intended either sincerely or sarcastically, and refers to the custom or usage of speakers of the language (*‘ādātu kalāmi l-nās*). It's at least consistent with these passages that in the view of both Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā, meanings of expressions are *always* the intentions of their utterers, but certain intentions are so well established by common usage that they can be recorded impersonally in a dictionary. (And a similar reading of Ibn Sīnā may lie behind the fact that his medieval translators into Latin rendered his *ma‘nā* as *intentio* – though one should avoid rash assumptions about exactly what *intentio* meant in Scholastic Latin.)

There is a slightly different sense in which a lexical meaning of a word can be described as an intention. Within one language a word can signify several different meanings. For example Sīrāfī notes that

The expression ‘*ayn*’ is appropriate for various different meanings (*ma‘ānī*), one ‘the eye with which one sees’, one ‘the [hollow of the] knee’, one ‘the tipping of a balance’, one ‘a spring of water’, one ‘the dinar coin’, one ‘the direction of the *qibla*’, one ‘a chieftain’ and one ‘a person who passes on information’. (Sīrāfī 2012: i. 177. 18–20)

So in general a speaker needs to decide which correlations between meanings and words to use when s/he speaks a sentence. In Ibn Sīnā’s view the speaker has complete freedom to choose between the correlations that have already been set up:

[An expression such as ‘*ayn*’ signifies according to the intention (*‘irāda*) of its speaker, who in effect sends it out to signify a meaning, like ‘the spring’..., or another meaning like ‘the dinar coin’. (Ibn Sīnā 1952: 25. 16–18)

In this sense, the speaker *intends* one of the dictionary meanings rather than another because s/he makes a deliberate choice to use the word in that meaning. We don't know whether Sīrāfī would have viewed the speaker's intention in this way. But in any case this is a secondary kind of intention; it can only apply to words with more than one dictionary meaning.

Versteegh remarks:

Arabic grammatical treatises are full of references to the *ma'nā* 'meaning'. By this they refer either to the intention of the speaker, or to the functional meaning of linguistic categories, but not to the lexical meaning of the words, which was reserved for lexicography. (Versteegh 2001: 75)

Versteegh had in mind a wide range of grammatical literature, which didn't include Ibn Sīnā. But the examples above illustrate that for both Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā, *ma'nā* was their word of preference for lexical meanings, contrary to what Versteegh says. On the view we have expressed above, there was for these Arabic authors no contrast between 'the intention of the speaker' and 'the lexical meaning of the words', because lexical meanings just are customary speakers' intentions.

Versteegh adds a third possibility: 'the functional meaning of linguistic categories'. In the following section we will argue that for both Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā, these 'functional meanings' are important examples of meanings, but once again they are part of speakers' intentions. They form a further class of *ma'ānī*, but not a further meaning of *ma'nā*.

4. Grammatical meanings

We come now to an aspect of meaning where Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā differ markedly. This is the relation between the meanings of words and the meanings of sentences.

Take the sentence:

'Amr hit Zayd. (*ḍaraba 'amrun zaydan*)

Everybody will agree that in order to understand this sentence, we have to appreciate that the action described by the word 'hit' is said to have been carried out by the person named by 'Amr' at the expense of the person named 'Zayd'. In short, the (stated) agent is 'Amr and the (stated) target is Zayd. Everybody will agree too that there needs to be something in the spoken or written sentence that tells us 'Amr is the agent and Zayd the target, rather than the other way round. In this particular case the word order does the job in English, and in Arabic the word order is helped by the *manṣūb* inflection on *zaydan*.

Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā would agree on a further point. The person who spoke this sentence, if s/he spoke the sentence s/he meant to, *intended* that 'Amr should be the agent and Zayd the

target. Since intentions are meanings, there must be something in the *meaning* of the sentence that makes ‘Amr the agent and Zayd the target.

Now Sīrāfi remarks:

The [final] vowel of ‘Zayd’ is different from that of ‘‘Amr’, [corresponding] to the difference between the two meanings, since one of the two is agent (*fā’il*) and the other is target (*maf’ūl*). (Sīrāfi 2012: i. 177. 10f)

The ‘two meanings’ must be the meaning of *zaydan* and the meaning of ‘*amrun*. One might guess at first that Sīrāfi is taking the inflection to change the meaning: *zaydun* and ‘*amrun* have agent meanings and *zaydan* and ‘*amran* represent what passively experiences an action. But in fact Sīrāfi doesn’t believe this. Lower on the same page he tells us that in the two sentences ‘*inna zaydan qā’imun* and *zaydun qā’imun* (which both state that Zayd is standing), ‘the meaning of the two is the same but the expression is different’ (Sīrāfi 2012: i. 177. 15). Here he is saying that *zaydun* and *zaydan* have the same meaning.

In the sentence ‘*inna zaydan qā’imun*, on Sīrāfi’s own analysis, the ‘*inna* operates on *zayd* – so as to put it into the *mansūb* form *zaydan*. He is telling us that it does this without implying any difference of meaning between *zaydun* and *zaydan*. (Of course there is more to be said about what function ‘*inna* does perform within this sentence. He certainly has in mind that adding ‘*inna* doesn’t alter the fact that Zayd is the agent of the participle *qā’imun* ‘standing’.)

Reading Sīrāfi literally, it seems that the difference between *zaydun* and *zaydan* represents a difference of meaning between the occurrences of *zayd-* in the two sentences

ḍaraba ‘amrun zaydan.

ḍaraba zaydun ‘amran.

but not between the occurrences of *zayd-* in the two sentences

‘inna zaydan qā’imun.

zaydun qā’imun.

Sīrāfi goes on to say (Sīrāfi 2012 i. 177. 22-24) that one and the same expression has different meanings (*ma'nā*) in the following two sentences, since it is *fā'il* in one but *maf'ūl* in the other:

ḍaraba 'amrun zaydan ('Amr hit Zayd').

ḍuriba zaydun ('Zayd was hit')

(Should the first be *ḍaraba zaydun 'amran*, so that we have literally the same expression *zaydun* in both cases?)

We leave to the next section the question in what sense being *fā'il* or *maf'ūl* is a kind of *ma'nā*. For the moment we note that by Sīrāfi's examples, the difference between being *fā'il* and being *maf'ūl* lie in the grammatical structures of the whole sentence – including under this head the difference between active and passive verbs – rather than anything local to the word *zayd-* itself. (Perhaps when Sīrāfi spoke of the vowelling in the separate words, he also had in mind the vowelling of the sentences as a whole.)

If Sīrāfi intends that labelling nouns as *fā'il* or *maf'ūl* will determine their position in the grammatical structure, it is doubtful that this will work. One can see this by considering sentences with two transitive verbs (and Sībawayhi has many examples of these). Simply labelling a noun as *fā'il* doesn't tell us whether it is agent of the first verb or of the second. Sīrāfi has unwittingly hidden this difficulty here by confining himself to one-clause sentences. It is true that Sībawayhi and the tradition following him sometimes analysed a compound sentence by paraphrasing it into two or more simple sentences. Then of course within each simple verbal sentence the labelling of a noun as *fā'il* or *maf'ūl* will normally determine its grammatical position (and we note that in his examples with *qā'imun*, Sīrāfi has treated a nominal sentence with a participle as if it was a verbal sentence). But this is no defence, because the analysis of the original sentence consists partly of the simple sentences extracted from it, and partly of the cross-relationships between these sentences – a fact which Sībawayhi himself never attempts to disguise. See for example (Baalbaki 1979) on this kind of analysis in Sībawayhi.

A second problem is that Sīrāfi speaks as if one and the same word could have different meanings, and he is clearly not talking about ambiguous words with more than one dictionary entry. A simple methodological point could help here. One needs to distinguish between (I) a

word and (II) an occurrence of the word within a sentence. There are things that are true of (II) but not of (I): for example being earlier than the verb, or being in the role of agent of the verb. It is not clear that the Arabic of Sīrāfī's time had any generally accepted device for referring to occurrences of words. Ibn Sīnā had such a device, but it is very characteristic of his personal style and may well have been his own invention. To say that an occurrence of the word *W* in a sentence *S* has property *P*, he would say that *W* has the property *P* *min ḥaytu huwa ḡuz'un min S*. (e. g. Ibn Sīnā 1970: 30. 8) Ibn Sīnā was not the first philosopher to use *min ḥaytu* as a technical term – it appears already in al-Fārābī – but he seems to have been the first philosopher to use it systematically. One of us hopes to report on this more fully elsewhere. The notion *min ḥaytu* does appear in Sīrāfī, but as far as we can see, not in any systematic way.

Ibn Sīnā's device would have allowed Sīrāfī to avoid the paradoxical position that the same word *zaydun* or *zaydan* can have different meanings in different positions in a sentence. Sīrāfī is simply telling us that the speaker of the sentence “‘Amr hit Zayd. (*ḍaraba 'amrun zaydan*)” intends that the occurrence of the word ‘*amrun*’ stands in the position of agent to the occurrence of the verb *ḍaraba*. This intention is really the intention to produce a sentence with a certain grammatical structure, and Sīrāfī wants to express part of this intention as putting the occurrence of ‘*amrun*’ into a certain functional role in the sentence.

Ibn Sīnā approaches the same question from a completely different direction. Recall that for a logician the ‘subject’ (*mawḍū'*) of the sentence under discussion is the term ‘‘Amr’ and the ‘predicate’ (*maḥmūl*) is the compound term ‘hit Zayd’. Ibn Sīnā is even less interested than Sīrāfī in whether ‘hit’ is expressed by a finite verb or a participle.

So if it's intended that the [outer] expression should run parallel to the inner heart [of the proposition], the expression needs to contain three signifying elements (*dalālāt*), an element that signifies the subject meaning (*al-ma'nā allaḍī lil-mawḍū'*), a second element that signifies the predicate meaning, and a third element that signifies the connecting link (*al-'alāqa wa l-irtibāt*) between the two meanings... So it's clear from this that there is here a meaning (*ma'nā*) which is neither the meaning of the subject term, nor the meaning of the predicate term. This meaning is the connection (*al-nisba*), and it can properly be signified [by an expression]. An expression that signifies the connection is called a copula, and it plays the role of a particle. (Ibn Sīnā 1970: 38. 4–6, 39. 4–6)

Ibn Sīnā adds that in practice not all languages do always use a copula. But he never suggests that the lack of a copula allows one to drop this third ‘meaning’, which we can call the ‘copular meaning’.

Essentially the copular meaning is a piece of information about the structure of the sentence. It carries the information needed to steer the meaning of ‘‘Amr’ into the role of agent of the verb. Ibn Sīnā’s account maps closely onto some modern presentations of formal semantics for simple sentences, but it is not part of our present brief to explore this.

Although Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā finish up with quite different pictures of the meaning of a simple sentence, they may have used similar thinking to get to their conclusions. Take Ibn Sīnā’s phrase in the quotation just given:

... if it’s intended that the [outer] expression should run parallel to the inner heart
[of the proposition]...

This phrase points to a methodological assumption for semantics: the pieces of the meaning of a sentence should correspond to the pieces of its syntactic form. In this particular case Ibn Sīnā uses the assumption to reason from meaning to syntax: there has to be a connecting link between the meanings, and so there should be a connecting piece of syntax too, so lo and behold the copula. But Ibn Sīnā was quite capable of taking the assumption in the other direction too. For example in the first quotation of section 6 below, Ibn Sīnā argues that the *ya-* at the beginning of the verb *yamšī*, representing the third person, must have some connection with the idea of a subject or agent.

It seems plausible that Sīrāfī reasoned in a similar way. The syntactic form of *zaydun* is altered by adding a vowel appropriate for the object term, so we should think of the meaning of *zaydun* as undergoing a similar alteration by having a new piece of meaning added.

5. Further remarks on meaning

Here we try to round off – at least for purposes of this paper – what we have said about meanings and intentions in Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā.

An utterance of a sentence is a kind of artefact. With any artefact we can point to a feature of it and ask ‘What was the craftsman’s intention in including that feature?’ For

example of a house: why did the builder have no windows at the back. (Possible answer: to stop burglars from climbing in.) Or of a fabric: why did the weaver use red and white threads? (Possible answer: because it was made for Nadia and those are her favourite colours.) Or of a lamb stew: why did the cook put in rhubarb? (Possible answer: because it's healthy and there was good cheap rhubarb in the market.)

These examples are not arbitrary. Building a house was one of Ibn Sīnā's favourite analogies for constructing a sentence (Ibn Sīnā 1952: 22. 1–7), and Ğurġānī used the same analogy (Ğurġānī 1946: 73. 15–74. 1). Ğurġānī also compared constructing a sentence to weaving a fabric, though with reservations (Ğurġānī 1946: 30. 11–17). But there is an obvious difference between the sentence and all these analogues. We can appreciate a house or a fabric or a meal without raising any questions about the maker's intentions. After all, we know what houses do for us (they make people safe and comfortable), and fabrics (we wear them and enjoy looking at them) and meals (we eat them). The maker's intentions are an added extra; you can appreciate the fabric perfectly well without knowing the connection with Nadia. But sentences are not like this. Sentences are used mainly for passing information and recording facts or descriptions. So the person who receives the sentence needs to know how to decode it so as to reconstruct what the utterer put into it. We can reasonably use the word 'intention' for everything that the utterer meant to be decodable from the utterance. In this vein Ibn Sīnā speaks of

trusting that the interlocutors will grasp the intention (*wāṭiqīna bi-'anna l-muḥāṭabīna yaqifūna 'alā l-ġaraḍ*). (Ibn Sīnā 1970: 69. 1)

In this sense, the craftsman's 'intention' plays a much more functional role where the artefact is a sentence than it does where the artefact is a house or a fabric or a meal.

What features of the sentence does the listener or reader need to be able to decode? First of all, the meanings of the words. In this sense, the (normally lexical) meanings of words are part of the speaker's intention. Second, the grammatical structure. In this sense, the 'functional meaning of the linguistic categories' (to borrow Versteegh's term) is a part of the speaker's intention. Granted, Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā describe these functional meanings in very different ways.

So far so good: we have reconciled the use of *ma'nā* and expressions like *qaṣd* in both Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā with a broadly coherent view of how language operates. It is rather different from what one reads in the linguistic literature today.

One reason why today's linguists would be unhappy with the emphasis on speaker's intention is the following. As Ibn Sīnā notes above, for successful communication the speaker needs to give the listener enough public clues to make sure that the intended meaning will come through. But then if the public clues are there, the listener's task is to read them, not to guess at the speaker's intentions. Once the speaker has put the clues in place, his or her intentions are irrelevant to the act of communication. (This is perhaps clearer to us today when many of the sentences that we read were automatically generated by a computer that didn't literally have intentions at all.) A satisfactory account of language would have more to say about the kinds of clue that are available.

For example we recognise today that a feature of language that needs separate treatment is indexicality: how an utterance and its parts are related to time, place and individuals in the context. Sīrāfī does briefly mention the issue, but he tends to agree with the later Western Scholastics that it can be summed up as a pointing finger:

... when the speaker addresses something he makes known his purpose in regard to that thing, and his hand goes to it specifically: 'O man' and 'O slave'. (Sīrāfī 2012: ii. 339. 2f)

Ibn Sīnā is hardly more forthcoming about the question.

We should mention one further aspect of meaning, which is crucially important in Ibn Sīnā. (We do not yet have an agreed opinion about how far a similar view can be traced in Sīrāfī, but we intend to report on this later.) For Ibn Sīnā, to use a word in a certain meaning involves correlating the word with an abstract entity, the meaning, that was already available independent of language. (See for example the quotation from Ibn Sīnā in section 2 above.) With a common noun like 'horse' the meaning is a structured entity: it contains not only a criterion for distinguishing horses from things that are not horses (both in the real world and in the imagination), but also a definition which relates it to abstractly prior meanings like that of 'animal'. A sentence has a meaning that is constructed from the meanings of its component words by analogy with the construction of the sentence itself. One ingredient of Ibn Sīnā's

theory of language is a view about the rules for combining phrases, and the corresponding rules for combining meanings. (E. g. Hodges 2013)

Ibn Sīnā speaks as a logician here. But some of the constructions that Ibn Sīnā discusses appear also in Sībawayhi and Sīrāfī, and it will be illuminating to compare what Ibn Sīnā says with what the linguists say. This is for the future.

6. Determinate and indeterminate

We turn to some notions that appear in both Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā, and in both authors they are problematic.

In his logic, Ibn Sīnā makes frequent use of the notion of an expression or term whose signification (*dalāla*) is ‘indeterminate’ (*ġayru mu‘ayyanin*). The things that he says about this notion are not easy to interpret. For example here is a comment he makes on the *ya-* at the beginning of *yamšī* ‘he walks’:

[The subject signified by *ya-*] is determined in itself (*mu‘ayyanun fī nafsihi*) but it is not stated explicitly, nor is it determined as the signification of the expression. The thing is reserved for explicit statement of it (*mawqūfun ‘alā l-taṣrīhi bihi*) and it is not identified (*ġayru mu‘ayyanin*) for the hearer, though the hearer does know that it is identified (*mu‘ayyan*) for the speaker. (Ibn Sīnā 1970: 22. 14f)

We haven’t yet found the word *mu‘ayyan* in Sīrāfī, and Troupeau (Troupeau 1976) didn’t find it in the *Kitāb*. But Sīrāfī certainly makes use of the notion of a ‘determinate thing’ (*šay’un bi-‘aynihi*). For example:

... as when a man says to his interlocutor ‘The man’s house has a garden’ and ‘I have a friend staying with me’, where the interlocutor doesn’t know the determinate man (*al-raġulu bi-‘aynihi*) and the garden; and it can happen that the speaker himself doesn’t know, as when he says to his interlocutor ‘I am looking for a slave to buy’ and his aim is not a determinate thing (*šay’un bi-‘aynihi*). (Sīrāfī 2012: ii. 338. 23–339. 2)

We seem to have two games with the same players: a speaker, a listener, and phrases which are ‘determinate’ or ‘indeterminate’ according to the knowledge of the speaker and the listener.

There is more in common. For Sīrāfi the notion of ‘determinate’ correlates with the speaker’s choice whether to make a noun ‘definite’ (*ma‘rifā*) or ‘indefinite’ (*nakira*); for a common noun like *raḡul* the definite form carries the definite article (*al-raḡulu*) and the indefinite form has nunation at the end (*raḡulun*). For Ibn Sīnā there are strong connections between indeterminacy and existential quantification. Thus

We say ‘Every human breathes, with necessity’ without giving a determinate time (*waqt mu‘ayyan*), though there would have to be a time. (Ibn Sīnā 1964: 33. 6f)

Ibn Sīnā is telling us that for every human being *there is* a time when that human breathes, but that we aren’t in a position to state the time.

Existential quantification and indefiniteness are not the same thing, but they have close links. For example Sībawayhi’s sentence ‘I passed a man’, *marartu bi-raḡulin*, would certainly go into logical subject-predicate form as an existentially quantified sentence, maybe

ba‘ḍu l-riḡāli marartu bihi.

Sensitive Arabic speakers will protest that a semantically indefinite noun phrase like *ba‘ḍu l-riḡāli* should never go into topic position at the beginning of the sentence. But this convention was well established among logicians well before Ibn Sīnā, and in general he was much more respectful of normal usage than this example would suggest.

So it seems that Sīrāfi and Ibn Sīnā, despite their different professional aims, had a shared interest in pinning down what it is for an expression to be ‘determinate’. That said, neither of them gives any proper definition of the notion, and many of their comments on it are obscure.

For example Sīrāfi claims that

Definiteness depends on the knowledge of the interlocutor and not that of the speaker. (Sīrāfi 2012: ii. 338. 21)

This can’t be right; it’s for the speaker to choose whether to put a noun into determinate or indeterminate form, and the speaker may or may not share the knowledge of the interlocutor. This point can be cleared up quickly by referring to Sībawayhi’s more careful phrasing:

A demonstrative pronoun is just definite because you only hide a noun under a pronoun (*tuḍmiru 'isman*) when you know that the person you are talking to already knows who or what you mean and that you intend some determinate thing. (Sībawayhi 1970: I. 188. 8–10).

In short, the speaker's choice has to be governed by what the speaker knows or believes about the listener's state of knowledge.

But even that can't be right yet. As we noted earlier, there don't have to be both a speaker and a listener in every application of language. Logical reasoning is a counterexample. If the distinction between definite and indefinite has relevance to logic, and the link to existential quantification strongly suggests that it does, then the choice between definite and indefinite forms must depend on something other than what the speaker and the listener know about the facts and about each other. Incidentally this makes it curious that Ibn Sīnā himself, in the quotation from (Ibn Sīnā 1970) at the beginning of this section, introduces a speaker and a hearer in order to account for indefiniteness. It raises a suspicion that Ibn Sīnā took the notion from the linguists, and uncritically took with it some of the linguists' assumptions about use of language.

In any case there is certainly work to be done in making sense of the notion of 'indeterminate'. The parallels that we indicate above show that it would be sensible to approach the question using both linguistic and logical sources. The evidence in footnote 30 in Versteegh (1977: 75f) suggests that the names of al-Fārābī, al-Siġistānī and al-'Anbārī should be added to Sībawayhi, Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā in this investigation. We should add that Ibn Sīnā's use of the notion almost certainly has ingredients not found elsewhere, for example functional dependence in the interpretation of nested quantifiers.

To close this section we note a rather precise question that comes up in both Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā: why is the sun referred to in Arabic by a common noun *šams*, rather than by a proper name? It's a reasonable question when we note that planets have plain proper names: *mirrīḥ* for Mars and *zuḥal* for Saturn. Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā give at base the same answer, though they call on very different evidence for it. They both claim that in common usage 'sun' can stand for a class of things rather than a single individual.

Sīrāfī claims that when we say 'the sun' we commonly mean radiation (*daw'*) from the sun. Examples are 'Don't sit in the sun' and 'The sun in Basra is hotter than the sun in Kufa'.

Since radiation is not a single entity, the use of a common noun is justified. (Sīrāfī 2012: IV. 62. 2–4) It does occur to us to ask whether the same explanation could work for ‘the moon’ (*al-qamar*) or ‘Sirius’ (*al-ši‘rā*). (See Marogy 2010: 109f) for further comments on this passage.)

Ibn Sīnā’s reasoning is quite different. As we noted earlier, he bases himself on the standard language of science and philosophy. A scientist who studies the sun will aim to explain, for example, what happens during an eclipse of the moon. He will show that given the sizes of the sun and moon, and their relative distances from the earth, if the sun and moon lie exactly on opposite sides of the earth then the earth will cut off the light of the sun from the moon, and the moon will be eclipsed. But anybody who understands this will understand that it applies to any three spherical bodies, one of which radiates light, under the given assumptions on distances etc. In fact Ibn Sīnā claims, as a good Aristotelian, that only a person who understands the facts in this generality can properly be said to know what an eclipse is. So for purposes of astronomy ‘the sun’ can mean any radiating spherical body. It so happens that in the part of the universe that we can see, there is only one sun (or so Ibn Sīnā believed). But that’s an empirical fact and not a part of the meaning of the noun ‘sun’. (Ibn Sīnā 1955: 172. 14–19) On the other hand, Ibn Sīnā adds, if we say ‘this sun’ we introduce a new element of meaning that pins the name down to a unique individual. (Ibn Sīnā 1910: 12. 11–13)

7. Conclusion

The overlaps between the thinking of Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā are witness to the intellectual culture that they shared. Any modern scholar who wants to understand either of these authors will need to grasp the kind of thinking that lies in these overlaps. We draw the conclusion that modern linguists and modern logicians with an interest in understanding the medieval Arabic writers should be open to discussion with scholars on the other side of the linguistics/logic divide. Ideally we look forward to a generation of scholars who are equally familiar with the main writings of both disciplines.

But there is a further point to make. These overlaps also illustrate the extent to which linguistic facts underlie logical theory, and semantics underlies grammar. To adapt a remark that one of us made recently,

As a matter of fact, when analysing the [grammatical] structures of the Arabic language, we are compelled to face problems of a semantic nature, which are related to the way in which reality is reflected [by the phrases of the language]. (Giolfo 2012: 136)

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SYNTAX, PRAGMATICS, POETRY: TOWARD A REAPPRAISAL OF ṬA'LAB'S *QAWĀ'IDU L-ŠI'R*

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Abstract. This paper aims to provide a critical review of the results reached by Arabists in their study of the *Qawā'idu l-šī'r* by Ṭa'lab, highlighting various implications that such outcomes can offer to Arab(ic) Linguistics. The paper is also meant to pave the way toward an integrated approach to Arabic medieval poetics as a whole, analyzing it through interpretive tools rooted not only in literary criticism, but in the linguistic science as well. What emerges is that such an approach will bring to light a thus far under-researched conceptual continuity, tying the *Qawā'idu l-šī'r* to subsequent treatises on Arabic poetics, such as the *Naqdu l-šī'r* and *Minhāḡu l-bulagā'*.

Keywords: Syntax, pragmatics, Arabic poetry, Ṭa'lab, *Qawā'idu l-šī'r*, Qudāmah, al-Qartāḡannī

1. The place of *Qawā'idu l-šī'r* in modern scholarship

Ṭa'lab (d. 291/904) is historically one of the most renowned figures of Arabic linguistic thought, so that we hardly need to mention the primary aspects of his life¹. However, there is one facet of Ṭa'lab's scientific work that still remains underrepresented in modern scholarship: his interest in Arabic poetry, which according to medieval scholars led to his outstanding treatise of Arabic poetics, the so-called *Qawā'idu l-šī'r* (*QŠ* henceforth).

In their investigation of the Arabic poetics, as laid out by the medieval Arab *literati*, modern Arabists have seemingly thus far given but a cursory nod to Ṭa'lab and, despite the relatively large number of critical editions devoted to the *QŠ*, specifically those of Schiaparelli (1890), Ḥafāḡī (1948), and 'Abduttawwāb (1966), only the studies undertaken by Nöldeke (1890), Trabulsi (1955: 81-85, 215-216), Bonebakker (1956: Introduction, 22-25), Šallūm (1969: 223-234) and Heinrichs (1971, 1973) have been concerned with Ṭa'lab's interest in Arabic poetry², whereas more recent scholars have limited themselves to simply

¹ Interested readers can refer to Dayf (1968: 223-237), Bernards (2000) and Osti (2013) for further information.

² Heinrichs (1971, 1973) doesn't mention Šallūm (1969) among the modern Arabic scholars who have investigated the *QŠ*.

repeating these analyses (see e. g. von Gelder 1982: 46-48, Ouyang 1997: 181, 214, and Hussein 2004: 302)³. In the introduction to his accurate critical edition of the *QŠ*, ‘Abduttawwāb (1966: 15-16) makes no exception to this trend, as he fully subscribes to Nöldeke’s ideas, often reporting them literally in Arabic translation.

This paper thus aims to provide a critical review of the main results the aforementioned handful of scholars reached in their study of Ṭa‘lab’s *QŠ*, highlighting various implications that such results can offer to Arab(ic) Linguistics. The paper is also meant to pave the way toward an integrated approach to Arabic medieval poetics as a whole, analyzing it through interpretive tools rooted not only in literary criticism, but in the linguistic science as well. What emerges is that such an approach will bring to light a thus far under-researched conceptual continuity, tying the *QŠ* to subsequent treatises on Arabic poetics, such as the *Naqdu l-ši‘r* and *Minhāḡu l-bulaḡā’*.

2. The text and its contents

Given the significant role assumed by the *QŠ* in Ṭa‘lab’s theory of poetry and, more generally, in Arabic literary theory, we can conveniently begin by summarizing its main contents. To this end, the division of the *QŠ* into five conceptual sections, as initially proposed by ‘Abduttawwāb (1966: 16-18), is in effect particularly useful (cp. also Heinrichs 1971: 212):

- Section I introduces *qawā’idu l-ši‘r*, corresponding to four types of syntactic structures⁴: *‘amr* ‘command’, *nahy* ‘prohibition’, *ḡabar* ‘statement’, *istiḡbār* ‘question’ (“*qawā’idu l-ši‘ri ‘arba‘un ‘amrun wa-nahyun wa-ḡabarun wa-stiḡbār*”: *QŠ*, 31);

- Section II deals with notions such as *madḡ*, *hiḡā’*, etc., which subsequent literary critics label as *‘aḡrād* (“*tumma tatafarra‘u hāḡihi l-‘uṣūlu ‘ilā madḡin wa-hiḡā’in*”, etc.: *QŠ*, 31);

³ Dayf (1968: 226), Zwettler (1978: 65, 168) and Bohas, Guillaume and Kouloughli (1990: 104), touch very briefly on Ṭa‘lab’s views regarding Arabic poetry. Zaḡlūl Salām (1964: I, 260) lists the *QŠ* among his primary sources, with no further discussion. Cantarino (1975: 43) and Arazi (1997) assign no prominent role to Ṭa‘lab in their description of early Arabic poetics.

⁴ Sect. 5 expounds the empirical basis for interpreting *qawā’id* as syntactic structures.

- Section III deals with various figures of speech, and related poetic licenses;
- Section IV identifies two viable practices for the composition of elegant poetry: *ğazālatu l-lafz*, ‘eloquent style’ and *ittisāqu l-naẓm* ‘a well-balanced and self-contained metrical unit’;
- Section V presents a five-fold classification of Arabic verse, sensitive to semantic and metrical criteria.

3. The text’s transmission, reception and attribution

It is well established among scholars that, in addition to his important contribution to the field of Arabic grammar, Ṭa‘lab compiled over 40 works on Koranic studies, Arabic lexicography and poetry (Bernards 2000). This knowledge on his attributed works is mainly based on Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995), who credits Ṭa‘lab for writing *Kitābu ma‘ānī l-ši‘r* and *Kitābu l-hiğā’*, as well as commenting various pre-Islamic poems, and dedicating to poetic topics some of the philological discussions later collected into the work *al-Mağālis* (“*wa-li-‘abī l-‘abbāsi muğālasātun ‘amlā-hā ‘alā ‘aṣḥābi-hi fī mağālisi-hi taḥṭawī ‘alā qiṭ‘atin min-a l-naḥwi wa-luğati wa-l-‘aḥbāri wa-ma‘ānī l-qur‘āni wa-l-ši‘ri ... wa-‘amila ‘abu l-‘abbāsi qiṭ‘atan min ‘aṣ‘āri l-fuḥūl*”: *al-Fihrist*, I, 81).

Curiously enough, Ibn al-Nadīm’s *al-Fihrist* doesn’t include the *Qṣ* in the list of Ṭa‘lab’s works on Arabic poetry, nor, generally speaking, do biographical dictionaries mention it among his works (‘Abduttawwāb 1966: 15). However, this fact doesn’t necessarily contradict the attribution of the *Qṣ* to Ṭa‘lab, if we concur with ‘Abduttawwāb (1966: 16) that it is not unusual for Classical Arabic technical literature to escape the attention of biographers: by way of illustration, we know from the *Ğamharatu l-‘amṭāl* by al-‘Askarī (d. 395/1005), the *Mağma‘u l-‘amṭāl* of al-Maydanī (d. 518/1124), and the *Ḥizānātu l-‘adab* by al-Bağdādī (1093/1682) that Mu‘arriğ al-Sadūsī (d. 195/810) wrote a work entitled *Kitābu l-‘amṭāl*, which nonetheless fails to be mentioned in the authoritative biographical dictionary *Kitābu l-ṭabaqāt* by Ibn Sa‘d (d. 230/845).

However, according to ‘Abduttawwāb (*Ibidem*), the arguments supporting Ṭa‘lab’s authorship of the *Qṣ* go beyond these philological observations, and encompass indirect evidence of a comparative nature: in its conciseness, the style of the *Qṣ* is highly reminiscent

of that found in another work by Ṭa‘lab, the *Kitābu l-faṣīḥ* (cp. *al-Fihrist*, I, 81). What’s more, the comparative evidence for attributing the *QṢ* to Ṭa‘lab is also direct, since both the extant manuscripts of this work, namely Vatican manuscript no. 357 and al-Azhar manuscript no. 1181 (7323, Abaza collection), explicitly indicate Ṭa‘lab as its author. Remarkably, this sort of evidence wasn’t available to Schiaparelli (1890), Nöldeke (1890), Ḥafāḡī (1948), Bonebakker (1956), etc., who could only rely on the Vatican manuscript in preparing their critical editions or studies of the *QṢ*, since the al-Azhar manuscript was only later discovered by ‘Abduṭṭawwāb (1966: 12).

Finally, virtually any scholar that has investigated the *QṢ* would be inclined to attribute it to Ṭa‘lab on the basis of an epistemological argument: thus, Nöldeke (1890), ‘Abduṭṭawwāb (1966) and Heinrichs (1971) regard the Kufan grammarian as the author of this treatise because in describing Arabic poetry, it adopts interpretive tools typical of linguistic analysis, such as the notions *‘amr*, *nahy*, *ḥabar*, *istiḥbār*. Nevertheless, this sort of epistemological argument is less compelling than it might appear at first, considering that interpretive tools borrowed from Arabic grammar are actually found in Arabic medieval treatises on poetry authored by literary critics rather than grammarians. For instance, Qudāmah (d. 337/948?) and al-Qarṭājannī (d. 684/1285), who Cantarino (1975) regards as major figures of the golden age of Arabic poetics, seemingly assign to the genuinely linguistic notions *lafẓ* and *ma‘nā* (‘signifier’ and ‘signified’, respectively) a privileged role in their theories⁵.

This linguistic attitude is adamantly clear in the case of Qudāmah, where a four-fold system of theoretical underpinnings emerges from his work *Naqdu l-ši‘r*, 9, consisting of *lafẓ*, *ma‘nā*, meter and rhyme. This appears to be less evident in the case of al-Qarṭājannī, but may become clearer below. Badawi (1962: 88-89) observes that the Andalusian scholar al-Qarṭājannī faithfully follows Aristotle’s *dictum* that fantasy (*taḥyīl*) is a crucial ingredient of any poetical discourse, yet he also adapts it to his own cultural context, arguing that the epic genre depicted in Greek poetry is one of the *loci* of manifestation of fantasy, whereas this genre is simply not portrayed in Arabic poetry:

⁵ The English terms ‘form’ and ‘meaning’ are consciously avoided here, and the terms ‘signifier’ and ‘signified’ adopted instead, since when denoting a sound-string conceptually opposed to ‘meaning’, the term ‘form’ could wrongly represent ‘meaning’ as having no form, which is actually not the case (cp. the Saussurean axiom that language as a whole “est forme et non substance”).

wa-hāzim [...] yufarriq bayna l-ši 'r wa-l-ḥaṭābah 'ala 'asas 'anna l-ši 'r ya 'tamid 'alā l-taḥyīl baynamā l-ḥaṭābah ya 'tamid 'alā l-'iqnā' [...] wa-yata 'arraḍ li-'anwā' al-ši 'r al-yūnānī [...] wa-hya 'ašyā' lam taqa 'fī l-wuḡūd [...] wa-hwa yušīr 'ilā ši 'r al-malāḥim [...] wa-lammā lam yara la-hu naẓīran fī l-ši 'r al-'arabī marra bi-hi sarī'an wa-lam yatawaqqaf

Taken a step forward, there is also good reason to believe that in Arabic poetry the *locus* of manifestation of fantasy is rather the conceptual pair *lafz-ma'nā*, considering that in *Minhāḡu l-bulaḡā'*, II, 18-19 al-Qarṭāḡannī affirms that:

- fantasy (and persuasion) use(s) their own forms of expression (“*šūratay l-taḥyīli wa-l-'iqnā'*”);

- such forms manifest themselves as signifier-signified pairs (“*inna l-ma'āniya l-šuwaru*”, “*aqāma l-lafzu l-mu'abbaru bi-hi hay'ata tilka l-šūratī*”);

- this holds especially in poetry (and in rhetoric: “*al-ši 'ru wa-l-ḥaṭābatu yaštarikāni fī māddati l-ma'ānī*”); or, somewhat simplifying: insofar as poetry is concerned, fantasy (indirectly) manifests itself in the form of signifier-signified pairs.

We can infer from *Minhāḡu l-bulaḡā'*, II, 18-19 that in al-Qarṭāḡannī's interpretation of Arabic poetry the conceptual pair *lafz-ma'nā* is functionally equivalent to the Aristotelian notion of the epic genre, in the sense that this linguistic pair mediates the conceptual relationship between fantasy and poetry, just as the epic genre does^{6, 7}. As a corollary, *lafz-ma'nā* not only occupies a significant role in Qudāmah's theory of poetry, it is also

⁶ For the sake of completeness, *Minhāḡu l-bulaḡā'*, II, 18-19 is reproduced in its entirety below:

'inna l-ma'āniya l-šuwaru l-hāšilatū fī l-'aḡḥāni 'an-i l-'ašyā' i l-mawḡūdati fī l-'a'yāni [...] 'idā 'ubbira 'an tilka l-šūratī l-ḡihniyyati l-hāšilatī 'an-i l-'idrāki 'aqāma l-lafzu l-mu'abbaru bi-hi hay'ata tilka l-šūratī l-ḡihniyyati fī 'ašhāmi l-sāmi 'īna wa-'aḡḥāni-him [...] kāna l-ši 'ru wa-l-ḥaṭābatu yaštarikāni fī māddati l-ma'ānī wa-yaftariqāni bi-šūratay l-taḥyīli wa-l-'iqnā'

The 'signified' are the forms that arise in one's mind subsequent to the eye's perception of things. [...] If one wanted to convey this form [of expression], as resulting from one's perception, then the 'signifier', which is typically apt to expression, sets up a symbol for it, [understandable] in the listeners' perceptive faculty and mind. [...] Poetry and rhetoric share the substance of the 'signified', whereas they differ as to their form, since they use the forms of fantasy or persuasion, respectively.

⁷ In doing so, al-Qarṭāḡannī arguably applies to Arabic poetry an idea that Aristotle originally devised for human language in general. The Greek philosopher, in fact, “apparently held that linguistic meaning derives from imagery, spoken words being but the symbols of the inner images” (Thomas 2013, and references therein).

emphasized in the *ars poetica* of al-Qartāğannī. A caveat is in order, however, since the important point is not that these critics made use of the conceptual pair *lafz-ma'nā*, which is hardly surprising in light of the fact that the science of linguistics was among the pillars of their polished education (Cantarino 1975: 46), but that this linguistic notion was *theoretically relevant* to their literary framework of investigation⁸.

These epistemological considerations on the Arabic theory of poetry have, as alluded to above, a significant import for the issue of attribution of the *Qṣ*, since they show that the presence of a linguistic attitude in this work doesn't necessarily guarantee that it was authored by a grammarian such as Ṭa'lab - contrary to a received view.

In sum, taking stock of the current state of research on the *Qṣ*, we find that textual-stylistic evidence (cp. *Kitābu l-faṣīh*) and transmission-related evidence (the failure to mention technical literature by biographers; the converging opinion of manuscript copyists) support the medieval traditional assertion that this work is a major outcome of Ṭa'lab's interest in poetry, whereas epistemological evidence (presence of a linguistic framework) is far less cogent in this respect.

4. Intratextuality

The issue of attribution of the *Qṣ* to Ṭa'lab discussed in the previous section is a non-trivial philological controversy in the study of this treatise, which 'Abduttawwāb (1966) contributes to resolving convincingly.

Yet another philological issue the Egyptian scholar addresses in the introduction to his critical edition of the *Qṣ* is the fact that the interpretive tools presented within the treatise differ considerably from those traditionally ascribed to Ṭa'lab's analysis. According to 'Abduttawwāb (1966: 18), a telling example is the concept of *'ikfā'*: in his view, *Qṣ*, 64 keeps this notion distinct from that of *'iqwā'*, whereas Ṭa'lab's teachings reported in the *al-'Umdah* by Ibn Raṣīq (d. 463/1070) define the former as synonymous to the latter ("*wa-kalāmu-hu fī l-'iqwā' wa-l-'ikfā' hunā yuhālif mā ruwiya 'an-hu fī l-'umdah*").

⁸ This is all the more so, if we take into account textual-historical research by Bernards and Nawas (1998: 103), according to which the distinction between grammarians and literary critics is far less clear-cut than it was once thought to be.

In greater detail, the relevant passage in *al-‘Umdah* (*apud* ‘Abduttawwāb 1966: 18) reads as follows:

*wa-‘ammā l-‘ikfā’u fa-hwa l-‘iqwā’u bi-‘ayni-hi ‘inda ġillati l-‘ulamā’i ka-‘abī ‘amrin bni l-‘alā’i wa-l-ḥalīli bni ‘aḥmada wa-yūnusa bni ḥabībin wa-hwa qawlu ‘aḥmada bni yaḥyā ta ‘lab*⁹

On the other hand, *QṢ*, 64, describes ‘*iqwā’* as a poetic license allowing for a rhyme between two word-final vowels that have different values, e. g. *a(:)* rhyming with *i* in (*bšī*)*rā’* (*naḥ*)*ri* (“*wa-l-‘iqwā’u miṭlu qawli l-šā’ir: [...] fa-bširā [...] wa-l-naḥri fa-kasara wa-rafa ‘a wa-naṣaba*”); and ‘*ikfā’* as a poetic license allowing for a rhyme between two word-final consonants that are not identical, being instead “similar in pronunciation, such as *ḍ* and *ḏ*, or *n* and *m*”, e. g. (*mu ‘ā*)*dī’*/(*aqyā*)*ḏi* (“*wa-l-‘ikfā’u duḥūlu l-dāli ‘alā l-ḏā’i, wa-l-mūni ‘alā l-mīmi wa-hya l-‘aḥrufu l-mutašābihatu ‘alā l-lisān*”).

As can be gleaned from the comparison between the two passages, the problem pointed out by ‘Abduttawwāb revolves around the two different predicates that the *QṢ* and *al-‘Umdah* combine with the subject *l-‘ikfā’u*, notably the definitions *duḥūlu l-dāli*, etc., vs. *l-‘iqwā’u bi-‘ayni-hi*. While ‘Abduttawwāb leaves this conundrum unsolved, a solution to it in principle can be found through a closer reading of the aforementioned definitions.

Beginning with the definition *l-‘iqwā’u bi-‘ayni-hi* recorded in *al-‘Umdah*, a case can be made for rendering the phrase *bi-‘ayni-hi* occurring in this passage as ‘in its essence’, rather than ‘itself’, since the latter is a frequent translation of *bi-‘ayni-hi* (Wright 1896: II, 272) that misguidedly overlooks the technical nuance that several primary sources give to the Arabic original (*apud* Lane: 1863, V, 2216, which accordingly glosses the word ‘*ayn* combined with a genitive (pro)noun as “a thing’s *naḥs* [i. e. *self*”, “its *dāt* [which means the same]; and its ‘*asl* [as meaning *its essence*, or *constituent substance*]). Consequently, the translation of the nominal sentence *l-‘ikfā’u l-‘iqwā’u bi-‘ayni-hi* as “‘*ikfā’* is ‘*iqwā’*, in its essence” is justified since it is faithful to the technical context in which the Arabic phrase *bi-‘ayni-hi* occurs. An equally viable translation of the same sentence is “‘*ikfā’* is the essence of ‘*iqwā’*”, if we consider that the construction [Noun + *bi* + ‘*ayn* + Suffix-pronoun] is transformationally derived from the construction [‘*ayn* + Noun] (Wright 1896: II, 281-282).

⁹ In this passage, *Ta‘lab* also describes a transmission chain relative to ‘*ikfā’*, which includes, among others, al-Ḥalīl: see Bonebakker (1956: Introduction, 34-35) for details.

Bearing this in mind, let's now turn our attention to the definition *duḥūlu l-dāli*, etc., which effectively involves the two consonantal classes *d/z* and *n/m*, a statement that is grounded in two arguments:

- historically, Ṭa'lab was well acquainted with the linguistic theory of al-Ḥalīl (d. 175/791), as is inferred from his ability to recognize al-Ḥalīl's influence on Sībawayhi's *al-Kitāb* ("qawl ṭa'lab 'al-'uṣūlu wa-l-masā'ilu fī l-kitābi li-l-ḥalīl", Ḍayf 1968: 34), and the transmission-chain mentioned in fn. 9 above;

- epistemologically, al-Ḥalīl subsumed *d/z* and *n/m* under the classes, respectively, of *ḥurūf al-dulq* and *l-ḥurūf al-liṭawiyyah* ("summiyat ḥādīhi l-ḥurūfu dulqan [...] min-hā ṭalātātun dalīqatun r l n [...] min-hā ṭalātātun šafawiyyatun f b m", "wa-l-zā'u wa-l-dālu wa-l-tā'u liṭawiyyah": *Kitābu l-'ayn*, I, 51, 58 and Fleisch 1961: I, 227).

Furthermore, this in-depth look at the definition *duḥūlu l-dāli*, etc., has an interesting implication on a transphrastic analytical level: the definition of 'iqwā' that immediately precedes that of 'ikfā' in the text of the *QŠ* also involves a *consonantal* class, to wit *i, u, a* ("fa-kasara wa-rafa'a wa-naṣaba"), which Arab grammarians actually conceptualize as 'reduced' consonants and/or syllabically conditioned allophones of *y, w, 'alif*, respectively (Fleisch 1961: I, 232)¹⁰. Ṭa'lab follows this interpretive tradition, in that he adduces as an example of 'iqwā' the rhyme (*bšī*)rā/ (*nah*)ri, where this poetic license affects not only the 'reduced' consonant *i*, but also its full counterpart 'alif. In particular, Ṭa'lab follows al-Ḥalīl's teachings in this respect, since the order *i, u, a* in which the 'reduced' consonants are listed in *QŠ*, 64 reproduces the order *y, w, 'alif*, in which their full counterparts are listed in *Kitāb al-'ayn*, I, 58 ("wa-l-yā'u wa-l-wāwu wa-l-'alifu wa-l-hamzatu ḥawā'iyyah"), in sharp contrast with later sources, where the order 'alif, *y, w* is found instead (see e. g. Fleisch 1961: I, 205, 215). In this light, a transphrastic analysis of the definitions of 'iqwā' and 'ikfā' reveals that in *QŠ*, 64 Ṭa'lab's linguistic reasoning:

(A) posits a property shared by both these poetic licenses, i. e. the consonant; and (B) proceeds from 'iqwā', which is sensitive to a particular case of consonant, i. e. the 'reduced' consonant, to 'ikfā', which concerns its general case, i. e. the consonant proper.

¹⁰The linguistic reality of the consonant 'alif lies more in its morphological behavior than phonological realization: see Fleisch (1961: I, 239-241) for details.

Broadly speaking, these two definitions show that in *QŠ*, 64 Ṭa‘lab construes the notions of ‘*iqwā*’ and ‘*ikfā*’ as an inductive relationship, proceeding from particular to general (cp. B), consequently uniting the former to the latter by means of a common property (cp. A). It follows that the *QŠ* is informed by an inductive approach that is far from implausible, and under the circumstances in which the treatise was composed is totally expected, in view of the fact that the Kufan school adhered to by Ṭa‘lab was systematically availing itself of induction (‘*istiqrā*’), as discussed in Carter (1999). This amounts to saying that in *QŠ*, 64 the concept of ‘*ikfā*’ qualifies as the *general or essential* core of ‘*iqwā*’, so that it is strikingly similar to the concept of ‘*ikfā*’, as Ṭa‘lab defines it in *al-‘Umdah*, stating that “‘*ikfā*’ is the *essence* of ‘*iqwā*’” (see above). Although conceptually identical, Ṭa‘lab’s definitions of ‘*ikfā*’ as found in the *QŠ* and *al-‘Umdah* differ as to their formulation, being practical in the former (cp. the abundance of examples) and rather abstract in the latter (cp. its conciseness).

Thus, the picture that emerges from this case-study regarding the notion of ‘*ikfā*’ is that the incorporation of intratextual observations in the analysis of the *QŠ* (e. g. a comparison between the passages concerning ‘*iqwā*’ and ‘*ikfā*’) can help resolve the philological issue, first raised by ‘Abduttawwāb (1966), that Ṭa‘lab’s theory of poetry is not consistent throughout his work.

5. Intertextuality

There is a further philological issue that ‘Abduttawwāb and Heinrichs discuss relative to the *QŠ*, and it regards the oblivion this treatise was consigned to by subsequent theorists of Arabic poetry and literary critics. ‘Abduttawwāb (1966: 18) acknowledges that certain terms or notions used in the *QŠ* have survived in later works, but rules out the possibility that the theoretical apparatus of this treatise, as a whole, has exerted any influence on them (“*mu‘zam hādīhi l-‘iṣṭilāḥāt lam yarid la-hā dīkr fī kutub al-balāḡah [...] ka-mā ‘anna hādā l-kitāb qawā‘id al-šī‘r lam yaqtabis min-hu ‘ayy mu‘allif*”). Likewise, Heinrichs (1971: 212) argues “that we do not encounter this [=QŠ’s] theory anywhere else in Arabic literature”, although he concedes to Bonebakker (1956: Introduction, 23-25) that Qudāmah retained some concepts expounded in the *QŠ*, such as the identification of *tašbīh* ‘similitude’ with a *ḡaraḍ* (Heinrichs 1973: 40).

However, based on the results of the previous section, we may perhaps shed some new light on the (alleged) historical neglect of the *QŠ*, through a closer reading of the primary

sources. In this respect, it would appear sensible to take into consideration the three theoretical notions which, according to Heinrichs (1971: 212, 1973: 40, fn. 46) are at the core of the *QŠ*, namely (see also sect. 2):

I. *qā'idah*

II. *ğarađ*

III. the relationship between (I) and (II) in terms of '*aşl-far*' ('base-and-derivative')

We can adopt (I) as our starting point, which Nöldeke (1890: 711) has long proposed to interpret as an entity belonging to a syntactic level of analysis, i. e. a syntactic structure (see also Hussein 2004: 302).

Thus, if we want to make sense of *QŠ*, 31, which establishes that in a given line of poetry expressions such as '*aqillū 'alay-him min-a l-lawmi*' are instances of command, we must take into account its syntactic structure (e. g. sentence-initial verb, verb taking an imperative form, etc.), and exclude its semantics, since the latter – in accordance with Nöldeke – would instead point to an instance of prohibition (cp. Nöldeke's paraphrasis of '*aqillū*', etc. as "Tadelt nicht"). Simply put, when using the terms '*amr*', '*nahy*', etc., Ta'lab refers to a syntactic structure contained within a single verse (Heinrichs 1973: 39, Hussein 2004: 294).

However, a word of caution is in order here, since this statement does not deny that Ta'lab's theory of poetry is concerned with semantics, but is rather meant to highlight that it has a conceptual structure that is more fine-grained than is usually assumed.

Actually, the semantic dimension of Ta'lab's poetics becomes apparent in the *ğarađ* (II), which plausibly belongs to a pragmatic level of analysis, i. e. to a semantic level that considers the speaker's intention toward his addressee as linguistically relevant. In fact, Heinrichs' (1973: 41) textual research in Arabic lexicography has shown that in "old Arabic

usage” *ğaraḍ* meant “the ‘intention’ of the poet in connection with his addressee”, on the basis of glosses of this term such as *qaṣd* and *niyyah*¹¹.

To this, we can add that in Ṭa‘lab’s view the linguistic notion of *ma‘nā* dealt with in sect. 3 appears to qualify as a ‘purer’ kind of semantic level, which denotes a referent in the real world, abstracting away from situational information such as the speaker’s intention toward his addressee – not unlike the sememe in modern linguistics. This is self-evident in *QṢ*, 53, which highlights the exceptional behavior of the metaphor in this respect, since this figure of speech “assigns to a given referent a word or meaning that originally does not denote it” (“*wa-qāla fī l-’isti’ārati wa-hwa’an yusta’āra li-l-šay’i-smu ġayri-hi ’aw ma‘nā sawā-hu*”), thus disrupting the natural correlation between a (pure) *ma‘nā* and the denoted thing.

In a broader perspective, Ṭa‘lab conceives these poetic referents (‘*ašyā*’ encoded into *ma‘ānī*) as the basic ingredients of the poetic syntactic structure (*qā’idah*), as is inferred from *QṢ*, 58. In the latter passage, which deals with a poetic license known as a ‘juxtaposition of contraries’ (*muğāwaratu l-’aḍḍād*), the Kufan grammarian affirms that “one referent can be uttered along with another, which neutralizes it” (“*dikru l-šay’i ma’a mā yu’dimu wuğūdah*”), and exemplifies this definition through Koran 20: 74 “*lā yamūtu fī-hā wa-lā yahyā*” ‘he shall neither die nor live’ (Arberry’s transl.), where the structure resulting from the juxtaposition of the two (contrasting) referents *lā yamūtu* and *lā yahyā* is a complex form of *qā’idah*, and specifically an instance of *nahy*.

This is all the more evident in the poetic examples that Ṭa‘lab mentions in connection with *muğāwarat al-’aḍḍād*, in view of the fact that the pair of (contrasting) *ma‘ānī* involved in each of these examples consists of a single line, which is precisely the defining characteristic of the *qā’idah* (see above). That the *ma‘ānī* give rise to a single verse – hence, by transitive property, to a *qā’idah* – is also shown by *QṢ*, 38, where, in discussing the kind of *tašbīh* called *l-tašbīh l-ḥāriğ’an-i l-ta’addī wa-l-taqšīr*, the Kufan grammarian explicitly states that “this is the best way of comparing a given pair of referents to another pair of referents in one and the same line of poetry” (“*hādā ’aḥsamu šay’in wuğida fī tašbīhin šay’ayni bi-šay’ayni fī baytin wāḥid*”).

¹¹ Bohas, Guillaume and Kouloughli (1990) and Firanescu (2009) introduce the fundamental notions of modern pragmatics, applying them to medieval Arabic grammar.

On the whole, the aforementioned passages can lead us to hypothesize that in Ṭa‘lab’s view two or more poetic referents and their meanings (‘ašyā‘/ma‘ānī) become a poetic syntactic structure (*qā‘idah*) through a process that assembles them, akin to the Western syntactic notion of combination.

One may argue against this hypothesis, by pointing out that in the texts we’ve just examined no technical term is found for the notion of a syntactic combination that assembles the two contrasting *ma‘ānī* (‘*aḍḍād*). However, such a hypothesis gains plausibility from the fact that – despite the lack of linguistic terminology – the notion of combination can be easily grasped from:

- the *comitative* meaning encoded in the informal expression *dīkr...ma‘a*
- the rhetorical term *muğāwarah* ‘juxtaposition’, actually denoting a *combination* of two adjacent elements
- the rhetorical term *tašbīh* ‘similitude’, implying a *combination* of two or more *comparanda*.

Summarizing the discussion thus far, the linguistic background of the *QŠ* outlined in (I-II) is better reconceptualized as a tripartite conceptual domain: a pragmatic level (*ğaraḍ*) based on a syntactic level (*qā‘idah*), in turn based on a sememic level (*ma‘nā*), similar to modern linguistic theories¹².

Moreover, this relation of ‘X’s being based on Y’, which unites *ğaraḍ* and *qā‘idah* on the one hand and *qā‘idah* and *ma‘nā* on the other, is rather vague and can be more accurately restated in logical terms as a notion of ‘inclusion’. This interpretation finds its *raison d’être* in two facts.

Firstly, Ṭa‘lab characterizes the *ğaraḍ* as a *far‘*, a concept that Arab Grammarians by definition construe as non-primitive, and rather decomposable into the so-called ‘*aṣl* plus an additional element (Guillaume 2006: 177). In this case, the ‘*aṣl* is the syntactic level

¹² Such a threefold level of analysis, characterized by an important role of semantics, cuts across modern linguistic theories, being found even in prominently formalist approaches such as the Minimalist Program, according to which a lexicon of *pure* signified feeds syntax, which in turn feeds the so-called *conceptual-intentional* component (Chomsky 1995: Ch. 1).

(*qā'idah*), as explicitly stated in *QŠ*, 33 (see sect. 2), whereas the additional element is the situational information added to the *qā'idah*, i. e. the speaker's intention toward the addressee, as inferred from the technical usage of *ğaraḍ* at Ṭa'lab's time (see above). In set-theoretical terms, the *ğaraḍ*, being a *'aṣl* endowed with a particular property, is a subset of the superset *'aṣl/qā'idah*, i. e. an inclusion relation unites one to the other. In linguistic terms, the relation entered by the syntactic *qā'idah* and pragmatic *ğaraḍ* makes it possible to reconceptualize the syntactic and pragmatic levels of analysis as a single syntactic-pragmatic level.

Secondly, *al-'Umdah* (*apud* Hussein 2004: 303) reports that an anonymous authority construes as a four-fold set of *qawā'id* what Ṭa'lab regards as a *ğaraḍ*, notably *madh*, *hiğā'*, *nasīb*, *'i'tidār*, instead of the syntactic structures *'amr*, *nahy*, etc. (“*wa-qālu qawā'ida l-ši'ri 'arba'atan-i l-rağbata l-rahbata l-ṭaraba l-ğadağaba fa-ma'a l-rağbati yakūnu l-madhū [...] wa-ma'a l-rahbati yakūnu l-'i'tidāru [...] wa-ma'a l-ṭarabi yakūnu [...] riqqatu l-nasībi [...] wa-ma'a l-ğadağabi yakūnu l-hiğā'*”)

There is little point in assuming that the medieval critics responsible for such a conceptual overlapping between *qā'idah* and *ğaraḍ* misunderstood the *QŠ*, given their solid knowledge of the linguistic background informing this work. Hence, we can alternatively consider this overlapping – via an argument by exclusion – as triggered by a common feature shared by both *qā'idah* and *ğaraḍ*: namely, that in all likelihood, on the sememic and syntactic levels, *qā'idah* is for *ma'nā* what, on a syntactic-pragmatic level, *ğaraḍ* is for *qā'idah*. From a linguistic perspective, this amounts to saying that the relation entered by the sememic *ma'nā* and syntactic *qā'idah* makes it possible to reconceptualize the sememic and syntactic levels of analysis as a single level, indicated here as a ‘compositional-syntactic level’. In set-theoretical terms, this relation also entails that, on a compositional-syntactic level, *qā'idah* is the subset of the superset *ma'nā*, just as, on a syntactic-pragmatic level, *ğaraḍ* is the subset of the superset *qā'idah* (see above).

To put it differently, the definition of *qā'idah* presented in *al-'Umdah* arises from its double status in the *QŠ*, where this notion conceptually varies according to the level in which it occurs: a subset on a compositional-syntactic dimension, and a superset on a syntactic-pragmatic dimension. It ensues that the *'aṣl-far'* relationship in (III) above, which Heinrichs (1973: 40, fn. 46) sees at work between *qā'idah* and *ğaraḍ*, is part and parcel of a more general inclusion relation, which also holds between *ma'nā* and *qā'idah*, as illustrated in Fig. 1 below.

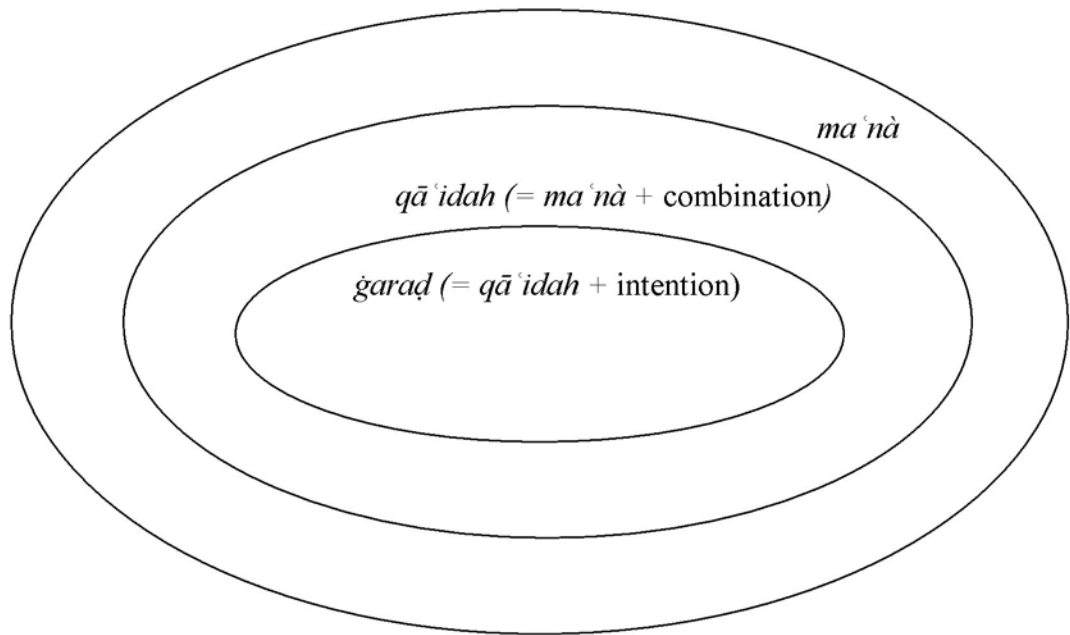


Fig. 1: *QŠ* – Overall Linguistic Framework

In this light, the issue of oblivion for the *QŠ* raised by ‘Abduttawwāb and Heinrichs, if any, concerns a tripartite and internally-coherent conceptual domain, rather than the three isolated theoretical constructs (I-III). With this in place, we can now take an in-depth look at Qudāmah’s *Naqdu l-ši’r*, in order to ascertain whether the influence of the *QŠ* on this work is confined to only certain terms, as ‘Abduttawwāb and Heinrichs maintain, or is sufficiently deeply entrenched within it to transfer the overall linguistic framework depicted in Fig. 1 above.

Historically, the latter hypothesis would not appear to be so far-fetched, if we consider that primary sources report that Qudāmah was in contact with Ṭa’lab (Heinrichs 1973: 40, Bonebakker 1956: Introduction, 23); whereas from a textual perspective, the burden of proof for an hypothesis of this kind mainly – though not exclusively – rests on the first chapter of *Naqdu l-ši’r* (*NŠ* henceforth), because of its definitional nature (Bonebakker 1956: Introduction, 9). Accordingly, we will proceed by introducing and translating various portions

from this chapter, including related passages from other sources, all of which will subsequently serve as *loci probantes* for the hypothesis under discussion:

(α) A distinction exists between *ma'nā* (and related *ğarađ*), as generally found in poetry and prose, and *ma'nā* as found in poetry alone. Cp. *NŠ*, 1: “They have also spoken about the poetic signified expressed in poetry”, “the science of unusual phrases and grammar and *’ağrāđ* of the signified is something needed to form the basis of the human discourse common to poetry and prose”¹³ (“*wa-takallamū fi l-ma’ānī l-dālli ’alay-hā l-si’ru*”, “*ilma l-ğarībi wa-l-naḥwi wa-’ağrāđi l-ma’ānī muḥtāğun ’ilay-hi fi ’ašli l-kalāmi l-’āmmi li-l-ši’ri wa-l-naṭr*”).

(β) The *ma'nā* characterized as “poetic” in the above passage is expressed by means of the so-called *qawl* (in addition to co-occurring with meter and rhyme). Cp. *NŠ*, 2: “poetry is a metrically rhythmic and rhymed *qawl* expressing a signified”¹⁴ (“*inna-hu [= l-ši’ra] qawlun mawzūmun muqaffān yadullu ’alā ma’nān*”).

(γ) The *qawl* can be assimilated to a certain extent to the Western notion of ‘signifier’ (cp. sect. 3 and *NŠ*, 7: “*kāna l-ši’ru ’alā mā qulnā-hu lafẓan mawzūnan muqaffān yadullu ’alā ma’nān*”), although this is not the whole of the matter. Cp. *NŠ*, 95: “the conditions of nouns, verbs and what results from their combination, i. e. *’aqwāl*” (“*awđā’u l-’asmā’i wa-l-’af’āli wa-l-mu’allafati min-hā wa-hya l-’aqwāl*”), where *qawl* effectively corresponds to a syntactic structure¹⁵. This passage also entails that the *ma'nā* occurring within a *qawl* is compositional.

(δ) Equally compositional is the *ma'nā* that occurs within a single line. Cp. *NŠ*, 8: “from the standpoint of what it expresses, it [= rhyme] combines its own signified with the signified of the remaining part of the verse” (“*min ġihati mā ’anna-hā [= l-qāfiyata] tadullu ’alā ma’nān li-dālika l-ma’nā llađi tadullu ’alay-hā-’tilāfun ma’a ma’nā sā’iri l-bayt*”).

(ε) The *qawl* also qualifies as the *’ašl* of the so-called *kalām*. Cp. *NŠ*, 2, which glosses the word *qawl* in the passage (β) above as: “*qawlun dāllun ’alā ’ašli l-kalām*”.

¹³ Translation based on Cantarino (1975: 119), with terminological adaptations.

¹⁴ Translation based on Cantarino (1975: 120), with terminological adaptations.

¹⁵ The syntactic dimension of *qawl* and *lafẓ* is alluded to in Cantarino (1975: 47), given that he explicitly states that at least *lafẓ* has a syntactic dimension: “*lafẓ* however, especially with literary critics, often takes on the more pregnant meaning of the concrete formulation of an idea; the sound combination produced by a series of words such as the one making up a whole verse”.

(ζ) Ibn Wahb (d. early fourth/tenth c.), a scholar who shared his linguistic tools and ideas with Qudāmah¹⁶, provides a definition of poetry that is strikingly similar to that found in the *NŠ*, but crucially departs from it in that he replaces *qawl* with *kalām* in his work *al-Burhānu fī wuḡūhi l-bayān* (“*kalāmūn mawzūnūn muqaffān*” apud Bonebakker 1956: Introduction, 17). Another point of difference between Ibn Wahb and Qudāmah, highlighted by Bonebakker (*Ibidem*), concerns their commentary of certain lines from Imru’ al-Qays. Whereas Qudāmah observes that “...the idea expressed in the second line [...] is only an addition to the idea in the first line”, thus adopting a merely compositional-syntactic analysis, Ibn Wahb regards them as “examples of how one should ‘put ideas in the places which suit them’”, adopting an integrated syntactic-pragmatic analysis instead (cp. the key-terms “put...in” and “suit”, respectively).

The different attitudes of Qudāmah and Ibn Wahb in commenting Arabic poetry (compositional-syntactic vs. syntactic-pragmatic approach) have an interesting theoretical correlate in their different definition of poetry as *qawl* and *kalām*, respectively, so that the former term is compositional-syntactic (cp. also β, γ above), and the latter is syntactic-pragmatic. Given the common linguistic background of these two scholars, the integrated syntactic-pragmatic nuance of *kalām*, as found in *al-Burhānu fī wuḡūhi l-bayān*, can likely be extended to the *NŠ* as well.

(η) The so-called *ḡaraḍ* behaves like *kalām* in that it can have a hybrid pragmatic-syntactic nuance, since, on the one hand, it is glossed as *maqṣūd* and refers to the speaker’s intention toward his addressee, and, on the other, is said to result from a syntactic combination (*tarkīb*). Cp. *NŠ*, 23, 28, 30: “the poetic *ma’na* must take into consideration an intended *ḡaraḍ*” (“*’an yakūna l-ma’na muwāḡihan li-l-ḡaraḍi l-maqṣūd*”); “mostly the *ḡaraḍ* of the poets [when including verses of praise] is to praise the men”¹⁷ (“*kāna ḡaraḍu l-ṣu’arā’i fī l-’aktari ’inna-mā hwa madḡu-hum li-l-riḡāl*”); “Regarding the *madīḡ*, poets can excel in describing human virtues, and in enumerating the aforementioned four kinds of moral qualities, as well as their aspects and the ways in which they are combined” (“*wa-qad yatafannanu l-ṣu’arā’u fī l-madīḡi bi-’an yaṣifū ḡusna ḡuluḡi l-’insāni wa-yu’addidū*

¹⁶ A recent study by Heck (2002: 87) supports the hypothesis of the linguistic background shared by these two scholars, providing textual evidence which mainly consists of several conceptual and stylistic commonalities between *al-Burhānu fī wuḡūhi l-bayān* and the linguistic themes dealt with in Qudāmah’s *Kitābu l-ḡarāḡi wa-ṣinā’ati l-kitābah*.

¹⁷ Translation based on Hussein (2004: 300), with terminological adaptations.

‘anwā‘a l-‘arba‘i l-faḍā‘ili llatī qaddamnā dīkra-hā wa-‘aqsāma-hā wa-‘aṣnāfa tarkībi ba ‘dī-hā ma‘a ba ‘d’’).

An overall analysis of the aforementioned passages reveals that in the *NS* the combination of the more basic *ma‘ānī* gives rise to the poetic *ma‘nā*, also known as *qawl*, which differs from the generic *ma‘nā* (α , β), in that it manifests itself as a syntactic structure coinciding with a single verse (γ , δ). What follows from the first finding (*qawl* informed by a syntactic structure and single line) is that Qudāmah’s *qawl* is conceptually equivalent to Ṭa‘lab’s *qā‘idah*; whereas it follows from the second finding (generic *ma‘nā* vs. poetic *ma‘nā* /*qawl*) that Qudāmah’s *qawl* is a subset of the superset (generic) *ma‘nā*, so that in the *NS* an inclusion relation exists between the (generic) *ma‘nā* and *qawl* on a compositional-syntactic level, which parallels that holding between *ma‘nā* and *qā‘idah* in the *QS*.

Concerning the passages in (ϵ , ζ , η), they show that in the *NS* the *kalām* or *ḡaraḍ* is not a primitive notion, since it is reduced to a compositional-syntactic *qawl* (ϵ , ζ) that also bears a pragmatic nuance (ζ), the latter being identified, among other things, with the speaker’s intention toward the addressee (η). In this interpretive scenario, the notion of *kalām* or *ḡaraḍ*, as used in the *NS*, can be assimilated to the notion of *ḡaraḍ* as used in the *QS*, because one shares with the other a hybrid syntactic-pragmatic nature. Furthermore, the expression *qawl...‘aṣl al-kalām* (ϵ) proves that, on a syntactic-pragmatic level, an inclusion relation exists between *qawl* (*‘aṣl*, i. e. a superset: see above) and *kalām* (*far‘*, i. e. a subset)¹⁸, so that a parallelism arises between this kind of inclusion relation and the inclusion relation that unites *qā‘idah* to *ḡaraḍ* in the *QS*.

In sum, the key-terms *ma‘nā*, *qawl*, *ḡaraḍ* found throughout the *NS* reveal that the tripartite conceptual domain of the *QS*, as schematized in Fig. 1, has survived in its entirety in Qudāmah’s treatise, a conclusion which militates against the claim, voiced in the literature, that the *QS* was neglected by subsequent literary critics.

It is also worth observing that the *QS* doesn’t represent an isolated case in this respect, since appreciative textual evidence against the above claim arguably also lies in *Minhāḡu l-bulaḡā‘*, II, 11, which reads:

¹⁸ Cantarino (1975: 46) seemingly fails to recognize the difference between *qawl* and *kalām* in the *NS*.

*yağibu 'alā man 'arāda ḡawdata l-taṣarrufi fī l-ma 'ānī wa-ḥusna l-maḏhabi fī-ḡtilābi-hā
wa-l-ḥidqa bi-ta 'līfi ba 'ḍi-hā 'ilā ba 'ḍin 'an ya 'rifā 'anna li-l-ṣu 'arā 'i 'aḡrādan 'uwala
hiya l-bā 'itatu 'alā qawli l-ṣi 'r*

“Whoever wants to achieve mastery in the *ma 'ānī*, to appropriately inspire himself to the *ma 'ānī* already found in poetry, and artfully combine one *ma 'nā* to another, must know that the poets have primary 'aḡrād [of which they avail themselves] to vivify the *qawl* of poetry”.

This passage deals with three key-concepts already encountered in the *QŠ* and *NŠ*, to wit *ma 'ānī*, (*qā 'idah*) *qawl* and 'aḡrād, which neatly point to the relevance of an integrated semantic, syntactic and pragmatic framework of linguistic analysis to the *Minhāḡu l-bulaḡā* by al-Qartāḡannī (cp. end of sect. 3). Moreover, these key-notions, along with the key-notion of *ta 'līf*, appear to enter two interesting relations: on the one hand, the (logical) protasis *man*, etc., establishes a relation opposing the simple *ma 'nā* to the *ma 'nā* undergoing syntactic combination, not unlike the compositional-syntactic level observed in the *QŠ* and *NŠ* (see e. g. *mu 'allafati* in γ above); on the other, the (logical) apodosis *yaḡibu*, etc., establishes a relation opposing *qawl* to *ḡarād*, akin to the syntactic-pragmatic level observed in the two above mentioned treatises. Taken as a whole and to a large extent, this text offers an account of Arabic poetry modeled after the overall linguistic framework depicted in Fig. 1, in the sense that the relations described in the (logical) protasis and apodosis of *Minhāḡu l-bulaḡā*, II, 11, are all too generic to qualify as instances of inclusion, in contrast to the relations described in the framework in question; however, this detail doesn't affect the main point that in intertextual terms the *QŠ*, *NŠ*, and *Minhāḡu l-bulaḡā* share the bulk of this overall linguistic framework.

Going beyond intertextual considerations, it is also important to emphasize that the commonalities shared by these treatises lead us to expect, in historical terms, a tradition of knowledge transmission that in the case of al-Qartāḡannī might have been in principle indirect (Ṭa'lab > Qudāmah > al-Qartāḡannī), or direct (Ṭa'lab > al-Qartāḡannī). According to Hussein (2004: 300) al-Qartāḡannī's criticism of the ways in which Arabic *literati* divide the poetry into 'aḡrād bears witness to his acquaintance with Qudāmah's work, an observation implying an indirect transmission of the *QŠ*.

As regards the direct transmission of this work, its main lines have plausibly been described by Arab scholars in the late sixties. In fact, although Ṭa'lab's legacy into al-

Qartāğannī's work is a poorly studied phenomenon, we know that the Andalusian cultural milieu to which al-Qartāğannī belonged (Ibn al-Ḥūğah: 1966: I, 45-53) revived the otherwise marginalized views of the Kufan school (Ḍayf 1968: 288), manifesting a renewed interest in Ṭa'lab's work: for instance, the Sevillian scholar Ibn Ṭalḥah (d. 618/1221) is reported to have taught *Kitābu l-faṣīḥ* (Ibn al-Ḥūğah: 1966: I, 51).

To conclude, the issue of oblivion concerning the *QŠ* disappears when we adopt an intertextual approach in its analysis: two case-studies in the *NŠ* and *Minhāğū l-bulağā'* have in fact substantiated the hypothesis – also supported by historical facts – that Ṭa'lab's treatise on poetry has deeply and globally influenced the linguistic framework used by subsequent literary critics.

5. Conclusion

This paper has shed new light on the linguistic attitude of Ṭa'lab toward Arabic poetry, arguing that it consisted of two main interpretive tools: inductive reasoning, in line with his Kufan affiliation, and a consistent linguistic framework, based on three key-concepts (*ma'nā*, *qā'idah*, *ğarağ*) and their relations (inclusion). This study has also highlighted that the aforementioned interpretive tools significantly contribute to solving philological issues related to the *QŠ*, among which are discrepancies in the definition of technical notions (e. g. *'ikfā'*, *'iqwā'*), and the question of its (alleged) oblivion. In particular, the solution to the latter problem offered in this study reveals a conceptual continuity between Ṭa'lab, Qudāmah and al-Qartāğannī, thus paving the way toward a global reassessment of the place of the *QŠ* within the history of Arabic poetics.

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KALĪLA WA DIMNA AND ITS JOURNEY TO THE WORLD LITERATURES

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Abstract. *Kalīla wa Dimna*, a multicultural work offered to the world by the Orient many centuries ago, has not yet lost its extraordinary vitality. Although it has been translated and retranslated, retold, adapted, augmented or simplified, it has preserved its freshness and its power of fascination exercised on the readers all around the world. The story of its journey, its influence on the world's literature, as well as the way it has been shaping the mentality of various eras, is as fascinating as the book itself.

Keywords: *Kalīla wa Dimna, Pañcatantra, Ibn al-Muqaffa', Arab Literature, Medieval Literature, European Literature, Asian Literature.*

Introduction

This paper is based on the data collected during my translation into Romanian of the book *Kalīla wa Dimna* which I published in 2010 under the title *Ibn al-Muqaffa', Kalila și Dimna sau Poveștile lui Bidpai* (Kalila and Dimna or the Tales of Bidpai) (see Grigore 2010). Some of these data were presented also in the explanatory notes and the afterword which accompanied this translation.

The *Pañcatantra*

The story begins somewhere in India. We are referring here to the *Pañcatantra* whose beginnings were established by certain researchers to be in the 3rd century BC. Before they were compiled in a book, the tales were transmitted orally from one generation to another in the Pali language. Some other researchers suggest that the *Pañcatantra* was compiled initially in Sanskrit, in a similar version to the one that we have at hand, between the 3rd and the 5th century AD (Edgerton, 1915: 44-69).

According to the Indian tradition, the *Pañcatantra* was written by the Hindu scholar Pandit Vishnu Sharma most probably around 200 BC. In the European translations this collection of tales is ascribed to Bidpai or Pilpai, who was brought forth through the Arabic

version compiled by Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, which indicated Baydaba as author (a distorted form of the Sanskrit word *vidyapati* “wiseman”, “scholar”, “connoisseur”), according to Theodor Benfey (apud Doğrul, 1986: 3).

The *Pañcatantra* is a discourse on human conduct, dedicated to young princes, aiming to guide them to attain success in their life by understanding human nature. The main target consists in their preparation for governing, introducing them to the Hindu principles of *Rajaniiti* (the political science, the governing science, the wise conduct of life). Conceived to teach the sons of kings through entertainment, the book makes use of animals as characters, such as Karataka and Damanaka, the famous jackals that play different human aspects, offering to the young princes the possibility to deepen their understanding of life in its various aspects. From a structural point of view, the *Pañcatantra* is a mosaic of intertwined tales that emerge from one another, like the Matryoshka Russian dolls (i. e. one tale encloses another tale, gathering sometimes three or even four series of tales). This structure is maintained in all its translations and adaptations, imposing this specific style in world literature.

The five parts that compose the *Pañcatantra* (in Sanskrit *pañca-tantra* means “the five principles”) are: *Mitra Bhedha* (The Separation of Friends); *Mitra Lābha* or *Mitra Samprāpti* (The Gaining of Friends); *Kākolūkīyam* (Of Crows and Owls); *Labdhapraṇāśam* (Loss of Gains); *Aparīkṣitakāraṇam* (Rash Deeds).

The first version of the *Pañcatantra*, which was the basis of the Chinese, Tibetan and Pahlavi versions, was lost; the existent version was compiled around 1000 AD. In the 12th century, Narayana, a Shivani scholar, used the *Pañcatantra* as basis for a teaching manual of moral precepts. The new book received the name of *Hitopadesha* and its tales were translated in many Asian languages.

The *Pañcatantra* and its variants were then translated into all Indian languages, Chinese, Mongol, Tibetan and others. In the 18th century this book reached Europe, while its Arab version, *Kalīla wa Dimna*, came forth in European cultures, beginning as early as the 11th century.

The *Pañcatantra* was translated also into Romanian by Theofil Simenschy (b. 1892, Iași – d. 1968, Iași) and then it was published in a posthumous edition in 1969 at “Literatura” Publishing House, under the title *Pancciatantra*.

The Journey of the *Pañcatantra*

During the 6th century AD, *Pañcatantra* migrated westwards to Iran. According to the legend, the Sassanid King Khosru I Anushiravan (531–579) sent Burzūy, the court's physician, to India to bring a secret book which had been kept in the Indian king's treasury. The book was written by the famous philosopher Baydapa, the Brahmins' leader, for the powerful King Dabshalim. Legend says that Burzūy went to India in search of *sanjivani* (de Blois, 1990), a miraculous mountain herb. Disappointed by what he had found, he complained to the Indian scholars about it. They shared with Burzūy their knowledge about the existence of a book full of teachings which, until then, was kept in the King's treasury.

Firdowsī (b. around 935, near Tūs – d. around 1020, Tūs) dedicated a whole chapter from his *Šāh Nāma* (The Epic of the Kings) to Burzūy bringing the book *Kalila wa Dimna* from India. After obtaining his king's permission, Burzūy made a trip to India in search of a mountain herb he had read about. The herb was “mingled into a compound and, when sprinkled over a corpse, it would immediately restore it to life.” Burzūy found the miraculous herb and after preparing the potion he realized that it had no effect at all. He asked for the Indian doctors' help, because he was upset with his failure and furious over the loss of such precious time searching for an illusion. Unanimously, they gave him the following answer: “There is an ancient sage here who surpasses us in years and wisdom and who in his science is superior to any of the great.” They took Burzūy to the wise man [...], who then told him a different interpretation: “The herb is the scientist; science is the mountain, everlastingly out of reach of the multitude. The corpse is the man without knowledge, for the uninstructed man is everywhere lifeless. Through knowledge man becomes revived. In the king's treasury there is a book which the well-qualified call Kalila. When people become weary of their ignorance, the herb for them is Kalila, knowledge being the mountain. If you seek this book in the king's treasury you will find it and it will be your guide to knowledge.” (Firdowsi, 1985: 330-334).

Burzūy took the book, which was the aforementioned *Pañcatantra*. It was then, with some additions and omissions, adapted to the Zoroastrian thought present in those times in Iran. With the help of some Pandit (Indian scholars), it was translated into Pahlavi. Taking into account that the opening tale of the book, which was also the longest, *The Lion and the Bull*, introduces two jackals as characters. They were named in Sanskrit *Karataka* (Horrible Howler) and *Damanaka* (Victorious), Burzūy adapted their names to the Persian phonotactics, entitling his version *Karirak ud Damanak* (Suleman, 2006: II, 432-433).

Although the Pahlavi version is lost today, there is the possibility of reconstructing it from a linguistic perspective. The Pahlavi version includes, besides the five chapters of the *Pañcatantra*, five new chapters containing other Indian tales. Some of these new chapters are taken from the twelfth book of the *Mahabharata*, while two other chapters talk about Burzūy's journey (Benfey, 1859: I, 6, 57, 74, 585).

The Syriac and the Arab Versions Based on the Pahlavi Version

Although the translation of the *Pañcatantra* in the Pahlavi language had been lost, there still remain two translations which were made after it.

With the title *Kalilag wa Damanag* (Kalilag and Damanag), the first one was a translation into the Syriac language made by Bud Periodeutes (*periodeutes*: an itinerant preacher of the Nestorian Christians), just after 570 AD. Considered lost for a long period of time, it was discovered in a monastery located in Mardin (Turkey) in 1870. Then it was edited and translated into German under the title *Kalilag und Damanag* in 1876 by Gustav Bickell (b. 1838, Cassel – d. 1906, Vienna), and then in Berlin in 1911 under the title *Kalila und Dimna. Syrisch und Deutsch* (Kalila and Dimna. Syriac and German) by Friedrich Schulthess.

The famous translation is the version in the Arabic language made by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (the nickname of *al-muqaffa'* means "the cripple-handed", a mutilation suffered by his father as punishment) under the title *Kalila wa Dimna* (Kalila and Dimna). Ibn al-Muqaffa', Abū Muḥammad 'Abd-Allāh or, according to his Zoroastrian name prior to his conversion to Islam, Rōzbeh pūr-e Dādōe (b. around 721, Gōr, Fīrūz'ābād – d. 757, Baṣra), was a secretary of chancery (*kātib*) and also a prose writer. Ibn al-Muqaffa' was born in the family of a Persian aristocrat, named Dādōe, and after his conversion to Islam, Mubārak.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' studied in Baṣra with two famous teachers. Then, in 743 he was appointed secretary to the Governor's chancery, the Umayyad Masīḥ bin Ḥawārī from Šāpūr, Fārs, after which he worked in Kermān with the last Umayyad Governor. When the Abbāsīd family came to power, he returned to Baṣra, where he lived from 751 until 757 and worked as 'Īsā bin 'Alī's secretary. The life of Ibn Muqaffa' ended tragically in 757, being condemned of *zandaqa* (apostasy) and burned (Sourdel, 1954: 323). During his short life, Ibn al-Muqaffa' succeeded in giving to Arabic literature both original and translated works of great importance: "He was an example of the arabized and islamized secretaries who were bringing

into Arabic ideas and literary genres derived from their own inherited tradition” (Hourani, 1991: 52).

Among the original works written by Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ in Arabic we can mention, first of all, two treatises of morals, good conduct, good manners, wisdom of conduct, in one word, *adab* (this word means “literature” in modern Arabic, but at that time it can be connected with the English “polite letters” or the French *belles-lettres*), *Kitāb al-adab al-kabīr* (The Major Work on Secretarial Etiquette) and *Kitāb al-adab al-ṣagīr* (The Minor Work on Secretarial Etiquette). According to certain specialists, only the first work can be accepted as belonging to him (‘Abbās, 1977: 538-80.). Influenced by Zoroaster’s *Avesta*, it contains two parts: the first part talks about rulers and court etiquette, the second part talks about the manners and norms of the community. The Minor Work consists of a collection of advices for the young princes. Another work is *Risāla fī l-ṣahāba* (The Letter on the Companions) – a brief presentation of less than five thousand words on the Abbasid Dynasty (750-1258) that had just began to rule the Arab Caliphate, after overthrowing the Umayyad caliphs.

The work which brought him fame was *Kalīla wa Dimna*, one of the first great texts of the classic Arab prose literature about which the American-Lebanese historian Philip K. Hitti wrote:

The earliest literary work in Arabic that has come down to us is *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* (fables of Bidpai), a translation from Pahlavi (Middle Persian) which was itself a rendition from Sanskrit. The original work was brought to Persia from India, together with the game of chess, in the reign of Anūsharwān (531-578). What gives the Arabic version special significance is the fact that the Persian was lost, as was the Sanskrit original, though the material in an expanded form can still be found in the *Panchatantra*. The Arabic version therefore became the basis of all existing translations [...]. This book, intended to instruct princes in the laws of polity by means of animal fables, was done into Arabic by ibn-al-Muqaffa‘ [...]. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s translation was in itself a stylistic work of art, and ever since the ‘Abbāsīd age Arabic prose has borne the impress of Persian style in its extravagant elegance, colourful imagery and flowery expression. The ancient Arabic style with its virile, pointed and terse form of expression was replaced to a large extent by the polished and affected diction of the Sāsānid period. The old, Arab, virile, percussive and dull style was replaced, to a large extent, with another precious one, the Sassanid style (Hitti, 2002: 308).

Both in comparison with the *Pañcatantra*, as well as with its version in Pahlavi, *Karirak ud Damanak*, the version made by Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is different in many ways. For instance, the first part of the *Pančatantra* ends with the incontestable victory of the tireless instigator Damanaka (his name means “Victorious”) over his understanding and good-hearted brother, Karataka, who howls of revolt (his name means “Horribly Howling”). In order to avoid an evident conflict with the Qur’ān teachings, thus shocking the spiritual rulers of the Islamic community of those troubled times, Ibn al-Muqaffa inserted a chapter, composed by him, entitled Dimna’s Judgement, where he described how the latter was judged, convicted and finally killed painfully. Apart from this, he added the following new chapters: “The Monk and the Guest” and “The Dove, the Fox and the Heron” whose source remains unknown.

Being an extremely popular work, in time copyists added other tales, too. In the majority of the versions, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s presentation has a foreword, which contains the history of this book in India. It was made by Bahnūd bin Ṣaḥwān or ‘Alī bin al-Šāh al-Fārisī (Ali, the son of the Persian Shah), who could not be identified by historians, despite the two names he gave himself. Immediately after this foreword there is an explanation of Burzoy’s mission in India, signed by the Vizier Buzurġmihr, mission that consists in bringing this book from there. Then, we have Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s foreword, after which Burzoy’s presentation is included – *rās ’aṭibbā’ fāris* (the head of the physicians of Persia) – the one who copied and translated this book into Pahlavi.

Taking into consideration the changes and the additions in the Pahlavi version, over which other changes had occurred in the Arab version, *Pañcatantra* and *Kalīla wa Dimna* are two distinct works, despite their incontestable common points. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ cannot be considered only the translator, but also the author of this last one.

The First Translations of the Arab Version of *Kalīla wa Dimna*

From Arabic, the book was translated in the 10th century into Syriac. Based on this version, the Scottish missionary Ion Grant Neville Keith-Falconer (1856, Edinburgh – 1887, Aden), published in Cambridge in 1885 a translation into English under the title *Kalīla wa Dimna, or the Fables of Bidpai: being an account of their literary history/ with an English translation of the later Syriac version of the same.*

In 1080, Simeon Seth, a Byzantine Jew, made a Greek version of the book *Kalīla wa Dimna*, entitled *Stefanites kai Ihnilates*. The Greek form of the names of the two jackals can be explained through the identification by the translator of the *Kalīla* name as being connected to the Arab word *'iklīl* “wreath” (in Greek: stefanos; so, stefanites “wreathed victorious”), and *Dimna* with the Arab word *dimna* “trace” (in Greek: *ihnos*; so, *ihnilates*, “who comes on/ who comes from behind”) (Silvestre de Sacy, 1816).

This translation was the basis for Giulio Nuti’s translation into Italian (Ferrara, 1583) as well as the basis for a German version, two in Latin and a lot of other renditions into the Slavic languages. The 12th century Russian translators considered it a Christian book of devotion, attributing it to such saints like Saint John of Damascus (around 676, Damascus – 749, Jerusalem) or Saint John Climacus (around 525, Syria – 606, Mount Sinai).

Based on this Greek version too, the Jesuit Pierre Poussines published in 1666 a translation into Latin entitled *Specimen sapientiae Indorum veterum* (A Model of Wisdom of the Old Indians) (Loiseleur-Deslongchamps, 1838: 18-66).

In 1121, Abū-l-Ma‘ālī Naṣrullāh made a translation into Persian, entitled *Kitāb Kalīla wa Dimna* (The Book of Kalila and Dimna). This Persian version was readjusted around 1500, under the title *Anwār-i Suhaylī* (The Lights of Conopus) by Husayn bin ‘Alī al-Wā‘iz who wanted to simplify the pompous style of the old versions. Suhayl, the Vizier of the Sultan Ḥusayn Mirḍā of Ḥurāsān (1470-1505), for whom the book had been dedicated to, is also the name of the Canopus star in Arabic, and all translations will take into account only this meaning.

In 1578 there followed a new retelling of the book after this version, yet it was combined with Hitopadesha, published by Abū l-Faḍl, Vizier of Akbar (1556-1605), the Great Mogul of India, entitled *‘Iyār-i Dāniš* (The Measure of Knowledge). With the title *Hirad Afrōz*, the book was translated by Hafīzuddin into Hindustani and Urdu, as well as into other Indian languages. Thus the *Pañcatantra* came back to India after a long journey, modified by its numerous translations and adaptations. Al- Wā‘iz’s version was the basis for a long series of translations into the Asian and European languages.

Out of all these, a translation into the Ottoman Turkish made by ‘Alī bin Ṣāliḥ and dedicated to the Sultan Sulaymān (Soliman) I (1512-1520) entitled *Hūmayunname* (The Royal Book) deserves an honourable mention. It was looked upon as a starting point for many

other translations into Czech, Georgian, Icelandic, etc. Al-Wā'iz's version will also be translated into French by Gilbert Gaulmin who in 1644 signed it with the pseudonym David Sahid, then published it in 1698 under the title *Le Livre des lumières ou la Conduite des Rois, composée par le sage Pilpay Indien, traduite en français par David Sahid, d'Ispahan, ville capitale de Perse* (The Book of Lights of the Kings' Conduct, Composed by the Indian Sage Pilpay and Translated into French by David Sahid from Ispahan, a Capital-City of Persia).

This version enjoyed great success and was translated in its turn into Swedish, English and German during various periods of time. An Old Castilian translation was published in 1252 under the title *Calyla e Dymna*. Starting from this version and with the consultation of Giovanni da Capua's Latin translation, Raimundus de Biterris (Raymond de Berzier) translating into Latin, *Liber de Dina et Kalila* (The book of Dimna and Kalila) which in 1313 he offers to Philippe le Bel (Philip the Handsome), King of France between 1285 and 1314.

Some years after the Castilian translation, between 1262 and 1279, Giovanni da Capua made a translation into Latin under the title *Liber Kalilæ et Dimnæ. Directorium Humanæ Vitæ alias parabolæ antiquorum sapientum* (The Book of Kalila and Dimna. A Guide of Human Lives or the Old Wise Men's Parables) starting from Rabbī Yō'ēl's Hebrew translation, published in 1250 under the title *Sēper Kalīlāh w-Dimnāh* (The Book of Kalila and Dimna).

Based on Giovanni da Capua's Latin version, a German version made by Anton von Pforr in 1483 was published under the title *Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen* (The Book of Parables of the Wise Elders). Apart from its influence exercised on German literature, it was also the basis of the Danish, Icelandic and Dutch versions. The same Latin version mentioned here above constituted the basis of a Castilian version published in Zaragoza in 1493 under the title *Exemplario contra los enganos y peligros del mundo* (The Ideal Path to Follow in Order to Avoid the World Temptations and Dangers). In 1548, under the title *Discorsi degli animali ragionanti tra loro* (The Speeches of Animals Who Quarrel among Themselves), Agnolo Firenzuola retold, taking great liberties, the Castilian version in the Italian language. Another Italian translation made by Anton Francesco Doni (1513, Florence – 1574, Monselice) was published in 1552 under the title *La moral filosofia del Doni* (The Moral Philosophy of Doni). Doni's Italian version was translated into English by Thomas North in 1570, a proof of this relation being, among others, the very title which he gave to it: *The Morall Philosophie of Doni* (The Moral Philosophy of Doni).

In his foreword to North's translation, on the occasion of its republishing in 1888, Joseph Jacobs mentioned twenty more translations which were circulating by then in Europe (Jacobs, 1888).

During the same period of the early translations of Ibn al-Muqaffa's version, Ya'qōv ben 'El'āzār rendered it into Hebrew in 1283 as rhymed and rhythmic prose. From this Hebrew version only its first half still exists up until now. Quite deteriorated, both Hebrew translations, i. e. that of Yō'ēl's and that of 'El'āzār's, were republished in a critical edition by Joseph Derenbourg (1811, Mainz – 1895, Bad Ems), with a translation into French in 1881 (Schirmann, 1955. 208-13).

Ibn al-Muqaffa's version is also the original of an Armenian version published in the 13th century made by Vartan, which in its turn constituted the basis of a translation made into French in 1676.

Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arab text was also published by Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758, Paris – 1838, Paris) in a critical edition in Paris in 1816 under the title *Calilah et Dimnah ou Fables de Bidpai en Arabe, précédées d'un mémoire sur l'origine de ce livre* (Kalila and Dimna or Bidpai's Fables, Preceded by a Written Statement on the Origin of This Book). This edition will be the basis of the translation into German made by Philipp Wolff's *Calila und Dimna, oder die Fabeln Bidpais, das Buch des Weisen in lust- und lehrreichen Erzählungen des indischen Philosophen Bidpai aus dem Arabischen* (Calila and Dimna, or the Fables of Bidpai, the Book of Sages in Delightful and Instructive Stories of the Indian Philosopher Bidpai from the Arabic Language), published in Stuttgart in 1839, as well as the source of several translations into German, Danish, French, Russian, etc. (Nöldeke, 1905: 794-806).

These versions, mentioned above, were translated, adapted, and retold, in their turn, into other European languages and, often, after a winding journey, translated again into the languages they had left before, thus creating confusion for the one who gets quickly discouraged despite his good intentions of elucidating the history of this work.

The Influence of *Kalīla wa Dimna* on other literatures

In its translations and adaptations, *Kalīla wa Dimna* has been and is being an endless source of inspiration. In the Orient, the tales from *Kalīla wa Dimna* became part of the Arab, Iranian and Turkish folklore long ago (Biṭună, 2012) and its influence was found in the works of certain famous coryphaei. The first great poet of the reborn Persian literature, Rūdakī (?-940), was not only influenced in his work by *Kalīla wa Dimna*, but also published a version of it which was put into verses. On the other hand, other great coryphaei such as Firdowsī (around 940, Ṭūs – 1020, Ṭūs), Ḥāfīz (around 1325, Šīrāz – around 1390, Šīrāz), Ğāmī (1414, Ğām – 1492, Harāt), Rūmī (1207, Balḥ – 1273, Konya) and others made use, too, of certain motifs from this famous book. In Europe, the first work where one saw the influence of this book was *Disciplina clericalis* (Clerical Discipline) written by Petrus Alphonsus (a Jew who converted to Christianity in 1106), then in *Roman de Renart* and then in *Gesta Romanorum* (a Latin collection of jokes and stories from the 13th century), etc. Furthermore, critical studies emphasize a tight connection between *Kalīla wa Dimna*, on the one hand, and the works of such authors as Giovanni Boccaccio (1313 – 1375, Certaldo/ Florence), Giovanni Francesco Straparola (1480 – 1557, Caravaggio), Geoffrey Caucher (around 1343, London – 1400, Westminster), Jean de La Fontaine (1621, Chateau-Thierry – 1695, Paris), Marie de France (a poetess and fable writer from the 12th century), the brothers Grimm, Jacob (1785-1863) and Wilhelm (1786-1859) and others, on the other hand. As far as Jean de La Fontaine is concerned, he paid tribute to the famous creation of the Orient in the foreword of the second edition of his fables: *Seulement, je dirai, par reconnaissance, que j'en dois la plus grande partie à Pilpay sage indien. Son livre a été traduit en toutes les langues* (Finally, I will say with gratitude that I owe the greatest part of it to Pilpay, the Indian sage. His book was translated into all languages.) (La Fontaine, 1678).

In Romanian, *Kalīla wa Dimna* was translated only recently. For the first time, excerpts from this book were translated by Grete Tartler (1988) and the book in its entirety was translated by George Grigore (2010).

***Kalīla wa Dimna* in Romanian culture**

Kalīla wa Dimna influenced Romanian culture, too. Thus, Dimitrie Cantemir's (b. 1673, Silișteni – d. 1723, Harkov) *Istoria ieroglifică* (Hieroglyphic History) – written in Romanian during 1703-1705 while he was living in Istanbul – was influenced by Simeon

Seth's Greek version, *Stefanites kai Ihnilates* (Stephanites and Ihnilates) which was circulating in the Christian Orthodox area, and by the Turkish Ottoman version, known under the name of *Hümayunname* (The Royal Book). A book from the Romanian folkloric patrimony, *Cele 12 vise ale lui Mamer* (Mamer's Twelve Dreams) has many similarities to *Kalīla wa Dimna* in its form and content, most probably because of its origin in the same Greek version. As one can see, although it was translated very late into Romanian, the influence of this work was strongly sensed in the Romanian culture, as well (Angheliescu, 1973: 195-200; Bhose 1974).

Final consideration

Kalīla wa Dimna has stood the test of time and remains pertinent to this day, after almost one millennium and a half since it began its long and winding journey to the cultures of the world that adopted it under various forms and names. Its tales have been arousing readers' interest and inspiring artists from various fields. Translated and retranslated, retold, adapted, enlarged or, simplified, this multicultural work, offered to the world by the Orient, it is still far from having said its last word. It is considered an endless source of wisdom that editors in the entire world continue to emphasize. The story of its journey, as well as its influence on the world's literature, the way it has been shaping the mentality of various epochs, is as fascinating as the book itself.

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DRUG-RELATED VOCABULARY IN THE ARABIC DIALECT OF LARACHE (NORTH-WESTERN MOROCCO)

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Abstract. In this paper we shall analyze a sample of vocabulary related to drug terminology in the modern Arabic dialect of Larache (North-western Morocco). Data comes mainly from audio recordings conducted during fieldwork. For each item, we shall give its translation and, when known, possible etymologies and synonyms in other Maghrebi dialects.

Keywords: Moroccan Arabic, drugs, Larache (العرائش), vocabulary, etymology.

1. Introduction¹

The purpose of the present study is to analyze the lexicon related to drugs in the modern Arabic dialect from the Moroccan city of Larache².

The data employed comes mainly from a set of audio recordings and interviews conducted during fieldwork in the city and its surroundings. Data has been corroborated with that of other sources such as online videos, documentary films and newspaper articles.

Considering the large variety of narcotic substances consumed in Larache, we have decided to focus our study on the analysis of the following psychotropics: cannabis, heroin, cocaine, volatile substances and some psychopharmacs available in Morocco without prescription.

For each analyzed drug, a definition of its composition will be given. We will also briefly mention the history, trade and consumption of each of these substances in Morocco. When possible, we shall provide the equivalent terms of each drug in other Maghrebi dialects.

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² Larache (العرائش) is a harbour town located 94 km south of Tangiers.

2. Cannabis

A depressor psychotropic which, depending on the dosage and the variety of the plant, may produce psychedelic effects. This substance is extracted from the *indica* variety of the *cannabis sativa*, a plant which has been used since antiquity for medical purposes³.

Although it is not known if Arabs brought Indian hemp to North Africa, what is clear is that a ludic or recreational use of cannabis was common in the medieval Middle East and al-Andalus, especially among sufi orders⁴. In 1890, the Moroccan sultan Hassan I authorized the cultivation of cannabis in five hamlets of the Ketama and Beni Khaled Riffian tribes. Sixteen years later, article 73 of the minutes of the Algeciras Conference granted the *Régie Marocaine des Kifs et Tabacs* the monopoly on *kīf* (cannabis) and tobacco. During the Riffian Republic (1921-1926), the cultivation of cannabis decreased as a consequence of Abdelkrim's belief that *kīf* consumption was against Islamic precepts⁵. Since 1960, the cultivation of cannabis is prohibited in all the Kingdom of Morocco. While the Moroccan government has recently made great efforts to eradicate the cultivation of cannabis, the authorities are still lenient with plantations and, nowadays, Morocco continues to be the world's major producer of cannabis resin⁶.

It must be said that, unlike alcohol, the consumption of cannabis in Morocco enjoys a relative social acceptance, especially in the northern region, amongst male adults. We shall now proceed to analyze certain vocabulary associated with cannabis:

³ For the history of cannabis, see Fabre 2006.

⁴ The use of hemp was widespread in almost all cultures of the Ancient World. Evidence of the recreational use of cannabis in the Middle Ages can be found in the fact that its consumption was disapproved by Islamic scholars such as Ibn Taymiyya (*Tahrīm al-ḥašīša al-muḡayyiba wa-l-ḥadd ṣalayhā wa-tanḡīṣuhā*) and al-Qastallānī (*Takrīm al-mašīša fī (bi-) tahrīm al-ḥašīša*), cf. Rosenthal 1971: 9. For the history of cannabis in Islam, see Levey 1991 and Nahas 1982.

⁵ Cf. Labrousse & Romero 2001: 5-6.

⁶ Nevertheless, we must clarify that an increase in the number of cannabis seizures coming from Afghanistan has been noted. This might explain the decrease in the Moroccan production, cf. UNODC 2012: 45. For the economic significance of cannabis cultivation in the Rif, see Joseph 1975.

2.1. *Kīf*⁷

This is a term employed in Morocco, Algeria and Egypt⁸ to designate the *cannabis sativa indica* plant. It also refers to a certain product made by the drying and cutting up of the cannabis leaves, flowers and shoots. This product is sometimes blended with tobacco and subsequently commercialized.

There are four possible etymologies for the word *kīf*:

a) <Persian كَيْف “bag”. This etymology is based on the fact that cannabis plants are put in bags and beaten with a stick so as facilitate its posterior sieving⁹. Evidence supporting this hypothesis can be found in the following sobriquet of hashish in Classical Arabic: بِنْتُ الْجَرَاب “daughter of the bag”¹⁰.

b) <Arabic كَيْفٌ “humour, pleasure, welfare, well-being; narcotic”. Here we can find a metonymy by where the effect of the drug designates the name of the drug itself¹¹.

c) <Arabic كَفٌّ “palm of the hand”. This word appears in Classical Arabic as a nickname for hashish, and it also designates other plants whose leaves look like the palm of the human hand¹². We may assume this to be a reinterpretation of the stem, thus the Classical term *kaff* > *kīf*.

d) <Greek *Kiφv* < Ancient Egyptian *kp. t* “incense”. This incense was used by the ancient Egyptians which was said to contain hemp.

In our opinion, the second etymology is the most plausible origin for *kīf*. The following words belong to the lexical field of *kīf*:

⁷ Cf. *DAF* 10: 675.

⁸ See Mahmud Abu Zayd’s film, *al-Kīf* (1985) <http://youtu.be/Vps0vSHjUAk>. The cannabis plant is also called *təkrūri* in Tunisia and *zəṭṭa* in Algeria.

⁹ About *kīf* making, see Moreno 1997: 158.

¹⁰ According to Rosenthal (1971: 25), this nickname is due to the easy storage and transportability of cannabis.

¹¹ A synonym for hashish in Classical Arabic is المَفْرَح “that which gladdens”, cf. Rosenthal 1971: 25. We find a similar example in English, language in which MDMA is sometimes called ecstasy.

¹² Cf. Rosenthal 1971: 27.

- *tkīyyaf*, imperfective *ytkīyyaf* “to smoke hashish or *kīf*, to smoke tobacco”¹³; denominative verb from *kīf*, it is also used in Algerian and Tunisian Arabic.

- *səbsi*, plural *sbāsa* “traditional pipe used to smoke *kīf*” (<Turkish *sipsi* “whistle; pipe”)¹⁴. The *səbsi* is composed of two thin pieces of cane which are joined together to form a small tube coming out of a pottery bowl called *šqāf*.

- *šqāf*, pl. *šqūfa* “*səbsi* bowl”¹⁵ (<Arabic شَقْفٌ “pottery fragments”). This terminology can also designate the drug itself: *hūwwa ka-ydṛāb š-šqūfa* “he is used to smoke cannabis (joints)”.

2.2. *Hššš*¹⁶

This term designates dried herb and especially that of cannabis, but it can also refer to hashish, a narcotic product made of cannabis resin. Etymologically *hššš* comes from Arabic حَشِيشٌ “herb, hay”, a meaning we can still find in Algerian (*hššš* “herb”) and Maltese (*ħaxix* “vegetables”). In Classical Arabic, *ħaššš* is also used with other medicinal plants such as the Argentina aserina (حشيشة الإوزة) or the Valeriana officinalis (حشيشة القط). We do not know why *ħaššš* came to almost exclusively designate the hemp plant¹⁷.

Related to the lexical field of *hššš*, We have found the following adjectives, substantives and verbs:

- *ħšāyši*, pl. *ħšāyšīyya* “hashish consumer, dopesmoker”.
- *mħāššəš*, pl. *mħāššəšīn* “a person under the influence of hashish”.
- *žwāna* “cannabis cigarette, joint”, <French *joint* “joint”¹⁸.
- *žwīnṭa* “cannabis cigarette, joint”, <English *joint*¹⁹.
- *ğāyṭa* “cone-shaped joint”, <ğāyṭa “musical instrument similar to a clarinet”²⁰.
- *šārūx* “a big joint made by sticking two rolling papers, L-plate joint”, <šārūx “rocket, missile”²¹.

¹³ Cf. *DAF* 10: 675.

¹⁴ Cf. Procházka 2012: 213, and *DAF* 6: 18.

¹⁵ Cf. *DAF* 7: 135.

¹⁶ Cf. *DAF* 3: 125.

¹⁷ Cf. Rosenthal 1971: 22.

¹⁸ It is also employed in Algerian Arabic.

¹⁹ In Tunisian Arabic we may hear it pronounced *žunṭa*.

²⁰ Note the similarity with Spanish *porro trompetero* “a trumpet-shaped joint”.

- *māğšūš* “adulterated hashish”, <*māğšūš* “modified, adulterated”²².
- *hārtūka* “very low quality hashish, fake hash”²³.
- *ħārtək*, imp. *yħārtək* “to melt a piece of hashish in order to make a joint”. Taking into account the h/h interchangeability existing in *hārtūka* (Prémare, *DAF* 12: 43), we may assume a relationship between *hārtūka* “fake hash” and *ħārtək* “to burn/melt a piece of hashish”.
- *tārḥ* / *trīyyəḥ* “small piece of hashish, hash stone”.
- *ħšīša* “small piece of hashish, hash stone”.
- *ħīyya* “slang word for hashish (hash, shit)”, <*ħīyya* “she”, in allusion to *ħšīša*.
- *šāddəl*, imp. *yšāddəl* “to make (a joint)”, *ā-šāħbi šāddəl lna ši žwāna* “hey man, make a joint for us!”.
- *lūwwa*, imp. *ylūwwi* / *bṛəm*, imp. *ybrəm* “to roll, to tie up”.
- *wərqə d-əl-lībrə* “rolling paper”, <Spanish *libro (de papel de fumar)* “packet of rolling paper”.
- *filṭ* “fag-end, filter tip”, <French *filtre* “filter tip”.
- *bəznāz*, pl. *bəznāza* “drug dealer, drug trafficker”, <English *business* via French. Note the sibilant harmony in /z/~/s/ > /z/~/z/.
- *bəznəz*, imp. *ybəznəz* “to smuggle drugs”, denominative verb of *bəznāz*.
- *təznīz* “drug-trafficking, drug-smuggling”, verbal noun of *bəznəz*.
- *māšžūn* “a cake made of flour, honey, spices and hashish”²⁴, <Arabic مَعْجُون “paste, mass, electuary”. Depending on the recipe it takes the form of cake, jam or biscuits²⁵.

3. Heroin

Heroin is an opiate drug synthesized from morphine, a natural substance extracted from the Asian poppy plant. Heroin is a central depressant and is considered to be one of the most addictive drugs.

Opium was used by Arabs for medicinal purposes and as well as cannabis, its recreational consumption was never socially looked down upon to the extent of alcohol. The discovery of small illegal poppy plantations in Morocco and Algeria²⁶ might indicate the

²¹ This kind of joint is known in Fes under the name of *žāšbūq*.

²² Cf. *DAF* 9: 454.

²³ Prémare (*DAF* 12: 43) only attributes *hārtūka* the meaning of “dogfish”.

²⁴ For more details on *māšžūn*, see Moreno 1997: 169 and *DAF* 9: 36.

²⁵ In Algeria this goes under the name of *dawāməsk*.

²⁶ Cf. Beldjenna 2007.

existence of local opium consumption in both, countries; in fact it seems that in some northern Morocco cities one can purchase small doses of opium at the herbalist's for as little as 10 dirham²⁷. Heroin is smuggled from the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla to Morocco, and this fact may explain the major presence of this drug in northern cities such as Tangiers, Tetouan or Larache²⁸.

In the Arabic dialect of Larache, heroin is known under the following names:

- *ṣāfyūn*, <Arabic أَفْيُونُ “opium”, <Persian افيون. This word designates both the opium and the heroin. Note the shift /ʔ/ > /s/ in *ʔafyūn*²⁹ > *ṣāfyūn*²⁹.

- *hīrwīn*, it is a rarely used term.

- *l-kāhla*, it literally means “the black one” and it is a metonymy based on the black colour which characterises heroin³⁰. This recourse to colour in order to designate a drug is also found in Classical Arabic; for instance hashish was called in this language الخَضْرَاءُ “the green one”³¹.

The following words belong to the lexical field of heroin:

- *fiksē*, imp. *yfiksē* “to fix”, <French *fixer* <English *to fix*.

- *ṣmāl*, imp. *yṣmāl l-ībāri* “to inject oneself with heroin”, <*ibāri* “needles”.

- *gālla*, imp. *ygālli* “to heat a heroin dose in order to inhale it”, <*gālla* “to cook up”.

- *pāpīla*, pl. *pāpīlāt* “a dose of heroin, bag, deck”, <Spanish *papela* “a dose of heroin”.

- *bīlya* “vice, bad habit; withdrawal symptoms”³², *fīh l-bīlya* “he is going cold turkey”.

- *m^obli*, pl. *m^oblīyyīn* “addicted to, hooked on; addict”.

- *tṭabla*, imp. *yṭṭabla bə-* “to get addicted to, to get hooked on”.

- *bālla*, imp. *ybālli* “to make someone addicted to”, *ṣāhbi bāllāni bə-hād l-bīlya* “my friend made me addicted to this vice”.

²⁷ Cf. Labrousse & Romero 2001: 18.

²⁸ For heroin consumption in northern Morocco, see <http://youtu.be/qpLEhi15z9o>

²⁹ In Larache and other northern Moroccan dialects, Classical /ʔ/ sometimes shifts to /s/ when appearing in initial or final position: *ʔanbār*³⁰ > *ṣānbār* “hold of a ship”, *xabbāʔa* > *xābbās* “he hid”, *ʔunbūb*³⁰ > *ṣūnbūb* “pipe”, see Marçais (190: 391, 275) and ṢAbd al-ṢĀl (1968: 73). A lexical analogy between *ṣfūna* “putrefaction” and *ṣāfyūn* in the *ʔafyūn*³⁰ > *ṣāfyūn* shift cannot be rule out.

³⁰ Also in English, heroin is referred to as *black stuff*.

³¹ Cf. Rosenthal 1971: 23.

³² See also *bīlya* in *DAF* 1: 309.

4. Cocaine

Cocaine is a crystalline tropane alkaloid, extracted from the leaves of the coca plant. It is mainly used as a stimulant.

Morocco is only a transshipment zone for cocaine smuggled into Europe, it can thus be considered as an expensive low quality drug which is not within the reach every Moroccan. It is mostly taken by sniffing.

Cocaine has the following designations:

- *kūkāyīn* / *kūk* “coke”.
- *l-ġābrā*, it literally means “the powder, the dust”.
- *l-bāyda*, it literally means “the white one” and it is a metonymy derived from the distinctive white colour of powdered cocaine.

Lexical field of cocaine:

- *šamm*, imp. *yšūmm* “to sniff”.
- *šāṭra*, pl. *šūṭra* “cocaine line”.
- *tġābbār*, imp. *yġābbār* “to consume cocaine”.
- *mġābbār*, pl. *mġābbārīn* “a person under the influence of cocaine; coked up”.

5. Volatile substances

The deliberate inhalation of volatile substances to achieve an intoxicated state is widespread in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, particularly among children, teenagers and homeless persons. Inhalants produce feelings of mental well-being, drowsiness, hallucination, confusion and loss of appetite and it also encourages risk-taking. The cheapness and legality of inhalants make them within reach of everyone.

The following are the main volatile substances consumed as drugs in Morocco:

1. Solvent: it is known under the names of *dōlyo/dōlya* (<French *diluant* “paint thinner”) and *dūsorbente* (<Spanish *disolvente* “solvent”).
2. Shoe polish: it is called *sīrāž* (<French *cirage* “boot polish”).
3. Glue: this is the most usual inhalant in Morocco. Most consumers sniff a type of adhesive used for tyre repair, most commonly the German brand Uhu®.

Glue for sniffing has the names of *sīlisyūn*³³ and *sīli*, an abbreviation of the latter. We have considered two etymologies:

a) <French *silicium* “silicon”. Silicon is used as a polymer in some adhesive solutions, however, whether this is true for Uhu® glue is not established.

b) <French *dissolution* or *solution* “solution”. Adhesive products are usually based on polymer solutions; in fact some of which are sold in Morocco present the following phrase in French: *Colle dissolution*. On the other hand, we found in a Moroccan press article the word “الديسولوسيون” to designate a certain type of glue used for sniffing³⁴.

Concerning the lexical field of inhalants, the following words have been collected:

- *šamm*, imp. *yšūmm* “to sniff”, *hādu d-dṛāri ka-yšūmmu s-sīli* “these guys sniff glue”.

- *tūbu d-əs-sīli* “glue tube”, <Spanish *tubo* “tube”.

- *šamkār*, pl. *šamkāra* “glue-sniffer; drug addict, druggie, junkie”³⁵. Although the origin of this word is unclear, it seems to be related to *šamm* “to sniff”.

- *tšamkār*, imp. *yītšamkār* “to sniff (glue, solvent or shoe polish); to take drugs”, denominative verb from *šamkār*.

- *kabba* “dose of glue”, <*kabb* “to pour, to spill”.

- *mbūwwāq* pl. *mbūwwqīn* “intoxicated, stoned”.

- *tbūwwāq*, imp. *yītūwwāq* “to get high on drugs”.

5. Psychopharmacs without prescription

The non-medical use of prescription drugs has been reported in Morocco and Algeria, where a black market for psychopharmacs appears to exist. Although both the Moroccan and Algerian governments simultaneously accuse each other of being behind this illegal trade, it seems that this drug is smuggled into Morocco through the border city of Oujda³⁶.

These pharmacs are usually employed as painkillers (propyphenazone), hypnotosedatives (flunitrazepam), anticonvulsants (clonazepam), or antispasmodics (trihexyphenidyl), and most of them have either expired or are produced in clandestine laboratories³⁷.

³³ In Tetouan we find a variant: *sōlōsyōn*. In Algeria, glue for sniffing is called *pātēks* (<Pattex® “adhesive trade mark”). In Tunisia it is called *kulla* (<Italian *colla* “glue”), cf. Talmoudi 1986: 95-96.

³⁴ Cf. Šargī 2007.

³⁵ In Tangiers, for *šamkār* people say *ğāngi*, pl. *ğnāga*, <English *junkie*.

³⁶ Cf. El Mahjoub 2004.

³⁷ Some of these pharmacs have been banned in Spain and other countries because of their dangerous side effects.

The consumption of these prescription drugs has recently become widespread, both within Moroccan secondary schools and at soccer fixtures to the extent that their consumption has been linked to public order issues³⁸.

The prescription drugs we have referred to are mostly pills, and they are known under the following names:

- *l-fānīd*, <*fānīd* “sweets; pills”.

- *l-ʔaqṛāṣ l-muhalwisa*, <الأقراص المهلوسة> “the hallucinogenic pills”.

- *ḥbūb l-halwasa*, <حُبُوب الهلوسة> “hallucination pills”. This term and the previous one are both loanwords from Modern Standard Arabic.

- *l-qāṛqūbi*, this is the most usual name for prescription drugs in Morocco³⁹. Although the origin of *qāṛqūbi* is unclear, it appears to be related to the {qrqb} root. Three etymologies have been considered:

a) *qāṛqāb*, imp. *yqāṛqāb* “to shake, to collide, to make noise”⁴⁰. With many of these pills in the palm of one’s hand they produce a rattling sound.

b) *qṛāqba* “castanets; decorative motive”⁴¹. Most *qāṛqūbi* pills have a small drawing or inscription.

c) *qāṛqūba* “occiput; walnut in shell”⁴². These pills (*qāṛqūbi*) have a spherical shape similar to that of walnut. In our opinion, and taking into account the morphology of the word, this is the most plausible etymology for *qāṛqūbi*.

Below we have provided some words belonging to the lexical field of psychopharmacs without prescription:

- *tqāṛqāb*, imp. *yītqāṛqāb* “to consume *qāṛqūbi* pills, to get pillled out”.

- *māqāṛqāb*, pl. *māqāṛqābīn* “a person under the influence of *qāṛqūbi* pills”.

- *māṣṭa d-al-ḥābba* “a box of pills”.

- *uptalidūn* “propyphenazone tablets”, <Optalidon®.

- *rūš* “valium (diazepam) tablets”, <Roche®.

- *arṭān* “trihexyphenidyl tablets”, <Artane®.

- *l-šāwd l-abyāḍ* “the white horse”⁴³, a nickname for trihexyphenidyl tablets which are usually white.

³⁸ Several Moroccan serial killers committed their crimes under the influence of a psychopharmac without prescription, cf. Benmehdi 2011.

³⁹ In Algeria, these prescription drugs are referred to as *l-kāšīyyāt*, <French *cachets* “tablets, pills”.

⁴⁰ Cf. *DAF* 10: 303-304.

⁴¹ Cf. *DAF* 10: 304.

⁴² Cf. *DAF* 10: 305.

- *rīfūtrīl* “clonazepam tablets”, <Rivotril®.
- *l-ḥūḷa l-ḥāmra* “the red marble”, a nickname for clonazepam tablets which are usually red.
- *ibnu zīdūn* “flunitrazepam tablets”, <Hipnosedon®. This name comes from a phonetic analogy between the French pronunciation of Hipnosedon® and Ibn Zaydūn (ابن زيدون), the name of a famous Andalusī poet.

Conclusion

Throughout this analysis we have shown a sample of vocabulary items related to drugs in a modern Arabic dialect. To conclude, we would like to point out two main aspects of this study: firstly, the number of foreign loanwords in our data is less significant than expected; secondly, the fact that speakers tend to associate a given colour to each drug: *l-bāyḍa* “cocaine”, *l-kāḥla* “heroin”, *l-ḥūḷa l-ḥāmra* “clonazepam tablets”, *l-ṣāwd l-abyāḍ* “trihexyphenidyl tablets”.

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⁴³ *abyāḍ* “white”, the preservation of old short diphthongs is a feature of the northern Morocco dialects, cf. Aguadé 2003: 98.

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**FILLING THE EMPTY SPACE:
THE LOW BACK VOWEL PHONEME /ɑ/ IN CAIRENE ARABIC**

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Abstract. In this article, I intend to argue that in Cairene Arabic the /a, aa/, i. e. the back allophones of the low vowels /a, aa/ in Standard Arabic, should to be considered as full phonemes. In order to do that, I will give an account of the emphatic phonemes and vowels inventory in Classical, Modern and Cairene Arabic together with the emphasis spread in these varieties. Afterwards, I will illustrate some points in favor of the presumption that it is the quality of the low vowels that determines the emphasis of what is conventionally called ‘secondary emphatics’ adjacent to it and not the contrary.

Keywords: Cairene Arabic, emphasis, vowels inventory, secondary emphatics, low back vowel phoneme

Introduction

The Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth, MSA), *al-luġa al-‘arabiyya al-fuṣṣḥā al-mu‘āṣira*, derives from Classical Standard Arabic (henceforth, CLA), the only surviving member of the Old North Arabian dialects group, attested in Pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions dating back to the 4th century. CLA has been a literary language and also the religious language of Islam since the 7th century and, nowadays, MSA is the official language of about 26 countries.

The Cairene Arabic (henceforth, CA), often simply called Egyptian Arabic, *al-‘āmmiyya al-miṣriyya*, is the most widely understood variety of Arabic used for media, both in Egypt and throughout the non-nomadic Arab world. It is an amalgam of Delta Arabic and Middle Egypt Arabic, with borrowings from literary Arabic. However, it does not have an official status in Egypt (Mitchell 1978; Gadalla 2000; Holes 2004; Woidich 2006; Watson 2007).

1. 1. Emphasis or *tafḥīm* in Classical Arabic

The term ‘emphasis’ as a distinctive phonetic feature, is used conventionally by Western scholars to refer to what the classical Arabic grammar and the Qur’ānic orthoepy, *taḡwīd*, used to call *tafḥīm* ‘lit. intensification’.

The characteristic articulatory feature of all the ‘emphatic’ phonemes is the contraction of the upper pharynx. Usually the production of pharyngealized phonemes is accompanied by a velarization. Furthermore, there is a tendency to emit the pharyngealized phonemes with a protrusion and slight rounding of the lips (Jakobson 1962: 511, 513; Al-Ani 1983: 69-90; Holes 2004: 57). Emphasis or *tafḥīm* has been attested in all known modern dialects of Arabic except Maltese (Lehn 1963: 29).

Acoustically, the emphatic consonants display a markedly lower pitch. According to Jakobson (1962: 512), “The lowered pitch is a striking perceptual mark of pharyngealized phonemes. [...] Spectrograms confirm that the pharyngealized consonant displays energy in a lower frequency region and affects the second formant of the following vowel in a downward direction.”

In regards to CLA, the emphatic phonemes are divided into three distinct groups:

(a) the *muṭbaqa* consonants, that is the consonant in whose articulation the root of the tongue is pushed against the soft palate, *’a’lā al-ḥanak*. These phonemes are four: the *ṣād*, the voiceless dental-alveolar fricative /sʕ/; the *ḍād*, the alveolar lateral fricative /ḏʕ/; the *ṭā’*, the voiced dental-alveolar stop /dʕ/; and the *zā’*, the voiced dental fricative /ðʕ/. The emphasis in this group is phonemic and primary, i. e. they occur in all vocalic environments (Heselwood 1996: 22; Vollers 1893: 147-152; ‘Abd al-Tawwāb 1997: 62-78; Ibn Ğinnī 1985: 1/61; Sībawayhi 1996: 4/436; Al-Dānī 2000: 106).

(b) the *musta’liya* consonants, in whose articulation the root of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate. These phonemes are three: the *qāf*, the voiced uvular stop /q/; the *ḡayn*, the voiced post-velar fricative /ɣ/; and its voiceless counterpart /χ/, the *ḥā’*. As described by classical grammar and Qur’ānic orthoepy, the *musta’liya* phonemes seem to be more velarized rather than pharyngealized. The emphasis in this group is secondary and not

phonemic, i. e. it is conditioned by their being adjacent to the LV¹ /a/ or the HBV /u/ either short or long. Hence, these three phonemes have nonemphatic counterparts that are mere allophones (Bišr 2000: 400-403; Vollers 1893: 152; Ferguson 1956: 449; Ibn Ğinnī 1985: 1/62; Al-Dānī 2000: 107).

(c) the *lām*, the alveolar lateral approximant /l/ and the *rā'*, the alveolar trill /r/. Both have emphatic and non emphatic realizations, depending on the phonetic environment:

1. The /l/ has the emphatic allophone /l̤/ in the sequence /-llaah/ when this is not preceded directly by HFV /i/ and when it means “Allāh” (Gairdner 1925: 17; Ferguson 1956: 447; Al-Ani 1983: 77-78; Al-Dānī 2000: 160). Ferguson argued that the emphatic /l̤/ in this lexeme and other lexemes derived from it, such as <الله> /ʔallaahumma/ ‘o Allah!’, is phonemic. He states: “the emphatic /l̤/ must be regarded as an independent phoneme in Classical Arabic and in most if not all the modern dialects” (Ferguson 1956: 446). The contrast emphatic/nonemphatic creates seldom minimal pairs, e. g. /wa-llaahu/ ‘and Allāh’ vs. /wallahu/ ‘he appointed him’ or /mina-llaahi/ ‘from Allah’ vs. /mina-llaahi/ ‘from the unmindful’. Dickens (1996: 11), instead, argued that such /l̤/ “is probably not to be regarded as a proper phoneme in Classical Arabic”. The reason is that it is “not part of the regular, i. e. recurrent, features of the phonology of Classical Arabic, and therefore properly extra-systematic”.

The explanation of this emphatic /l̤/ can be found in the fact that this word is not originally Arabic. Actually, it is of north-Semitic origin and it is to be compared, for instance, with the Aramaic ܐܠܗܐ /ʔələh ~ ʔələh/ (Jeffery 2007: 66-7). The backing of the /l/ here is due either to the vicinity of the LCV /ä/ or, more probably, to the MBV /q/ (cf. Dickins 1996: 8-12). What may support this presumption is another lexeme derived from it by *nisba* ending, exhibiting the HBV /u/, i. e. *ulūhiyya* /ʔuluhiyya/ ‘divinity, godhead’. On the other hand, the de-emphasis of the /l/ when following the HFV /i/ is explained by the fact that the LV /a/ in Arabic does not occur backed /a/ in vicinity of the HFV (Sībawayh 1996: 4/117, 130).

In the Qur’ānic orthoepy, and apart from the above-mentioned sequence, the /l/ is always nonemphatic. Nonetheless, Al-Dānī (2000: 159-160) reported that in one tradition of Qur’ānic recitation, namely Nāfi‘ via Warš (the traditional canonical reading of the Qur’ān in

¹ For describing vowels, I will use the abbreviations H/M/L = high/mid/low and F/C/B = front/central/back.

Egypt at that time), the /l/ following directly the *ṣād*, *zā'* or *ṭā'* /s^h, ḏ^h, d^h/ or separated from them by /a/ is emphatic /s^h(a)l, ḏ^h(a)l, d^h(a)l/.²

2. The /r/ has two realizations: emphatic /r̥/ and nonemphatic /r/, according to phonetic environments in which it occurs. It is difficult to determine which of the two configurations is the original one. The phonetic environments that determine whether the /r/ is emphatic or not are, somehow, complicated. Generally speaking, the configuration of the trill as /r̥/ is maintained as long as there is no conflicting gesture, such as the gestures involved in the production of the HFVs (Younes 1994: 231) and in absence of adjacent emphatic phonemes of group (a) and group (b) (Al-Dānī 2000: 152-157). Thus, /r/ is nonemphatic in these sequences:

C[-emphatic] __i

C[-emphatic] i__#

i__C[-emphatic]

Finally, of great interest to this discussion is the discourse regarding *alif al-tafhīm* and *alif al-imāla*. Sībawayh (1988: 4/432)³, After enumerating the twenty-nine phonemes of CLA, states:

وتكون خمسة وثلاثين حرفاً بحروف هن فروع، وأصلها من التسعة والعشرين، وهي كثيرة يؤخذ بها وتستحسن في قراءة القرآن والأشعار، وهي [...] وألف التفخيم، يُعنى بلغة أهل الحجاز في قولهم: الصلاة والزكاة والحياة.⁴

Therefore, this *alif al-tafhīm* is a dialectal variant of the Arabic phoneme *alif /aa/*, used exclusively among the *Ḥiǧāzī* people. However, Dickins (1996: 8-11) argued that *alif al-tafhīm* was phonemic in *Ḥiǧāzī* dialect and he tried to find some near-minimal pairs.

² The CLA *dād* was not a stop sound, but a lateral fricative, which lost lateralisation at some stage. This may explain why the alveolar lateral approximant /l/ is not affected by its emphasis. It was somewhat its nonemphatic counterpart.

³ Cf. Ibn Ğinnī (1985: 1/46) and Vollers (1893: 135-136).

⁴ “They become thirty-five with other sounds, which are secondary (or marginal) and having their origin in the twenty-nine. These are frequent, accepted and approved in the recitation of the Qur’ān and in poetry. They are [...] and *alif al-tafhīm*, i. e. in the *Ḥiǧāzī* pronunciation, in words such as *al-ṣalā*, *al-zakā* and *al-ḥayā*.”

In the Qur'ānic Codex, we find the Sībawayh's above-mentioned examples, i. e. *ṣalā* (67 times), *zakā* (32 times) and *ḥayā* (71 times); in addition to *ribā* (7 times), *ḡadā* (twice), *naḡā* (once), *miškā* (once) and *manā* (once). In all these occurrences, the *alif* is rendered orthographically with the grapheme *wāw* <و>, i. e. <صلوة - زكوة - حيوه - ربوا - غدوة - نجوة - مشكوة >, which suggests that it was pronounced halfway between the LV vowel /aa/ and the HBV /uu/, i. e. [ɔɔ ~ oo]. In fact, Ibn Ğinnī (1985: 1/50) affirms that:

وأما ألف الإمالة [فهي] التي تجدها بين الألف والياء [...] وأما ألف التفخيم فهي التي تجدها بين الألف والواو.⁵

For what regards the Qur'ānic orthoepy, Al-Dānī (2000: 101) reported two types of *imāla*, depending on the extent to which the *alif* /aa/ approaches the sound of the *yā'* /ii/, what suggests these realizations [εε ~ ee], but maybe also [ææ]. In any case, the *alif al-imāla*, is restrained in vicinity of emphatic phonemes of group (a) and (b) (Sībawayh 4/128-130).

Thus, the LV vowel phoneme /a/ in CLA had the standard realization [a ~ ä ~ ʌ] (depending on the nearby consonants), together with two marginal realizations, i. e. low-mid and high-mid back [ɔ ~ o] and mid and close-mid front [ε ~ e]. These realizations are connected with the ablaut roles in Arabic: the phoneme /a/ is realized [ɔ ~ o] with *u*-imperfect roots and [ε ~ e] with *i*-imperfect roots (cf. Dickens 1996: 9 and Sībawayhi 1996: 4/118-119). When the *alif* of the *i*-imperfect roots follows the alveolar trill /r/, it can be realized as low [aa], low-mid front [εε], or high-mid front [ee] in the different traditional Qur'ānic readings. The last two, i. e. those with *imāla*, neutralize the emphasis of the /r/ (cf. Al-Dānī 2000: 101).

1. 2. Emphasis or *tafḥīm* in MSA

In MSA, and due to a series of diachronic phonological changes, the status of emphatic phonemes is noticeably different respect to CLA:

(a) for the *muṭbaqa* consonants, their number and their primary status remained intact, but their realizations changed partially. On the one hand, the *ṣād* /s^s/ and the *zā'* /ð^s/ remained the same. On the other hand, the *dād*, the alveolar lateral fricative /ɬ^s/, became voiced dental-

⁵ “For *alif al-imāla*, it is the one you find between the *alif* and the *yā'* and *alif al-tafḥīm* is the one you find between the *alif* and the *wāw*.” Cf. Anīs (1961: 41) and for more details see Al-Maṭlabī (1984: 162-170).

alveolar stop /d^ʕ/; and the *ṯā'*, the voiced dental-alveolar stop /d^ʕ/ lost the voicing and became /t^ʕ/ (Elgendy 1982: 14; Al-Ani 1983: 49; Ḥassān 1990: 86; Heselwood 1996: 22; ‘Abd al-Tawwāb 1997: 61; Bišr 2000: 414). As a result of these changes, the four primary emphatics <ص, ض, ط, ظ> /s^ʕ, d^ʕ, t^ʕ, ḏ^ʕ/ came to be in full contrast with nonemphatic coronals counterparts <س, د, ت, ذ> /s, d, t, ḏ/ respectively.

(b) for the *musta’lya* consonants, they mutated in this way: the *qāf*, the voiced uvular stop /q/ became voiceless /q̥/ and the two post-velar fricative the *ḡayn* /ɣ/ and the *ḥā'* /ħ/ shifted forward, coming to be velars /ɣ/ and /ħ/ (Bišr 2000: 401-2; Gadalla 2000: 2; Watson 2002: 18; Holes 2004: 58). The emphasis seems to be free variant. So they almost lost their secondary emphasis, given the fact that it is not phonemic (cf. Bišr 2000: 400-401). We can assume that the system here simply eliminates ‘cumbersome’ feature wholesale.

(c) the *lām*, the alveolar lateral approximant /l/ and the *rā'*, the alveolar trill /r/ maintained their status, but the alveolar lateral approximant /l/ is realized with emphasis /l̥/ when following any emphatic phoneme of group (a) (cf. Bišr 2000: 408).

1. 3. Emphasis or *tafḥīm* in CA

The primary emphatics of group (a) in SA maintain their status in CA, with the SA voiced dental fricative /ḏ^ʕ/ replaced in CA by the voiced alveolar fricative /z^ʕ/ or, less common, its stop counterpart /d^ʕ/ (cf. Gadalla 2000: 1-2; Elgendy 2001: 12; Watson 2002: 15; Holes 2004: 70-72). In few cases, the SA voiced alveolar stop /d^ʕ/ is replaced in CA by its fricative counterpart /z^ʕ/, e. g. /d^ʕʕabit^ʕ/ ‘officer’ in SA became /z^ʕʕabit^ʕ/ in CA. The other two emphatic phonemes, i. e. the /s^ʕ/ and /t^ʕ/ remained intact:

Only when a voiced and a voiceless emphatic came to exist in the same series as a voiced and a voiceless non-emphatic did the glottal state of emphatics acquire distinctive function, and this situation has arisen in Cairene Arabic, so that the correlation of emphasis and the correlation of voice cross-classify in the phonematic structure giving the homologies /t^ʕ:/d^ʕ/; /t̥^ʕ:/d̥^ʕ/; /s^ʕ:/z^ʕ/; /s̥^ʕ:/z̥^ʕ/ (Haselwood 1996: 35).

Finally, the primary emphatics in the three varieties can be summarized as following.⁶

		Classical Standard Arabic		Modern Standard Arabic		Cairene Arabic	
		emphatic	counterpart	emphatic	counterpart	emphatic	counterpart
<ص>	ṣād	/sˤ/	/s/	/sˤ/	/s/	/sˤ/	/s/
<ض>	ḍād	/ɟ/	∅	/dˤ/	/d/	/dˤ/ (/zˤ/)	/d/ (/z/)
<ط>	ṭā'	/dˤ/	/d/	/tˤ/	/t/	/tˤ/	/t/
<ظ>	ẓā'	/ðˤ/	/ð/	/ðˤ/ (/zˤ/)	/ð/ (/z/)	/zˤ/ (/dˤ/)	/z/ (/d/)

As for the emphatics of group (b) in SA, the two velar fricatives: voiced /ɣ/ and voiceless /x/ exhibit no emphasis in CA. The SA uvular stop /q/, instead, is generally replaced by the glottal stop /ʔ/ in CA (Gairdner 1925: 26; Gadalla 2002: 2; Watson 2002: 17; Holes 2004: 81). However, it seems not to be merged totally in the inherited glottal stop in some respects:

(1) Unlike the inherited one /ʔ/ of SA, the glottal stop that replaces the SA uvular /q/ in CA is never elided when initial (Gairdner 1925: 71);

(2) The LV /a/ adjacent to the glottal stop that replaces the SA /q/ tends to be fronted always, unless there is one of the primary emphatic phonemes of group (a) (vide infra § 3. 2. 1. and cf. Gairdner 1925: 48).

Thus, for the difference between these two types of glottal stops in CA which is relevant for our discussion, I prefer to use the symbol /ʔ/ for the inherited glottal stop and the symbol /ʔ̣/, i. e. glottal stop with stroke, for the one that replaces the SA /q/.

Yet, the SA /q/ is maintained as marginal phoneme in CA only in loanwords from SA, e. g. /qarja/ 'village' and /qawmi/ 'national' (Watson 2002: 17 and cf. Mitchell 1978: 18). Occasionally it is rendered with the reflex [kʸ], the velarized voiceless velar stop, e. g. /ikʸtisʰaad/ 'economy' (Woidich 2006: 12). In such cases, the uvular stop can be accompanied with the LBV /a/.

⁶ Cf. Haselwood (1996: 22).

Beside the aforementioned groups, linguists studying CA add more secondary, or better marginal, emphatic phonemes. These are the /r/, l/, according to some linguists (Abdel-Massih et al. 1975: 6; Broselow 1976: 32-34 among others) or the /r/, l, b, m/ according to others (Watson 2002: 21; Woidich 2006: 11, 24-25; and see Younes 1994: 216-217 for others). Yet, Ghazeli (cited in Norlin 1987: 56) lists /b, m, l, f, g, n, k/ as having been proposed to have emphatic counterparts, although he does not mention if it applies to all dialects he investigated or only some of them.

It is important, in this context, to state the differences between primary and secondary emphatics. Here, I quote Younes (1994: 216-217):

The primary emphatics are distinguished from the secondary emphatics in three major respects. First, they contrast with a set of nonemphatic phonemes. Second, emphatic/nonemphatic contrasts involving the primary emphatics are found in all vocalic environments, whereas contrasts involving the secondary emphatics are found only next to low vowels. [...] Third, except for /r/, the secondary emphatics are found in only a handful of forms, mostly borrowings from foreign languages.

We can add another one: the primary emphatics have proper graphemes, which distinguish them from their nonemphatic counterparts.

Of great relevance to the main point of this article is what Younes (1994: 230) states afterwards:

Associating emphasis with low back vowels may be used to explain the phenomenon of secondary emphasis in cases involving /b/, /m/, and /l/. [...] [T]he secondary emphatics are invariably accompanied by low back vowels and, with the exception of /r/, are almost exclusively foreign borrowings. It is possible to argue that secondary emphasis is no more than an association with a low back vowel whose presence in a word is perceived as a signal of emphasis. (apud. Norlin 1987: 56-57).

In the following part, I will argue that in the case of what is conventionally called ‘secondary emphatics’ it is the LBV short or long /a, aa/ that triggers the emphasis spreading to them. Thus, the /a/ is to be regarded as influencing the adjacent ‘secondary emphatics’ and not influenced by them. Before doing that, I prefer to give an account of the phonemic vowels in SA and CA and the emphasis spread in both varieties.

2. 1. Phonemic vowel system in SA and CA

The SA has three long and three short vowels: high front and back /i, u/ and low central /a/ in a quite symmetric way (Watson 2002: 21-22; Holes 2004: 59-60).

INVENTORY OF PHONEMIC VOWELS IN SA						
	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		u	ii		uu
LOW		a			aa	

In CA, instead, there is a wide agreement that it possess five long vowels: front high, mid and low /ii, ee, aa/ and back high and mid /uu, oo/; and their five short counterparts /i, e, a, u, o/ (Lehn 1963: 30) However, the phonemicity of the two mid short vowels is marginal and conditioned (Abdel-Massih et al. 1975: 21; Watson 2002: 23; Woidich 2006: 7 and Elgendy 2001: 12).

Though, Norlin (1987: 58) notices, rightly, the asymmetric distribution of CA vowels in the acoustic space, saying: “It has three front vowels, high, mid and low and two back vowels, mid and high, with a large empty area where a back low vowel could be expected. ” He adds: “the fronting of the /aa/ in Egyptian Arabic is unusually large if it is the only [low] vowel. ” This fronting caused a polarization between the two low vowel qualities, as a way to obtain maximal perceptual contrast between the two vowels in the acoustic space. Only with the low back /a/ as independent phoneme, CA “has a symmetric six vowel system based on maximal perceptual contrast with vowels at roughly equal distance from each other” (ibid).

INVENTORY OF PHONEMIC VOWELS IN CA ⁷					
FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK

⁷ The low vowel /a/ in CA has three realizations [a], [ɛ], [ɑ] (Woidich 2006: 8). In this article, I will not distinguish between the two front realizations.

HIGH	I	u	ii	Uu
MID	(e)	(o)	ee	Oo
LOW	a	ɑ	aa	ɑɑ

2. 2. Emphasis spread

The emphasis never occurs as a feature of one segment only (Lehn 1963: 36). Its minimum domain of spread is CV (Broselow 1976: 32) and the maximum domain is the entire phonological word (Watson 2002: 273).

Emphasis spread in CA extends over all segments in the same uninflected word to the left of the emphatic and all segments in the same word to its right, including inflectional suffixes (Younes 1993: 136 and cf. Watson 2002: 290).

Unfortunately, we do not have evidences on the modality of emphasis spread in CLA, but the traditional Qur'ānic orthoepy suggests that it was very limited and did not go beyond the adjacent syllable, either preceding or following the syllable containing the emphatic phoneme. On the other hand, an Arab performing in MSA will be always under influence of emphasis spread roles in his own variety of Arabic.

As mentioned above, only primary emphatics are found in all vocalic environments, whereas the so-called 'secondary emphatics' are found only next to low vowels. In the following part I will argue that the emphasis in this case, and specially of the phoneme /r/ as it is the most common among them, is actually caused by their vicinity to the LBV /ɑ/.

3. The distribution of the LV /a, ɑ/ in CA

As it has been noticed, the distribution of the low vowels in CA is ill-defined (Norlin 1987: 56). Indeed, plenty factors determine this distribution, e. g. loanwords, phonomorphological changes and diachronic phonological changes. In the following paragraphs, I discuss some of these factors in details.

3. 1. The loanwords and the distribution of /a, ʌ/ in CA

As expected, the loanwords in CA, which have a LBV in the original language, maintain generally their LBV, unless it passed through written language.⁸ In case the loanword contains a dental phoneme, the emphasis may be attributed to it as exhibited orthographically (1a) and sometimes not (1b). Otherwise, the emphasis is said to be due to a secondary emphatic (1c), i. e. /l, r, m, n, b/, etc. , although in all cases it is due to the back vowel (see also Lehn 1963: 33).

(1a)		(1b)	
/baasʕ/	<en. bus>	/basabort/	<it. passaporto>
/borsʕa/	<it. borsa>	/kombars/	<fr. comparse>
/falsʕu/	<it. falso>	/lisans/	<fr. licence>
/fasʕolja/	<gr. φασολιά>	/santimetr/	<fr. centimetr>
/sʕalsʕa/	<it. salsa>	/saraaja/	<pr. sarāy>
/sʕubaab/	<fr. soupape>	/fondaam/	<fr. fondant>
/lamda ~ lamba/	<it. lampada>	/kumandaan/	<fr. comandante>
/ʒantʕ/	<fr. jante>	/batroona/	<it. patrona>
/istʕamba/	<it. stampa>	/torta/	<it. torta>
/mustʕarda/	<it. mostarda>	/mizamblee(h)/	<fr. mise en plis>
/tʕaranʃ/	<fr. tranch>	/mizanseen/	<fr. mise en scène>
/ʔalawoozʕ/	<tr. qilāgūz>	/vaaza ~ faaza/	<it. vasa>

⁸ All examples are extracted from Badawi and Hinds (1986). In case the source is different, it will be mentioned.

(1c)

/ʔobra/	<it. opera>	/lokanda/	<it. locanda>
/bakalaa/	<it. bacalà>	/maaʒin/	<it. ammainare>
/garaniita/	<it. granita>	/maama/	<it. mamma>
/haaj/	<en. high>	/manʃ/	<fr. manche>
/ʒilaati/	<it. gelato>	/naazik/	<tr. nāzik>
/ʒiniraal/	<fr. generale>	/nabalm/	<en. napalm>
/kaaka ~ kakka/	<it. cacca>	/ʃambanja/	<it. champagne>
/karavatta/	<it. cravatta>	/ʃamwaa(h)/	<fr. chamois>
/karru/	<it. carro>	/ʃantii/	<fr. Chantilly>
/larʒ/	<fr. large>	/ʃinwaa(h)/	<fr. chinois>

Sometimes, the loanwords containing a LBV (2a) contrast with existing lexeme in CA containing LFV (2b), creating minimal pairs:

(2a)

/ʔabla/	‘older sister, Miss’ <tr. <i>abla</i> >
/baaba/	‘dad’ <tr. <i>bābā</i> >
/ballu/	‘dance’ <it. ballo>
/budala/	‘fool’ <tr. <i>budāla</i> >
/faaz/	‘phase’ <fr. phase>

(2b)

/ʔabla/	‘before, accepting <i>f.</i> ’
/baaba/	‘2nd month in Coptic calender’
/ballu/	‘they moistened’
/budala/	‘substitutes’
/faaz/	‘he won’

/harsa/ ‘fly lights’ <fr. herses>	/harsa/ ‘a crush’
/kallu/ ‘callus’ <it. callo>	/kallu/ ‘they got tired’
/katt/ ‘sleeveless’ <en. cut>	/katt/ ‘he oozed’
/lakk/ <en. luck>	/lakk/ ‘to chatter’
/rafma/ ‘rust scrapper’ <it. raspa>	/rafma/ ‘a making of the sign of the cross’
/sooda/ <en. soda>	/sooda/ ‘black.f.’
/salta/ <en. somersault>	/salta/ ‘a slip out’
/warda/ ‘watch out!’ <it. guarda!>	/warda/ ‘flower’

The contrast may occur also on the opposite way, i. e. loanwords with LFVs (3a) contrasting with an existing lexemes with LBVs (3b):

(3a)	(3b)
/kaaki/ ‘khaki cloth’	/kaaki/ ‘cluck!’
/kaari/ ‘curry’	/kaari/ ‘my trade’
/dinaari/ ‘diamonds (in cards)’ <it. denari>	/dinaari/ ‘my dinar’
/raam/ ‘RAM’	/raam/ ‘he desired’

Furthermore, the loanwords may contain a high or mid vowel, back /u, o/ or front /i, e/, which shifts lower and change into /a/ and /a/ respectively. Confront group (4a) with (4b).

(4a)	(4b)
/daktuur ~ duktoor/ <fr. docteur>	/ratiina ~ ritiina/ <it. retina>

/damaan ~ dumaan/	<tr. <i>dūman</i> >	/farmisilla/	<fr. vermicelle>
/dastuur ~ dustuur/	<pr. <i>dustūr</i> >	/sarabantiina/	<it. serpentina>
/mambariita/	<it. tamburetto>	/sartiina/	<it. sentina>
/ʔarsa/	<it. orsa!>	/tarabantiina/	<it. terebentina>
/banduura/	<it. pomodoro>		
/kaʃtuura/	<it. costura>		
/kiʃkalmaaz/	<tr. <i>qūš qūnmaz</i> >		

All that suggests presumption that the LBV influences the so-called ‘secondary emphatic’ adjacent to it and not the contrary.

3. 2. Diachronic phonological changes

3. 2. 1. The glottal stop /ʔ/ replacing the uvular /*q/

At what time the SA uvular stop /q/ is maintained in CA as [q ~ kʸ], it triggers emphasis spreading to the LV, and backs it /ɑ/. When it is replaced in CA by the glottal stop /ʔ/, the LV is always fronted unless: there is a primary emphatic (5a); the sequence /ʔɑ(a)/ precedes the /r/ directly or indirectly (5b); and in the sequence /Caʔr/ (5c):

(5a)	(5b)	(5c)
/sʰɑʔr/ ‘falcon’	/ɑʃʔar/ ‘blond <i>m.</i> ’	/faʔr/ ‘poverty’
/ʔabdʰ/ ‘arrest’	/baʔara/ ‘cow’	/naʔra/ ‘a peck’
/tʰabaʔ/ ‘dish’	/zaʔar/ ‘to push into corner’	/ʃɑʔrab/ ‘scorpion’
/ʔalawoozʰ/ ‘thread (of a screw)’	/ʃɑʔʔar/ ‘to make a check’	/faʔra/ ‘blond <i>f.</i> ’
	/ʔamar/ ‘moon’	

/ʔadar/ ‘destiny’
/ʔaraafa/ ‘cemetery’
/ʔaraar/ ‘decision’
/ʕaʔaar/ ‘real state’
/niʔaar/ ‘nagging’

The fronting of the LV, either short or long /a, aa/, neutralizes the emphasis of the /r/ (and any other ‘secondary emphatic’) in the whole morphological word when: the sequence /aʔ/ follows the /r/ directly (6a) or indirectly (6b); the sequence /aaʔ/ follows the /r/ directly (6c) or indirectly (6d); and in the sequence /Carʔ/ (6e):

(6a)

/azraʔ/ ‘blue’
 /ħaraʔ/ ‘to burn’
 /raʔaba/ ‘neck’
 /raʔad/ ‘to lay down’
 /saraʔ/ ‘to steal’
 /waraʔ/ ‘paper’
 /xaraʔ/ ‘to pierce’
 /ʕaraʔ/ ‘sweat’

(6c)

/ħarraaʔ/ ‘hot, spicy’
 /furaaʔ/ ‘parting’
 /il-ʕiraaʔ/ ‘Iraq’
 /sarraaʔ/ ‘saw’
 /raaʔ/ ‘to get clear’
 /raaʔi/ ‘high-class’
 /warraaʔ/ ‘paper supplier’

(6e)

/barʔ/ ‘thunder’
 /barʔuuʔ/ ‘plum’
 /ħarʔ/ ‘burning’
 /xarʔ/ ‘piercing’

(6b)

/garmaʔ/ ‘huge mob’

(6d)

/rawaaqa/ ‘serenity, clarity’

/tarjaʔa/ ‘mockery’

/xarbaʔ/ ‘to wreck’

/rastaʔ/ ‘to fix up’

/rafaaʔa/ ‘companions’

Naturally, because of this difference in the configuration of the LV that accompanies the two glottal stops /ʔ, ʔ/ we get minimal pairs, which are not always related to the phoneme /r/:

(7a)

/ʔabla/ ‘older sister, Miss’ <tr. *abla*>

/ʔabb/ ‘father’

/ʔadra/ ‘knows better’

/barraʔ/ ‘to acquit’

/marʔi/ ‘visible’

/raaʔid/ ‘pioneer, major’

/raaʔiʕ/ ‘wonderful’

/raʔj/ ‘opinion’

(7b)

/ʔabla/ ‘before, accepting *f.*’

/ʔabb/ ‘to bob up, surface’

/ʔadra/ ‘capable *f.*’

/barraʔ/ ‘to stare’

/marʔi/ ‘protected by censing incantation’

/raaʔid/ ‘lying down *m.*’

/raaʔiʕ/ ‘patcher *m.*’

/raʔj/ ‘censing’

It is very curious also that the LFV which accompanies the /ʔ/ sometimes deemphasizes the primary emphatic /s^ʕ/, e. g. /sadaʔ/ ‘to tell the truth’, /safaʔ/ ‘to slam shut’, /saʔʔaf/ ‘to clap’, /sanduuʔ/ ‘box’, /iltisaaʔ/ ‘adherence’, /saaʔiʕ/ ‘cold’ and /saʔʕa/ ‘coldness’; and seldom the /d^ʕ/, e. g. /daaʔ/ ‘to become narrow’ and /dajjaʔ/ ‘tight’. The same may occur with the two velars /ɣ, x/, e. g. /saaya/ ‘goldsmiths’, /sabya/ ‘dye’, /samy/ ‘glue’, /sarax/ ‘to shout’, /saruux/, ‘rocket’.

3. 2. 2. Lowering of a back vowel

As was the case with some loanwords, we find also lexemes containing LBV /a/, due to a lowering of another BV or a monophthongized one (vide supra § 1. 1. /ʔallaah/). In fact, the BV in /jamma/ ‘o mother!’ vs. /jamma/ ‘side’ is due to a lowering of monophthongized diphthong: from SA *yā ummāh* /jaa-ummaah/ > /*jaummaah/ > /*jommaah/ > /*jammaah/ > /jamma(h)/. The same can be said for /majja/⁹ ‘water’, which is attested in some early dictionaries of CA as /mojja/ (*‘mwaya’* in Cameron 1892: 250 and *‘móiyē’* in Dirr 1904: 164) and is still pronounced so in some rural Egyptian dialects.

3. 2. 3. Differences in emphasis spread with /r/

Younes (1994: 231) states that the secondary backing articulation of /r/ in Arabic is maintained as long as there is no conflicting gesture, such as the gestures involved in the production of the high front vowels and the nonemphatic coronal consonants. As the tongue is fronted by front vowels and nonemphatic coronals whose articulation involves a fronting gesture, so the /r/ is deemphasized.

The de-emphasization of the /r/ in SA by the HFV /i/ occurs when they are part of the same syllable only. Thus, in SA the /r/ is deemphasized in words such /ʃaa·ʕir/ ‘poet’, /ʃa·ʕiir/ ‘barley’, /ʃiʕr/ ‘poetry’ and /ʃiʕ·ri/ ‘poetic’, but not in /ʃi·ʕaaʕ/ ‘motto, emblem’ and /ʃi·ʕaa·raa·ti/ ‘my mottos, emblems’ for instance.

That is not the case in CA if the /r/ occurs in the same syllable with a LV, which fronted due to its being adjacent to a syllable containing a HFV /i/ in the same morphological word, either on left or right. In this case, the LFV /a/ neutralizes the emphasis of the /r/. This way, the SA /fi·raax/ ‘chicks’, /ʔa·mii·ra/ ‘princess’, /ma·raa·sim/ ‘ceremonies’, /xar·tiit/ ‘rhinoceros’ are realized within the same environments as /fi·raax, ʔa·mii·ra, ma·raa·sim, xar·tiit/ in CA. This led to minimal pairs between genuine CA lexemes and loanwords from SA. Compare (8a) to the classicisms in (8b):

(8a)

(8b)

⁹ In the status constructus, it becomes /majjit-/ creating minimal pair with /majjit/ ‘dead’.

/saraajir/ ‘beds’

/rami/ ‘throwing *m.*’

/marʕi/ ‘proper name “= observed”’

/saraajir/ ‘secrets’

/raami/ ‘proper name “= archer”’

/marʕi/ ‘looked after *m.*’

Moreover, while in CA the emphasis spreads all over the morphological word, in SA it is always more restricted. We see the lexeme /ʕarabijja ~ ʕarabijja/ ‘car, Arab woman’ in plural form becomes /ʕarabijjaat/ for ‘cars’, but /ʕarabijjaat/ for ‘Arab women’, as this plural form is borrowed from SA, where the emphasis spread is blocked rightward. Another example of minimal pair caused by a loanword from SA is /inʕarad/ ‘to retire alone’ vs. /inʕarad/ ‘to be straightened’, in which the /a/ is fronted because the verb is of /a ~ i/ ablaut (vide infra § 3. 3. 1. & § 3. 3. 2.).

3. 3. Phono-morphological changes

3. 3. 1. The final /a/ of *i*-imperfect roots

In CA, the lexemes ending with a LV /a/, derived from the SA *ā* by ablaut of the third radical *ī* or *y*, is usually fronted /a/ (unless there is a primary emphatic), as a sort of *alif al-imāla*. It neutralizes the emphasis of the /r/ adjacent to it, e. g. /hara/ (imperf. /jihri/) ‘to cause to disintegrate’ and /rama/ (imperf. /jirmi/) ‘to throw’.

That is not the case if the final /a/ derives from either the SA endings *-ā*, *-at*, or the glottal stop (by elision). The LV, in this case, does not affect the /r/ and it is backed if the latter is emphatic, e. g. /wara/ <SA /waraaʔ/> ‘behind’, /ħamra/ <SA /ħamraaʔ/> ‘red *f.*’, /ʔugara/ <SA /ʔugaraaʔ/> ‘hirelings’, /marra/ <SA /marra(t)/> ‘instance, once’ and /ʔara/ </qaraʔ/> ‘to read’.

The difference between these two final LVs creates minimal pairs:

(9a)

/warraani/ ‘he showed me’

/bara/ ‘to sharpen to a point’

(9b)

/warraani/ ‘rear, back’

/bara/ ‘to create’

/xara/ ‘to defecate, shit’

/barraaja/ ‘(pencil) sharpener’

/garra/ ‘to cause to run’

/xara/ ‘faeces, shit’

/barraaja/ ‘outside me’

/garra/ ‘earthenware jar’

It seems clear here that the front low /a/ neutralizes the secondary emphasis of the /r/ and not the contrary. What favors this suggestion is that in the same environment the /r/ is emphatic in absence of this final /a/, e. g. /sarr/ ‘to please, entrust’ vs. /sarra/ (imperf. /jisari/) ‘to dispel sorrow, worries’. As these two verbs (and verbs alike) converge in their conjugation in the imperfect (with all pronouns except the 3rd. sg. m. and pl.), we get such minimal pairs:

(10a)

/sarrit/ ‘she entrusted’

/ɣarrit/ ‘she glued’

/ʕarrit/ ‘she exposed’

/garrit/ ‘she caused to run’

(10b)

/sarrit/ ‘she entrusted’

/ɣarrit/ ‘she deceived’

/ʕarrit/ ‘she disgraced’

/garrit/ ‘she pulled’

3. 3. 2. The /a ~ i/ ablaut

In CA the second radical of a verb may be followed by either /a, i/ in perfect form, which change into /a, u, i/ by the ablaut role, as following:

	a-perfect	i-perfect
a-imperfect	/fataħ - jiftaħ/ ‘to open’	/ʃirib ~ jiʃrab/ ‘to drink’
u-imperfect	/xarag - jixrug/, ‘to go out’	/nizil ~ jinzil/ ‘to get down’
i-imperfect	/ʕamal - jiʕmil/ ‘to do’	/sikit ~ jiskut/ ‘to be silent’

The verbs containing the LV /a/ corresponding to the HFV by ablaut favor the fronting of the LV (neutralizing the emphasis of /r/), unlike the verbs whose /a/ corresponds to /a, u/ that can be either fronted or backed. This contrast may lead to minimal pairs of verbs of /a ~ i/ ablaut and their verbal nouns on the one hand (11a) and verbs of /a ~ a/ or /a ~ u/ ablaut and their verbal nouns (11b) or other substantives (11c) on the other hand:

(11a)	(11b)	(11c)
/fard/ 'straightening'		/fard/ 'individual'
/bard/ 'cold'	/bard/ 'filing'	
/rabb/ 'to sprout' ¹⁰		/rabb/ 'lord'
/raff/ 'to patch, twitch'		/raff/ 'shelf'
/sarag/ 'to saddle'	/sarag/ 'to strike (of lightning)'	
/zarad/ 'to yield (as by infusion)'	/zarad/ 'to gulp'	
/faras/ 'to infuriate, enrage'		/faras/ 'mare'
/darra/ 'a flow (of milk)'		/darra/ 'udder'
/hamm/ 'to concern'	/hamm/ 'food (children talk)'	

3. 3. 3. The derivational vs. inflectional /i/

As noticed before, the HFV /i/ hinders the backing of the LV and neutralizes the emphasis of the /r/. This occurs only if the /i/ is derivational (12a) or part of the morphological word (12b), but not if it is epenthetic or inflectional suffix (12c) (cf. Younes 1993: 121, 123; Watson 2002: 276):

¹⁰ See Lehn (1963: 33). He reported also, in p. 31-32, /hamma/ 'to bath' and /hamma/ 'a boil'.

(12a)

/naari/ ‘pertaining to fire’

/baʔari/ ‘bovine’

/ħagari/ ‘stony’

/faʔri/ ‘unlucky’

/zahri/ ‘light blue’

/barri/ ‘wild’

/ħarbi/ ‘pertaining to war’

(12b)

/baari/ ‘creator’

/daari/ ‘hide! *sing. m. /f.*’/gaari/ ‘running *m.*’/raasi/ ‘steady *m.*’**(12c)**

/naari/ ‘my fire’

/baʔari/ ‘my cows’

/ħagari/ ‘my stone’

/faʔri/ ‘my poverty’

/zahri/ ‘my flowers’

/barri/ ‘my land’

/ħarbi/ ‘my war’

/baari/ ‘my bar’

/daari/ ‘my house’

/gaari/ ‘my neighbor’

/raasi/ ‘my head’

It is supposed that the HFV /i/ deemphasizes the /r/, but it can be argued that the it only causes the fronting of the LV /a/ as a sort of *imāla*, which in its turn neutralizes the /r/.

3. 4. The full phonemicization

At some point, the CA may alter the quality of the LV in order to split a homonym into two distinguished lexemes. This happen with inherited lexemes from Arabic, e. g. /farr/ ‘to go quickly through’ and /farr/ ‘to run fast’ or /garraaħ/ ‘one who hurts’ and /garraaħ/ ‘surgeon’. In these two examples the fronting of the LV is intended to create a sort of lexical divergence. It happens also with loanwords. I give here three significant examples:

(1)The word /tabba/ <tr. tepe> ‘small hill’ vs. /tabba/ <it. tappo> ‘sink stopper’. Both have no emphatic phoneme nor back vowel. The backing of the LV in the latter is intended to create a lexical divergence. Naturally, the emphasis was attributed to the dental phoneme, as a sort of operational bias misled by the orthography (cf. Lehn 1963: 33);

(2)/daama/ <it. dama> ‘queen (in cards)’ vs. /daama/ <it. dama> ‘draughts, checkers’. The two loanwords are from the same origin. Once again, the emphasis was attributed to the dental phoneme;

(3)/sʕaay/ <tr. sağ kolağası> ‘major (in army)’ vs. /saay/ <tr. sağ> ‘piaster’. Both are from the same origin *ṣāğ*, with an emphatic consonant and BV. The fronting of the LV in the second has neutralized the emphasis of the precedent consonant (vide supra § 3. 2. 1.).

Conclusion

The fronting of LV /a/ in CA respect to the more centralized one in SA helped to create a polarization between the front and back LV configurations /a, a/, obtaining a maximal perceptual contrast between them. However, the distribution of the phonemic vowels in the acoustic space is asymmetric unless we consider the LBV /a/ as a separated phoneme, so we get a symmetric six vowels system.

Moreover, and as a matter of fact, only the four primary emphatics occur in any vocalic environments, and when accompanied by the LV they favor the back /a/ rather than the front /a/. This fact helped associating the LBV with the emphasis. On the other hand, the ‘secondary emphatics’ inherited from CLA, i. e. /r, l/, are also associated with LBV. The only sequence that has the emphatic /l/ as phonemic (i. e. /-llaah/) is better explained by the LBV, which triggers emphasis spreading to the /l/. For what regards the /r/, the distribution of its emphatic and nonemphatic allophones in SA is predictable. It is not the case in CA, where the /r/ seem to be influenced by the quality of the adjacent LV, which is predictable to a great extent when considering the etymology of every lexeme. We can affirm the same for all other ‘secondary emphatics’ that occur always adjacent to the LBV /a/. Hence, we can assume that the phonemic distinction is carried by the vowel, and it may be unnecessary to set up separate secondary emphatic consonantic phonemes (cf. Ferguson 1956: 451), i. e. the /l, r, m, n, b/ but also /k, g, h, ʔ/.

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LA « LANGUE DE L'INDE » VUE PAR AL-BĪRŪNĪ: UN MIROIR DE L'ARABE?¹

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Résumé. Dans son livre sur l'Inde, Bīrūnī (m. après 442/1050) consacre une page à la « langue de l'Inde » (*al-hindiyya*). La langue n'est pas envisagée en elle-même mais comme obstacle à une appréhension des réalités indiennes. Quatre difficultés sont recensées: 1) profusion et confusion lexicales; 2) dualité linguistique; 3) phonétique et écriture, obligeant à une transcription; 4) transmission orale du savoir préférée à la transmission écrite. 2) est la « perle » du texte. Sous les noms de *mubtadaʿal* (« usuel ») et *maṣūn* (« préservé »), Bīrūnī décrit les deux variétés de la langue, le prākṛit et le sanskrit, en posant une corrélation de type sociolinguistique: la première est la langue utilitaire du « peuple » (*sūqa*), la seconde la langue de référence des « gens supérieurs et experts » (*al-fuḍalā' al-mahara*). A plusieurs reprises dans son texte et ailleurs dans son livre, Bīrūnī fait des comparaisons explicites ou implicites avec l'arabe et/ou le persan, par exemple en redoublant *maṣūn* par *faṣīḥ* (« châtié ») ou encore en comparant la naissance de la grammaire indienne à celle de la grammaire arabe. S'il traite de la « langue de l'Inde » en louchant sur d'autres langues, ce qu'il dit de la première reflète alors ce qu'on pourrait dire des secondes. C'est ce qui fait le prix de 2) pour l'arabe même, où une telle situation n'est jamais décrite de manière aussi explicite.

Mots-clefs: Bīrūnī; *al-hindiyya* (« langue de l'Inde »); sanskrit; prākṛit; arabe; persan; lexique; synonymie; polysémie; sociolinguistique; *mubtadaʿal*; variété vernaculaire; *maṣūn faṣīḥ*; variété classique; description linguistique; morphologie; flexion; dérivation; syntaxe; rhétorique; phonétique; clusters consonantiques; voyelle légère (*hafīfa*); voyelle furtive (*hafiyya*); écriture; transcription; transmission orale et écrite du savoir.

1. Introduction

Abū al-Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (désormais: Bīrūnī), m. après 442/1050, est considéré comme l'un des plus grands savants de l'Islam classique. Mais il est également connu pour avoir accompagné le sultan turc de Ġazna, Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin (m. 420/1030), dans ses expéditions militaires contre l'Inde du Nord et avoir tiré de cette expérience indienne un ouvrage intitulé *Kitāb fī taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind min maqūla maqbūla fī al-'aql 'aw marḍūla*, à peu près « Enquête sur ce que l'Inde a de doctrines, rationnellement

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acceptables ou rejetables ». Le premier chapitre (*bāb*) de l'ouvrage s'ouvre par une réflexion sur la « difficulté qu'il y a à pénétrer (litt. se rendre transparentes) les choses de l'Inde », « les gens de l'Inde se distinguant de nous, dit Bīrūnī, en tout, (...) à commencer par la langue »². Suit alors une page sur cette langue, dont je propose ici une traduction et un commentaire. On trouvera la traduction, avec le texte original, en annexe. Pour le texte, j'ai collationné l'édition, historique (1887: 9-10), d'Eduard Sachau (1845-1930) et celle, plus récente, faite en Inde (1958: 13-14): je n'ai pas trouvé de différence. Pour la traduction, j'ai évidemment consulté les traductions anglaise de Sachau (1910: I, 17-19) et française de Vincent Monteil (1913-2005) (1996: 45-46). Des extraits de la traduction Sachau, incluant le texte ici traduit et commenté, ont été donnés récemment dans la revue *Oasis* (2009), avec des versions française et italienne.

2. Commentaire

2.1. Le texte

En l'état, le texte n'est pas très bien construit. On a l'impression d'une suite de notations, mises bout à bout. Pour faciliter la tâche du lecteur d'une part, celle du commentateur d'autre part, j'ai délimité ces notations, en me fondant sur les marques objectives du texte (« ensuite », « avec cela »). Je suis arrivé ainsi à 6 notations (2-7), suivant l'introduction (1). Une lecture, même rapide, montre que (6) prolonge (4), fournissant une illustration aux difficultés rencontrées par un étranger concernant la phonétique de la langue. Elle montre de même que (5) va avec (7), traitant comme lui de la transmission écrite et orale du savoir. En revanche, Bīrūnī termine (7) par là où il a commencé (2), c'est-à-dire par la profusion du lexique, source de confusion.

Le texte n'est pas non plus très bien écrit. On relève une maladresse flagrante en (6), où *lam yakādū ya'rifūnahū 'illā bi-ḡahd* est redondant. *Kāda yaḡ'alu* signifiant « presque », sa négation *mā kāda* ou *lam yakad yaḡ'alu* signifie « presque pas » ou « à peine », autrement dit dit déjà ce que reedit *'illā bi-ḡahd* (« si ce n'est avec effort »)... Deux passages sont problématiques. Ce qui suit *bal*, en (4), est très elliptique. Néanmoins le parallélisme des trois énoncés permet de rétablir le verbe opérateur *takādu* entre *lā* et *'ādāmunā*, *lā* et *'aydīnā*. De

² Voilà un eux/nous non-européocentrique ! Il faut croire qu'identité et altérité se présupposent mutuellement et, ce, de manière universelle...

même, dans la mesure où celui-ci *doit* avoir un verbe à l'inaccompli dans son champ et qu'il en a effectivement un dans le premier (*tunqād*) et le second (*tasma'*) énoncés, on peut restituer *tunqād* dans le troisième. Plus problématique encore est (7). La subordonnée de but (*li-yashula ḥifzuhā* « pour que soit aisé leur apprentissage par cœur ») se rattache logiquement à « leurs ouvrages scientifiques sont versifiés ». Ce qui fait apparaître *qad qaṣadū*... comme une parenthèse. Ce verbe a trois compléments d'objet direct, qui sont des *maṣdar*-s (noms verbaux) et sont coordonnés par *wa-*. Pour le troisième (*sur 'at zuhūr al-fasād fihā*), il semble clair qu'on ne peut avoir pour but « la rapide apparition de la corruption dans les textes », mais seulement de l'éviter. Monteil (1996: 46), qui fait cet ajout, ne traduit pas le deuxième complément (*taqdīra-hā*) et permute le troisième avec le premier, auquel il rattache *li-yashula ḥifzuhā*, ce qui donne: « Ce procédé leur permet d'éviter les erreurs, en trop ou en moins, et de conserver leurs textes dans leur forme originale exacte, pour pouvoir être appris par cœur ». Sachau (1910: 19), sans tenir compte de la syntaxe et vocalisant *-u sur 'a* comprend: « they intend, considering that the books soon become corrupted by additions and omissions, to preserve them exactly as they are, in order to facilitate their being learned by heart ». Pour ma part, je pense que *taqdīr* peut être compris comme un dénominatif de *qadar*, dans le sens de « valeur », et par suite comme « valorisation ».

2.2. De quoi *al-hindiyya* est-il le nom?

Tel quel, que nous apprend ce texte sur ce que j'appellerai la « langue de l'Inde » (*al-hindiyya*)? Bien que ce nom n'apparaisse pas ici, mais seulement celui de *al-luġa* (« la langue »), il apparaît ailleurs dans l'ouvrage de Bīrūnī. Sachau (1910) traduit par « sanskrit », ce qui ne convient que pour moitié à la langue duelle décrite par Bīrūnī en (3). Monteil (1996) traduit par... « hindi », ajoutant en note (n. 15, p. 315): « Bīrūnī ne dit que hindi, mais jamais « sanscrit » (litt. *samskrta* « la langue parfaite » - c'est-à-dire le langage cultivé). Aujourd'hui c'est la langue vulgaire ». Par la suite, il traduit deux fois par « sanscrit », dont une fois en mettant hindi entre parenthèses ! Autrement dit, Monteil emploie hindi dans un autre sens que le sien, en croyant imiter Bīrūnī, ce qui, à la lettre, n'est pas exact. Car Bīrūnī, qui écrit l'arabe, nomme les langues comme le fait l'arabe écrit, c'est-à-dire au féminin, en sous-entendant *luġa* (donc *al-hindiyya* < *al-luġa al-hindiyya* « la langue de l'Inde »). C'est seulement l'arabe parlé qui les nomme au masculin (on n'oubliera pas, cependant, qu'en hindi même, hindi est... féminin). En fait, Monteil imite Sachau. Dans ses propres annotations (1910: II, 257-258), Sachau écrit aussi que Bīrūnī parle seulement de « Hindī ». Mais il ajoute

que les sultans gaznévides avaient des interprètes, qui, outre le persan (et sans doute le turc), parlaient et écrivaient le « Hindî » (en caractères arabes) et que « c'est probablement dans ces cercles que nous devons rechercher l'origine du Urdû ou Hindustânî », avant de conclure: « If we had any of the Hindî writings of those times, they would probably exhibit the same kind of Indian speech as that which is found in Alberuni's book ». Autrement dit, Sachau emploie « Hindî » au sens général où Bīrūnī emploie *al-hindiyya*, c'est-à-dire comme *Indian speech* ou « langue de l'Inde ». Écrivant avant la partition de l'Inde, il emploie hindoustani pour désigner la langue néo-indienne née des contacts entre Musulmans et Hindous et l'identifie à l'ourdou, sans doute pour bien marquer qu'elle est liée aux conquêtes islamiques³. Aujourd'hui, comme on sait, on emploie hindi de deux manières. De manière spécifique pour désigner la variété « indienne » de l'hindoustani, par opposition à l'ourdou, qui en constitue la variété « pakistanaise ». Mais aussi de manière générique, dans le même sens qu'hindoustani. De quoi s'y perdre !

2.3. La « langue de l'Inde »

2.3.1. Lexique

2.3.1.1. Synonymie et polysémie

Bīrūnī commence par le lexique, ce qui peut donner à penser qu'il confond une langue avec son lexique, les deux étant homonymes en arabe (*luġa*): nous verrons plus loin qu'il n'en est rien. Il note qu'une même chose peut y être nommée de plusieurs noms et, inversement, qu'un même nom peut se dire de plusieurs choses. Le premier phénomène est connu sous le nom de synonymie (*tarāduf*) et le second sous celui de polysémie (*ištirāk*). Bīrūnī n'emploie cependant aucun de ces deux noms. Pour lui, la polysémie a une conséquence négative: elle ajoute à la profusion lexicale, elle-même conséquence de la synonymie, par la nécessité d'ajout de qualificatifs, pour distinguer entre les différents sens d'un même mot qu'on ne pourrait distinguer autrement que contextuellement: à la fois le contexte linguistique

³ Dans son étude de 1888, Sachau emploie cependant hindi au sens historique de néo-indien, interprétant certaines transcriptions de l'ouvrage de Bīrūnī de la manière suivante (p. 7): « Die hier erhaltenen Reste eines Hindî-Dialekts gewinnen dadurch eine besondere Bedeutung, dass sie das älteste Hindî oder Neuindisch sind, das wir zur Zeit kennen » (Les restes ici conservés d'un dialecte du hindi acquièrent par là une signification particulière, à savoir qu'ils sont le plus ancien hindi ou néo-indien, que nous connaissons à l'époque).

(« rapporter le sens à ce qui est après et avant ») et le contexte extra-linguistique (« situation du discours »). Conséquence négative, car il est évidemment, comme savant, attaché à l'idéal d'une relation bi-univoque entre mots et choses: un mot, une chose. La comparaison *explicite* qu'il fait avec l'arabe, en ce qui concerne l'ampleur (« longue et large ») de la langue (ici: lexicale) *implique* que, dans la phrase « Ils se font gloire de cela, comme s'en font gloire d'autres qu'eux, là où, en réalité, c'est un défaut dans la langue », les « autres qu'eux » a pour référent les Arabes. La « richesse de la langue » est en effet un lieu commun en milieu arabophone jusqu'à aujourd'hui, repris par des arabisants non linguistes. Notons cependant que dans la tradition linguistique arabe, au sens large, le mythe a été démonté à date ancienne. On peut citer par exemple ce dialogue entre les deux grammairiens Ibn Ḥālawayh (m. 370/980) et al-Fārisī (m. 377/997), rapporté par un tiers et cité par Suyūṭī (m. 911/1505) dans le *Muzhir* (I, p. 405) :

J'étais à l'assemblée de Sayf al-Dawla à Alep et, dans l'assistance, il y avait un groupe de philologues, parmi lesquels Ibn Ḥālawayh: « je connais pour le sabre, dit celui-ci, cinquante noms ! ». Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī sourit et dit: « je n'en connais qu'un seul: le sabre ». « Et que fais-tu de *muhannad*, *ṣārim* etc? », dit Ibn Ḥālawayh. « Ce sont des qualificatifs, répondit Abū 'Alī. On dirait que le maître confond le nom et les qualificatifs ! » (*kuntu bi-maḡlis Sayf al-dawla bi-Ḥalab wa-bi-l-ḥaḍra ḡamā'a min 'ahl al-luḡa wa-fīhim Ibn Ḥālawayh fa-qāla Ibn Ḥālawayh 'ahfazu li-l-sayf ḥamsīna sman fatabassama Abū 'Alī wa-qāla mā 'ahfazu lahu 'illā sman wāḥidan qāla Ibn Ḥālawayh fa-'ayna al-muhannad wa-l-ṣārim wa-kaḍā wa-kaḍā fa-qāla Abū 'Alī hādīhi ṣifāt wa-ka'anna al-ṣayḥ lā yufarriq bayna al-ism wa-l-ṣifāt*)⁴.

2.3.1.2. *muštaqqa* vs *muqtaḍaba*

Bīrūnī qualifie les noms de *muštaqqa* et *muqtaḍaba*. Si le sens de *muštaqqa* est assuré (« dérivé »), celui de *muqtaḍaba* ne l'est pas. C'est le participe passif du verbe VIII *iqtaḍaba*, transitif, et donc moyen de I *qaḍaba*, également transitif, de sens « couper, retrancher ». C'est parce qu'il est opposé à *muštaqqa* que Sachau (1910: I, 17) traduit par « original » (= fr. « originel »). Sachau comprend donc les noms *muqtaḍaba* comme ceux à l'origine des *muštaqqa*. Il est certainement influencé par la linguistique historique, qui dominait à son

⁴ On aura remarqué que *sayf* (« sabre ») entre dans la composition du nom de l'émir Sayf al-Dawla (« Sabre de la dynastie ». On est en pleine courtoisie...

époque, et où la base s'entendait dans un sens historique (la base du dérivé existe antérieurement au dérivé). Dans la tradition arabe, néanmoins, le terme opposé à *muštaqq* est *ġāmid* (litt. « figé »), défini comme étant lui-même non dérivé d'un verbe: il comprend, outre les noms primitifs type *ḥaġar* (« pierre »), le *mašdar* (nom verbal) du verbe de base trilitère, dont il est considéré comme la « source » (Ġalāyīnī, Ġāmi' II, 3). L'opposition se retrouve un peu plus loin (Sachau, 1887: 19 ; éd. ind. 1958: 19) :

Je (...) mentionne, des noms et des conventions [terminologiques] dans leur langue, ce qu'il est indispensable de mentionner, une fois, rendue nécessaire par leur définition, puis: s'il est un dérivé qu'il est possible de traduire en arabe, je ne m'en écarterai plus pour un autre, à moins qu'il ne soit, dans la langue de l'Inde, plus léger dans l'usage, auquel cas nous l'utiliserons, après nous être assuré de sa forme écrite, ou s'il est un mot *muqtaḍab*, très connu, [nous l'utiliserons], après avoir indiqué son sens, même s'il existe pour cela un nom chez nous connu ; les choses en sont ainsi facilitées ('anā (...) *dākir min al-'asmā' wa-l-muwāḍa'āt fi luġatihim mā lā budda min dīkrihi marra wāḥida yūġibuhā al-ta'rīf tumma 'in kāna muštaqqan yumkin taḥwīluhu fi-l-'arabiyya 'ilā ma'nāhu lam 'amil 'anhu 'ilā ġayrihi 'illā 'an yakūna bi-l-hindiyya 'aḥaffa fi-l-isti'māl fa-nasta'mīluhu ba'da ġāyat al-tawīqa minhu fi al-kitba 'aw kāna muqtaḍab šadid al-ištihār fa-ba'd al-'išāra 'ilā ma'nāhu wa-'in kāna lahu ism 'indanā mašhūr fa-qad suhhila al-'amr fihi).*

Monteil ne traduit pas la première occurrence, mais traduit la seconde (p. 52) par... bref. Peut-être est-il influencé par le fait que *muqtaḍab* est un des mètres arabes, effectivement bref. Le nom d'action correspondant *iqtiḍāb* s'emploie en rhétorique pour désigner la figure de style contraire au *taḥalluṣ*: alors que celui-ci est une transition, celui-là est une rupture, ainsi définie par Ibn al-'Aṭīr (m. 637/1239) dans le *Maṭal al-sā'ir* (II, 244): « cela consiste en ce que le poète interrompe son discours, celui où il se trouve, et commence un autre discours, différent, éloge, satire etc. , sans relation avec le premier » (*wa-dāka 'in yaqta' al-šā'ir kalāmahu allaḍī huwa fihi wa-yasta'nif kalāman 'āḥar ġayrahu min maḍīḥ 'aw ḥiġā' 'aw ġayr dālīka wa-lā yakūnu li-l-tānī 'alāqa bi-l-'awwal).*

Pour ma part, je connais également *iqtiḍāb* comme « traduction » de syllabe, dans la version arabe, faite sur le syriaque par Mattā b. Yūnus (m. 328/940), de la *Poétique* d'Aristote (1967:109). Le grec *syllabè* étant lié au verbe *syllambanō* « prendre ensemble », d'où « saisir », on peut se demander si une confusion ne se serait pas produite avec *iqtabaḍa*, moyen de *qabaḍa*, qui signifie justement « saisir, empoigner ». Mais il est intéressant d'observer que les *falāsifa* remplaceront ce terme par celui de *maqta'* (litt. « endroit où une

chose est coupée, se finit »), où l'on retrouve l'idée de coupure. Le grec et l'arabe disent en fait la même chose mais différemment. Le grec dit que la syllabe est un ensemble d'éléments (grec *stoicheion*, passé dans l'arabe *'ustuqus*), l'arabe que cet ensemble est lui-même la partie d'un tout supérieur, le mot.

On peut alors se demander si ce *muqtaḍab*, interprété comme « retranché (de quelque chose) » donc partie d'un tout, ne cherche pas à traduire en arabe le sanskrit *dhātu*, qui désigne d'une manière générale l'élément comme partie d'un tout et de manière particulière en grammaire la racine verbale. C'est pourquoi je traduis ici par « élémentaire ». Néanmoins, la racine verbale étant la base du mot, non le mot, d'une part, les participes *muqtaḍaba* et *muštaqqa* qualifiant explicitement des *noms* d'autre part, ces noms « élémentaires » pourraient bien regrouper, à la manière de l'arabe *ḡāmid*, à la fois les noms primitifs, non liés à des racines verbales, et les thèmes nominaux immédiatement liés à la racine verbale, comme le célèbre *yog-a* « attelage » (< *YUJ-* « atteler », par adjonction de la voyelle thématique *a*) et pris eux-mêmes comme bases des « dérivés » (pour le détail, cf. Brocquet 2008).

2.3.2. Dualité linguistique

(3) est évidemment la perle du texte. Bīrūnī reconnaît que la « langue de l'Inde » est faite de deux variétés. Aucune des deux variétés n'est nommée, mais seulement décrite au moyen de qualifications. La première variété l'est au moyen d'un nom qualificatif, *mubtaḍal*, et d'une phrase qualificative, constituant une notation sociolinguistique, en ce qu'elle fait une corrélation entre variété et partie de la population ; la seconde variété l'est au moyen de deux noms qualificatifs, *maṣūn* et *faṣīḥ*, d'un troisième *muta'alliq* dont dépend une suite de syntagmes prépositionnels en *bi-* et qui constitue une description linguistique, et d'une phrase qualificative, constituant une notation moins sociolinguistique que culturelle. Entrons dans les détails.

Mubtaḍal est le participe passif du verbe *ibtaḍala*, qui est sûrement le moyen du verbe de base *baḍala* « dépenser, prodiguer quelque chose ». A l'actif, *ibtaḍala* s'emploie spécialement avec un objet, *ṭawb* (« vêtement »), pour désigner le fait de le porter tous les jours et donc de l'user (*imtahana*) ; au passif, *ubtuḍila* se dit du vêtement dont on se sert tous les jours et qui par suite s'use, ce vêtement portant le nom de *bidla* ou *mibḍal(a)*. On a donc la même liaison qu'entre les deux sens du français « user ». *Mubtaḍal* pourrait être ainsi un calque de *prākṛit*, qui, parmi ses sens, a celui de « usuel » et désigne la variété vernaculaire:

c'est par « neglected vernacular » que Sachau (1910, I: 18) traduit le terme, tout en l'interprétant, tandis que Monteil (1996: 45), sûrement influencé par le modèle arabe, l'interprète par « dialecte », sans le traduire. Par suite, l'autre variété est le *sanskrit*. Elle est d'abord qualifiée de *maṣūn* (« préservé »), qui n'est pas un terme quelconque, mais le contraire de *mubtadaḥ* (cf. *Lisān al-'Arab*, art. BDL: *wa-l-ibtidāḥ didd al-ṣiyāna*). Sachau interprète le terme, sans le traduire, par « classical », tandis que Monteil le traduit, tout en l'interprétant, par « classique inaltérable ». Si l'on croise les deux auteurs, on voit qu'un couple d'adjectifs (« négligé » / « inaltérable ») désigne métonymiquement deux variétés de la langue, l'une vernaculaire (plutôt que dialectale), l'autre classique.

Maṣūn est justement doublé d'une autre qualification, celle de *faṣīḥ*. Le terme de *faṣīḥ* suggère évidemment une comparaison implicite avec l'arabe. C'est le terme que les philologues arabes emploient pour qualifier celui qui parle bien et, par métonymie, sa langue (*luḡā faṣīḥa*, langue « correcte » ou « châtiée »), par opposition à *fāsiḍa* (langue « corrompue »). L'élatif *fušḥā*, qualifiant explicitement ou implicitement *luḡa*, désigne aujourd'hui l'arabe que les arabisants appellent classique. Bīrūnī emploie lui-même l'expression *bi-l-faṣīḥ*, par exemple au ch. XIII sur la grammaire et la poésie (Sachau 1887: 65 ; éd. ind. 1958: 104), cf. *infra*.

Faṣīḥ, qui s'oppose implicitement à *fāsiḍ*, redoublant *maṣūn*, qui s'oppose explicitement à *mubtadaḥ*, on peut donc dire que le couple *mubtadaḥ/maṣūn* se superpose au couple *fāsiḍ/faṣīḥ* et trahit la même conception du rapport de la variété vernaculaire à la variété classique: celle-là serait une forme dégradée de celle-ci. Comme on sait, une telle conception relève plus des représentations que de la stricte réalité historique. Une langue classique, par définition, n'est jamais un point de départ, mais toujours un point d'arrivée. Bien que cette conception domine jusqu'à aujourd'hui dans le domaine arabe et ne soit pas absente du domaine indien, la métaphore à la base de l'opposition prākṛit/sanskrit est originellement celle du « brut » et du « raffiné ». Avec une telle métaphore, le prākṛit n'est pas une dégradation du sanskrit, c'est inversement le sanskrit qui est une épuration du prākṛit.

La troisième qualification et la suite de syntagmes prépositionnels qui en dépend (*muta'alliq bi-...*) décrit bien ce qu'est une langue classique. *Taṣārīf* est le pluriel de *taṣrīf*,

qui, dans la tradition arabe, désigne la flexion, hors *'i'rāb*⁵, c'est-à-dire hors flexion désinentielle: comme il sera question du *'i'rāb* en (4), on peut donc penser que c'est le cas ici. On a déjà rencontré, à travers la question des *'asmā' al-muštaqqa*, le concept de *ištiqāq* ou « dérivation »⁶. Flexion et dérivation constituent, dans notre tradition, la morphologie. C'est aussi le cas de la tradition arabe, qui inclut le *ištiqāq*, mais exclut, ainsi qu'on l'a rappelé, le *'i'rāb*. Le *ištiqāq* est en effet une part du *'ilm al-ṣarf* (ou *taṣrīf*), c'est-à-dire de la morphologie, tandis que le *'i'rāb* relève du *'ilm al-naḥw*. Ce dernier terme désigne soit la grammaire en général, soit la syntaxe en particulier. On peut présumer que dans l'expression *daqā'iq al-naḥw wa-l-balāga*, c'est dans ce sens qu'il faut l'entendre. *Balāga* désigne l'« efficacité » du discours et dans le champ de *'ilm* (« science ») constitue le nom le plus usuel de la rhétorique en arabe. On voit que Bīrūnī, bien loin de réduire la langue au lexique, s'en fait au contraire une idée globale: non seulement un lexique, mais encore une grammaire et même sa mise en discours. Au total, on serait tenté de dire que ce tableau linguistique du sanskrit doit plus à la tradition arabe qu'à la tradition indienne, n'était la première place donnée aux flexions et à la dérivation. Dans la tradition arabe c'est le contraire: la syntaxe occupe la première place, la morphologie la seconde, comme le révèle le double sens de *naḥw*, à la fois grammaire en général et syntaxe en particulier. La prééminence donnée aux flexions et à la dérivation reflète peut-être l'organisation paninéenne de la grammaire, comme cela apparaît au chapitre XIII (Sachau 1887: 65 ou éd. ind. 1958 :104 pour le texte ; Sachau 1910: I, 135 et Monteil, 1996: 147, pour la traduction) consacré à leurs ouvrages en grammaire et poésie, Bīrūnī écrivant :

ces deux arts, parmi les sciences, sont un instrument pour les autres et occupent la première place chez eux. L'une des deux est la science de la langue, appelée *byākarn* [= *vyākaraṇa*], et il s'agit d'une méthode pour rendre correct leur discours et des dérivations les conduisant à l'efficacité dans l'art d'écrire et l'éloquence dans l'art oratoire, mais nous ne sommes bien guidés pour rien de cela, car il s'agit de la branche d'un tronc dont nous sommes dénués, je veux dire la langue elle-même (*hāqāni al-fannāni min al-'ulūm 'āla li-bawāqihā wa-l-muqaddam 'indahum minhūmā 'ilm al-luġa al-musammā byākarn wa-huwa naḥw yuṣaḥḥih kalāmahum wa-ištiqāqāt tu'addī bihim 'ilā al-balāga fī al-*

⁵ Par exemple, Ğurġānī (m. 816/1413), *Ta'rīfāt*, p. 61 : « c'est une science concernant les principes par lesquels on connaît les états des structures du mot, hors flexion désinentielle » (*al-taṣrīf 'ilm bi-'uṣūl yu'raf bihā 'aḥwāl 'abniyat al-kalima laysat bi-'i'rāb*).

⁶ Ainsi défini par Ğurġānī, *Ta'rīfāt*, p. 27 : « tirer une expression d'une autre » (*al-ištiqāq naz' lafz min 'āḥar*).

kitāba wa-l-faṣāha fī al-ḥaṭāba wa-lasnā bi-muhtadīn li-šay' minhu fa-'innahu far' 'aṣl qad 'adimnāhu 'a'nī nafs al-luġa).

Le pluriel même *ištiqāqāt* et, plus encore, leur résultat montrent que « dérivations » ne peut pas être entendu au sens étroitement morphologique de dérivation lexicale. La grammaire paninéenne (*vyākaraṇa* « analyse ») abolit la distinction de la syntaxe et de la morphologie, les phrases se décomposant en mots, comme les mots en morphèmes et, inversement, la dérivation concerne aussi bien celle des mots à partir d'unités plus petites que celles des phrases à partir des mots... (Brocquet, 2008). Dans sa description de la grammaire indienne, on note que Bīrūnī emploie le terme de *naḥw*, dont on a vu ci-dessus qu'il désignait dans la tradition arabe la syntaxe, mais qu'il l'emploie dans le sens qui serait étymologiquement le sien selon cette tradition même, c'est-à-dire comme la « voie » à suivre pour éviter les solécismes (*'alḥān*) (Larcher, 2007). Il semble clair que Bīrūnī se fait une conception prescriptive et normative de la grammaire.

La description linguistique du sanskrit et, par défaut, du prākṛit est doublée d'une description sociolinguistique, affectant dans les deux cas la forme d'une phrase. Pour la variété « usuelle », c'est « dont ne tire profit que le peuple » (*sūqa*) et pour la variété « préservée », c'est « à laquelle ne se réfèrent que les gens supérieurs et habiles [dans les arts et les sciences] » (*al-fuḍalā' al-mahara*).

Selon *Lisān al-'Arab* (art. SWQ, t. II, p. 244), *sūqa* désigne les sujets des rois, par opposition aux rois (*mālik*, pl. *mulūk*), tirant son nom, est-il dit, de ce que ceux-ci « conduisent » (*yasūqūn*) ceux-là. *Lisān al-'Arab* ajoute, pointant ainsi ce qui est pour lui une fausse étymologie, que « beaucoup de gens croient que *sūqa* sont les gens des souks » (*wakaṭīr min al-nās yaẓunnūna 'anna al-sūqa 'ahl al-'aswāq*), autrement dit les commerçants et les artisans. Rapportées au système indien des « castes », que Bīrūnī connaît et décrit ⁷, aucune des deux acceptions ne convient: le sanskrit n'est pas la langue des rois, et encore moins des commerçants et artisans, mais celle des brahmanes (Varenne, 1979: 9). L'affirmation de Varenne doit cependant être nuancée. Si le sanskrit est la langue des

⁷ Ch. IX *Fī dīkr al-ḥabaqāt allatī yusammūnahā 'alwān* « Des castes qu'ils nomment couleurs », le terme de *brn* = *varna*, apparaissant un peu plus loin (Sachau, 1887 : 49-51, éd. ind. 1958 : 75-79 ; Sachau, 1910 : I, 99-104 ; Monteil 1996 : 113-118). Le terme de « caste » est considéré aujourd'hui comme tout à fait impropre par les indianistes. Le terme arabe qu'emploie Bīrūnī signifie « couche » et s'emploie aujourd'hui dans le sens de « classe ».

brahmanes, c'est parce que ce sont eux, d'abord, qui l'apprennent, avant de l'apprendre aux autres, notamment les *kshatriya*, la seconde « caste », celle des guerriers, à laquelle appartiennent les rois. On a parfois dit que ceux-ci favorisaient le prākṛit, à commencer par le célèbre empereur maurya Ashoka (vers 304-232 av. JC), dont les inscriptions sont en prākṛit: si elles le sont, c'est plutôt en raison du tabou pesant sur l'écriture du sanskrit. Par suite, et bien que les brahmanes soient la plus haute « caste » (d'abord prêtres, ils sont aussi les maîtres des arts et sciences: philosophie, médecine, droit etc), l'expression *al-fuḍalā' al-mahara* (« gens supérieurs et habiles ») réfère plus largement à une élite lettrée, tout à la fois religieuse et politico-militaire, par opposition à *sūqa* désignant le plus grand nombre. On pourrait dire néanmoins que dans ce découpage social ou, plus exactement, socio-culturel, de la « langue de l'Inde », Bīrūnī est influencé par le modèle qui lui est familier et ainsi décrit par Bosworth (*ET*², art. Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin) :

La machinerie centralisée et despotique de l'État, avec le sultan à sa tête, telle que l'avaient créée Maḥmūd et ses fonctionnaires persans, est le type même de l'« État pouvoir » perso-islamique dans lequel la classe dominante de fonctionnaires et de militaires était nettement séparée des masses de sujets contribuables, les *ra'āyā*.

Ra'āyā est le pluriel de *ra'iyya*, par lequel *Lisān al-'Arab* (art. SWQ) paraphrase justement *sūqa*: le terme, signifiant littéralement « troupeau », désigne par métaphore les sujets d'un roi. Mais si on se reporte au chapitre IX consacré aux « castes », on note que ce découpage correspond à la vision qu'il s'en fait et qui est sûrement accordée à la situation sociale de l'Inde, sinon à la norme rituelle de l'hindouisme. Bīrūnī introduit son chapitre sur les « castes » par une réflexion philosophique sur « l'ordre des choses, d'autant plus parfait qu'il y a union de la royauté et de la religion » (*wa-kamula al-'amr bi-ḡtimā' al-mulk wa-l-dīn*). Et tout en décrivant correctement le nombre (quatre) et la hiérarchie des « castes » indiennes, il n'en tend pas moins à les regrouper deux à deux, notant de la deuxième (*kštr* = *kshatriya*)⁸ que « leur rang ne s'éloigne pas beaucoup de celui des brahmanes » (*rutbatuhum 'an rutbat al-barāhima ḡayr mutabā'ida ḡiddan*) et « des deux dernières (*byš* = Vaishiya et *šwdr* = Shūdra)⁹ qu'elles sont proches l'une de l'autre » (*wa-hātāni al-martabatān al-'ahīratān mutaḡāribatān*): bref *al-fuḍalā' al-mahara* vs *al-sūqa* ! Cette « hybridation » trouve

⁸ La forme *kštr* indique que Bīrūnī transcrit le nom *kshatra*, dont *kshatriya* est l'adjectif dérivé, substantivé.

⁹ La forme *byš* indique que Bīrūnī transcrit le nom *vīsh*, dont *vaishiya* est l'adjectif dérivé, substantivé. En théorie, les Shūdra (« serviteurs ») constituent plutôt les exclus du système « trifonctionnel » que constituent les trois autres « castes » : prêtres, guerriers, travailleurs...

une confirmation indirecte au chapitre XIII, à propos de l'origine de la grammaire indienne (Sachau 1887: 65 ou éd. ind. 1958: 105, pour le texte ; Sachau 1910: I, 136 et Monteil, 1996: 148 pour la traduction) :

Sur l'origine de cette science, on a dit qu'un de leurs rois, nommé Samalvāhana, et, en langue châtiée, Sātabāhana¹⁰, se trouvait un jour dans un bassin, où il jouait avec ses femmes. Il dit à l'une d'elles: *mā wadakan dihī*, c'est-à-dire « ne m'asperge pas d'eau ! ». Elle crut qu'il disait *mūdakan dihī*, c'est-à-dire « Apporte une pâtisserie ! »¹¹. Elle s'en alla et revint avec la pâtisserie. Le roi réprouva cette conduite, mais, elle, elle répondit violemment et parla grossièrement. Le roi en fut contrarié ; il s'abstint de nourriture, selon leur habitude, et resta enfermé jusqu'à ce qu'un de leurs savants vienne et le console, en lui promettant d'enseigner la grammaire et les flexions du langage. Ce savant alla auprès de Mahādiva, priant, glorifiant, jeûnant, implorant jusqu'à ce qu'il lui apparaisse et lui donne des règles simples, comme en a posées Abū al-'Aswad al-Du'alī pour l'arabe, et lui promette appui pour les développements à venir. Ce savant retourna auprès du roi et les lui enseigna. Tel est le début de cette science (*wa-qālū fī 'awwaliyyat hādā al-'ilm 'anna 'aḥad mulūkihim wa-ismuhu Samalwāhana wa-bi-l-faṣīḥ Sātabāhana kāna yawman fī ḥawḍ yulā'ib fīhi nisā'ahum fa-qāla li-'iḥdāhunna mā wadakan dihī 'ay lā taruṣṣī 'alayya al-mā' fa-ẓannat 'annahu yaqūlu mūdakan dihī 'ay iḥmalī ḥalwā fa-ḍahabat fa-'aqbalat bi-hi fa-'ankara al-malik fī 'lahu wa-'annafat hiya fī al-jawāb wa-ḥāṣanat fī al-ḥiṭāb fa-istawḥaṣa al-malik li-ḍālika wa-imtana'a 'an al-ṭa'ām ka-'ādatihim wa-iḥtaḡaba 'ilā 'an ḡā'a-hu 'aḥad 'ulamā'ihim wa-sallā 'anhu bi-'an wa'adahu ta'līm al-naḥw wa-taṣārīf al-kalām wa-ḍahaba ḍālika al-'ālim 'ilā Mahādīwa muṣalliyan musabbiḥan wa-ṣā'iman mutaḍarri'an 'ilā 'an ẓahara lahu wa-'a'ṭāhu qawānīn yasīra kamā waḍa'ahā fī al-'arabiyya 'Abū al-'Aswad al-Du'alī wa-wa'adahu al-ta'yīd fīmā ba'dahā min al-furū' fa-raḡa'a al-'ālim 'ilā al-malik wa-'allamahā 'iyyāhā wa-ḍālika mabda' hādā al-'ilm).*

¹⁰ Il existe un empire Satavahana (-220 av. JC-220 ap. JC) en Inde du Sud, mais ayant adopté la culture sanskrite du nord. Sachau (1910, II : 301) note qu'on connaît des formes Sālavāhana et Sālivāhana, mais non Samalvāhanā. L'origine de la grammaire indienne est en réalité très antérieure.

¹¹ *Mā* (négation prohibitive) + *udakan* (« eau ») + impératif *dehi* (« donne ») vs *modakan* (« objet faisant plaisir ») + *dehi*. Avec les phénomènes de sandhi vocalique et consonantique, les deux énoncés sont homophones : *mōdakaṃ dehi*. C'est un exemple de la figure dite *vaknukti*, l'interlocuteur comprenant le message dans un autre sens que le locuteur. Il peut reposer sur le fait que la femme est « puriste » : on ne doit pas employer (bien que cet emploi soit par ailleurs attesté) avec la négation prohibitive l'impératif, mais l'injonctif *daḥ*. Il y a donc une double faute, contre la grammaire et contre la communication...

En nommant Abū al-'Aswad al-Du'alī (m. vers 69/688), que la tradition arabe désigne comme le père de la grammaire, Bīrūnī nous invite lui-même à comparer les deux situations. Si l'on regarde les récits sur l'origine de la grammaire dans les deux traditions, on verra qu'au delà des variantes dont ils sont l'objet, la raison alléguée est toujours la même: une maîtrise imparfaite de la langue châtiée, occasionnant des quiproquos et déterminant l'intervention du « savant » (le *'ālim* de la tradition arabe, le *pandit* de l'indienne), en association, d'une manière ou d'une autre, avec le « puissant ».

2. 3. 3. Phonétique, écriture, transcription

On reconnaît dans (4) et (6) que je regroupe le vocabulaire traditionnel de la phonétique arabe. On pourrait ironiser, en observant que *ḥarf* est un bon exemple du défaut dénoncé par Bīrūnī en (2). Il est employé en effet de manière équivoque, une fois comme son et une fois comme lettre. Cela n'implique nulle confusion des deux, mais la nécessité de s'en remettre au contexte pour distinguer entre les deux. C'est du *ḥarf* comme son qu'il est d'abord question en (4) et, plus particulièrement, consonantique, tandis qu'en (6), qui, selon moi, prolonge (4), il est aussi question des *ḥarakāt* (litt. « motions », i. e. voyelles brèves), le *ḥarf* étant *mutaḥarrrik* (« mû », c'est-à-dire vocalisé) ou *sākin* (« quiescent », c'est-à-dire non vocalisé). Bīrūnī, après avoir noté que la « langue de l'Inde » possède un certain nombre d'articulations inconnues de l'arabe et du persan, se plaint logiquement de la difficulté qu'il y a à les reproduire et même à les discriminer. Le début de (6) illustre ce point par une anecdote: Bīrūnī, saisissant au vol un mot et le répétant à ses interlocuteurs pour en avoir confirmation, à dû mal à le leur faire reconnaître. Une difficulté particulière est abordée, celle des clusters ou groupes consonantiques, spécialement à l'initiale. Bīrūnī note lui-même que de tels clusters existent « dans toutes les autres langues des non-Arabes ». Dans la stricte orthoépie de l'arabe classique il est en effet impossible de commencer ou de finir une syllabe par un cluster consonantique, alors que la chose est parfaitement possible dans telle ou telle variété dialectale de l'arabe. En persan, note Sachau (1910: II, 260), un mot non plus ne peut pas commencer par un groupe consonantique, mais il pouvait le faire dans des états antérieurs de l'iranien (encore en moyen-perse, cf. Lenepveu-Hotz, 2011). En revanche la chose est toujours possible en fin de syllabe et, selon Sachau, qui cite les exemples de *yāft* (radical passé de « trouver »), *bakhsh* (radical présent de « pardonner, donner ») *khushk* (« pavillon, belvédère »), *mard* (« homme ») etc. :

Alberuni seems to hint at these examples, and at a doctrine of certain grammarians, who are not known, to this effect, that the first of these two consonants is to be considered as having not a complete or clear vowel, but an indistinct hidden one, something like a *schwa mobile* of Hebrew grammar.

Sachau interprète en effet la phrase de Bīrūnī *wa-hiya allatī yusammihā 'aṣḥābunā mutaḥarrikāt bi-ḥaraka ḥafiyya* par « consonants which in our Persian grammatical system are considered as having a hidden vowel », alors même qu'en note (1910: II, 260) il indique que la phrase signifie littéralement « which our companions call having (a hidden vowel) », ajoutant que « nos compagnons » désignent ordinairement les gens de même confession que l'auteur (i. e. musulmans), indépendamment de leur appartenance ethnique (arabe, persane ou turque). L'interprétation de Sachau paraît conditionnée par un autre passage de l'ouvrage que l'on trouve au chapitre XIII, déjà cité (Sachau 1887: 66-67 ou éd. ind. 1958: 107, pour le texte et Sachau 1910: I, 138-139, pour la traduction) :

Les Arabes ne réunissent pas deux [articulations] quiescentes, mais cela est possible dans toutes les autres langues *et il s'agit des articulations que les métriciens du persan appellent mues par une motion légère* [c'est moi qui souligne]. En effet, ce qui dépasse trois de ces articulations est difficile, voire impossible à prononcer pour celui qui parle, ces articulations ne se laissant pas conduire à la manière des [articulations] vocalisées réunies dans un énoncé tel que *badanuka ka-matali ṣifatika wa-famuka bi-sa'ati ṣafatika* et, également, malgré la difficulté de commencer par une articulation quiescente, la plupart des dénominations des gens de l'Inde s'ouvrent par ce qui, si ce n'est une articulation quiescente, fait partie des [articulations] aux motions furtives (*wa-l-'arab lam taḡma' bayna sākinayn wa-'amkana dālika fī sā'ir al-luḡāt wa-hiya allatī sammāhā 'arūḍiyyū al-fārisiyya mutaḥarrikāt ḥafīfat al-ḥaraka fa-'inna mā ḡāwaza al-ṭalāṭa minhā yaṣ'ub 'alā al-qā'il bal yamtani' al-talaffuz bihā wa-lā tunqād inqiyād al-mutaḥarrikāt fī miṭl qawlinā badanuka ka-matali ṣifatika wa-famuka bi-sa'ati ṣafatika wa-'aydan fa-'alā ṣu'ūbat al-ibtidā' bi-l-sākin 'aktar 'asāmī al-hind muftataḥa bi-mā 'in laysa bi-sākin fa-huwa min al-ḥafiyyāt al-ḥarakāt*).

De deux choses l'une: ou une confusion s'est produite entre deux mots graphiquement et, dans le contexte, sémantiquement proches, ceux de *ḥafīf* (« léger ») et de *ḥafiyy* (« caché », que nous rendons par « furtif ») ; ou aucune confusion ne se produit et l'on remarquera alors que Bīrūnī emploie celui de *ḥafīf* pour parler du traitement de deux *ḥarf*-s *sākin* en métrique persane, mais celui de *ḥafiyy* pour parler de la voyelle d'une articulation indienne dont il prend soin de souligner: 1) qu'elle n'est pas à proprement parler quiescente, 2) sans pour

autant que sa voyelle soit identique aux voyelles brèves de l'arabe dans la phrase *badamuka ka-maṭali ṣifatika wa-famuka bi-sa'ati ṣafatika* (« ton corps est semblable à ta description et ta bouche a l'ampleur de ta lèvre »). Il y a donc une double comparaison. Le sens de la comparaison avec l'arabe me paraît être le suivant: en *scriptio defectiva*, la phrase apparaîtra comme une suite de mots ne comptant que des articulations consonantiques: *bdnk km̄l ṣftk wfmk bṣtk ṣftk*, donc une séquence aussi imprononçable que les clusters consonantiques de la « langue de l'Inde ». Sauf qu'en arabe, chaque consonne (*ḥarf*) est « mue » par une voyelle brève (*ḥaraka*) qui permet d'articuler la séquence sans difficulté. Ce n'est donc pas avec la voyelle brève de l'arabe, mais avec la voyelle « légère » de la métrique persane¹² qu'il faut comparer la voyelle « furtive » de la langue de l'Inde. Il n'y a donc pas de raison, comme le fait Sachau, de passer de la comparaison à l'identification, en superposant les deux phrases des p. 9 et 66 et en confondant « nos compagnons » et « voyelle furtive » employés dans la première avec « métriciens du persan » et « voyelle légère » employés dans la seconde. Si le terme de *ḥafiyy* est spécifique, il pourrait bien référer à deux situations¹³: celle de mots comme *tryambaka* (« qui a trois yeux »), dont la première syllabe, commençant par un groupe de trois consonnes est prononcé *tr^hyam-*, avec une voyelle furtive, ni notée, ni nommée, mais aussi aux sons notés par les indianistes *r*, *r̄* et *!*: « sommets de syllabe, *r* *!* sont prononcés *er* et *el* comme dans l'allemand *Vater*, *Engel* suivis d'un *i* à peine audible » (Gonda, 1966, p. 9-10). Ou encore (Varenne, 1979, p. 14) :

r est une voyelle qui, à l'origine, devait être prononcée comme le groupe *er* de l'anglais *preacher* ou de l'allemand *Vater*. Dans l'ouest de l'Inde, on la prononce *rou* (*r* roulé, ou très bref: *samskroutam*) ; à Bénarès on préfère un *r* suivi d'un *i* bref: *samskritam*. C'est cette dernière prononciation qui est le plus souvent adoptée (d'où le nom de sanskrit donné en français à la langue des brahmanes). Mêmes remarques à propos de *!* (*kḷpta-* « arrangé » se prononce *klipta*)¹⁴.

Mais c'est du *ḥarf* comme lettre qu'il est question dans la suite de (4) (« à peine si nos mains se laissent conduire dans l'écriture (*kitba*) pour les imiter (*ḥikāya*) »). La difficulté est

¹² Selon Garcin de Tassy (1873 : 232-233), on ajoute une voyelle brève : *sūkhṭ* est métriquement compté *sūkhṭī*.

¹³ Dont aucune n'est signalée par Sachau, qui se contente de citer des mots « indiens » commençant par deux ou trois consonnes (*dvi* « deux », *ḥyā* « corde de l'arc », *strī* « femme », *kshveḍa*), mais dont aucun ne s'articule avec une voyelle furtive...

¹⁴ C'est en fait le seul mot où apparaisse *!*. Ces sons, tout en étant classés pour des raisons phonologiques parmi les voyelles, n'en apparaissent pas moins aux oreilles profanes comme ayant une double dimension consonantique et vocalique.

double: elle tient au fait que l'écriture indienne n'est pas alphabétique, mais (semi)syllabique d'une part, le système d'écriture non unifié d'autre part. C'est la difficulté de l'écriture qui conduit Bīrūnī à l'idée d'une transcription. Une telle idée n'est pas surprenante pour un Iranien. Un siècle et demi après la conquête islamique, le persan a commencé d'être noté en caractères arabes, la non-coïncidence des systèmes phonologiques des deux langues conduisant à un certain nombre d'innovations graphiques.

La dernière phrase de (4) a fait couler beaucoup d'encre à Sachau (1910: II, 258-260). Celui-ci examine plusieurs interprétations. D'abord celle d'« arabisation »: *'i'rāb mašhūr* (« arabisation connue ») désignerait alors une arabisation d'un mot d'origine indienne antérieure à l'ouvrage et *'i'rāb ma'mūl* une arabisation inventée pour les besoins de l'ouvrage. Sachau donne l'exemple du sanskrit *dvīpa* (« île ») apparaissant sous les deux formes *dīb* (relevant de la première) et *dbīp* (relevant de la seconde)¹⁵, mais note que si tel était le cas, la première classe serait aussi restreinte que la seconde étendue. Mais il ne note pas l'essentiel, à savoir qu'en ce sens, l'arabe n'emploierait pas *'i'rāb*, mais *ta'rīb*, c'est-à-dire la forme II et non la forme IV. Ensuite, celle de « flexion désinentielle » et, plus particulièrement, s'agissant de noms, déclinaison: *'i'rāb mašhūr* désignerait alors une déclinaison utilisée dans la langue de l'Inde et reproduite dans la transcription des mots indiens, e. g. *gītā* (« champ ») et *revatī* (nom propre) et *'i'rāb ma'mūl* la déclinaison arabisée des mots indiens, e. g. *lanku*, *gawru* et *bindu* = sanskrit *lankhā*, *gawrī* (« jaune ») et *vindhya* (chaîne de montagnes). Mais il ajoute que si l'on interprète ce *-u* comme le nominatif d'un mot arabe diptote, on devrait trouver *-a* à l'accusatif-génitif, ce qu'on ne trouve pas dans le manuscrit. Aussi préfère-t-il interpréter ce *-u* comme un nominatif « indien », reflet du *ō* du prākṛit, subsistant en sindhi. Curieusement, Sachau n'envisage pas que *'i'rāb mašhūr* et *'i'rāb ma'mūl* puissent désigner la déclinaison connue en arabe et celle inventée pour les besoins de la cause, du fait qu'il y a plus de cas en sanskrit qu'en arabe classique (huit contre trois, voire deux) et que les désinences casuelles ne coïncident pas: l'arabe utilise les trois voyelles brèves *u*, *a* et *i*, les deux voyelles longues *ū* et *ī* (aux cas sujet et régime du masculin pluriel), la voyelle longue *ā* et la diphtongue *ay* (aux cas sujet et régime du duel); le sanskrit utilise certaines de ces voyelles brèves et longues, ainsi que la diphtongue *aw*, mais aussi des désinences de forme C, VC, CV et CVC. S'il ne le fait pas, c'est sans doute parce que les mots transcrits de la « langue de l'Inde » n'apparaissent pas sous des formes variables en

¹⁵ *Dīb* est l'arabisation ancienne de *dvīpa* que l'on trouve dans le nom de Ceylan, *Sarandīb*, Bīrūnī donnant celui de *Salankaḍīp* (non *-dbīp*).

finale, mais en fait figés à un cas, généralement le nominatif¹⁶, qui (et sur ce point Sachau a sûrement raison) peut être celui du prâkrit (moyen-indien pour la linguistique historique qui est celle de Sachau).

Enfin Sachau note que dans la phrase sur la transcription, la première partie *bi-tağyīr al-muqaṭ wa-l-‘alāmāt* concerne les consonnes (et peut-être les *Lesezeichen* « signes de lecture ») et la seconde *wa-taqyīdihā bi-‘i‘rāb immā mašhūr wa-‘immā ma‘mūl* devrait concerner les voyelles, mais que *‘i‘rāb* ne signifie pas vocalisation, mais seulement vocalisation de la consonne finale du mot. C’est pourquoi il substitue à sa traduction initiale (1910: I, 18: « and (we) must pronounce the case-endings either according to the common Arabic rules or according to special rules adapted for the purpose ») une traduction nouvelle: « and must secure its correct pronunciation by such a process of Arabizing as is either already in general use or is carried out (or invented) for the purpose ». En somme, Sachau croise les deux interprétations qu’il a proposées de *‘i‘rāb*: « arabisation », mais limitée à la finale des mots... Outre, une fois encore, que *‘i‘rāb* n’est pas *ta‘rīb*, Sachau semble ignorer qu’en persan même *‘i‘rāb* a deux sens: le même sens qu’en arabe, c’est-à-dire celui de flexion désinentielle, si, en persan, on parle de l’arabe, mais aussi le sens général de vocalisation, si, en persan, on parle du persan: c’est le fait qu’en arabe les marques du *‘i‘rāb* sont au premier chef les voyelles qui fait le lien entre les deux sens. C’est, me semble-t-il, l’interprétation la plus simple et la plus cohérente dans le contexte. De quoi s’agit-il, en effet? De transcrire une langue qui compte plus de phonèmes (48, dont 35 consonnes et 13 voyelles en sanskrit classique) que l’arabe (36, dont 28 consonnes et 8 voyelles en arabe classique) et le persan (28, dont 22 consonnes et 6 voyelles) dans un système graphique défectif, en ce qu’il note essentiellement les consonnes: il faut donc « ruser » (*iḥtiyāl*, qui se rattache à *hīla* et non à *ḥāla-yahūlu*) de deux manières: en changeant les points diacritiques et les signes pour les consonnes (l’arabe *muqṭa* désignant précisément un point, *‘alāma* désignera un signe autre qu’un point, par exemple la barre parallèle à celle du *kāf* que l’on ajoute pour noter le *g* du persan) et en les « restreignant » (*taqyīd*)¹⁷ par une vocalisation, soit récupérée (les deux langues ont les trois timbres fondamentaux *a*, *i*, *u* et les deux quantités, brève et longue), soit inventée pour les

¹⁶ C’est le cas où le nom est cité par les grammairiens indiens.

¹⁷ Le terme est bien choisi, tant d’un point de vue phonique que graphique. Comme le rappelle son nom dans nos langues, une consonne ne peut se prononcer sans le secours d’une voyelle. Dans la *scriptio defectiva* arabe, on ne note que la consonne, la voyelle brève étant ajoutée dans la *scriptio plena* sous formes de petites barres, soit suscrites, soit souscrites. Dans la graphie indienne, la voyelle par défaut de la consonne est *a* et l’on ajoute un signe pour les autres voyelles.

besoins de la cause. C'est exactement ce que fait l'ourdou, l'héritier direct de cette « langue de l'Inde » notée en caractères arabes, en utilisant le *yā'* sans points pour noter le *i* en finale, mais, en le retournant, le *e*.

2.3.4. Transmission orale et écrite du savoir

La transmission orale du savoir et ce qui va avec – apprentissage par cœur (*ḥifẓ*) et poésie didactique (*naẓm*) censée faciliter la mémorisation – n'est nullement une spécificité indienne et se retrouve ailleurs, notamment dans l'islam médiéval. Tout au plus est-elle plus systématique dans le domaine indien. Deux points méritent d'être relevés. Le rapprochement de (5) et (7) suggère une corrélation entre la préférence accordée à la transmission orale sur la transmission écrite et la négligence dont celle-ci ferait l'objet: en fait, les deux types de transmission comportent leur part de déformation. La critique radicale que Bīrūnī fait de la poésie didactique, renouvelée au chapitre XIII (Sachau 1887: 65-66 et éd. ind. 1958: 105-106 pour le texte, Sachau 1910: I, 136-137 et Monteil 1996: 149 pour la traduction), ne doit pas masquer que, dans la tradition indienne, tout comme dans la tradition arabe, les traités en vers sont en fait le prétexte à des commentaires en prose. Il faut donc relativiser ce que dit Bīrūnī et y voir la réaction d'un homme appartenant plus au monde de l'écrit qu'à celui de l'oral, attaché, comme savant, à une écriture univoque.

Conclusion

La langue n'est pas envisagée en elle-même ni pour elle-même, mais comme obstacle à l'appréhension des réalités indiennes. Quatre difficultés sont recensées: lexicale, avec à la fois profusion et équivocité, dualité linguistique, phonétique et écriture, transmission orale préférée à la transmission écrite. A deux reprises (lexicale et phonétique), Bīrūnī fait une comparaison explicite avec l'arabe et, une fois (phonétique), avec le persan. Mais il emploie aussi des mots spécifiques qui impliquent une comparaison avec l'arabe et/ou le persan. On peut donc dire qu'il traite de la « langue de l'Inde », tout en louchant sur d'autres langues. Bīrūnī, natif du Kwarezm, avait pour langue maternelle un dialecte iranien; il parlait le persan, qu'il écrivait aussi occasionnellement; il écrivait habituellement l'arabe. Il était donc au minimum bilingue, ayant en outre une expérience directe de la variation linguistique dans le domaine iranien et sans doute indirecte dans le domaine arabe (où il ne semble pas avoir mis les pieds). Si la situation linguistique des domaines iranien et arabe inspire en quelque

manière sa description de la situation linguistique du domaine indien, on peut alors dire inversement que celle-ci reflète en quelque manière celles-là: qui ne voit alors le prix de la notation (3), posant tout à la fois une situation de dualité linguistique et une corrélation de type sociolinguistique, spécialement pour l'arabe, où une telle description ne se rencontre jamais, à tout le moins jamais de manière aussi explicite?

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Annexe: Texte et traduction

1. يجب أن نتصوّر أمام مقصودنا الأحوال التي لها يتعدّر استشفاف أمور الهند، فإمّا أن يسهل بمعرفتها الأمر وإمّا أن يتمهّد له العذر، وهو أنّ القطيعة تخفي ما تبديه الوصلة، ولها فيما بيننا أسباب: منها أنّ القوم يباينوننا بجميع ما يشترك فيه الأمم،

2. وأولها اللغة وإن تباينت الأمم بمثلها ومتى رامها أحدٌ لازالة المباينة لم يسهل ذلك لأنها في ذاتها طويلة عريضة تشابه العربية يتسمى الشيء الواحد فيها بعدة أسماءٍ مقتضبة ومشتقة، وبوقوع الاسم الواحد على عدة مسميات محوجة في المقاصد إلى زيادة صفات إذ لا يفرق بينها إلا ذو فطنة لموضع الكلام وقياس المعنى إلى الوراء والأمام، ويفتخرون بذلك افتخار غيرهم به من حيث هو بالحقيقة عيب في اللغة ؛

3. ثم هي منقسمة إلى مبتدل لا ينتفع به إلا السوقه، وإلى مصون فصيح يتعلق بالتصارييف والاشتقاق ودقائق النحو والبلاغة لا يرجع إليه غير الفضلاء المهرة ؛

4. ثم هي مركبة من حروف لا يطابق بعضها حروف العربية والفارسية ولا تشابهها بل لا تكاد السنننا ولهواتنا تنقاد لإخراجها على حقيقة مخارجها ولا آذاننا تسمع بتمييزها من نظائرها وأشباهها ولا أيدينا في الكتابة لحكايتها، فيتعدّر بذلك إثبات شيء من لغتهم بخطنا لما نضطرّ إليه من الاحتيال لضبطها بتغيير النقط والعلامات وتقييدها بأعراب إمّا مشهور وإمّا معمول ؛

5. هذا مع عدم اهتمام الناسخين لها وقلة اكرائهم بالتصحيح والمعارضة حتى يضيع الاجتهاد ويفسد الكتاب في نقل له أو نقلين ويصير ما فيه لغة جديدة لا يهتدي لها داخل أو خارج من كلتا الأمتين،

6. ويكفيك معرفاً أنا ربّما تلقفنا من أفواههم اسما واجتهدنا في التوثقة منه فإذا أعدناه عليهم لم يكادوا يعرفونه إلا بجهد ؛ ويجتمع في لغتهم كما يجتمع في سائر لغات العجم حرفان ساكنان وثلاثة وهي التي يسميها أصحابنا متحرّكات بحركة خفية، ويصعب علينا التقوّه بأكثر كلماتها وأسمائها لافتتاحها بالسواكن ؛

7. وكُنُتْهم في العلوم مع ذلك منظومة بأنواع من الوزن في ذوقهم قد قصدوا بذلك انحفاظها على حالها وتقديرها وسرعة ظهور الفساد فيها عند وقوع الزيادة والنقصان ليسهل حفظها فإنّ تعويلهم عليه دون المكتوب، ومعلوم أنّ النظم لا يخلو من شوب التكلف لتسوية الوزن وتصحيح الانكسار وجبر النقصان، ويحوج إلى تكثير العبارات، وهو أحد أسباب تقلقل الأسماء في مسمياتها ؛ فهذا من الأسباب التي تُعَسِّرُ الوقوف على ما عندهم.

1. Il faut que nous nous représentions, devant l'objectif qui est le nôtre, l'état des choses pour lequel il est difficile de se rendre transparente la nature de l'Inde, soit que la chose devienne facile de par leur connaissance, soit que la difficulté soit aplanie pour ce faire, à savoir que la séparation dissimule ce que la réunion révèle. A cela, il y a, entre nous, plusieurs

causes, parmi lesquelles le fait que le peuple [de l'Inde] se distingue de nous par tout ce qu'il y a de commun aux communautés.

2. La première est la langue, même si les communautés se distinguent ainsi les unes des autres. Quand quelqu'un veut faire disparaître cette mutuelle distinction, cela n'est pas facile, parce qu'elle est, en elle-même, fort ample, ressemblant à l'arabe: la même chose y est nommée de plusieurs noms, élémentaires ou dérivés ; le même nom s'emploie pour plusieurs choses, mettant dans le besoin, en ce qui concerne les objets visés, d'ajouter des qualificatifs: en effet ne peut distinguer entre eux que quelqu'un d'attentif au contexte et au rapport du sens avec ce qui précède et ce qui suit. Ils se font gloire de cela, comme s'en font gloire d'autres qu'eux, là où, en réalité, c'est un défaut dans la langue.

3. Ensuite, elle est divisée en une [variété] utilisée dans le quotidien, dont ne tire profit que le peuple et une [variété] préservée et châtiée, sujette aux flexions et à la dérivation, à une syntaxe et une rhétorique minutieuses, à laquelle ne se réfèrent que les gens supérieurs et habiles [dans les arts et sciences].

4. Ensuite, elle est composée d'articulations, dont certaines ne correspondent pas à celles de l'arabe et du persan ni ne leur ressemblent. Pis: à peine si nos langues et nos lettres se laissent conduire pour les émettre au point exact de leur émission, si nos oreilles entendent leur différence d'avec leurs correspondantes et semblables, si nos mains [se laissent conduire] dans l'écriture pour les imiter. Aussi est-il difficile de fixer quelque chose de leur langue dans notre écriture, du fait des stratagèmes auxquels nous sommes contraints pour l'y mettre, en changeant les points diacritiques et les signes et de la restreindre par une vocalisation, soit habituelle, soit fabriquée.

5. A cela s'ajoutent l'absence d'intérêt des copistes pour elle et le peu d'attention qu'ils portent à la correction et à la collation, au point que l'effort personnel se fait en pure perte, que l'ouvrage se corrompt, quand on le copie une ou deux fois, et que son contenu devient une nouvelle langue, dont aucun membre, interne ou externe, de chacune des deux communautés ne vient à bout.

6. Il te suffira, pour faire connaître [cette situation], de ceci: parfois, nous happions, sortant de leur bouche, un nom et nous nous efforçons d'en avoir confirmation, mais quand nous le leur répétons, c'est à peine s'ils le reconnaissent, sinon avec effort. Se trouvent ensemble, dans leur langue, comme dans toutes les autres langues des non-Arabes, deux

articulations quiescentes et [même] trois et ce sont celles que nos compagnons appellent mues au moyen d'une motion furtive et il nous est difficile de prononcer la plupart de leurs mots (verbes?)¹⁸ et de leurs noms du fait qu'ils commencent par des [articulations] quiescentes.

7. Avec cela, leurs ouvrages scientifiques sont versifiés, selon différents mètres, à leur goût : ils avaient en vue qu'ils soient conservés en l'état, de les valoriser, [d'éviter] la corruption qui y apparaît rapidement, du fait de la survenue d'ajouts et de lacunes. [La versification a] pour but de rendre aisé l'apprentissage par coeur. En effet, ils s'en remettent à cela, non à l'écrit. Mais il est bien connu que la versification se mêle inévitablement d'efforts laborieux, pour égaliser la mesure, corriger la rupture, réduire le manque, mettant dans le besoin de multiplier les expressions, et c'est l'une des causes de la confusion des dénominations s'agissant des objets dénommés: cela fait partie des causes qui rendent difficile de prendre connaissance de leur patrimoine.

¹⁸ *Kalima* étant, dans la tradition arabe, dans la relation de genre à espèce, peut-être faut-il l'entendre ici au sens « philosophique » de verbe.

NUQABĀ' - HISTOIRE POLITIQUE, ENSEIGNEMENTS - ŠŪFĪ ET IMAGINAIRE APOCALYPTIQUE AU DÉBUT DE LA DYNASTIE DES ABBASSIDES

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Abstract. During the history of early Islam, the transition from the dynasty of the Umayyads or Banū Umayya (661-750) to the dynasty of the Abbassids, Banū l-'Abbās or Al-'Abbāsīyūn (750-1258), had been motivated by the passage of the caliphate, within the Quraysh tribe, from the clan of Umayya bin 'Abd Shams (5th-6th centuries) to Prophet Muḥammad's own clan, in the family of the descendants of 'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (ca. 566-653). According to the testimony of Muḥammad bin Ğarīr bin Yazīd al-Imām Abū Ğa'far al-Ṭabarī (839-923), an essential event of the beginning and development of the Abbassids' revolution (*da'wa* or *dawla*) had been the appointment of the twelve *nuqabā'*, "apostles" or "leaders" from Marw, in Khurāsān, by the "hidden *imām*" Muḥammad bin 'Alī (d. 743). From a political and religious perspective, the historical ideal of the overturn of the Umayyads' dynasty and the foundation of the Abbassids' dynasty had been situated in the apocalyptic context of the year 100 h. (719 A.D.). The aim to recall the identification of the Muslim community (*umma*) to the Prophet's mission (*da'watu l-rasūl*) and to the pure message of early Islam (*da'wat al-islām*) constituted the revolutionary substratum of the renewal (*tağdīd*) foreshadowed by the accomplishment of the historical cycle described by the wheel of the world's destiny (*al-dunyā duwal*).

Keywords: Umayyads' dynasty, Abbassids' dynasty, Abbassids' revolution, *da'wa*, *dawla*, *nuqabā'*, Sufism

Dans l'histoire de l'islam naissant, la transition de la dynastie des Umayyades ou *Banū Umayya* (661-750) vers la dynastie des Abbassides, *Banū l-'Abbās* ou *Al-'Abbāsīyūn* (750-1258), a été motivée par le passage du califat, dans le cadre de la tribu de *Qurayš*, du clan d'Umayya bin 'Abd Šams (les V^e-VI^e siècles)¹ au clan du Prophète Muḥammad, dans la famille des descendants d'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (vers 566-653)². Conformément au témoignage de Muḥammad bin Ğarīr bin Yazīd al-'Imām Abū Ğa'far al-Ṭabarī (839-923)³, un événement essentiel pour le déclenchement et le déroulement de la révolution des Abbassides

¹ Si son existence légendaire se fonde sur une existence historique, Umayya Ibn 'Abd Šams a été le cousin germain de Šayba bin Hāšim ou 'Abd Al-Muṭṭalib (vers 497-578), le grand-père du Prophète Muḥammad, du côté paternel.

² Le plus jeune des oncles du Prophète Muḥammad, du côté paternel.

³ Historien, théologien et commentateur du *Qur'ān*, d'origine persane, né à Āmul, en Ṭabaristān, éduqué en 'Irāq, dans les écoles de Bağdād, Bašra, Kūfa et Wāsīt.

(*da'wa*⁴ ou *dawla*⁵)⁶ a été l'investiture des douze *muqabā'*, « apôtres » ou « dirigeants » de Marw, en Ḥurāsān, par l'« *imām* caché » Muḥammad bin 'Alī (m. 743)⁷.

Dans la perspective politique-religieuse, l'idéal historique qui visait le renversement de la dynastie des Umayyades et l'instauration de la dynastie des Abbassides a été situé dans le contexte apocalyptique de l'année 100 h., 719 A. D. La réidentification de la communauté musulmane (*umma*) avec la mission du Prophète (*da'watu l-rasūl*) et le message pur de l'islam primordial (*da'watu l-'islām*) a constitué le substrat révolutionnaire du renouvellement (*tağdīd*) présagé par l'accomplissement d'un cycle historique décrit par la roue du destin du monde (*al-dunyā duwal*)⁸: « En cette même année, l'an 100 après la *Hiğra*, Muḥammad Bin 'Alī Bin 'Abdallāh Bin 'Abbās, le père d'Abū al-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ⁹, a envoyé Maysara en 'Irāq, pour appeler le peuple à lui prêter serment. Il donna la même mission à quelques membres de la famille d'Abbās, à savoir: Muḥammad bin Ḥunays, Abū 'Ikrima al-Sarrāğ, qui est Abū Muḥammad al-Şādiq, et Ḥayyān al-'Atṭār, oncle d'Ibrāhīm, père de Salama, qui devaient faire de la propagande dans la province du Ḥurāsān, gouvernée alors par Ğarrāl bin 'Abdullāh. Ces personnages résidèrent pendant un certain temps dans cette province, et envoyèrent à Muḥammad bin 'Alī les noms de tous ceux qu'ils avaient pu gagner à la cause des *Banū l-'Abbās* et qui avaient prêté serment. Ensuite Abū Muḥammad al-Şādiq choisit douze personnes pour être les représentants de Muḥammad bin 'Alī, à savoir: Sulaymān bin Katīr al-Ḥuzā'i, Lāhiz bin Qurayz al-Tamīmi, Qaḥṭaba bin Şabīb al-Ṭā'ī, Mūsā bin Ka'b, Ḥalīd bin Ibrāhīm, Qāsim bin Muğāşī, 'Imrān bin Ismā'īl, Abū l-Nağm, Mālik bin al-Haītam al-Ḥuzā'i, Ṭalḥa bin Zurayk, 'Amr bin A'yan, Abū 'Alī al-Harawī de Hérat et 'Īsā bin A'yan.

⁴ Mot polysémique fondé sur une racine de la langue arabe dont le sens est « convoquer », « inviter », « faire un appel pour » ou « prêcher ». Dans ce contexte, Elton Daniel a opté pour le sens de « mission » qui vise un but politique ou religieux. (Daniel 1979 : 29-60, 62, n. 18.)

⁵ Mot polysémique dont le sens primaire en arabe archaïque est « changement », « tournure des choses ». Par extrapolation, il a inclus les notions d'« État », « dynastie », « empire ». (Daniel 1979 : 62, n. 18.)

⁶ Dans le cadre de l'historiographie musulmane médiévale, *da'wa* et *dawla* sont devenus des termes emblématiques pour la révolution des Abbassides. (Kennedy 1981 : 42-43.)

⁷ Fils d'Alī bin 'Abd Allāh et petit-fils d'Abd Allāh bin 'Abbās, cousin du Prophète Muḥammad et de l'*imām* 'Alī, Muḥammad bin 'Alī a revendiqué le droit à l'imāmat dans le parti théocratique-politique des Šī'ites et a dirigé de sa résidence de Ḥumayma, un village situé au sud de la Mer Morte, la propagande secrète qui a eu comme but le renversement de la dynastie des Umayyades et l'instauration de la dynastie des Abbassides. Son fils, Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad bin 'Alī (m. 749), lui a succédé. (Wellhausen 1927 : 501, n. 1.)

⁸ (Sharon 1983 : 20-24 ; Sharon 1990 : 19-20.)

⁹ Fils de l'*imām* Muḥammad bin 'Alī et frère de l'*imām* Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad bin 'Alī, Abū l-'Abbās Al-Saffāḥ (v. 721-754 ; r. 750-754) a été le premier Calife de la dynastie des Abbassides.

Muḥammad bin ‘Alī leur adressa une lettre, qui devait servir de charte et de loi pour être adoptées par les nouveaux adhérents¹⁰. » La liste des douze *muqabā’*, composée par des Arabes musulmans et des *mawālī* ou clients d’origine persane des tribus arabes, convertis à l’islam, prouve le fait que le droit à la citoyenneté dans l’État prédit par les Abbassides comme manifestation de la volonté et du pouvoir d’*Allāh* n’était pas conféré par l’appartenance à l’ethnie arabe, mais par l’adhésion à la foi et aux principes de l’islam¹¹. En ce sens, la *da‘wa* s’est constituée comme une stratégie de reconstruction du régime théocratique et politique de l’espace islamique pour réintégrer le califat et ses sujets dans l’*umma*, sous la direction de la famille du Prophète Muḥammad¹². La dynamique historique du Ḥurāsān des VIII^e-IX^e siècles est définie par une double assimilation politique et

¹⁰ (Al-Ṭabarī 1867-1874 : IV, 247-248.) Selon ce que Patricia Crone a remarqué, la tradition historiographique musulmane, à la différence de la tradition historiographique biblique, « n’a pas été le résultat d’une lente cristallisation, mais d’une explosion ». Les premiers compilateurs musulmans de narrations historiques (Abū Miḥnaf, Sayf bin ‘Umar, ‘Awāna, Ibn Ishāq, Ibn al-Kalbī) n’ont pas rédigé des chroniques sur les événements mythiques ou historiques, tels les scribes bibliques, mais ont collectionné les fragments disparates d’un passé tribal perdu dans la plus grande partie. Sur la texture entropique de ces sources archaïques se fonde, en commençant par le VIII^e siècle, le processus d’organisation des traditions historiques, dont l’apogée sera atteint par les ouvrages classiques des IX^e-X^e siècles (par exemple, Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīḥ*) qui seront reconnus comme *sunna*. La dimension prosopographique de l’historiographie musulmane, dans le sens de la polarisation de l’écriture ou de la réécriture de l’histoire sur les témoignages textuels concernant les personnes qui ont détenu le pouvoir politique-théocratique, justifie la démarche méthodologique de confirmation des sources historiques musulmanes par des sources historiques rédigées en dehors de l’espace religieux et historique musulman, par les informations fournies par l’épigraphie, la papyrologie et la numismatique. (Crone 2003 : 3-17.) Tayeb El-Hibri a mis en relief la structure littéraire des sources musulmanes qui traitent sur l’histoire des califes. Les connexions thématiques, stylistiques et narratives entre les chroniques classiques rédigées aux IX^e-X^e siècles suggèrent l’existence d’une « ambiance unitaire de la composition narrative », qui a précédé la démarche historiographique. Le dialogue entre les différentes couches des narrations historiques ou l’exigence rhétorique de la répétitivité prouvent que le message se retrouve dans « la structure codifiée du symbolisme, de la symétrie et de l’intertextualité ». Cette stratégie narrative était en mesure à libérer les significations religieuses et philosophiques contenues dans le temps historique, à exprimer la relation entre la morale et la politique, à explorer l’espace invisible, infini, du destin et du jugement divin. Dans cette perspective, les événements historiques deviennent compréhensibles seulement s’ils sont encadrés dans un plan divin et un plan moral, et l’action historique, le discours humain et la réalité onirique manifestent des cycles de la tentation, de la chute et du salut dans la texture théocratique et ontologique du temps historique. Dans ce paysage historiographique intensément conceptualisé, le profil intellectuel-religieux des auteurs est mis en évidence par le choix des thèmes littéraires et de la technique narrative. Par exemple, les narrations historiques rédigées dans la période du califat abbasside se définissent par « la fondation rigoureuse dans le vocabulaire qur’ānique, mais ce vocabulaire interagit fréquemment avec un vocabulaire moral qui dérive de la tradition politique persane et des traditions gnostiques ». (El-Hibri 2004 : 216-220.)

¹¹ (Wellhausen 1927 : 515 ; Daniel 1979 : 33-36.)

¹² (Kennedy 2004 : 125-126.)

religieuse: d'une part l'intégration des membres des tribus arabes¹³ qui ont colonisé la région de la ville de Marw dans l'entier de la communauté musulmane, identifiée avec l'État arabe impérial, et d'autre part l'homogénéisation entre la communauté des Musulmans d'origine arabe et la communauté des Musulmans d'origine persane¹⁴. Parallèlement aux douze *muqabā'*, Abū 'Ikrima a choisi vingt adjoints nommés *muzarā'u l-muqabā'*, dans le but d'avoir un échelon second au cas où la mort, l'emprisonnement ou le retraitement de la conspiration auraient imposé le remplacement des dirigeants situés au premier degré de la hiérarchie exécutive. Cinquante-huit *du'āt*¹⁵ et trente-six *du'ātu l-du'āt*, missionnaires ou propagandistes, étaient subordonnés aux douze *muqabā'*, de sorte qu'un effort concerté puisse soutenir l'accomplissement de l'idéal messianique-militaire formulé par la société secrète des révolutionnaires pro-Abbassides¹⁶.

Le symbolisme des chiffres douze et soixante-dix-sept (douze plus cinquante-huit), sur lequel se fonde l'histoire de la *da'wa* dans le Ḥurāsān, exprime l'identification des *imāms* Muḥammad bin 'Alī et Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad avec le paradigme prophétique définitoire pour les religions abrahamiques, hypostasié par Moïse, Christ et Muḥammad¹⁷. *Da'wa* est un concept essentiel tant pour l'histoire politique des Abbassides (les VIII^e-XIII^e siècles) que pour la théologie mystique, d'inspiration gnostique-bardesanite¹⁸, prêchée par l'*ismā'īliyya* ou

¹³ *Tamīm* et *Qays 'Aylān* de la Confédération *Muḍar*; *Rabī'a* (*Bakr Ibn Wā'il*, *'Abd Al-Qays*, *Šaybān*) et *Azd 'Umān* (*Huzā'a*) de l'Alliance *Yaman*. (Wellhausen 1927 : 397-491; Sharon 1983 : 51-71; Sharon 1990 : 25-48.)

¹⁴ (Shaban 1970 : 51-52, 95-97.)

¹⁵ Quarante à Marw, sept à Abīward, six à Nasā, deux à Balḥ, un à Marw al-rūd, un à Ḥuwārizm et un à Āmul.

¹⁶ (Al-Dūrī, Al-Muṭṭalibī 1971 : 213-223, source citée par Daniel 1979 : 32-33, 64, n. 34, n. 36-37 et Sharon 1983 : 191-196; Shaban 1970 : 151-152; Kennedy 1981 : 42-45, 78; Hawting 2000 : 114.)

¹⁷ Pour les citations et les appellations bibliques-évangéliques, nous avons utilisé l'édition : *La Bible. Traduction œcuménique de la Bible (T. O. B.) comprenant l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament*, Paris : Alliance Biblique Universelle – Le Cerf, 2010. *Exode*, 24, 1 : « Il avait dit à Moïse : Monte vers le Seigneur, toi, Aaron, Nadav et Avihou, ainsi que soixante-dix des anciens d'Israël, et vous vous prosternerez de loin. »; *Évangile de Matthieu*, 10, 1 : « Ayant fait venir ses douze disciples, Jésus leur donna autorité sur les esprits impurs, pour qu'ils les chassent et qu'ils guérissent toute maladie et toute infirmité. » Pour les citations et les appellations *ḵur'āniyyes*, nous avons utilisé l'édition : Arthur J. Arberry (trad.), *The Quran Interpreted*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991. (*Qur'ān*, V, v. 15, Arberry 1991 : 101) « *Allāh* a fait une alliance avec les fils d'Israël. Et nous avons élevé parmi eux douze commandants. »; (*Qur'ān*, VII, v. 153-154, Arberry 1991 : 161) « Et Moïse a choisi soixante-dix hommes de son peuple pour le temps de sa rencontre avec Nous. »

¹⁸ Ibn Al-Nadīm mentionne l'appartenance de Maymūn Ibn Al-Aswad Al-Qaddāh et de son fils 'Abd Allāh Ibn Maymūn à la secte des Bardesanites (*dayṣānīyūn*), fondée par Bardaisān d'Edesse ou Ibn Dayṣān (154-222), penseur syncrétique d'origine parthe : « Maymūn et son fils ont été des Bardesanites (*dayṣānīyūn*) et 'Abd Allāh,

la communauté des Šī'ites ismaéliens (les IX^e-XV^e siècles)¹⁹. Dans l'histoire de l'*ismā'īliyya*, la *da'wa* terrestre s'est identifiée, dans la période pré-fātimide, avec la conspiration anti-abbasside organisée à Salamiyya, en Syrie, par Maymūn bin al-Aswad al-Qaddāh (m. vers 770-790)²⁰ et son fils 'Abd Allāh bin Maymūn (m. vers 780-800)²¹. Les sept niveaux (*balāḡāt*) de l'initiation dans les doctrines (*maḍāhib*) de la communauté *maymūniyya-ismā'īliyya* ont constitué le noyau idéologique de l'évolution de la propagande politique-religieuse anti-abbasside vers la *da'wa* céleste ou la gnose de l'ismaélisme fātimide²²: la *da'wa* ou « convocation » terrestre pour le *tawḥīd*²³ ésotérique a comme archétype une *da'wa* céleste par l'intermédiaire de laquelle la Première Intelligence « a appelé », avant le commencement du temps, les « formes de lumière » qui composent le '*ālamu l-'ibdā'* ou '*ālamu l-'amr*, le « Pléroma des archanges »²⁴. La croyance prêchée par l'*ismā'īliyya* affirme que le monde ne peut pas exister sans « une preuve » (*ḥuḡḡa*) d'*Allāh*, réalité théophanique constituée par « celui qui parle » (*nāṭiq*) et « celui qui se tait » (*ṣāmī*), un prophète (*nabī*) et un *imām* ou gardien (*walī*), qui a pour mission d'administrer l'héritage (*waṣīyya*) du prophète. Simultanément avec le *ḥuḡḡat*, dans l'espace terrestre habitent toujours douze dirigeants (*naqīb*), en tant qu'élite de ceux qui ont adhéré au témoignage sur la divinité²⁵.

Dans le milieu religieux des communautés *Šūfī* des IX^e-X^e siècles, le principe théocratique détermine la hiérarchisation des êtres humains en fonction de la hiérarchie des grâces sanctificatrices que répand l'omnipotence divine dans l'univers matériel, de sorte que l'habitation de ces grâces dans l'espace du vivant humain rende actuel dans chaque génération un nombre fixe de personnes accomplies, douées de la grâce de la sainteté. Sur cette ontologie

le fils, a propagé pendant une assez longue période la doctrine *ismā'īlī* comme prophète. » (Ibn Al-Nadīm 1998 : 463.)

¹⁹ L'ismaélisme septimanien, en tant que branche du šī'isme, a été créé en 765, après la mort du septième *imām*, Ġa'far al-Šādiq, dans les conditions où son fils, Ismā'īl bin Ġa'far, ne lui a pas survécu. Un schisme irréconciliable a divisé les Šī'ites ismaéliens, qui ont considéré que l'*imāma* doit passer à Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl, le petit-fils de Ġa'far al-Šādiq, et les Šī'ites duodécimains, qui ont accepté la décision de Ġa'far al-Šādiq d'investir avec l'*imāma* Mūsā al-Kāzīm (« celui qui maîtrise sa colère »), le frère d'Ismā'īl. Parmi les promoteurs de la doctrine ismaélienne on a compté Ḥamdān Qarmat et 'Abdān à Kūfa, mais aussi Ḥalaf à Rayy, pendant les années 877-878. L'École orientale de Perse (d'Alamūt) et l'École occidentale d'Égypte et Yémen ont fleuri aux X^e-XV^e siècles. (Madelung 1997 : 198-206.)

²⁰ (Madelung 1991 : 917.)

²¹ (Stern 1986 : 48.)

²² (Ibn Al-Nadīm 1998 : 462-473.)

²³ Le principe de l'unicité d'*Allāh*.

²⁴ (Corbin 1964 : I, 110-115, 124.)

²⁵ (ṬabāṬabā'ī 1975 : 78-79.)

théandrique se fonde le thème des saints apotropaiques, *'abdāl*, dont les présences successives dans le temps historique constituent les pilliers sur lesquels s'appuie le monde²⁶. À l'intérieur de la hiérarchie de la sainteté cachée, au dessous du niveau des quarante *'abdāl* se trouvent trois cents *muqabā'* et soixante-dix *muğabā*, et au-dessus se situent sept *'umanā* (ou *'abrār*, *'awtād*, *'ahyār*), quatre ou trois *'amūd* (ou *atāfi*) et un pôle « spirituel », *quṭb* (ou *ğawt*). Celui-ci connaît chaque degré de la hiérarchie, mais les membres de la hiérarchie ne le connaissent pas²⁷. Dans le *Kitābu l-saḥā* ou *Livre de la générosité*, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (m. 894) a transmis la doctrine sur les *'abdāl* comme un *ḥadīṭ* reçu de la part de Ḥasan Baṣrī et Ṣāliḥ Morrī. Son témoignage fait l'éloge des vertus abrahamiques dans lesquelles les *'abdāl* excellent: la sincérité de l'ascèse, la paix du cœur, l'identification fraternelle avec tous les Musulmans²⁸. Dans la société musulmane des VIII^e-X^e siècles, la présence du terme *muqabā'* comme dénominateur commun entre l'espace politique de la révolution des Abbassides et l'espace théologique du soufisme est remarquable. Situées à des niveaux ontologiques sécants, la hiérarchie politique du *da'wa* et la hiérarchie de la sainteté cachée ont été organisées autour d'un centre occulté, représenté par l'*imām* ou le *quṭb*.

Les circonstances historiques violentes de la période de transition entre la dynastie des Umayyades et la dynastie des Abbassides ont transformé en martyrs certains des douze *muqabā'* mentionnés par Al-Ṭabarī, dans le cadre d'un nouveau paradigme politique, fondé sur la dynamique de la relation *imām* – *wazīr* ou autorité sacrée – autorité séculaire, établie entre Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad et Abū Muslim (vers 718-755)²⁹, surnommé le *ṣāhibu l-dawlah*, « maître du changement »³⁰. Par exemple, Sulaymān bin Kaṭīr (m. 749), le dirigeant du parti *Hāšimiyya* et de l'entier réseau pro-abbasside du Ḥurāsān³¹, a été assassiné par l'ordre d'Abū Muslim, dont il ombrageait l'autorité, pour des supposées sympathies politiques pro-alides. Qaḥṭaba bin Ṣabīb (m. 749) a servi comme principal chef militaire sous le commandement d'Abū Muslim et il est mort dans la bataille pour la ville de Kūfa, la nuit du 8 muḥarram 132 h. (le 27 août 749 A. D.), qui a ouvert la voie de l'instauration du pouvoir des

²⁶ (Massignon 1999 : 132.)

²⁷ *Ibid.* , 133-134.

²⁸ *Ibid.* , 133, n. 1.

²⁹ Abū Muslim 'Abd Al-Raḥmān bin Muslim Ḥurāsānī a été l'envoyé plénipotentiaire du clan *Banū l-'Abbās* en Ḥurāsān. En tant que général et émir du Ḥurāsān (745-755), il a été le génie politique et militaire qui a déterminé la victoire de la révolution des Abbassides.

³⁰ (Sharon 1983 : 228-230.)

³¹ (Wellhausen 1927 : 523 ; Daniel 1979 : 34-50.)

Abbasides sur l'« Irāq »³². Lāhiz bin Qurayz (m. 748) a été décapité par l'ordre d'Abū Muslim, après la capitulation de la ville de Marw, le 10 ġumādā I 130 h. (16 janvier 748 A. D.), pour avoir averti, par la récitation d'un verset du *Qur'ān*³³, Naṣr bin Sayyār (663-748), le dernier gouverneur umayyade du Ḥurāsān, sur la stratégie des forces abbasides qui visaient de l'emprisonner et le tuer: « À ce moment-là arriva un homme qui avait parcouru en courant la distance entre le quartier le plus éloigné et le centre de la cité. Il dit: Oh, Moïse ! Les dirigeants ourdissent pour te tuer. Va-t-en ! Moi, je suis ton conseiller sincère³⁴. »

Dans le même contexte historique, Ḥasan Baṣrī (643-728)³⁵, anneau de l'*isnād* grâce auquel s'était transmis le *ḥadīth* sur les '*abdāl*', a été le *qāḍī* de la ville de Baṣra pendant le califat d'Umar II (vie vers 682-720 ; règne 717-720)³⁶ et le califat de Yazīd II (v. 687-724 ; r. 720-724)³⁷. Lorsque Yazīd bin Al-Muhallab (672-720)³⁸ a organisé la révolte de la ville de Baṣra contre le Calife Yazīd II, dans le but de rétablir la pureté primordiale de la religion musulmane, Ḥasan Baṣrī a déclaré que les guerres entre les Musulmans n'étaient pas déterminées par la volonté divine, mais par la puissance et la richesse du monde matériel, et il a eu l'audace d'arracher, par déclarations publiques, le masque de l'hypocrisie religieuse du visage de Yazīd: « Ḥasan dit encore: Ce Yazīd est le même homme qui, hier, a fait couper des têtes [...]. À présent qu'il est mécontent d'eux (des Umayyades), et qu'il s'est révolté, il élève un bâton avec un morceau de coton au bout, et dit: Je vous appelle à la pratique du Livre d'*Allāh* et de la Loi du Prophète ! Vous devriez le saisir et le ramener dans la prison, où il

³² (Wellhausen 1927 : 541-542 ; Daniel 1979 : 73-78.)

³³ (Al-Ṭabarī 1867-1874 : IV, 329.)

³⁴ (*Qur'ān*, XXVIII, v. 19, Arberry 1991 : 394.)

³⁵ Illustre maître *Ṣūfī*, né à Médine, fils d'un esclave capturé à Maysān, qui est devenu ultérieurement le *mawla* de Zayd bin Ṭābit, le scribe du Prophète Muḥammad, Abū Sa'īd Ḥasan bin Abī'l Ḥasan Yasār Maysānī al-Basrī a fondé la « science du cœur » (*ilm al-qulūb*) sur l'« ascèse » (*zuhd*), l'« abstinence scrupuleuse » (*wara'*), la « peur » (*ḥawf*) et l'« audition attentive » (*istimā'*) de la Parole de Dieu. Son œuvre est composée de *Mawā'iz* (*Sermons*), *Tafsīr* (*Gloses sur le Qur'ān*), *Masā'il* (*Questions*) et *Riwāyāt* (*Énoncés*). (Massignon 1999 : 174-201.) Vénééré comme un saint *Ṣūfī*, Ḥasan Baṣrī a été revendiqué par l'École des Mu'tazilites comme son père fondateur.

³⁶ Arrière petit-fils du Calife 'Umar bin al-Ḥaṭṭāb (v. vers 586/590-644 ; r. 634-644), petit-fils du quatrième Calife ommeyade, Marwān I^{er} (v. 623-685 ; r. 684-685) et du cinquième Calife umayyade, 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān (v. 646-705 ; r. 685-705), 'Umar Ibn 'Abd Al-'Azīz a été le huitième Calife de la dynastie des Umayyades. Il est renommé pour la profondeur de ses sentiments religieux, pour sa manière sage, pieuse et ascétique de vivre. Dans sa vision, toutes les nations étaient destinées à se convertir à l'islam, en tant qu'espace religieux de la paix, du bien-être et du salut universel.

³⁷ Fils du cinquième Calife umayyade, 'Abd al-Malik, Yazīd II a été le neuvième Calife de la dynastie des Umayyades.

³⁸ Gouverneur du Ḥurāsān et de l'« Irāq » sous la dynastie des Umayyades.

était [...]»³⁹. » En tant que juge et maître spirituel, Ḥasan Baṣrī s'est efforcé de convaincre les habitants de la ville de Baṣra de ne pas participer aux hostilités entre l'armée des rebelles iraqiens et l'armée syrienne pro-umayyade. Bien que les voix politiques radicales l'aient incriminé d'être l'« ami des Syriens », ses exhortations ont été suivies par un nombre réduit de *mawālī*. Les vies de ceux-ci ont été sauvées par la sagesse du vieux maître *Ṣūfī*, car le 14 ṣafar 102 A. H. (24 août 720 A. D.) l'armée iraqienne a été vaincue⁴⁰, et Yazīd bin al-Muhallab a été décapité par l'ordre de Maslama bin 'Abd al-Malik (705-738)⁴¹.

Un important texte hagiographique justifie la conversion de Ḥasan Baṣrī à l'islam par la révélation de l'omnipotence divine, en mesure de dévoiler, par contraste, la vanité du pouvoir militaire ou de la gloire de ce monde, de la sagesse philosophique ou juridique, de la sensualité et thésaurisation des valeurs matérielles⁴². L'apologue qui a comme sujet la conversion à l'islam d'un zoroastrien septuagénaire, moribond, est construit sur le fondement sacré de l'unité divine, de la présence divine, du don divin de la révélation du « visage d'*Allāh* » au croyant qui s'est identifié du point de vue ontologique avec la vérité religieuse et a traversé l'expérience du salut⁴³. Le relief narratif de ces fragments hagiographiques est, certainement, sous-tendu par le relief de la biographie historique de Ḥasan Baṣrī : sa position d'austérité contemplative envers les déroulements martiaux-politiques ; son rôle d'arbitre entre les factions politiques et les couches sociales de l'Iraq qui se trouvait, simultanément, en plein processus d'arabisation et d'islamisation ; son autorité, en tant que *mawlā*, sur le segment social composé de *mawālī*, dont la présence politique et religieuse sera mise en évidence par la révolution des Abbassides.

Al-Ṭabarī focalise le début de la révolution des Abbassides sur l'action de hausser le drapeau noir de la maison d'Abbās à Marw, la capitale du Ḥurāsān, dans le contexte apocalyptique sanglant de « l'année de l'âne » : « Muḥammad bin 'Alī répondit: Par *Allāh*, ce sera de nos jours ! J'ai entendu dire à mon père que dans l'année de l'âne, *Allāh* fera apparaître notre règne. La propagande pour notre cause trouvera son terme, le règne des

³⁹ (Al-Ṭabarī 1867-1874 : IV, 256-257.)

⁴⁰ (Wellhausen 1927 : 314-319 ; Hawting 2000 : 72-76.)

⁴¹ Prince de la famille des Umayyades, fils du cinquième Calife umayyade, 'Abd al-Malik et frère du septième Calife umayyade, Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (v. 674-717 ; r. 715-716), Maslama a été un célèbre général et a dirigé, pendant le VIII^e siècle, les expéditions militaires de l'Empire Arabe contre l'Empire Byzantin et le Khaganat Khazar. Il a commandé l'armée arabe pendant le second siège de Constantinople (716-717).

⁴² ('Aṭṭār 1990 : 20-22.)

⁴³ *Ibid.* , 23-25.

Omayyades cessera, on lèvera le drapeau noir à Marw et dans tout le Ḥurāsān, et on tuera les *Banū 'Umayya* derrière les pierres et les murs⁴⁴. » La mission de transposer l'idéal du drapeau noir dans le temps historique sera confiée à Abū Muslim, en tant que *mawlā* de l'*imām* Muḥammad bin 'Alī et représentant de l'*imām* Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad en Ḥurāsān: « De temps en temps, ils (*muqabā'*) se réunissaient pour délibérer chez Abū Muslim, qui leur disait: Ne précipitez rien ! Sachez que la chose que vous désirez est près de se réaliser. Je suis le maître du drapeau noir, et je le lèverai plus tôt que vous ne pensez⁴⁵. » La couleur noire deviendra emblématique pour la dynastie des Abbassides, pour les *muqabā'* et pour l'armée khurāsānienne qui accomplira la victoire de la révolution anti-umayyade, et une continuité chromatique-symbolique s'établira entre le drapeau et l'étendard de couleur noire, confiés par l'*imām* Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad à Sulaymān bin Kaṭīr et Abū Muslim, d'un côté, et les vêtements noirs que mettront les premiers insurgents et ensuite tous les combattants du Ḥurāsān par l'ordre d'Abū Muslim, d'autre côté: « Abū Muslim recommanda à ses partisans dans les différentes villes du Ḥurāsān de porter des vêtements noirs. Il leur écrivit: Habillez-vous de noir, car nous sommes les hommes aux vêtements noirs. La fin des Umayyades est proche. Les habitants de Nasā, Bāwerd (Abīward), Marw al-rūd et Ṭālīhān se conformèrent à cet ordre d'Abū Muslim. D'après Al-Madā'inī⁴⁶, ils auraient choisi pour leurs vêtements la couleur noire pour porter le deuil de Zayd bin 'Alī⁴⁷ et de son fils, Yaḥyā⁴⁸. Mais la véritable

⁴⁴ (Al-Ṭabarī 1867-1874 : IV, 323-324.)

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* , 325.

⁴⁶ Historien musulman dont les témoignages sur l'histoire des califes ont été inclus par Al-Ṭabarī dans le *Ta'rīḥ*, 'Alī bin Muḥammad bin 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abī Sayf al-Madā'inī (vers 752-830/843) a été un disciple du mu'tazilite Mu'ammār bin 'Abbād al-Sulamī (m. 830).

⁴⁷ Zayd bin 'Alī bin Ḥusayn bin 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib (695-740) a été le petit-fils de Ḥusayn bin 'Alī, le petit-fils du Prophète Muḥammad. Le 1^{er} ṣafar 122 A. H. (6 janvier 740 A. D.), il a déclenché une révolte anti-umayyade des Ṣī'ites de Kūfa. La révolte a été vaincue par les troupes syriennes fidèles au régime umayyade, et Zayd bin 'Alī a été tué par une flèche des archers kikanites, après une bataille héroïque. L'importance de cette révolte consiste dans le fait d'avoir ouvert le cycle historique des révoltes Ṣī'ites qui détermineront, avant la fin de la décennie suivante, l'écroulement de la dynastie des Umayyades. (Al-Ṭabarī 1867-1874 : IV, 299-308 ; Wellhausen 1927 : 336-338 ; Daniel 1979 : 38-39.)

⁴⁸ Après la mort de son père, Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd (m. 743) s'est réfugié en Ḥurāsān. Son passage par Rayy, Balḥ, Saraḥs et Marw a été accompagné par des manifestations de solidarité de la part de l'entier spectre social anti-umayyade. Chassé par les autorités umayyades, il a été capturé et exécuté dans les environs de Ġūzġān. Abū Muslim a inclus la vengeance de la mort de Yaḥyā dans son credo politique. (Al-Ṭabarī 1867-1874 : IV, 308-313 ; Wellhausen 1927 : 338-339 ; Daniel 1979 : 38-39.)

raison de ce choix est que les Umayyades avaient adopté pour leurs vêtements et leur drapeau la couleur verte, et que Abū Muslim voulait pour son parti une couleur différente⁴⁹. »

Le verbe *sawwada* et le substantif *taswīd* ont exprimé le passage de la *da'wa* du stade d'occultation conspirative au stade de révolte militaire par l'action politique de « devenir noir », de prendre en possession l'espace public par le geste d'exhiber les drapeaux et les vêtements noirs⁵⁰. Le 25 ramaḍan 129 *A. H.* (10 juin 747 *A. D.*), Sulaymān bin Kaḫr a dirigé un groupe d'hommes habillés en noir vers un lieu de rassemblement situé à côté de sa résidence de Saqīdhanġ⁵¹, un village de la périphérie de la ville de Marw. Dans cet endroit-là le groupe d'insurgents pro-abbassides a haussé « un étendard et un drapeau » (*liwā' wa-rāya*) de couleur noire, confiés par l'*imām* Ibrāhīm bin Muḫammad: le premier, appelé « l'ombre », au sommet d'un pillier de quatorze coudes ; le deuxième, nommé « les nuages », au sommet d'un pillier de treize coudes. La scène s'est déroulée en présence d'Abū Muslim, qui a récité un verset du *Qur'ān*⁵²: « La permission a été accordée à ceux qui combattent car c'est eux qui ont été traités injustement ; certainement, *Allāh* a le pouvoir de les aider⁵³. » La rhétorique prophétique de cette déclaration de révolte met en évidence un symbolisme complexe, composé d'idéogrammes politiques-religieux censés exprimer, *a posteriori*, la resignification apocalyptique de l'instauration de la dynastie des Abbassides: le pouvoir du califat abbasside va ombrager le monde entier, et l'enseignement de l'islam primordial, revivifié par les Abbassides, se répandra dans l'entier espace terrestre, pareillement aux nuages qui se déplacent partout dans l'espace céleste⁵⁴. Sur le déclenchement de la *da'wa* ou *dawla* ont été prévenus, en première instance, les membres du parti abbasside de Marw al-rūd, Tuḫaristān (Bactria) et Ḥuwārizm (Chorasmia), et par des bûchers enflammés ont été convoqués les combattants de la région de Marw. Autour du noyau composé par ces guerriers primordiaux (*musawwida*), recrutés parmi les colons arabes (*ahlu l-taqādum*) et leurs clients d'origine persane (*mawālī*)⁵⁵, se constituera tant l'armée qui reconfigurera l'Empire Arabe comme Empire Abbasside, que l'aristocratie du nouveau califat, composée de *ahl al-dawla* ou *ahlu l-*

⁴⁹ (Al-Ṭabarī 1867-1874 : IV, 326-327.)

⁵⁰ (Sharon 1990 : 79.)

⁵¹ Lieu géographique mentionné également par les variantes : Sīqadanġ, Safīdanġ, Sīfadanġ, Šanfīr. (Sharon 1990 : 75, n. 62.)

⁵² (Al-Ṭabarī 1879-1901 : II, 1953-1954.)

⁵³ (*Qur'ān*, XXII, v. 40, Arberry 1991 : 338.)

⁵⁴ (Sharon 1990 : 69-70.)

⁵⁵ (Shaban 1970 : 158.)

da'wa, *'abnā'u l-dawla* ou *'abnā'u l-da'wa* et *ahlu l-bayt*⁵⁶. Sulaymān bin Kaṭīr a présidé, en tant qu'*imām*, le premier service liturgique célébré d'après le rituel abbasside dans la mosquée de Saqīdhanġ, le 1^{er} shawwāl 129 A. H. (15 juin 747 A. D.), dans le cadre du festival qui marquait la fin du jeûne (*'idu l-fītr*)⁵⁷.

Les principes de la théocratie šī'ite postulent que l'*imām* est investi par *Allāh* avec le pouvoir de diriger la communauté musulmane par la clairvoyance exégétique grâce à laquelle il a toujours accès à la vérité du texte qur'ānique, et par les attributs de l'illumination spirituelle qui descend sur sa personne du royaume de la connaissance religieuse (*'ilm*)⁵⁸. L'*imām* a le devoir de défendre et de préserver le message divin (*risāla*) après que celui-ci a été révélé, d'irradier de la sainteté pour guider les actions extérieures et le progrès spirituel des êtres humains: « Il est le guide de la caravane de l'humanité qui avance intérieurement et de manière ésotérique vers *Allāh*⁵⁹. » Dans l'intervalle historique délimité par le début de la *da'wa* et le califat d'Al-Manṣūr (v. 714-775 ; r. 754-775)⁶⁰, la légitimité politique-religieuse des Abbassides a été fondée sur la transmission consubstantielle d'*'ilm* et *imāma* de la famille des Alides à la famille des Abbassides, respectivement d'Abū Hāšim (m. vers 716-717)⁶¹ à Muḥammad bin 'Alī. La tradition apologétique abbasside a décrit ce rituel initiatique comme une relation pédagogique: Muḥammad bin 'Alī est venu chez Abū Hāšim, à Dimašq (Damas) et a écrit l'« *'ilm* d'après ses lèvres »⁶². L'investiture du disciple du parti *'Abbāsiyya* avec la connaissance ésotérique et l'autorité religieuse représente *waṣiyya*, l'« héritage » ou le « testament » du maître du parti *Hāšimiyya*⁶³.

Par un intéressant procédé de mise en abîme, la même filière de transmission de l'*'ilm* est décrite dans le légendaire *Pergament jaune* ou *Ṣaḥīfa ṣafrā*, « ré-écrit » dans le *'Aḥbāru l-dawlati l-'abbāsiyya*, *'Aḥbāru l-'Abbās* ou *Kitābu l-'Abbās*, *Les Annales de la dynastie des*

⁵⁶ (Crone 2003 : 65-66.)

⁵⁷ (Wellhausen 1927 : 522-523 ; Daniel 1979 : 25, 34-50.)

⁵⁸ (Shaban 1970 : 139-144.)

⁵⁹ (Ṭabāṭabā'i : 185-186.)

⁶⁰ Fils de l'*imām* Muḥammad bin 'Alī, frère de l'*imām* Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad et du premier Calife abbasside, Abū l-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ, Abū Ġa'far 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad al-Manṣūr a été le deuxième Calife de la dynastie des Abbassides.

⁶¹ Fils de Muḥammad bin al-Ḥanafīyya et petit-fils du Calife 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib, 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad bin al-Ḥanafīyya ou Abū Hāšim a été le dirigeant de la branche Ḥanafite (les descendants d'Alī et de Ḥawla) de la famille des Alides. Il est considéré le père fondateur du parti *Hāšimiyya*.

⁶² (Al-Dūrī, Al-Muṭṭalibī 1971 : 173, source citée par Sharon 1983 : 125.)

⁶³ (Sharon 1983 : 138.)

Abbassides (IX^e siècle)⁶⁴, d'après un original que Muḥammad bin al-Ḥanafīyya (vers 633-701)⁶⁵ aurait reçu de ses frères Al-Ḥasan (v. 625-669 ; r. 661)⁶⁶ et Al-Ḥusayn (626-680)⁶⁷, lorsqu'il a demandé, comme héritage, la partie qui lui était due de la connaissance ésotérique ('*ilm*) détenue par 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib (v. vers 598/600-661 ; r. 656-661)⁶⁸. Il est plausible que le miroitement inter-textuel entre le '*Aḥbāru l-'Abbās* et le '*Ṣaḥīfa ṣafrā*' remémore la « Constitution de Médine » (*sunna ḡāmi'a* ; *ṣaḥīfa*)⁶⁹ par un procédé ingénieux de transition sémantique d'un archétype législatif muḥammadien à un éloge dynastique abbasside, dans le but de justifier la transmission d' '*ilm* comme *waṣīyya* du Prophète Muḥammad à 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib, et ultérieurement des Alides aux Abbassides⁷⁰: « Pour tout fidèle qui a affirmé ce qui est écrit dans ce *ṣaḥīfa* et croit en *Allāh* et au dernier jour, il n'est pas légal de soutenir ou d'abriter un criminel. Quiconque le soutient et l'abrite fera venir sur lui la malédiction d'*Allāh* et Sa colère, au jour de la résurrection. De sa part ne seront pas acceptées aucune médiation,

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 233-237.

⁶⁵ Fils du Calife 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib, né de Ḥawla, une femme de la tribu *Banū Ḥanīfa*.

⁶⁶ Fils du Calife 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib, né de Fāṭima, Al-Ḥasan a été le cinquième des *al-ḥulafā'u l-rāšidūn* et le deuxième *imām* des Ṣī'ites duodécimains.

⁶⁷ Fils du Calife 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib, né de Fāṭima, Al-Ḥusayn a été le troisième *imām* des Ṣī'ites duodécimains.

⁶⁸ Le quatrième des *al-ḥulafā'u l-rāšidūn* et le premier *imām* reconnu également par les Ṣī'ites duodécimains et les Ṣī'ites ismaéliens, 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib a été le cousin et le gendre du Prophète Muḥammad, par le mariage avec sa fille, Fāṭima.

⁶⁹ Le substantif *ṣaḥīfa* (« la surface plate, préparée pour écrire », « document écrit sur une surface plate », « tablette », « feuille de livre », « parchemin », « papyrus », « texte écrit sur parchemin ou papyrus ») de l'arabe classique dérive de l'espace épigraphique de l'Arabie du Sud de la période pré-islamique où la racine *ṣḥf* désigne un « texte écrit », un « document au contenu législatif ». Le syntagme *dt ṣḥftn* indique « ce document », un certain texte taillé sur une surface de pierre, et le verbe *ṣḥf* exprime l'action d'écrire un tel document. Dans ce contexte étymologique, le substantif *ṣaḥfa* (sg.) / *ṣuḥuf* (pl.) de la période pré-islamique et de la période de l'islam primaire fait référence aux tablettes, manuscrits et documents législatifs, non-scellés, qui étaient exposés et lus dans les lieux publics. Le texte du *Qur'ān* inclut plusieurs éléments de cette famille sémantique : *Qur'ān*, XLIII, v. 71 (*ṣiḥāf*) ; XX, v. 133 et LXXXVII, v. 19 (*ṣuḥuf*) ; LXXX, v. 13 (*ṣuḥuf mukarrama*, « feuilles honorées ») ; XCVIII, v. 2 (*ṣuḥuf muṭaḥhara*, « feuilles purifiées ») ; LXXIV, v. 52 (*ṣuḥuf munaṣṣara*, « parchemins déroulés ») ; LXXXI, v. 10 (*idā l-ṣuḥuf nuṣirat*, « lorsque les parchemins seront déroulés », dans le contexte des événements apocalyptiques, pour révéler les actions bonnes et mauvaises des êtres humains). (Ghédira 1995 : 834-835 ; Stein 2010 : 261-262.)

⁷⁰ La « Constitution de Médine » est un texte législatif-politique composé de huit documents, numérotés de A au H, qui décrit les relations inter-tribales et les relations entre les *muhāğirūn* (les Musulmans de La Mecque, participants au *Hiğra*) et les '*anṣār* (les Musulmans de Médine qui ont offert leur aide à l'époque de la fondation de l'islam) pendant les sept années passées par le Prophète Muḥammad dans la ville de Yaṭrib-Médine. En concordance avec l'hypothèse formulée par R. B. Serjeant, la « Constitution de Médine » inclut la *sunna ḡāmi'a*, le noyau textuel (les documents A, B, F) autour duquel s'est constituée la « *sunna* du Prophète Muḥammad ». (Serjeant 1978 : 1-42 ; Sharon 1990 : 163-170, 251-252.)

aucune offrande d'expiation (le document B)⁷¹. » ; « La région plane de Yaṭrib est une enclave sacrée pour le peuple de ce *ṣahīfa* (le document F)⁷². » En tant que prophétie *a posteriori* sur la fondation de la dynastie des Abbassides, le *Ṣahīfa ṣafrā'* a invoqué *'ilm* comme puissance apocalyptique en mesure de déterminer l'avènement des drapeaux noirs du Ḥurāsān: « [...] un parchemin jaune qui contenait le *'ilm* sur les bannières noires du Ḥurāsān, le temps de leur existence, les circonstances jointes à leur manière d'être, ainsi que sur le moment quand ces bannières feront leur apparition. Il contenait également les signes clairs et la preuve sur l'apparition des bannières, lesquelles seront précisément les tribus arabes qui les appuieront, les noms des hommes qui dirigeront le mouvement en son entier, leur description exacte et la description de leurs hommes de confiance et de leurs adeptes⁷³. » Ultérieurement le coffre en cuivre où était déposé le *Ṣahīfa ṣafrā'* serait passé de la possession des Alides Muḥammad bin Al-Hanafīyya et Abū Hāšim dans la possession des Abbassides Muḥammad bin 'Alī et Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad, et il aurait été enterré dans un verger d'oliviers de la Montagne de Šarāt, au sud de la Mer Morte, à proximité de la résidence des Abbassides de Ḥumayma⁷⁴. Moshe Sharon a argumenté la connexion narratologique entre les signes (*'alāmāt*) corporels qui révèlent l'identité messianique du premier Calife abbasside, 'Abdallāh bin Muḥammad Abū Al-'Abbās Al-Saffāḥ, mentionnés dans le *Ṣahīfa ṣafrā'* – *Aḥbāru l-'Abbās* et les signes corporels qui révèlent l'identité prophétique de l'adolescent Muḥammad, reconnus par le moine Sergius Baḥīrā grâce à la connaissance ésotérique contenue dans les livres chrétiens, en concordance avec le *Sīrat rasūl Allāh* ou *La biographie du Messenger d'Allāh*, ouvrage rédigé par Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Ishāq bin Yasār bin Ḥiyār (vers 704 – 767/768)⁷⁵ au début du Califat d'Al-Manšūr (vers 755)⁷⁶. La connexion historique et herméneutique entre les deux textes fait ressortir la légitimité théocratique du premier calife abbasside et de la dynastie des Abbassides par analogie avec la légitimité théocratique du Prophète Muḥammad.

L'entière architecture de la puissance sacrée et de la puissance séculaire, élaborée par Muḥammad bin 'Alī et Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad, a été fondée sur le principe *al-riḍā min āli Muḥammad*, conformément auquel l'accès au califat devrait être ouvert à toute personne de la famille du Prophète sur laquelle la communauté musulmane aurait établi son accord.

⁷¹ (Serjeant 1978 : 24.)

⁷² *Ibid.* , 35.

⁷³ (Al-Dūrī, Al-Muṭṭalibī 1971 : 184-185, source citée par Sharon 1983 : 139 et Sharon 1990 : 80, 166-167.)

⁷⁴ (Ibn Abū l-Ḥadīd 1959-1964 : VII, 149-150, source citée par Sharon 1983 : 139-140.)

⁷⁵ Historien et hagiographe arabe musulman, originaire de Médine.

⁷⁶ (Sharon 1990 : 80-82.)

Simultanément l'élaboration de la doctrine concernant l'état de *taqiyya*, le devoir d'éviter les circonstances et les personnes avec un potentiel destructif, a imposé l'occultation de la véritable identité des *imāms*, dans les conditions où sa révélation dans l'espace publique aurait pu les exposer à des dangers inutiles, et leur présence éloignée et invisible a conféré à la *da'wa* une aura de mystère et d'invulnérabilité⁷⁷. « Si les gens te demandent quel est mon nom, dis-leur: nous nous trouvons dans l'état de *taqiyya*, on nous a commandé de garder secret le nom de notre *imām*⁷⁸. » Quoique la révolution abbasside ait été organisée, de cette perspective, sur une plateforme idéologique d'inspiration šī'ite, vouée à coaliser tant les factions modérées que les factions radicales dans l'accomplissement de l'idéal commun du renversement du régime des Umayyades, après l'instauration du pouvoir abbasside en 'Irāq sont devenus nécessaires l'éloignement diplomatique de la nouvelle élite par rapport à la doctrine du šī'isme radical et l'isolement politique de ses adeptes, dans le but de détourner la légitimité de l'appropriation du califat du côté des descendants d'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib vers *Banū l-'Abbās*. L'effort des Abbassides de s'ériger en protecteurs de la maison d'Alī et vengeurs des martyrs alides a été, en réalité, un stratagème politique par lequel *Banū l-'Abbās* ont gagné la suprématie dans le cadre du clan des *Banū Hāšim*⁷⁹. Dans le registre du symbolisme religieux, l'accaparement politique du califat par la famille des Abbassides a été affirmé par la mise en relief de la continuité emblématique entre l'« étendard noir » du Prophète Muḥammad, l'« étendard noir » d'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib, et l'« étendard noir » de pair avec le « drapeau noir », qui ont été reçus par Sulaymān bin Kaṭīr et Abū Muslim de la part de l'*imām* Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad: « L'étendard du Prophète a été noir, et l'étendard d'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib a été également noir. Par conséquent, choisissez le noir comme couleur de vos vêtements⁸⁰ ! »

Le paradoxe abbasside de la sauvegarde propagandiste et de la neutralisation politique du šī'isme se retrouve dans l'identification symbolique des étendards et des vêtements noirs avec le deuil porté pour Zayd bin 'Alī et Yaḥyā bin Zayd⁸¹. Al-Ṭabarī mentionne la solidarité cordiale d'Abū 'Abd Allāh Ğa'far al-Šādiq (vers 699/703-765)⁸² relative à la conduite

⁷⁷ (Ṭabāṭabā'ī 1975 : 223-225 ; Cahen 1963 : 304-306.)

⁷⁸ (Al-Dūrī, Al-Muṭṭalibī 1971 : 203, source citée par Sharon 1983 : 158.)

⁷⁹ (Sharon 1990 : 135-141.)

⁸⁰ (Al-Dūrī, Al-Muṭṭalibī 1971 : 245, source citée par Sharon 1990 : 83.)

⁸¹ (Daniel 1979 : 66-67, n. 87 ; Sharon 1983 : 177-178.)

⁸² Abū 'Abd Allāh Ğa'far al-Šādiq (« celui qui est digne de confiance ») a été le sixième et dernier *imām* reconnu également par les Šī'ites duodécimains et les Šī'ites ismaéliens. Dans la période de transition entre la dynastie

politique de son oncle, Zayd bin ‘Alī, lorsqu’une délégation des Šī’ites de Kūfa s’est présentée devant ses yeux, à Médine, pour lui confier la direction de la communauté šī’ite d’Irāk: « Ils se rendirent ensuite à Médine auprès de Ğa‘far al-Šādiq, et lui dirent: Fils de l’apôtre d’*Allāh*, nous avons prêté serment à ton oncle, Zayd bin ‘Alī. Nous l’avons ensuite interrogé au sujet d’Abū Bakr⁸³ et d’‘Umar⁸⁴, et il nous a dit qu’il n’en voulait dire que du bien. Ğa‘far répliqua: Il a raison ; je suis du même avis. Craignez *Allāh* ! Si vous avez prêté serment à mon oncle, restez fidèles à votre serment, et obéissez-lui. Car il est plus digne que moi d’être le chef⁸⁵. » Renseigné sur le dénouement tragique de la révolte de Zayd bin ‘Alī, Ğa‘far al-Šādiq exprimera sa contemplation funèbre par un aphorisme qui remémore l’idéal politique-religieux de la conspiration anti-umayyade: « Lorsque Ğa‘far bin Muḥammad al-Šādiq apprit la mort de Zayd, pleura et dit: Il y a des hommes qui tiennent leurs engagements envers *Allāh*. De ceux-là quelques-uns sont morts, d’autres attendent un autre sort⁸⁶. »

En ce sens, le système théologique élaboré par Ğa‘far al-Šādiq est axé sur une imamologie conformément à laquelle l’action de propagation de la foi est déterminée par le guidage divin de l’*imām*. Loué par Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Ishāq al-Kalābādī (m. vers 990-994)⁸⁷ dans le *Kitābu l-ta‘arrufi li-madhābi ‘ahli l-taṣawwuf* ou le *Livre – manuel sur l’enseignement Šūfi*, comme l’un des « hommes célèbres⁸⁸ » de l’histoire du soufisme, Ğa‘far Al-Šādiq a transmis un *ḥadīṭ* prophétique sur l’identification de la foi avec l’entier espace ontologique de l’être humain: « La foi est une confession prononcée avec la langue, une

des Umayyades et la dynastie des Abbassides, il a dirigé les Šī’ites qui ont accepté un *imāmat Fātimī* non-militant. Vénééré comme maître *Šūfi*, il est l’auteur d’un *Tafsīr* ou *Commentaire* sur le texte du *Qur’ān*. (Hodgson 1986 : II, 374-375.)

⁸³ Compagnon (*ṣahābiyy*) et beau-père du Prophète Muḥammad, Abū Bakr (« Père de la vierge », ‘Ā’iša) ou ‘Abd Allāh bin Abī Quḥāfah (v. vers 573-634 ; r. 632-634) a été le premier des *al-ḥulafā’u l-rāšidūn* ou « les Califes dirigés avec droiture ».

⁸⁴ Compagnon (*ṣahābiyy*) du Prophète Muḥammad, ‘Umar bin Al-Ḥaṭṭāb (v. vers 586/590-644 ; r. 634-644) a été le deuxième des *al-ḥulafā’u l-rāšidūn*.

⁸⁵ (Al-Ṭabarī 1867-1874 : IV, 303.)

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* , 307.

⁸⁷ Maître *Šūfi* de Kalābād, en Buḥārā, célèbre pour le *Kitābu l-ta‘arruf*, une source primaire essentielle pour l’étude de l’histoire du soufisme.

⁸⁸ (Al-Kalābādī 1991 : 12) « Ce qui suit ce sont les noms de ceux qui ont prononcé leur savoir et ont exprimé leurs expériences, qui ont rendu publiques les stations spirituelles et ont décrit les états spirituels, par les paroles et les actions, d’après les Compagnons du Prophète (que le contentement d’*Allāh* soit sur eux !) : ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, son fils Muḥammad bin ‘Alī al-Bāqir, ainsi que son fils Ğa‘far bin Muḥammad al-Šādiq. Ceux-ci ont succédé à ‘Alī, Al-Ḥasan et Al-Ḥusayn (qu’*Allāh* soit content d’eux !). »

confirmation accomplie avec le cœur et un acte réalisé avec les membres⁸⁹. » De cette perspective, il a découragé l'implication de ses disciples dans les révoltes šī'ites anti-abbassides par l'affirmation de la différenciation entre les notions de « dirigeant religieux » (*imām*), « calife » ou « successeur du Prophète d'*Allāh* » (*ḥalīfatu rasūli llāh*) et « conseiller » ou « commandant des croyants » (*amīru l-mu'minīn*), de sorte que la cohabitation paisible d'un *imām* de la famille d'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib et de ses adeptes avec un calife abbasside soit possible, à l'intérieur de la société sunnite⁹⁰.

Le 13 rabī' I 132 h. (30 octobre 749 A. D.), Abū l-'Abbās al-Saffāh a reçu le serment de fidélité (*bay'a*) dans la mosquée de Kūfa, mais un état maladif l'a empêché de prononcer en son entier le discours de couronnement, qui a été conclu par son oncle, Dāwūd bin 'Alī al-'Abbāsī (m. 750-751), par la mise en relief de la transmission d'*'ilm* et *waṣīyya* entre le Prophète Muḥammad, 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib et Abū l-'Abbās al-Saffāh, en tant que dirigeants légitimes et prédicateurs véridiques, placés par la volonté divine au pupitre (*minbar*) de la communauté musulmane. Le calife élu par *Allāh* du clan des *Banū Hāšim* devait « faire rayonner les visages » des habitants de la ville de Kūfa et leur amener la victoire sur l'armée umayyade, car « la souveraineté et la gloire de l'islam » seront transférées de la Syrie en 'Irāq. De manière programmatique, le nouveau cycle dynastique a été identifié avec le temps historique délimité par la victoire de la *da'wa* et la fin du monde: une fois approprié par *Banū l-'Abbās*, le gouvernement ne passera pas à une autre dynastie, mais il sera rendu à Jésus, le fils de Marie (*'Īsā bin Maryam*)⁹¹. Dans l'espace religieux de l'islam médiéval, l'investiture messianique du califat abbasside a révélé l'histoire politique et le temps historique en tant qu'hypostases du temps apocalyptique.

Les événements majeurs de la période de transition de la dynastie des Umayyades à la dynastie des Abbassides ont été exprimés également par un discours historiographique et par un discours messianique-apocalyptique, particulièrement en Syrie, où la conquête musulmane a imposé la cohabitation entre les communautés chrétiennes et musulmanes dans le périmètre d'une proximité religieuse amiable-conflictuelle. Dans la tradition généalogique du peuple arabe⁹², le patriarche biblique Ioktan ou Qaḥṭan⁹³, descendant de Noé et de Sem, a été

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁹⁰ (Kennedy 2004 : 199-204.)

⁹¹ (Al-Ṭabarī 1879-1901 : III, 32-33 ; Sharon 1990 : 256-257.)

⁹² (Rentz 1986 : 543-547.)

⁹³ (*Genèse*, 10, 1, 22-31.)

considéré comme le père fondateur des tribus originaires du sud de l'Arabie, tandis que le patriarche biblique Išmael ou Ismā'īl⁹⁴, le fils d'Abraham et de Hagar, a été considéré comme le père fondateur des tribus originaires du nord de l'Arabie⁹⁵. La compréhension de la continuité et de la cyclicité du temps historique, entre la genèse et l'apocalypse, comme partie de la réalité unitaire créée par la divinité monothéiste dont le témoignage sur Soi est contenu dans le texte biblique-évangélique-qur'ānique a déterminé, dans l'espace syrien dominé par la troisième guerre civile (*fitna*) et la révolution des Abbassides, la constitution de l'attente et de la doctrine messianique-apocalyptique focalisée sur des personnages dénommés Sufyānī et Qaḥṭānī, en tant que précurseurs du Maḥdī⁹⁶. En 744, un *ṣarīf* de la tribu de *Yaman*, gouverneur de la Palestine, Tābit bin Nu'aym al-Ġudāmī, a dirigé une révolte contre le Calife umayyade Marwān II (v. 688-750 ; r. 744-750)⁹⁷, dont la plateforme politique-apocalyptique a été construite par son identification avec Qaḥṭānī⁹⁸, père fondateur métamorphosé en héros messianique libérateur, en conformité avec la mythologie et le millénarisme des tribus originaires du sud de l'Arabie⁹⁹.

Un certain code chromatique exprime les zones sécantes entre l'histoire politique et l'imaginaire apocalyptique, au début de la dynastie des Abbassides. Symbole de la fondation et consolidation du pouvoir politique de l'État abbasside, les drapeaux noirs et les vêtements noirs sont mentionnés dans la littérature apocalyptique-polémique rédigée suite à la rencontre historique entre l'espace religieux chrétien et l'espace religieux musulman. Les Musulmans syriens ont eu comme but, dans la période 750-880, de contrecarrer le transfert du siège du pouvoir impérial de Dimašq (Damas) à Baġdād et de restaurer la dynastie des Umayyades par le soutien militaire d'un candidat umayyade au califat. Ils ont affirmé leur identité symbolique, en tant que participants aux révoltes anti-abbassides, par *tabyīd* ou « devenir blanc », dans le sens de hausser des drapeaux blancs et porter des vêtements blancs, par opposition au noir abbasside¹⁰⁰. Suite à la première guerre civile (*fitna*) et à la redéfinition de

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 16, 1-12.

⁹⁵ (Hawting 2000 : 21.)

⁹⁶ L'envoyé d'*Allāh*, « celui qui est justement guidé », viendra à la fin du temps historique pour rétablir l'ordre religieux de la création et refonder la communauté des êtres humains sur la foi et la justice.

⁹⁷ Petit-fils du Calife umayyade Marwān I^{er}, Marwān bin Muḥammad bin Marwān bin Al-Ḥakam ou Marwān II a été le quatorzième et dernier Calife de la dynastie des Umayyades. Il a été vaincu par l'armée abbasside dans la bataille du Grand Zāb (750).

⁹⁸ (Madelung 1986 : 149-155.)

⁹⁹ (Al-Azdī 1967 : 66, source citée par Cobb 2001 : 55, 72-75, 169, n. 48.)

¹⁰⁰ (Cobb 2001 : 5.)

l'équilibre politique par l'arbitrage postérieur à la bataille de Şifīn (657), le califat a passé d'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib à Mu'āwiya bin Abī Sufyān (v. 602-680 ; r. 661-680)¹⁰¹, le représentant des descendants d'Abū Sufyān bin Ḥarb (560-650)¹⁰², qui constituaient le clan des Sufianides (661-684) et la première maison régnante de la dynastie des Umayyades¹⁰³. Après la révolution des Abbassides, les légitimistes pro-umayyades ont identifié l'idéal politique qui visait la restauration du califat dans la personne d'un Sufyānī historique, descendant de Mu'āwiya bin Abī Sufyān, avec l'idéal apocalyptique de l'attente d'un Sufyānī messianique, qui détruira le règne abbasside et inaugurerà une nouvelle ère, dominée par le Mahdī et le « jour de la résurrection », *yawmu l-qiyāma*¹⁰⁴.

La concrétisation historique, par action militaire, de cette doctrine a eu lieu en 750, en Syrie, par la révolte anti-abbasside des tribus de *Qays* et *Yaman*, dirigée par le général Abū l-Ward, le dernier gouverneur marwānide de Qinnasrīn, et Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī¹⁰⁵, prétendant umayyade au califat, désigné par Al-Ṭabarī comme le « Sufyānī mentionné par la tradition prophétique »¹⁰⁶. Les rebelles ont haussé les drapeaux blancs de l'insurrection anti-abbasside et ont mis les vêtements rouges¹⁰⁷ de l'identité politique pro-umayyade, mais ils ont été vaincus par l'armée abbasside lors de la bataille livrée près de la ville de Homs. Abū l-Ward est tombé sur le champ de bataille et Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī¹⁰⁸ s'est réfugié en Arabie, à proximité d'Uḥud, où il a été assassiné au début du règne d'Al-Manṣūr. Le titre de Sufyānī a été revendiqué tant par le petit-fils d'Abū Muḥammad, Al-'Abbās bin Muḥammad al-Sufyānī¹⁰⁹, dans le contexte de la révolte pro-umayyade des habitants de la ville d'Alep (750), que par un descendant de Mu'āwiya I^{er}, 'Alī bin 'Abd Allāh bin Ḥālid. Sous le nom

¹⁰¹ Premier gouverneur musulman de la Syrie, ultérieurement Calife et fondateur de la dynastie des Umayyades. (Humphreys 2006 : 43-136.)

¹⁰² La veille de la *Hiġra*, Abū Sufyān bin Ḥarb a fait partie du groupe des dirigeants de La Mecque qui ont comploté pour faire assassiner le Prophète Muḥammad. Sa conversion à l'islam a eu lieu après les trois batailles (624-627) engagées entre l'armée des infidèles de La Mecque et l'armée des Musulmans de Médine. (Al-Ṭabarī 1867-1874 : II, 457-461 et III, 5-221 ; Hawting 2000 : 22-23.)

¹⁰³ (Hawting 2000 : 34-45 ; Kennedy 2004 : 82-90.)

¹⁰⁴ (Cobb 2001 : 47 ; Madelung 1984 : 5-48.)

¹⁰⁵ Pendant la troisième guerre civile, Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī a dirigé une révolte des habitants du district de Ḥimṣ contre le Calife umayyade Yazīd III (v. 701-744 ; r. 744). Il a été emprisonné à Ḥarrān pendant la dernière partie du règne du Calife umayyade Marwān II (v. 688-750 ; r. 744-750). (Al-Ṭabarī 1879-1901 : III, 43 ; Cobb 2001 : 47, 71-72.)

¹⁰⁶ (Al-Ṭabarī 1879-1901 : III, 53.)

¹⁰⁷ (Al-Azdī 1967 : 142, source citée par Cobb 2001 : 47, 165, n. 15 ; Omar 1976 : 148-154.)

¹⁰⁸ (Al-Ṭabarī 1879-1901 : III, 52-55 ; Cobb 2001 : 46-48.)

¹⁰⁹ (Ibn al-'Adīm 1951-1968 : I, 56, source citée par Cobb 2001 : 49, 166, n. 22.)

messianique d'Abū l-'Umayyir Al-Sufyānī¹¹⁰, Ibn Ḥālid a gouverné pendant deux années à Dimāšq (Damas) en tant que Calife umayyade, contre l'arrière-plan du vide du pouvoir généré dans les provinces occidentales de l'Empire Abbasside par la quatrième guerre civile ou *fitna* (811-813). Le Calife Al-Ma'mūn bin Hārūn (v. 786-833 ; r. 813-833)¹¹¹, revêtu d'étoffes de couleur verte, a marqué la fin de la *fitna*, les 16-18 šafar 204 h. (12-14 août 819 A. D.), par son entrée officielle dans la ville de Baġdād, suivi par les drapeaux verts arborés par l'armée abbasside. Conseillé par Ṭāhir bin al-Ḥusayn (m. 822)¹¹², Al-Ma'mūn a ordonné l'abandon de la couleur verte de la maison d'Alī en tant qu'emblème chromatique de la Cour abbasside et le retour à la couleur noire, consacrée par la proclamation et la victoire de la *da'wa*: « Ma'mūn et son armée avaient encore des vêtements, des coiffures et des drapeaux verts. Ṭāhir, à qui il accordait chaque jour une grâce, lui adressa un jour la demande de rétablir la couleur noire. Ma'mūn consentit et donna l'ordre de faire une grande quantité de vêtements, de turbans et de drapeaux noirs. [...] Ma'mūn, vêtu de noir, se rendit ensuite à la mosquée et prononça le sermon. L'ordre de rétablir la couleur noire fut expédié dans toutes les provinces¹¹³. » Dans l'espace politique syrien, pendant la deuxième moitié du VIII^e siècle et les premières décennies du IX^e siècle, les adversaires des Abbassides se sont identifiés avec l'idéal monarchique umayyade, avec l'idéal messianique-apocalyptique sufianide, par l'intermédiaire de la rhétorique chromatique des drapeaux blancs et des drapeaux rouges¹¹⁴.

Par la superposition de l'histoire politique et de l'imaginaire apocalyptique, l'*Apocalypse de Baḥīrā*¹¹⁵ métamorphose des événements et des personnages inclus dans la réalité historique en événements et personnages insérés dans la texture de la réalité apocalyptique constituée à la frontière qui sépare et rapproche à la fois l'espace religieux chrétien-syrien et l'espace religieux musulman: les « fils d'Išmael », les « fils de Hāšim », le « Mahdī bin Fāṭima », les « fils de Sufyān », les « fils d'Ioktan », le « Mahdī bin 'Ā'iša », le

¹¹⁰ (Ibn 'Asākir 1995-1998 : XVII, 212, XXI, 36-37, 45, XXVI, 268, XXXIII, 435, XXXVII, 346, XL, 18, XLIII, 31-33, LIII, 257-265, LIV, 121, LV, 31-32, LVII, 313, LVIII, 70-71, LXIII, 318, LXVIII, 254 et Ibn Manzūr 1984-1996 : XVI, 353-354, XVIII, 110-114, sources citées par Cobb 2001 : 55-65, 170-172, n. 50-67 ; Al-Ṭabarī 1879-1901 : III, 830.)

¹¹¹ Le septième Calife de la dynastie des Abbassides, Abū Ġā'far 'Abd Allāh al-Mā'mūn bin Hārūn a été le fils du cinquième Calife abbasside, Hārūn al-Rašīd (v. 763-809 ; r. 786-809).

¹¹² Général et gouverneur abbasside, Ṭāhir bin Al-Ḥusayn ou Ṭāhir I^{er} a été le commandant de l'armée d'Al-Ma'mūn pendant la quatrième guerre civile (*fitna*) et le fondateur de la dynastie des Ṭāhirides, qui a gouverné l'Iran indépendamment de la Cour abbasside dans la période 821-873.

¹¹³ (Al-Ṭabarī 1867-1874 : IV, 520 ; Kennedy 1981 : 165-166 ; Sharon 1990 : 79.)

¹¹⁴ (Al-Ṭabarī 1879-1901 : III, 231 ; Cobb 2001 : 49, 61, 177, n. 39.)

¹¹⁵ Texte apocalyptique-polémique chrétien, rédigé en Syrie pendant le califat d'Al-Ma'mūn (813-833).

« roi vert »¹¹⁶. Le code chromatique composé de quatre couleurs exprime la continuité entre le niveau ontologique du temps historique et le niveau ontologique du temps apocalyptique: « Par quatre couleurs se distinguent les royaumes des Arabes: le royaume blanc des fils d’Išmael et le royaume noir des fils de Hāšim, le fils de Muḥammad et le royaume rouge des fils de Sufyān et le royaume vert du roi vert, qui arrive à la fin du règne des fils d’Išmael. Celui-ci est le royaume des fils de Muḥammad, qui prendra en possession le royaume des fils d’Išmael, et le royaume sera donné au jeune homme Hāšim¹¹⁷. »

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¹¹⁶ (Roggema 2009 : 61-93, 285-295, 355-367, 409-415, 497-507.)

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* , 355-357.

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AMBIGUÏTÉ SYMBOLIQUE ET CONTRARIÉTÉS SÉMANTIQUES

Sur le vocable *kara* « noir » dans la geste oghuz *Dede Korkut Kitabı*

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Abstract. *Kara*, “black”, is the most representative and widespread color term in Turkish, in view of its prevalence in idioms, toponymy, anthroponymy, but also of its rich symbolic senses. It is given many semantic values, some of them less obvious than the others and, moreover, surprising from our modern perspective, many a time mostly disjunctive. Our article aims to highlight the importance of *kara* among the other basic color terms (BCT) in Turkish and, on the other hand, to analyze its contextual values in the Oghuz epic of *Dede Korkut Kitabı* (*The Book of Dede Korkut*). We shall try to argue that, beyond the negative contents commonly linked with black in many civilizations, including the Turkish one, this color had once much more subtle and also intricate significances, most of which mainly conceptual. Its complex and sometimes apparently contradictory meanings may result, in our opinion, from an ancient, yet still effectual symbolic contamination between the Turkish perception of the universe and the Chinese model of *yin* and *yang*, essentially based on complementarity, interaction, and perpetual change.

Keywords: BCT (Basic Color Terms), black, color symbolism, Oghuz Turks, *Dede Korkut Kitabı*

I. Le contexte: *Le livre de Dede Korkut* et les mots de couleur en turc

Les récits épiques oghuz connus sous le nom de *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, « Le Livre de Dede Korkut » (mentionné dorénavant par le sigle DKK), sont censés dater de la fin du X^e siècle ; ils ont longtemps circulé par voie orale, étant mis par écrit dans la deuxième moitié du XV^e siècle ou dans la deuxième moitié du XVI^e siècle¹. Le recueil nous est parvenu sous la

¹ La question de la constitution du corpus n'est pas définitivement tranchée. Pertev Naili Boratav (1958) passe en revue les hypothèses avancées à cet égard par Ahmet Cevdet Emre, Walter Ruben, Ettore Rossi, Faruk Sümer, M. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu et se range à l'opinion de Faruk Sümer, qui soutient au début de ses recherches que l'ouvrage aurait été couché sur le papier dans la deuxième moitié du XV^e siècle, sous le règne d'Uzun Hasan (1453-1478), le souverain des Akkoyunlu ; cette thèse sera révisée ensuite par Faruk Sümer (1999 : 368-369), qui proposera une autre datation, à savoir la deuxième moitié du XVI^e siècle, mais aussi une autre localisation, à savoir le périmètre Erzurum-Bayburt. La thèse initiale de F. Sümer allait être reprise par İlhan Başgöz, suivant lequel la forme finale de *Dede Korkut Kitabı* serait l'œuvre d'un rhapsode (*ozan*) anonyme, dont le mérite principal fut d'avoir réuni et, en quelque sorte, soustrait à la fuite du temps un certain nombre de récits qui dataient d'époques différentes et qui étaient fort bien connus en Anatolie au XV^e siècle : « The cycle of Salur

forme de deux manuscrits, qui se trouvent aujourd'hui dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque Royale de Saxe, à Dresde et, respectivement, dans la Bibliothèque apostolique vaticane ; le premier des manuscrits compte douze récits, alors que le second n'en retient que six. Il va de soi que le manuscrit de Dresde est beaucoup plus riche que l'autre, se trouvant à la base de toutes les éditions et les traductions parues jusqu'ici. Néanmoins, il est difficile de savoir si le corpus, tel qu'il nous est parvenu, comprend la totalité des récits qui faisaient partie jadis du cycle de DKK ; certains spécialistes du domaine avancent, par exemple, l'hypothèse que la geste initiale était plus ample, comportant vingt-deux ou vingt-quatre séquences, consacrées chacune à l'un des vingt-deux ou vingt-quatre *bey* (chefs) des tribus oghuz. Les protagonistes de la geste sont des Oghuz (Turkmènes) superficiellement islamisés, se trouvant encore dans la phase nomade ou semi-nomade de leur évolution historique ; la geste pourrait être donc définie comme un cycle épique voué au style de vie nomade et à ses valeurs définitives².

Les récits véhiculent bon nombre d'informations, de thèmes et de motifs, qui méritent des analyses à part et qui intéressent, par ailleurs, plusieurs domaines – on se contentera d'en mentionner, sans pouvoir insister là-dessus, quelques-uns, à titre d'exemples: les particularités des sociétés dualistes et des « chefferies segmentaires », les croyances sur la mort, la nature, la famille, les relations intrafamiliales, les rites de passage (rites de dénomination, rites de fiançailles, rites de mariage, rites funéraires), toujours empreints de croyances et pratiques préislamiques, le sacrifice du cheval, spécifique des rituels funéraires de la même époque préislamique, le statut de la femme dans la société nomade etc. S'y ajoutent d'autres thèmes, moins spectaculaires, mais impliquant des connexions consistantes avec ce que l'on pourrait appeler l'imaginaire turc à l'avènement de l'islam – par exemple, le symbolisme des nombres et le symbolisme chromatique.

Kazan, for example, must have emerged as early as the 9th century at the river banks of Syr-Daria, when the Oğuz tribes were living in Central Asia. Two other stories, the story of Kan Turalı and the story of Deli Dumrul the son of Dukha Khoja, seem to have been created later, after the Oğuz Turks moved to Anatolia in the 10th century. The former contains references to the Oğuz-Tirebizond Greek relationship of the 13th century and the latter attributes the ancestral origin of Dumrul to a Greek Dukha family, and gives us a new version of some ancient themes from Byzantine-Anatolian literature. » (1998 : 160).

² « L'épopée intervient dans une société en transition, du nomadisme vers ce qui sera la société ottomane, agraire et dominée par la ville. [...] La culture que le *Livre de Dede Korkut* remémore est celle de l'« esprit » nomade, de son idéologie, de ses divinités : un monde qui s'en va et qu'on veut retenir. » (Gokalp 1998 : 43). Selon Faruk Sümer (1999 : 369-374), la société tribale évoquée dans la geste est encore entièrement nomade et relève de la phase centre-asiatique des Turcs, lorsque les Oghuz habitaient sur les rives du Seyhun (Syr-Daria).

Le premier récit du *Livre de Dede Korkut*, tel qu'il est connu aujourd'hui, débute par un épisode qui nous place, dès le début, au vif de notre sujet :

Un jour, le Khan Bayındır, fils de Kam Gan, s'était levé de sa place. Il avait fait dresser sur la face de la terre sa tente de Damas. Son parasol multicolore se haussait jusqu'au ciel. Ses tapis de soie étaient étalés en mille endroits. Le Khan des Khans, Khan Bayındır, offrait une fois par an un banquet, où il rassemblait les *bey-s* des Oghuz. Il avait de nouveau fait abattre, à l'occasion de son festin, des étalons, des mâles de chameaux, des béliers. Il avait fait placer en un endroit une tente blanche, en un autre une tente rouge, en un troisième une tente noire. Il avait dit: 'Installez ceux qui n'ont ni fils, ni fille dans la tente noire, faites-les asseoir sur du feutre noir, apportez-leur du ragoût de mouton noir ! Qu'ils en mangent s'ils en veulent manger ! S'ils n'en mangent pas, qu'ils se lèvent et s'en aillent ! Placez ceux qui ont des fils dans la tente blanche, ceux qui ont des filles dans la tente rouge ; quant à ceux qui n'ont ni fils ni filles, Dieu le Très-Haut les a maudits, [c'est pourquoi] nous les maudissons à notre tour, qu'ils le sachent bien !'

Cet épisode est mentionné trois fois³, mettant en évidence l'enjeu symbolique du geste de rejet accompli par le grand seigneur des Oghuz (« le Khan des Khans, Khan Bayındır ») et indiquant, d'autre part, la valeur de marqueur social associée au chromatisme dans les milieux qui nous intéressent ; il s'agit, d'ailleurs, d'une seule valence des couleurs, parmi bien d'autres que l'on va passer en revue dans ce qui suit. Les couleurs de référence dans la scène inaugurale du récit sont le blanc (tr. *ak*), le rouge (tr. *kızıl*) et le noir (tr. *kara*) ; on pourrait y ajouter le bleu, suggéré de manière implicite par l'évocation du ciel (tr. *gök*), qui empruntait traditionnellement son nom à cette couleur en turc.

On va commencer par préciser que le mot de couleur *kara*⁴, « noir », qui est le plus saillant et sur lequel on va se pencher de prédilection dans cet article, bénéficie d'un doublet sémantique, à savoir *siyah*, emprunté au persan. Ce détail pourrait passer pour un simple accident lexical, sinon pour une bizarrerie, s'il ne se répétait pas dans le cas de trois autres couleurs fondamentales: il s'agit du blanc (en turc, *ak*⁵, avec le synonyme d'origine arabe

³ Il serait à remarquer, une fois de plus, la séduction, le prestige inégalable du chiffre 3, associé un peu partout aux épreuves initiatiques et aux démarches éthiques.

⁴ 317 occurrences dans DKK (Tafli 2008 : 107).

⁵ À la différence de *ürün*, *a:k* était utilisé au début comme hyponyme, pour décrire la robe de certains chevaux ; il acquit par la suite une valeur hyperonymique (Clauson 1972 : 75 ; cf. Küçük 2010 : 559-560). Il est attesté, souvent avec un sens métaphorique, dans bien des contextes. Pour ce qui est de *ürün* (*ibid.* : 233-234), il fut employé jusqu'au XI^e siècle comme hyperonyme, pour tomber ensuite en désuétude et être remplacé, avec la

beyaz), du rouge (en turc, *al*, « rouge écarlate », mais aussi « rouge brillant » et, parfois, « orange » ou « orangé »⁶ et *kızıl*, « rouge brillant »⁷, avec le synonyme *kırmızı*, emprunté à l'arabe⁸) ; on pourrait y ajouter, en matière de termes superordonnés, le bleu (*gök(çe)*, avec l'ancien synonyme turc *çakır* et le synonyme d'origine arabe *mavi*⁹).

Dans les cas évoqués plus haut, les vocables d'origine turque impliquent, le plus souvent, des sens qui dépassent le cadre strict du chromatisme et mettent à profit les registres figuratif et métaphorique de la langue, tout en comportant des connexions symboliques multiples. Les raisons de ces emprunts restent, pourtant, obscures et la théorie de Berlin et Kay¹⁰ ne les éclaire pas ; l'emploi d'un terme ou l'autre se rattachait peut-être, à l'origine,

même dimension générique, par *a:k*. Suivant Kâşgarlı Mahmûd (2005 : 639), les Oghuz employaient, avec la même valeur hyperonymique que revêtait *ürün*, le mot *āq* (*ak*) ; lorsqu'il se réfère à *āq*, Mahmûd de Kâşgar évoque sa valeur hyperonymique, mais ajoute que les Oghuz s'en servaient pour décrire la couleur de certains chevaux (*ibidem* : 146).

⁶ Suivant Clauson (1972 : 120-121), *a:l* désignait en mongol « the colour of the (Chinese) scarlet ink with which the rulers sealed documents » ; *a:l sarığ* était « reddy yellow » (jaune orangé ?) ; pourtant, *a:l* pouvait également signifier « orange » ; la même épithète pouvait s'appliquer aux roses, aux visages, à certaines races de chevaux, aux sceaux de certains souverains turcs. Kâşgarlı Mahmud (2005 : 137) spécifie que le mot *āl* désignait en réalité un tissu de soie orange (orangé ?) employé pour confectionner les étendards des khans et/ou les couvertures de selle de leurs chevaux ; en même temps, il signifiait « orange ». Il est facile de constater, donc, que le mot *a:l*, *āl* désignait à l'origine une couleur plutôt ambiguë – peut-être un rouge clair tirant sur le jaune ; il en va de même pour beaucoup d'autres chromonymes.

⁷ Le mot *kızıl* paraît avoir acquis peu à peu une valeur hyperonymique. Les sources antérieures au XIII^e siècle parlent de sang rouge, de rochers rouges, de palais rouges, de santal rouge, de cheveux « rouges » (roux), de certains oiseaux aux plumages rouges, du feu rouge ; le terme se réfère parfois à un rouge brillant, à l'encontre de *kıpkızıl*, le rouge profond. Le terme provient de la racine *kız-*, d'où « rougir/devenir rouge [de honte, de colère] », « s'empourprer », « devenir cramoisi » (d'émotion, de honte, de colère), mais aussi « (s') enflammer, (s') échauffer » (Clauson 1972 : 681, 683-684). Selon Mahmûd de Kâşgar (2005 : 432-433), *qızıl* était un hyperonyme ; le syntagme *qızıl çüvit*, « [couleur] rouge », désignait un rouge brillant.

⁸ Cependant, le mot « arabe » *qırmızı* (< *qırmız*, « cochenille (kermès) »), signifiant « de la couleur de la cochenille (kermès) », c'est-à-dire « rouge vif, éclatant », « carmin », n'est pas d'origine arabe – il semble avoir été emprunté au moyen-perse (Mollard-Desfour 2008 : 28). Pour ce qui est des langues turques, il est attesté à partir de la période dite Harezmi-Kıpçak Türkçesi, « le turc khorezmo-kiptchak » (Küçük 2010 : 564).

⁹ De l'arabe *māwī*, « ayant la couleur de l'eau ». Kâşgarlı Mahmûd fait mention de *kök* et de *kök çüvit*, dans le sens de « bleu brillant » (2005 : 319, 245), mais aussi de *çaqır* (2005 : 222), dans le même sens de « bleu » ou, peut-être, de « bleu pastel » ; ce dernier survit dans le turc anatolien, où il est employé notamment pour décrire la couleur des yeux, ce qui est également valable pour l'exemple fourni par Kâşgarlı Mahmûd.

¹⁰ « The history of many language families [...] shows that borrowing a foreign form for a basic color category may serve either to encode a previously uncoded perceptual category or to replace a native form. » (Berlin / Kay 1969 : 44)

aux notions de brillance et de matité¹¹ ; l'adoption des doublets aurait pu également être déterminée par l'imprécision des mots de couleur d'origine turque. Il n'en reste pas moins que la plupart des synonymes hyperonymiques, pour ne plus parler des hyponymes, ont été adoptés après le contact des Turcs avec les civilisations iranienne et arabe, qui les ont influencés de manière profonde et durable ; la multiplication spectaculaire des mots de couleur après l'islamisation progressive des Turcs témoigne non seulement de l'évolution proprement linguistique, mais aussi du raffinement de la perspective esthétique, sous l'emprise des civilisations susmentionnées, et d'autres encore. Le processus d'emprunt s'anima, par conséquent, à l'époque karakhanide, qui se remarqua, au sujet des nouveautés, notamment par l'assimilation de quelques chromonymes d'origine persane, tels *siyah*, « noir », *zerd*, « jaune » et *surh*, « rouge », continua à l'époque du turc khorezmo-kiptchak¹² avec, entre autres, l'abandon de certains termes et l'adoption d'autres, et s'épanouit à l'époque ouïghoure, particulièrement riche en expériences culturelles, lorsque les Turcs adoptèrent même des chromonymes puisés au sanskrit, tels *yibün/üpün/ipin/ipün/ipgini* etc. , « mauve », *şbara*, « bigarré » et *razvrt/rajiravart/rajivart/arjawrt (rajāvarta) aşırvat*, « bleu foncé ». Pourtant, la véritable révolution en la matière parut se produire à l'époque *çağatay*¹³, avec l'emprunt de nombre de chromonymes d'origine ou inspiration arabe, tels *ahdar*, *ahmer*, *beyaz*, *beyza*, *la'l*, *mavi (mâî)*, mais aussi d'origine persane, tel *lâceverd*, « bleu foncé » (de *lāğvard/lājvard*, « lapis-lazuli ») ; l'époque la plus complexe et la plus fertile de ce point de vue fut celle ottomane, qui laissa d'ailleurs des traces durables dans le turc parlé d'Anatolie (Küçük 2010: 559-569).

Pour revenir au *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, qui évoque une société en transition du nomadisme au nomadisme limité, des croyances préislamiques à l'islam, de l'autarchie centre-asiatique, quelque relative qu'elle pût être, au cosmopolitisme associé à la vie citadine, précisons que les récits de la geste nous permettent d'identifier, à part les quatre couleurs mentionnées au début de notre article, quatre autres termes chromatiques de base ; il s'agit donc, au total, de huit « focus » ou « champs chromatiques », désignés par des hyperonymes correspondant au noir,

¹¹ Annie Mollard-Desfour (2008 : 24) apprécie, par exemple, que le lexique du blanc et du noir latins souligne l'importance accordée auparavant aux notions de brillance et de matité, à la différence du lexique contemporain, qui se concentre sur les différences de tonalités. Cela dénote, à notre avis, un changement de perspective, sinon une mutation dans la perception des couleurs.

¹² Placé généralement entre les VIII^e-XIII^e siècles.

¹³ La périodisation en reste disputée – nous prenons pour point de repère la chronologie adoptée par Zuhul Ölmez (2007) qui, suivant János Eckmann, place le début de cette période au commencement du XV^e siècle.

au blanc¹⁴, au rouge¹⁵, au jaune¹⁶, au vert¹⁷, au bleu¹⁸, au brun¹⁹ et au gris²⁰. Suivant la théorie de Berlin et Kay (1969) concernant les termes désignant les onze couleurs fondamentales

¹⁴ Dans DKK, la couleur des chevaux, de la neige, de la poitrine, des moutons, de la grande tente (*otağ*) du khan, des barbes [des vieillards] et des cheveux [des vieilles femmes], du front, du visage, des mains, des cordes des arcs, de l'argent licite, de certaines citadelles (*ak hisar*) et rochers, des roseaux, des faucons, des étendards, de la maison (= la tente blanche) ; mentionnons aussi, en raison de leur fréquence, les chevaux pinchards (*ak boz*) ; dans le récit initial de la geste oghuz, c'est la couleur des tentes qui abritent, sur les ordres du Khan des Khans, Khan Bayındır, les familles ayant des fils.

¹⁵ La notion de « rouge » est exprimée par trois termes chromatiques différents : *al*, employé pour dépeindre la couleur des joues empourprées, du vin, du voile porté sur la tête par les futures épouses, des ailes de l'ange de la mort, 'Azrail, de la soie des chalcars ou d'autres vêtements portés par les jeunes filles, du cheval (alezan) ; *kızıl*, employé pour indiquer la couleur des grandes tentes (*otağ*), y compris les tentes réservées aux familles ayant des filles, lors du grand banquet annuel donné par Khan Bayındır, la couleur des joues, des poils des chameaux, des tentes nuptiales, des caftans endossés par les jeunes hommes à l'occasion des noces, du henné ; *kırmızı*, employé pour qualifier la couleur des grandes tentes et des caftans nuptiaux mentionnés plus haut (ce dernier terme, avec seulement trois occurrences, semble être un emprunt de fraîche date).

¹⁶ C'est la couleur du « serpent jaune » (*sarı yılan*), venimeux, donc malin, mais aussi de certains vêtements (ceux de *sarı elbiseli Selcen Hatun*, « Selcen Hatun, celle vêtue de jaune » ou de *sarı elbiseli kız*, « la jeune fille vêtue de jaune »), et le nom/surnom des personnages dits Soğan (Soğan Sarı) et Konur Koca Sarı Çoban ; s'y ajoute l'or (*altın*), qui peut être « jaune », mais aussi « rouge ».

¹⁷ *Yaşıl/yeşil* est la couleur de l'herbe, des pâturages, des prés.

¹⁸ En turc ancien, *gök* [kō:k] : « 4 kō:k (g-), basically 'the sky' ; hence 'sky-coloured, blue, blue-grey', etc. ; for a similar range of colours cf. *yaşıl*. S. i. a. m. l. g. in both meanings except NE, where it has only the second (various Sec. f. s. of *teñri* : reborrowed fr. Mong. being used in the first ; in SW Osm. *gök* (before vowels *gög...*) ; Tkm. *gö:k* (gö:g...) » (Clauson 1972 : 708). Pourtant, la couleur indiquée par *kō:k* n'est pas toujours évidente, puisque le terme respectif renvoie parfois à une sorte de bleu-vert, peut-être turquoise (*ibidem* : 708-709) ; remarquons, par ailleurs, que la turquoise est ambiguë de par sa nature, sa couleur pouvant osciller entre bleu clair et vert pomme. L'exemple donné par Mahmūd Kâşgarî (2005 : 319), à savoir *kök ton*, « vêtement de couleur gris cendré, sombre », ne fait qu'accroître l'incertitude. Kâşgarî ajoute que le mot *kök* est employé pour décrire toute chose dont la couleur ressemble à la couleur du ciel – on serait fort enclin à se demander « de quel ciel s'agit-il ? », car la couleur du ciel même est changeante... La même imprécision gouverne le mot *yaşıl*, dérivé probablement de *ya:ş*, « végétation » (le nom du vert est lié à l'idée de végétation dans beaucoup de langues) : « Properly 'of the colour of fresh vegetation', i. e. 'green', but like 4 *kō:k* not very precise and sometimes used for 'light blue' ; this lack of precision still survives, in SE Türki *yeşil* is 'green', but 'green grass' is *kök ot*. » (Clauson 1972 : 1023). Voir aussi les racines verbales *kökle:-*, « être bleu, gris, vert, etc. » (*ibidem* : 711) et *kō:ker-*, « être de / acquérir la couleur du ciel », « être bleu/gris », mais aussi « vert » (*ibidem* : 713 ; cf. Kâşgarî 2005 : 319, dont l'exemple, *kökerdi nēng*, « l'objet a pris la couleur du ciel », c'est-à-dire « sa couleur a tourné en gris cendré », montre une certaine cohérence quant à la définition du bleu). Il s'agit là d'un phénomène largement débattu par les linguistes.

¹⁹ Suivant Clauson (1972 : 909), « *yağız* (d-) 'brown' ; originally a stock epithet of the earth, as opposed to the blue (*kō:k*) sky. It is therefore prob. a Dev. N. /A. fr. *yağ-* and originally meant 'poured upon, saturated' and so 'brown'. Later used for the colour of a horse's coat or a man's complexion. ». Parmi les syntagmes que Clauson passe en revue dans le même contexte figurent *yağız yer*, dans le sens de « dark brown, that is a colour between red and black » et *yağız at*, « a dark bay (...) horse », mais aussi *kara: yağız*, « black (...) in colour » : « *yağız* is usually used w. *kara:*, but may be used separately (...) and one says *yağız at*, 'a horse of a colour between black

(BCT) et les sept étapes de leur apparition dans une langue ou l'autre²¹, nous estimons que le turc parlé par les Oghuz de DKK était une langue du septième stade (*stage VII system*), plus exactement une langue renfermant huit termes chromatiques de base (voir, pour les détails d'ordre typologique, Berlin / Kay 1969: 17-33).

Les hyperonymes sont complétés par des hyponymes, ainsi qu'il advient dans bien des langues, au-delà des typologies linguistiques ; il faut quand-même préciser que le statut de quelques mots de couleur a changé au long du temps, de sorte que certains hyponymes ont évolué vers l'hyperonymie, et vice-versa. Un détail significatif de la perception et la description des couleurs en turc nous paraît également l'absence d'un vocable susceptible d'exprimer l'idée de nuance (le néologisme contemporain *nüans*, emprunté au français, est généralement voué à d'autres emplois et, d'ailleurs, déconseillé) ; il reste que le concept d'hyperonyme et celui d'hyponyme sont définis, aujourd'hui encore, par le même terme

and sorrel' ». Kâşgarî (2005 : 649) définit la couleur dite *yagız* de deux manières : « brun foncé » et « couleur située entre le rouge et le noir » et donne les mêmes exemples ; cf. Eren 1999 : 439. Les récits de DKK évoquent souvent le *yağız al at*, « le cheval bai-brun ». Au fait, beaucoup de langues n'ont pas de terme spécifique pour le brun (Berlin / Kay 1969 : 27-28).

²⁰ En turc, *boz* (*bo: z*, *bōz*), qui semble avoir appartenu au début à la catégorie des lexiques chromatiques spécialisés, étant employé comme adjectif décrivant la robe des chevaux ou les poils d'autres animaux ; le vocable était utilisé tant au sens générique que spécifique, pour dépeindre les chevaux gris. Clauson (1972 : 188) en donne un certain nombre d'exemples relevés des sources de haute époque, tels *boz bul:t*, « nuage gris », *altın erini boz bolup*, « sa lèvre inférieure devient grise », *bo:z ko:y*, « mouton gris », *boz saçlığ*, « cheveux cendrés », *temür boz*, « gris-fer », *bozğuş/bozkuş*, « oiseau gris » ; il apprécie que le mot *boz* indiquait, notamment par référence aux animaux, une couleur allant de blanc jusqu'au gris foncé. Les exemples fournis par Mahmûd de Kâşgar (2005 : 199), à savoir *bōz at*, « cheval gris » et *bōz kōy*, « mouton gris », se rangent du même domaine ; pourtant, Kâşgarî y ajoute une explication curieuse : « *bōz* est employé pour décrire tout animal dont la couleur oscille entre le blanc et le rouge » ; d'autre part, le mot *bōz* est défini comme « la couleur de la terre [dans sa variante] pâle » ; il s'ensuit que *bōz* pouvait signifier, à notre avis, non seulement gris, mais aussi beige. V. aussi Eren 1999 : 60. En DKK, on parle sans cesse du *boz at* ou *boz aygır*, « cheval gris » ou « gris louvet » ; s'y ajoutent, en termes de gris, l'alouette de champs barbue, dont la couleur tire sur la gris, le personnage nommé/surnommé Boz Oğlan, litt. « le Gars Gris », fameux pour sa vaillance, la tribu oghuze des Boz-Ok (dans la geste, les Diş-Oğuz) et le célèbre « Hızır au cheval gris » (*boz atlı Hıdır*), dont l'évocation paraît être un ajout de plus fraîche date.

²¹ En voici une synthèse : « If a language encodes fewer than eleven basic color categories, than there are strict limitations on which categories it may encode. The distributional restrictions of color terms across languages are : 1. All languages contain terms for white and black. 2. If a language contains three terms, then it contains a term for red. 3. If a language contains four terms, then it contains a term for either green or yellow (but not both). 4. If a language contains five terms, then it contains terms for both green and yellow. 5. If a language contains six terms, then it contains a term for blue. 6. If a language contains seven terms, then it contains a term for brown. 7. If a language contains eight or more terms, then it contains a term for purple, pink, orange, grey, or some combination of these. » (Berlin / Kay 1969 : 2-3).

d'origine persane, à savoir *renk*. L'ancien turc semble avoir suppléé à cette lacune par le mot *çivit/çüwit*, employé, avec les noms de couleur respectifs, dans la même acception (Kâşgarî 2005 : 245) ; certains spécialistes le considèrent, pourtant, vide de sens. Le vocable *çivit* a survécu en turc moderne, sans garder pourtant son caractère conceptuel : il désigne aujourd'hui un bleu indigo (*çivit mavisî*), obtenu de l'extrait de l'indigotier (*çivit otu*) et employé traditionnellement pour blanchir le linge.

Le champ du chromatisme est complété en turc par bon nombre de mots composés et syntagmes consacrés à la description des couleurs et des nuances: ils sont souvent d'un pittoresque inouï, en turc comme dans d'autres langues. En voici quelques exemples, tirés du DKK: *ak boz [at]*, « [cheval] gris clair », *kızıl alaca [gelin odası]*, « [chambre nuptiale d'un] rouge bigarré », *yağız al (at)*, « [cheval] bai, brun rouge » ; de plus, le « paravent multicolore » du khan, ainsi que la montagne surplombant le « pays » oghuz sont *alaca*, « multicolores, bigarrés, bariolés », c'est-à-dire d'une couleur difficile à définir. Ces exemples ne sont pas sans mettre en évidence un aspect essentiel du processus de prolifération des noms de couleurs: les couleurs voisines sont plus enclines que les autres à former des composés, censés exprimer les nuances²².

II. Le retour au texte: les valeurs du « noir » (*kara*) dans *Le Livre de Dede Korkut*

On va passer en revue, dans ce qui suit, les contextes véhiculant le mot de couleur *kara*, « noir », dans la geste oghuz qui constitue notre point de départ, en essayant d'établir, lorsque possible, sa signification contextuelle, afin de vérifier si celle-ci s'accorde avec les connotations et la dimension symbolique associées traditionnellement à cet hyperonyme dans la civilisation turque²³.

²² « If two universal foci are similar, and hence close together in the color space, we might expect them to be frequently named by a composite term (because even a fairly small color category would be able to include both foci). However, we would not expect to see many derived terms between these foci, because any such term would have to fit into the small perceptual space between them. A similar, but complementary argument could be made that if two neighboring universal foci are far apart, we would expect to frequently see a derived term in between, but to rarely, if ever, see a composite term including both foci. » (Dowman 2007 : 106).

²³ L'emploi alternatif de *kara*, d'origine turque, et de *siyah*, d'origine persane, n'est pas aussi transparent que le soutient Hülya Taflı : « In the Turkish lexicon black refers to two different words in Turkish : 'kara' means black and is used by the Oğuz people before conversion to Islam [...]. 'Kara' is used 317 times in *The Book of Dede Korkut*. 'Siyah' also means black and is of Arabic origin, and is used after conversion to Islam [...]. 'Siyah' is

Le vocable *kara* fait partie du fond lexical commun turco-mongol, étant attesté dès les temps les plus reculés dans bien des langues et dialectes turcs. Beaucoup d'expressions idiomatiques et de proverbes en portent la marque, pour ne plus parler de la mythologie, des légendes et de la création populaire dans son ensemble. Il faudrait y ajouter, de façon tout à fait évidente, la toponymie, l'anthroponymie, l'hydronymie, l'oronymie d'Asie Centrale, de Turquie et du monde turc, en général, empreints de l'histoire de maintes tribus ou branches de tribus turques. Le sujet est particulièrement vaste et impose, de par sa nature, des découpages progressifs, persévérants et, le plus souvent, peu spectaculaires. C'est justement en raison de cet aspect que nous avons choisi d'analyser pour le moment *Le Livre de Dede Korkut*, qui représente, en quelque sorte, le pont entre un passé qui s'en va peu à peu, parce que ne plus possible, et un avenir suffisamment vague pour ne pas éveiller encore l'angoisse.

Nous présentons dans ce qui suit un inventaire des occurrences de l'hyperonyme *kara* dans la geste oghuz *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, accompagné parfois de brefs commentaires. Il serait à remarquer que, dans la majeure partie des cas, les contextes sont suffisamment ambigus pour ne pas permettre une séparation très nette entre l'emploi strictement dénotatif et celui connotatif du mot ; autrement dit, *kara* est tellement lourd de sens que son emploi n'est jamais complètement innocent. L'inventaire ci-dessous nous paraît bien parlant de ce point de vue:

- *kara saç* (DKH: 11, 32, 41, 79, 86)²⁴, « cheveux noirs » ; *kara saçlım* (DKH: 148), « [ma chère] aux cheveux noirs » ; *kargı gibi kara saç* (DKH: 123), « cheveux noirs [et plats/raides] comme une lance », « cheveux noirs, lancéolés ».

- *kara kaşlım* (DKH: 148), « [ma chère] aux sourcils noirs ».

- *kara bıyık* (DKH :112), « moustache noire ».

not used in *The Book of Dedem Korkut*. As stated by Kafalı, black symbolizes sadness, fear, helplessness, death and total passivity, and it is used as a colour of mourning. » (2008 : 107). En réalité, le mot *kara* ne disparaît pas après l'islamisation des Turcs, malgré l'apparition de son synonyme persan, d'autant plus qu'il figure dans bon nombre d'expressions, de proverbes, de récits populaires, qui restent toujours actuels.

²⁴ Les renvois aux pages concernent, dans tous les cas, l'édition *Dede Korkut Hikâyeleri* (éd. : Cevdet Kudret), Istanbul, Varlık Yayınları, 1976, indiquée désormais par le sigle DKH.

● *kara gözleri, kara gözlü (hatun, kız)* (DKH: 18, 27, 45, 72, 92, 93, 102, 108), « femme/jeune fille aux yeux noirs »: *kara gözlü yiğitler* (DKH: 93, 107), « jeunes hommes aux yeux noirs ».

● *kara tahrirli gözler / tahrirli kara gözler* (DKH: 20, 33, 78-79, 101, 220), « des yeux ombrés [noircis] de noir ».

Les cheveux noirs, les yeux noirs ou (comme) ombrés de noir, les sourcils noirs, la moustache noire reflètent un idéal spécifique de beauté ; cependant, les « cheveux noirs » peuvent revêtir dans certains contextes des connotations négatives, maléfiques – par exemple, les « païens » de Şöklü Melik se ruant sur la maison de Salur Kazan en l’absence de celui-ci sont vêtus de cafetans « déchirés au dos » et ont des cheveux noirs, qu’ils portent dans le dos (DKH: 29).

● *yelesi kara (Kazılık) at* (DKH: 18, 105, 130, 136, 139, 145, 147, 149, 179, 180, 183, 193, 201), « cheval [de Kazılık] à la crinière noire²⁵ »

Contexte constamment positif, faisant référence aux caractéristiques physiques d’une race spécifique (probablement locale) de chevaux – il s’agit de « chevaux de race pure ».

● *kara kıldan sicim* (DKH: 108), « corde de fil noir ».

● *kara yer* (DKH: 27, 40, 50, 151) « terre noire »: *kara yere ak çadırlar dikeyim der idim* (DKH: 105), « je me disais: je dresserai des tentes blanches sur la terre noire » ; *ak alnın kara yere tepilmeden* (DKH: 143), « avant que ton front blanc ne soit cogné contre la terre noire »; *Kam Gan oğlu Han Bayındır yerinden kalkmıştı. Ak büyük evini kara yerin üzerine diktirmişti* (DKH: 176), « Han Bayındır, fils de Kam Gan, s’était levé de sa place. Il avait fait dresser sa grande demeure blanche [= sa grande tente blanche] sur la terre noire »

La terre est évoquée soit comme *kara yer*, « terre noire », soit comme *yağız yer*, « terre brune foncée » ; l’épithète *yağız* désigne une couleur difficile à déterminer de manière précise

²⁵ Faruk Sümer (1999 : 64, 393) avance l’hypothèse qu’il s’agit d’une race de chevaux spécifique des Monts Kazılık, « où les neiges ne fondent jamais, en été comme en hiver » ; ceux-ci auraient constitué une partie de la chaîne montagneuse Karachuk, connue aujourd’hui sous le nom de Kara-Tau (Karatau), dans le sud du Kazakhstan. D’autres commentateurs parlent d’une race de chevaux spécifique de la région de Kazılık, située « probablement » en Azerbaïdjan.

– un brun très sombre, terreux, tirant sur le noir (une sorte de « brun tundra », bien que cette couleur n'est pas répertoriée comme telle). Le vocable *yağız*, attesté depuis le moyen-turc, provient vraisemblablement de la racine *yağ-*, qui fournit aussi le nom de la pluie: il signifiait autrefois « sol saturé d'eau » et, d'ici, « sol d'une nuance sombre » (voir, pour la discussion à ce sujet, Clauson 1972: 909 ; cf. Eren 1999: 439). Le mot subsiste dans le turc contemporain, où il continue de signifier « brun », « basané » (pour ce qui est du teint), mais aussi « [cheval] alezan bai » ; de même, on continue de l'employer à côté de *kara*, sous la forme *kara yağız*, qui signifie « [homme] au teint basané », mais aussi en compagnie du jaune (*sarı yağız*, « [cheval] alezan doré ») et du rouge (*yağız doru*, « [cheval] aux poils noirs tirant sur le rouge »).

- *kara koç Kazılık kurban* (DKH: 104), « bouc noir de Kazılık, voué au sacrifice »

Le chromonyme *kara* paraît revêtir dans ce contexte un sens strictement dénotatif, sinon positif, à la différence du contexte initial, où le « ragoût de mouton noir » est un signe de marginalisation, d'exclusion sociale, donc un symbole du blâme ; on est amené à constater, une fois de plus, que le symbolisme du noir est variable et, surtout, étroitement lié au contexte.

- *kara Hintli kullar*, « des esclaves noirs d'Inde » (DKH: 42)

Passage et contexte confus, faisant référence à la couleur noire de la peau des esclaves indiens d'Uruz (dont l'origine paraît, par ailleurs, assez mystérieuse).

- *kara çelik kılıç/kılıçlar* (DKH: 11, 23, 26, 37, 48, 49, 115, 137, 157-158, 165, 173, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 195, 227), « sabre/sabres en acier noir » ; *kara kılıç* (DKH: 111, 119, 210), « sabre noir ».

- *kara elbiseli dervişler* (DKH: 18) ou *kara giysili dervişler* (DKH: 103), « derviches vêtus de noir » ; *kara cübbe giyen keşiş* (DKH: 93), « moine vêtu de manteau noir »

Les contextes, dans ces cas, sont ambigus – au premier abord, le mot *kara* indique simplement la couleur des vêtements enfilés par les derviches et les moines chrétiens ; les porteurs de ces vêtements incarnent une certaine catégorie, assurément blâmable pour ce qui est des chrétiens ; l'emploi de syntagmes presque similaires au sujet des derviches (musulmans) et des moines (chrétiens) suggère, d'autre part, que les deux catégories sont perçues dans le même registre. La couleur sombre de leurs manteaux les isole, les rend

étranges, donc « étrangers » – c'est la couleur de la terre (*kara yer*), réservée aux morts, non pas aux vivants ; les moines et les derviches évoquent des morts vivants.

● *kara giysili azgın dinli kâfirler* (DKH: 19), « des mécréants farouches, vêtus de noir » ; *kara giysili kâfir* (DKH: 144, 157, 180, 192, 199, 204), « mécréant vêtu de noir » (ce syntagme serait à confronter avec d'autres, concernant les non-musulmans, tel *demir giysili kâfir*, « des mécréants vêtus de fer », DKH: 192) ; *kara dinli kâfir* (DKH: 99, 102), « mécréant à la foi noire » (= ce syntagme se corrobore d'un autre similaire, à savoir *kötü dinli kâfir*, « mécréant à la foi mauvaise », DKH: 123, qui suggère que, du moins dans les énoncés pareils, *kara* est regardé comme synonyme de *kötü*, « mauvais », « malin », « blâmable ») ; *kara giysili, mavi demirli altıyüz kâfir* (DKH: 142), « six cent mécréants vêtus de noir et d'armures (litt. « fer ») bleues ».

Dans ces cas, le noir semble être employé dans le sens référentiel (« les mécréants vêtus de noir » = « les mécréants vêtus d'armures [de fer noir] ») ; pourtant, en replaçant les syntagmes dans leurs contextes, on arrive facilement à la conclusion que les « mécréants » (les impies, les infidèles) sont associés au noir, aux ténèbres, à la « malignité » ; la couleur de leurs vêtements n'est qu'une marque visible, quoique naïve, de l'« invalidité », de l'erreur, du caractère nuisible de leur foi.

● *kara boğa*, « taureau noir » (DKH: 130, 139)

Les bêtes noires incarnent, les plus souvent, les forces infernales, les forces obscures du mal ; le « taureau noir » est, d'ailleurs, défini comme *ejderha*, « dragon » (on dirait une sorte de minotaure *oghuz*), étant vaincu dans une confrontation aux connotations initiatiques.

● *kara deve* (DKH: 29, 32, 36, 132, 139), « chameau noir » ; *kara erkek deve* (DKH: 130), « chameau étalon noir » ; *Kazan beyin kocamış anası kara deve boymunda asılı gitti* (DKH: 29, 36), « la mère de Kazan Bey, déjà vieille, partit [en otage] attachée au cou d'un chameau noir ».

Tout comme le « taureau noir », le chameau noir est un signe de mauvais augure, à la différence du « chameau rouge », qui est non seulement bénin, mais faste.

● *kara köpek* (DKH: 35)

Le chien noir qui, dans d'autres circonstances, pourrait passer pour un simple chien noir (ce qui arrive rarement, un peu dans toutes les cultures !), est, dans notre récit, l'équivalent presque parfait du « chat noir » – autrement dit, un signe de mauvais augure.

- *kara inek buzağı* (DKH: 136), « veau de vache noire »

Le « veau de vache noire » comporte un sens négatif, à savoir l'idée de « mauvaise souche ».

- *kara koyun yahnisi* (DKH: 9, 10, 11), « ragoût de mouton noir »

Dans l'épisode initial du premier récit de la geste, la tente noire, (le tapis de) feutre noir et le ragoût de mouton noir produisent un effet d'accumulation, d'amplification et indiquent sans équivoque la marginalisation, le blâme social ; l'élément commun en est manifestement la couleur noire.

● *kapkara duman*, « fumée/brouillard de fumée noir(e) comme du jais/comme de l'ébène » + *kara deve*, « chameau(x) noir(s) » + *kara bulut*, « nuée(s) noire(s)/sombre(s) » + *kara yağmur*, « pluie noire » (DKH: 32)

Tout comme dans l'exemple antérieur, on remarque sans difficulté l'énumération de plusieurs signes de présage funeste, qui produit un effet d'accumulation ; le contexte confirme, d'ailleurs, le sens d'« animal de mauvais augure » associé, en général, aux bêtes noires.

● *kara domuz eti* (DKH: 73), « viande de porc noir » ; *kara domuz damı* (DKH: 108), « étable de porcs noirs »

Le porc, dont la consommation est interdite par l'islam en raison de son impureté, est « noir », donc « malin » et, aussi, « dégoûtant », « malsain » ; à l'époque ottomane, on l'appelait également *qaracavar/qaracavari*, « bête noire » (*Yeni Tarama Sözlüğü* 2009: 138).

● *kara koç at* (DKH: 34, 59, 103, 109, 111, 128, 141, 203, 204, 211), litt. « cheval bouc noir », et *kara koç aygır* (DKH: 198), litt. « étalon bouc noir », dans le sens de « cheval

noir/moreau, beau et courageux » ; *kara koç Kazılık at/atlar* (DKH: 146, 223, 226, 228), litt. « cheval/chevaux bouc(s) noir(s)/moreau(x) de Kazılık²⁶ », dans le même sens de « cheval/chevaux beau(x) » ; *kara koçu yürük at* (DKH: 190), « cheval noir, beau et courageux, de nomade » ; *kara aygır* (DKH: 111, 112), « étalon noir / moreau » ; *Uruz kara koçunu oynattı* (DKH: 100), « Uruz fit bouger son cheval moreau »

Le cheval noir est, sans doute, un cheval de race, un cheval vigoureux ; il en ressort que les « animaux noirs » ne sont pas toujours néfastes et que les valeurs du noir dans la culture turque traditionnelle sont plus complexes qu'on ne l'envisage.

- *kara taş*, « pierre noire » (DKH: 45, 112)

Il s'agit d'une pierre non seulement sombre, mais aussi dure, difficile à casser – une sorte de granite, peut-être ; le contexte est soit neutre, soit positif.

- *kara çadır*, « tente noire » (DKH: 9, 10, 11)

« La tente noire » évoquée dans le récit initial, ayant le sol revêtu de « feutre noir », symbolise la ségrégation, la discrimination, l'exclusion sociale ; elle n'est pas sans rappeler le syntagme *kara bodun*, litt. « peuple noir », dans le sens de « bas peuple, plèbe, populace », largement employé à l'époque centre-asiatique des Turcs – voir, par exemple, les inscriptions de l'Orkhon (Tekin 2010: 26, 34, 53, 64.). « Les tentes noires et blanches » symbolisent l'échelle sociale et l'idée de hiérarchie, en raison de la signification sociale attribuée aux couleurs par les Turcs: « Les yourtes blanches ou claires sont ainsi celles des chefs ou des notables, les yourtes noires ou noirâtres sont celles de la classe inférieure. [...] La plus grande partie de la population vit dans des yourtes noires. [...] Si les tentes blanches, rouges et colorées signalent la richesse de leurs possesseurs, les tentes noires au contraire appartiennent aux plus basses couches de la population. » (Planhol 1967: 109-110) Suivant cette logique, basée sur « un déterminisme simple, mais bien conforme à ce qu'on peut attendre d'un milieu aussi brutal, aux aspects aussi vigoureusement tranchés, que celui de la steppe » (*ibidem*: 113), le noir, qui indique le vieillissement progressif du feutre de la tente, devient un symbole de l'état inférieur, de l'échec social, de la dépendance. Le même état de déchéance est suggéré par le syntagme *kara keçe*, « feutre noir » (DKH: 9, 10, 11), ainsi que par les allusions à la « cuisine noire » (*kara mutfak*, DKH: 33, 122 – voir, par exemple, la malédiction *kara mutfak*

²⁶ Qui, dans la geste, passe pour une véritable marque de chevaux autochtone.

altında onun şöleni olsun [DKH: 122], « que son festin se déroule dans [sous] la cuisine noire »). On ne saurait s'empêcher de penser, dans ce dernier cas, à l'opposition réalisée par les anthropologues entre la « cuisine blanche », aseptique, urbaine, et la « cuisine noire » traditionnelle, rustique, qui porte l'empreinte de la fumée dégagée par l'âtre et, plus généralement, par le feu ouvert. Cette dernière est propre aux habitations rurales, pour ne plus parler des tentes des nomades.

- *kara giysiler giydiler/karalar giydiler*, « il se sont vêtus de noir » (DKH: 67) ; *ak çıkardılar, kara giydiler*, « ils ont ôté leurs vêtements blancs et se sont habillés de noir » (DKH: 69, 70) ; *ak çıkarıp, kara giydilak çıkarıp, kara giyin !*, « elle ôta ses vêtements blancs et se vêtit de noir » / « ôtez vos vêtements blancs et vêtez-vous de noir ! » (DKH: 192, 228, 229) ; *kara giymiş*, « vêtue de noir » (DKH: 78) ; *kara yas tutmak*, « prendre le deuil noir », « prendre le grand deuil » (DKH: 105) ; *mavi giyip kara sarınmak*, « se vêtir de bleu et s'envelopper dans des habits noirs » (DKH: 109) ; *kara giyip mavi sarınmak*, « se vêtir de noir et s'envelopper dans des habits bleus » (DKH: 229)

Dans les contextes ci-dessus, le noir indique, de manière évidente, le deuil ; pour ce qui du bleu, il est souvent mentionné comme couleur de deuil, à côté du noir²⁷ ; pourtant, il est impossible de savoir s'il s'agit du même « bleu » que celui désigné par le vocable *gök/gökçe* ou d'une autre nuance de bleu, plus foncée. Puisque le bleu était la couleur du ciel, étant considéré comme un indicateur de la splendeur, de la magnificence de Tanrı, il s'agissait d'une couleur sacrée, réservée peut-être à certaines personnes.

- *kara ayıp* (DKH: 10), litt. « honte noire », « grande honte »

Suivant *Yeni Tarama Sözlüğü* (2009: 137), *qara* revêtait aussi, à l'époque ottomane, le sens figuré d'*ayıp*, « honte » ; par conséquent, dans le contexte cité plus haut il ne fait que renforcer le sens du mot qu'il accompagne.

- *kara ölüm geldiğinde geçit versin* (DKH: 26), « quand la noire mort viendra, qu'elle vous laisse passer »

²⁷ Cette coutume ne semble pas avoir entièrement disparu: Y. Kalafat (1999 : 284) affirme avoir rencontré à Samarkand des Turcs qui préféraient, en matière de deuil, le bleu au noir.

« La mort noire » n'a pas besoin de commentaires supplémentaires – le noir exprime, dans ce contexte, la détresse, le sentiment d'abandon éprouvé par tout mortel confronté avec la mort.

● *kara olmak*, litt. « devenir noir », « se noircir », « s'assombrir »: *ziyafetin, düğünün kara oldu!* (DKH: 75), « ta fête et ta noce ont été assombries »

« Le banquet noir », « les noces noires » évoquent des événements potentiellement fastes, qui tournent mal, puisque le mal, la malchance sont toujours aux aguets, alors les êtres humains sont fragiles, vulnérables.

● *kara kaygılı düş* (DKH: 32), litt. « rêve éveillant des soucis noirs », dans le sens de « rêve inquiétant », « rêve de mauvais augure »

● *kara baş* + suffixe possessif, dans le sens de « (très) humble, modeste, précaire »

Selon *Yeni Tarama Sözlüğü* (2009: 137), *qara baş* signifiait, à l'époque ottomane, (1) « endolori », « souffrant », mais aussi (2) « bête », « idiot », « imbécile ». Le syntagme est très fréquent dans *Dede Korkut Kitabı* – en voici quelques exemples: *kara başım kurban olsun [...] sana* (DKH: 19, 20, 21, 34, 36, 70, 76, 77, 88, 93, 96, 97, 98, 145, 180, 202), « que ma pauvre [noire] tête te soit sacrifiée » ; *kara başım gözüüm uykuda iken düş gördü* (DKH: 154), « moi, le pauvre / pauvre de moi, j'ai fait un rêve lorsque mes yeux étaient [clos], en sommeil » ; *kara başım darda kaldı* (DKH: 224), « ma pauvre [noire] tête est dans l'embarras / pauvre de moi, je suis dans l'embarras / pauvre de moi, je suis dans des beaux draps » ; *kara başım sağ kaldıkça iyilikler edeyim* (DKH: 35), « que je te rende service tant que ma pauvre [noire] tête est sauve » ; *kara başım bunaldı / kara başı bunaldı* (DKH: 37, 157, 223), « ma/sa pauvre [noire] tête fut en grand désarroi » ; *kılıç çalıp baş kestiğimi gör, öğren / kara başına düştüğü zaman gereklidir* (DKH: 98), « vois et apprends comment je joue de l'épée et coupe des têtes / tu en auras besoin lorsque [cette rude tâche] reviendra à ta pauvre [noire] tête » ; *kara başımın bedduası tutsun Kazan seni!* (DKH: 105), « que tu sois frappé par la malédiction de ma pauvre [noire] tête, Kazan ! », « que la malédiction da ma pauvre [noire] tête te saisisse, Kazan ! » ; *kara başımı kaldır, yiğit!* (DKH: 143), « lève ta pauvre [noire] tête, brave ! » ; *kara başıma neler geldi!* (DKH: 182, 223), « [vois] ce qui s'est abattu sur ma pauvre [noire] tête ! » ; *kara başımı terkiye asayım mı?* (DKH: 146), « veux-tu que je fasse pendre ta pauvre [noire] tête à la croupe de mon cheval? ».

• *kara ejderha çıktı Tepegöz* (DKH: 167), « Tepegöz [le cyclope] s'avéra un dragon noir » ; *kara kaplan çıktı Tepegöz* « Tepegöz [le cyclope] s'avéra un tigre noir ».

Le cyclope (= Tepegöz) est l'incarnation même du mal – vu son aspect, il ne se range pas du cote des humains, mais des bêtes ; son comportement vient confirmer, d'ailleurs, son profil maléfique. Les infirmes, les estropiés, les « dissemblables » sont mal jugés par les sociétés traditionnelles, en tant que porte-malheur, et en deviennent souvent des boucs émissaires.

• *kan karadır* (DKH: 33), « le sang est noir » ; *kara kan* (DKH: 111, 227, 228), « sang noir » ; (*kâfirin*) *kara kanı fıskırdı, kara sığır çizmesi kan doldu* (DKH: 157), « le sang noir [de l'impie] jaillit et ses bottes de cuir de bœuf noir s'emplirent de sang ».

Le « sang noir » pourrait être interprété à la rigueur comme « sang veineux », mais ce serait peut-être une interprétation trop réaliste – le contexte nous semble plutôt ambigu, surtout en raison de sa connexion avec l'impie ou le « païen », qui est, de par sa nature, « noir ».

• *kara bağır (bağrı) sarsılmak* (DKH: 33, 75, 101, 105, 152), litt. « être secoué dans ses viscères noirs », à savoir « être profondément troublé », « être accablé par la souffrance ».

D'après *Yeni Tarama Sözlüğü* (2009: 137), le syntagme *qara bağır* était employé jadis dans le sens d'« âme/être en souffrance ».

• *güçlü Tanrı senin alınna kara yazsın* (DKH: 36), « que Tanrı, le Tout-puissant, inscrive le malheur sur ton front ! »

Cette imprécation va évidemment de pair avec l'expression idiomatique *kara yazı*, « destinée malheureuse », « malchance », « mauvaise fortune ». Il s'agit donc d'une formule de malédiction.

• *kara turnak*, « ongle noir » : *kara turnağımı ak yüzüme çalayım mı?* (DKH: 104), « [dois-je] gratter mon visage blanc de mon ongle noir ? »

Il s'agit ici d'une marque extérieure de deuil (de Burla Hatun à la haute taille) – chez les Turcs préislamiques, les parents, et surtout les proches du décédé, avaient l'habitude de gratter leurs joues jusqu'au sang, en signe de deuil. Le sens de « l'ongle noir » n'est pas clair dans le contexte – elle renvoie, peut-être, à l'idée d'humilité.

- *kara dağ / kara dağlar* (DKH: 61, 88, 95, 109, 115, 122, 126, 180, 210), « montagne noire » ; *yerli kara dağlar* (DKH: 127), « les noires montagnes du pays » ; *yerli kara dağlar yıkılmasın* (DKH: 26, 159, 190), « que les noires montagnes du pays ne s'écroulent pas ! » ; *karlı kara dağlar* (DKH: 45, 139), « les noires montagnes neigeuses » ; *karlı kara dağların yıkılmasın!* (DKH: 49, 90), « que les noires montagnes neigeuses ne s'écroulent pas ! » ; *kara kara dağlarda çevirdim, yenemedim* (DKH: 167), « je l'ai pourchassé [Tepegöz, le cyclope] dans les noires montagnes, mais je ne suis pas parvenu à le vaincre » ; *karşıda yatan kara dağımın yükseği oğul !* (DKH: 102, 106, 109, 219), « mon fils, sommet de ma noire montagne qui se trouve en face ! » ; *kara dağımın yükseği kardeş !* (DKH: 166, 195), « mon frère, sommet de ma noire montagne ! » ; *kara dağımı yıkan Kazan* (DKH: 112), « Kazan, qui fit s'écouler ma noire montagne » ; *kara dağlardan haber aşmış/aştı* (DKH: 182, 192), « la nouvelle franchit les noires montagnes » ; *kara dağlara duman düşmüş* (DKH: 182), « les noires montagnes furent envahies de brouillard » ; *karşıda yatan kara dağ* (DKH: 75, 76, 77, 134, 190, 194), « la noire montagne qui se trouve en face » ; *ala yatan kara dağlar* (DKH: 154), « les noires montagnes bigarrées » ; *kara dağa gittiğinde aştı versin* (DKH: 175), « [que Dieu] t'octroie le passage lorsque tu iras à la noire montagne ! ».

Il est à constater que l'évocation des montagnes est presque toujours accompagnée de l'épithète *kara*, « noir », qui devient un véritable stéréotype ; *kara dağ* peut signifier « montagne haute, plongée dans les ténèbres », « montagne haute, entourée de ténèbres », mais aussi « montagne boisée », « montagne recouverte de forêts épaisses ». On ne saurait exclure, d'autre part, la connexion de ce syntagme avec l'ancien culte de la montagne, suggérée par la toponymie et les légendes toponymiques de tout le monde turc, où la montagne est constamment associée à l'idée d'origine, à l'obscurité, au régime nocturne. Pour ce qui est du vocable *kara*, il indique toujours, en matière de géographie et d'orientation géographique, le nord.

- *kara kara denizler* (DKH: 42), « des mers toutes noires » ; *kara deniz gibi çalkalanmak* (DKH: 96), « onduler comme la mer noire/sombre », mais aussi *deniz gibi kararıp gelen nedir?*, « qu'est-ce qui arrive, s'assombrissant comme la mer? »

« La mer toute sombre » traduit l'idée de danger, de menace, de force redoutable. L'épithète *kara* est souvent employé dans ce sens dans les productions populaires turques ; Sinan Gönen (2005: 226) parle, au sujet des légendes, de *kara dağlar*, « montagnes sombres », *kara sular*, « eaux sombres », *kara ormanlar*, « forêts sombres », etc.

- *kara il* (DKH: 158), « pays sombre »

Le contexte est opaque – il s’agit peut-être d’un « pays du nord » ou d’un « pays étranger », habité par les « païens ».

- *kara kavurma* (DKH: 39-40), litt. « rôti noir »

Le contexte nous permet de déduire, par analogie avec *kara et*, « viande maigre, contenant peu de graisse », qu’il s’agit de « rôti de viande maigre » ; en turc dialectal, *kara kavurma* signifie « rôti nature », cuit sans supplément de graisse (*Derleme Sözlüğü VIII, s. v.*).

Le Livre de Dede Korkut fait aussi mention d’un toponyme et d’un hydronyme construits avec le mot de couleur *kara* :

- Kara Dervend (DKH: 52, 53, 68, 106), « le Passage Noir »

Puisque mentionné plusieurs fois, ce lieu paraît se trouver dans la proximité du pays habité par les héros de la geste ; Faruk Sümer (1999: 369), qui apprécie que le texte de DKK a été mis par écrit dans l’aire Erzurum-Bayburt, affirme qu’il s’agit d’un toponyme de la région d’Erzurum. Pourtant, ce type de toponyme, avec ses variantes (Dervent, Derbent), est assez commun dans le monde turc.

- Kara Dere Ağzı (DKH: 45, 112), « l’embouchure de la Rivière Noire »

Les hydronymes du type Kara Dere/Kara Derya sont attestés un peu partout dans l’ancien monde turc. Kara Dere Ağzı pourrait désigner, par exemple, l’embouchure de Kara-Daria, l’une des deux rivières qui se jettent dans le Syr-Daria, en Ouzbékistan actuel, étroitement rattaché à l’histoire des Oghuz.

La geste est plus généreuse en quelque sorte au chapitre des anthroponymes composés avec le mot *kara*, qui sont, d’ailleurs, fort répandus chez les Turcs – les voici :

- Kara Güne [Göne]²⁸, « Güne [Göne] le Noir », le frère de Salur Kazan (DKH: 28, 93, 165, 187, 213, 217, 229, etc.), qui garde l’embouchure de la Rivière Noire, « le vaillant des vaillants », « dont le berceau fut recouvert / eut pour couverture la peau d’un taureau noir, qui,

²⁸ Dans le sens de « frère » ou de « cadet » (*Derleme Sözlüğü VI, s. v.*).

lorsqu'en fureur, réduisait en cendres une pierre noire, qui laissait sa moustache s'étaler sur sa nuque en sept endroits » (*kara boğa derisinden beşiğinin kaplaması olan, öfkelenince kara taş küll eyleyen, bıyığını ensesinde yedi yerde döken* [yiğitler yiğidi Kazan'ın kardeşi Kara Güne], DKH: 45) ou, suivant un autre contexte, légèrement différent, « dont le berceau fut recouvert / eut pour couverture la peau d'un taureau noir, qui, lorsqu'en fureur, réduisait en cendres une pierre noire, qui laissait sa moustache noire s'étaler sur sa nuque en sept endroits » (*kara boğa derisinden beşiğinin kaplaması olan, öfkesi tutunca kara taş küll eyleyen, kara bıyığını yedi yerde ensesinden döken* [Kazan'ın kardeşi Kara Güne], DKH: 112).

Les formules stéréotypes qui accompagnent l'introduction de ce « brave des braves » renvoient plutôt à l'idée de force brute et de vaillance qu'à celle de malignité ; elles prouvent, en outre, que le noir n'est pas toujours associé à l'idée de mal, de circonstance funeste, de mauvais présage. Certaines expressions idiomatiques telle *gözü kara* (synonyme de *gözü pek*), litt. « aux yeux noirs », dans le sens de « courageux, brave, sans peur », ne font que renforcer cette idée. Vu ses exploits, le nom du frère de Salur Kazan pourrait être traduit comme « Güne [Cadet] le Vaillant ».

- Kara Güne [Göne] oğlu Kara Budak [Budağ], « Budak [Göne] le Noir, le fils de Güne [Göne] le Noir » (DKH: 28, 50, 114, 152), appelé aussi Deli Budak (DKH: 48), « Budak le Fou », « Budak le Forcené ».

Il s'agit d'un autre personnage qui se remarque par son comportement courageux, voire héroïque – son nom pouvait signifier donc « Budak le Vaillant ».

- Kara Çöğür [Çekür] (DKH: 135), «Çöğür [Çekür] le Noir », qui se trouve parmi les quatre Oghuz à porter un voile sur le visage, à côté de Kırk Kınık/Kırk Kınuk, son fils, de Kan Turalı et de Beyrek à l'étalon gris-fauve²⁹.

²⁹ Dans le monde musulman, le voile était également porté par certains hommes d'une beauté ravissante, qui se protégeaient ainsi contre le mauvais œil ; il s'agissait d'une précaution volontaire, non pas d'une norme. Les références à cette coutume ne sont pas très explicites dans les sources islamiques : « The Prophet is described on more than one occasion as being *mutaqanni*'. This does not necessarily imply that he was wearing the face veil known as *qinā'* or *miqna'a* since the verbs *qanna'a*, *aqna'a*, and *taqanna'a* were all used in a more general sense of covering the head and face, and one could use one's mantle (*mulā'a*, *burd*, or *ridā'*) or even one's robe (*thawb*) for the purpose. Very handsome young men sometimes veiled their faces, particularly at feasts and fairs,

- Kara Tüken Melik (DKH: 48, 114)
- Kara A(r)slan Melik (DKH: 90)
- Kara Tekür (DKH: 192)

Faruk Sümer (1999: 373-374) constate que dans les *destan* oghuz, Şöklü/Şöklü Melik incarne l'ennemi par excellence et finit toujours par rendre son âme en compagnie de ses deux amis, Buğacık Melik et Kara Tüken (Töken) Melik. Il observe, de surcroît, que les « païens » portent des noms turcs, d'où la conclusion qu'il ne s'agit pas de chrétiens, mais des ennemis historiques des Oghuz, à savoir les Kiptchak, qui se sont convertis à l'islam à partir de la deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle, donc longtemps après les Oghuz. Ce constat ne fait que venir à l'appui de sa thèse, selon laquelle les événements narrés dans *Dede Korkut Kitabı* se passent sur les rives de Syr-Daria, à l'époque nomade des Oghuz, et non pas aux confins de l'Asie Mineure ou de l'Azerbaïdjan. À la lumière de cette remarque, le titre *tekür*³⁰ de Kara Tekür pourrait être regardé comme un anachronisme ou une interpolation due à l'auteur de la version écrite ou au copiste du manuscrit original.

- Karacık/Karacuk/Karaçuk/Karaca Çoban (DKH: 30-31, 35-38, 42-44, 48), litt. « le berger basané »

in order to protect themselves from the evil eye. The free end of the turban cloth frequently served as a face veil to protect the wearer against dust while riding. » (Stillmann 2003 : 21). Les Turcs ont particulièrement cultivé l'histoire du célèbre al-Muqanna', « le prophète voilé » de Merv, nommé ainsi parce qu'il faisait son apparition avec le visage recouvert d'un voile vert (ou, suivant d'autres sources, d'un masque d'or), dont le but était de dissimuler sa beauté éblouissante ou, d'après ses ennemis, ses infirmités faciales ; il fut le meneur de la grande révolte anticentriste du Khorasan qui éclata après la mort d'Abū-Muslim et dura presque dix ans (Mélékoff 1962 : 57-58). Enfin, n'oublions pas l'histoire tissée autour de la mort du calife 'Alī, suivant laquelle le gendre du Prophète, parangon de beauté et vertu, aurait fait son apparition pour récupérer sa dépouille ayant le visage recouvert d'un voile noir : « Lorsque le Calife 'Alī, le roi des hommes, tomba sous le poignard d'Ibn Mülcem, ses fils, Hasan et Hüseyin, prirent son corps pour le laver et le mettre au cercueil. Alors, apparut une forme voilée tenant un chameau par la bride. L'inconnu prit le cercueil avec le corps du Calife et son épée, Zū'l-Fiqār et, les chargeant sur le chameau, il s'éloigna. Mû par la curiosité, Hasan courut derrière l'apparition. L'inconnu écarta son voile noir et Hasan reconnut son père. » (*ibidem* : 91). La même histoire est reprise (en fait, « empruntée ») par l'hagiographie de Hacı Bektaş Veli pour retracer la mort du santon anatolien ; dans ces deux derniers cas, il s'agit naturellement d'une toute autre sorte de voile, qui renvoie au « voile de l'invisible ». Pour ce qui est du voile porté par les quatre Oghuz de *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, il reste, par-dessus tout, étrange, car il ne s'accorde pas avec l'éthique nomade de ces musulmans de fraîche date .

³⁰ Forme alternative de *tekfür* – titre donné aux petits princes chrétiens de l'Asie Mineure à l'époque seldjoukide et au début de l'époque ottomane. Il s'agit d'un anachronisme, qui n'est pas singulier dans la geste.

Faruk Sümer (1999: 63-64) constate la fréquence du mot/nom Karacuk/Karaçuk dans l'oronymie, la toponymie et l'anthroponymie turques ; le point de départ en serait, à son avis, l'ancienne chaîne des Monts Karachuk, dans le sud du Kazakhstan actuel, connue de nos jours sous le nom de Karatau.

Il serait à remarquer, à l'égard des anthroponymes discutés plus haut, que l'épithète, voire le surnom de *kara*, « noir », accompagne non seulement les noms des Oghuz, mais aussi ceux de leurs ennemis, qu'ils soient chrétiens ou pas. Cela étant, *kara* ne semble pas impliquer un jugement de valeur ou, disons, de « validité ontologique », mais une autre valence, moins évidente, du chromonyme en question. Il n'en reste pas moins que les héros étaient associés par les Turcs avec les couleurs blanc, bleu, gris et rouge, qui symbolisaient la force, la vigueur physique, la domination, mais aussi la bravoure, alors que le noir suggérait la peur et le respect ; d'autre part, l'épithète *kara* était attachée aux noms des héros vaincus dans le combat, qu'elle accompagnait jusqu'au moment de leur revanche, ce qui suggère une connotation plutôt négative (Uraz 1967: 193).

Le vaste répertoire anthroponymique des Turcs offre beaucoup de noms composés avec *kara* ou avec des formes dérivées de *kara*, telles *karaca* (« basané », « brun ») ou *karaman* (« noiraud », « moricaud »), dont les origines restent obscures ; ils peuvent se rapporter à l'aspect physique de leurs possesseurs, mais également contenir des informations plus subtiles, d'ordre social, psychologique, etc. En étudiant les enregistrements dans les registres cadastraux d'Adana au XVI^e siècle, Yılmaz Kurt constate, par exemple, la fréquence des noms d'origine turque parmi les convertis à l'islam (*mühtedi*) au détriment des noms d'origine arabe, perçus comme « plus islamiques » ; parmi ces noms d'emprunt figurent beaucoup de noms composés avec *kara*, *karaca* et *karaman*³¹. Suivant l'historien turc, l'épithète *kara* pourrait être interprété comme un indice que le possesseur du nom respectif était un « musulman de deuxième rang », non un musulman véritable ; Y. Kurt (1991: 184) mentionne, à l'appui de sa thèse, qu'en Sibérie les enfants adoptifs, provenus d'autres lignées ou d'autres tribus que leurs parents, étaient souvent surnommés *kara*.

³¹ En voici quelques exemples : Kara, Kara Abdullah, Kara Ahmed, Kara Ali, Kara Atlu, Kara Bayramlu, Kara Bey, Kara Bıyık, Kara Bilal, Kara Cebel, Kara Çandar, Kara Deli, Kara Deve, Kara Derviş, Kara Durak, Kara Fakih, Kara Geyik, Kara Hacı, Kara Halil, Kara Hallac, Kara Hamya, Kara Hasan, Kara Hızır, Kara Hüdaverdi, Karaca Ali, Karaca Derviş, Karaca Iskender, Karaca Mehmed, Karaman, Karamanlu, Karaman Şah etc. (Kurt 1991 : 224-225)

Pour ce qui est de la valeur d'orientation³² attribuée aux couleurs dans le monde turco-mongol, celle-ci est particulièrement visible dans la toponymie, y compris celle de la Turquie actuelle³³. Dans ces cas, on avait recours surtout à la complémentarité noir-blanc ou, parfois, noir-jaune, sous l'influence chinoise. Les plus célèbres de ce point de vue sont les Turkmènes des deux confédérations rivales – les Akkoyunlu/Aq Qoyunlu, « Moutons-Blancs » (1378-1508), sunnites, qui ont exercé leur influence sur des vastes régions de l'est de la Turquie, de l'Arménie, de l'Azerbaïdjan, du nord de l'Irak et de l'ouest de l'Iran, et, de l'autre côté, les Karakoyunlu/Qara Qoyunlu, « Moutons-Noirs » (1375-1468), chiites, qui ont dominé des zones situées dans l'ouest de la Turquie, dans l'Arménie, dans l'Azerbaïdjan iranien et dans le nord de l'Irak actuels. Faruk Sümer, qui a étudié de près l'histoire des Oghuz, évoque aussi d'autres tribus ou factions de tribus turcomanes dont les dénominations exploitaient des complémentarités similaires. Par exemple, la faction iranienne de la tribu oghuz des Bayat était constituée de deux branches – Ak-Bayatlar, « Les Bayat Blancs », et Kara-Bayatlar, « Les Bayat Noirs ». Faruk Sümer (1999: 253) avance que le nom des derniers constituait une allusion à leur allégeance aux Séfévides, ce qui signifie que, dans leur cas, le mot *kara* indiquait le statut inférieur, la position subalterne. Ajoutons à ce bref inventaire, sans aucune prétention d'exhaustivité, les turcomans de la tribu Karakeçili, « Les Chèvres Noires », qui avaient commencé à se sédentariser vers le XVI^e siècle et qui comptaient parmi leurs rangs des communautés telles Kara Ahmedlü, Karabatlı, Karağaca, Kara Gölet, Karaca Ali, Karacakaya (Bulduk 1997 ; Say 2009), et leurs confrères de la tribu Sarı Keçili, « Les Chèvres Jaunes », qui habitaient dans la province d'Aydın ; d'autre part, la tribu des Kara Tekeli, « Les Boucs Noirs », hivernait aux alentours d'Izmir, alors que leur contrepartie, la tribu des Sarı Tekeli, vivait entre Nazilli et Deniz et dans la région de Bursa (Sümer 1999: 436-438). Un autre exemple nous est offert par la tribu des Kara-Evli (Kara-Evlü), « Les Maisons [Tentes] Noires », qui paraît avoir emprunté son nom à plusieurs agglomérations de la Turquie actuelle ; suivant Faruk Sümer, la tribu des Kara-Evlü, originaire de la vallée d'Amou-Daria (ar. Jayhun, tr. Ceyhun), prétendait descendre d'un certain Kaşğa-Çura, qui, à son tour, était issu d'un ancien esclave (Sümer 1999: 255-256). Ce détail vient corroborer la

³² Le jaune indiquait le centre, le bleu, l'est, le blanc, l'ouest, le rouge, le sud et le noir, le nord.

³³ Les exemples les plus célèbres en seraient ceux de Karadeniz, « La Mer Noire », située au nord, et Akdeniz, « la Méditerranée », située au sud de la Turquie ; ou encore ceux de Karadağ, lit. « montagne noire », dans la province de Karaman, et Akdağ, lit. « montagne blanche », dans les provinces de Denizli et d'Afyon. D'ailleurs, la Turquie possède plusieurs montagnes qui portent les mêmes noms, et cela justement en raison de la valeur d'orientation traditionnelle associée aux couleurs ; cette affirmation est valable pour le monde turc dans son intégralité.

remarque de Yılmaz Kurt (1991: 184) sur la coutume sibérienne d'attribuer le nom de *kara* aux enfants adoptifs: il en ressort que, du moins dans ce cas, l'épithète *kara* impliquait l'idée d'altérité, tout comme dans le cas des *mühtedi* d'Adana.

L'emploi du chromonyme *kara* dans la structure des noms propres vaut, évidemment, une analyse à part, intimement liée aux principes mêmes de l'anthroponymie et de la toponymie turques, ce qui excède les visées de cet article. Le cadre fatalement limité de *Dede Korkut Kitabı* nous permet uniquement d'observer l'ambiguïté sémantique qui gouverne la notion de noir chez les Turcs oghuz, le même vocable pouvant indiquer à la fois la révérence et le blâme, suivant le contexte: autrement dit, le noir est loin de revêtir des valeurs absolues, positives ou négatives.

Pour conclure, nous trouvons que le sémantisme du mot de couleur *kara* chez les Oghuz reste fondamentalement ambigu. S'il s'agit de se rapporter, par exemple, à la couleur sombre des montagnes, caractérisée par Hülya Taflı comme *the colour of helplessness and death* (2008: 108), il est impossible d'ignorer le registre mythologique, où les montagnes sont presque toujours liées, et encore de manière fort transparente, à l'idée de commencement; dans cette perspective, la « montagne noire », loin d'être perçue comme une menace, symbolise l'indétermination primordiale, « le moment zéro » de la création. L'omniprésence de l'oronyme Kara Dağ/Kara Tağ/Kara Tau, etc. dans le monde turc évoque le nombril de la terre, la genèse et le berceau mythique des Turcs, veillé par les cimes neigeuses de la « montagne céleste » – siège du Dieu-ciel (Tanrı/Tängri), toujours entouré de brouillard, « où les neiges ne fondent jamais »³⁴; c'est, entre autres, la couleur du Nord, vénéré par les Xiongnu³⁵ et par les Turcs préislamiques, parce qu'associé à la même idée de source, de création du monde. Le nord, associé avec la nuit, les ténèbres, le froid, éveille la peur, mais aussi le respect; pour ce qui est du noir (*kara*), tel qu'il se reflète dans la mythologie et les créations turques qui en sont empreintes, il symbolise une force ou une énergie caractérisée par la fermeté, l'inflexibilité, l'inclémence, la force punitive ou coercitive, le refus du compromis, mais aussi la droiture; cette force se définit par une prestance, une grandeur, une

³⁴ Rappelons que les montagnes de *Dede Korkut Kitabı* sont présentées parfois comme « neigeuses » : *karlı kara dağlar* (DKH : 45, 139), « les noires montagnes neigeuses » ; *karlı kara dağların yıkılmasın!* (DKH : 49, 90), « que les noires montagnes neigeuses ne s'écroulent pas ! ».

³⁵ À la différence des Chinois, les Xiongnu révéraient non pas le soleil, mais l'étoile polaire, qu'ils tenaient pour le siège du dieu du ciel; par conséquent, ils tournaient leur trône vers le nord. Le nord était appelé par les Turcs *tün-ortustı*, « minuit » et, aussi, *yırgaru*, « là-haut ». (Esin 2001 : 26)

dignité qui lui sont propres, mais suggère le plus souvent une certaine distance, une certaine méfiance, justement parce que ses obscurités sont redoutables et difficiles à affronter, d'autant moins à maîtriser (Kalafat 1999: 284). Le nord, c'est la force qu'il faut fuir, éviter, dont on doit s'éloigner, dans une sorte d'abandon des origines ; pour les Turcs mythiques, la création commence, en quelque sorte, dans les ténèbres du nord (sur « la montagne noire », *kara dağ*), pour finir dans les ténèbres du monde souterrain dominé par Erlik/Erlig (*kara yir*).

Nous avançons l'hypothèse que les valeurs apparemment contradictoires et, finalement, l'ambiguïté qui caractérise le symbolisme du « noir » (*kara*) dans la culture turque traditionnelle découlent d'une contamination symbolique survenue à l'époque primitive des Turcs. Le modèle en serait à chercher, à notre avis, dans le paradigme chinois du *yin* et *yang* – expressions du dualisme universel, principes complémentaires, qui ne s'opposent jamais de manière absolue, qui désignent l'aspect obscur et l'aspect lumineux de toute chose, l'aspect terrestre, comme l'aspect céleste, l'aspect négatif, comme l'aspect positif, l'aspect féminin, comme l'aspect masculin ; les musulmans de fraîche date du *Livre de Dede Korkut* ne firent qu'emprunter et perpétuer un modèle ancien, dont les traces se retrouvent un peu partout dans l'espace turc, fort empreint jadis par la pensée chinoise.

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GRAFFITI AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION IN CONTEMPORARY CAIRO: ARTICULATING LOCAL AND GLOBAL ELEMENTS OF POPULAR CULTURE

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Abstract. The recent uprisings in the Arab World are indicators of continuous contestation of authoritarian regimes, a continuing process that leaves its mark on the field of cultural production. Revolutionary graffiti represent a dynamic self-expression practice of public opinion in Cairo, Egypt, during and in the aftermath of the 2011 Revolution. As a medium of both communication and subversion, residing at the intersection of art and transgression, graffiti largely serve to re-appropriate the public space and their popularity is mainly due to the themes addressed and their relevance to issues of everyday life. But can this re-appropriation be seen as more than just a socio-political territory marking of the city? Can graffiti be integrated into a discussion about culture in the Arab World?

Keywords: cultural production, graffiti, popular culture, political engagement, Egypt

The graffiti scene in the Arab World has witnessed a media and popular increase in interest since the beginning of the Arab uprisings. It is hard to establish which came first, but needless to say, forms of what is considered revolutionary street art, in which graffiti could be included, in countries like Tunisia or Egypt have attracted the attention of a mostly enthusiastic large public and are now more than ever present in public space. As it is an unsanctioned practice, its presence sometimes creates debate and perhaps one dimension of this debate revolves around its legitimacy and the right the practitioners have to inscribe it on the walls of the city. Related to the legitimacy issue, another element of this debate concentrates on whether or not this form of manifestation in public space conveys a message and if so, what is the role of the message.

Graffiti as small-scale cultural production

In search of graffiti's legitimacy we will tackle in this article the use of both high- and popular culture references and icons, as one of the elements that conjugate to form the particularities of Egyptian graffiti. We further posit that these local characteristics can qualify graffiti as a cultural practice rallied to the field of cultural production in the acceptance of

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1996). He describes the field as framed by the relationship between two subfields, small-scale production and large-scale production that are distinguished by their degree of autonomy from the field of power. As opposed to large-scale, small-scale production is characterized by a higher degree of autonomy - even though never a full one -, it is oriented toward the production of “pure” artistic products – in contrast with the “commercial” cultural goods largely produced – and it is viewed as “production for producers” due to its rejection of the market.

Graffiti in general could be described as a form of small-scale production that pertains to the field of cultural production. Ever since its popularity registered a peak in the 1970’s and the 1980’s, a very common theme of debate within the graffiti subculture is the one around the relationship with commerce and the world of art. The interest of galleries in street art lead to what can be considered a split in the subculture between the supporters and the adversaries of the commoditization of the subculture’s products. The emergence, within the subculture, of the term “post-graffiti” to refer to the displacement of spray-can graffiti from the spaces of the “street” and subway into Manhattan galleries during the mid 1980’s (Dickens 2009:17) indicates its rejection of the market and its perception of graffiti as a purely artistic product.

The roots of this rejection can be found in the writers’ appeal for anonymity and the authenticity, two important aspects of the subculture. As ethnologist Nancy MacDonald states, “this drive to keep graffiti illegal and out of commercial clutches does not come from the lure of authenticity alone” (MacDonald 2001:173). Nancy MacDonald underlines the important role of what she calls “subcultural fidelity”, a value best defined by the impulse described by graffiti writers to “stay true” to the subculture’s traditions, which speak to insiders alone. Contrary to the common belief that graffiti, perceived as an illegal act of vandalism, are directly addressing those situated outside the subculture, Nancy MacDonald implies that the production of graffiti is more likely to be one addressing its own producers, a “production for producers”: “what is hidden from and then rejected by the outside world becomes their loss and an insider’s gain. The subculture remains their world – accessible and meaningful to them alone (MacDonald 2001:178). This position could explain the opacity of some of the messages carried by urban inscriptions whose deciphering requires sometimes more than just contextual and cultural knowledge.

One of the defining aspects of the graffiti subculture is its illegality that, as Susan Phillips states, creates intersections where legitimate and illegitimate meet and enables cultural groups to define themselves. Because graffiti is easily produced this practice is often

adopted by the disempowered to negotiate relationships of power (Phillips 1999:20) and this use points towards the subculture's autonomy, although it is largely acknowledged that other agendas may intervene in the process of negotiating relationships of power through the production of graffiti. More than autonomy, Jeff Ferrell points that the politics of graffiti writing are those of anarchism (Ferrell 1993:172) and he further adds creativity to the aspect of illegality. According to Jeff Ferrell, graffiti as the product of both illegality and creativity represent a resistance to authority, as well as a stance against private property constraints, law and corporate art, a sign of "direct action" against these authorities.

The autonomy stance is additionally developed into an alternative street aesthetics that challenges the culture industry. As Jeff Ferrell points out, graffiti writers play with their own images and designs while they appropriate and re-configure popular culture icons. These acts of appropriation and reconfiguration are interpreted as an engagement in a process of cultural resistance (Ferrell 1993:173). Sociologist Stephen Duncombe uses the term "cultural resistance" to describe "culture that is used, consciously or unconsciously, effectively or not, to resist and/or change the dominant political, economic, and/or social structure" (Duncombe 2002:5). Even if graffiti had previously existed before the 2011 Egyptian revolution, though it must be noted that to a lesser extent, street art has mainly become a point of interest during and in the aftermath of the uprising. Urban inscriptions consequently began to be perceived as an element of what is popularly known as the art of the revolution or what Charles Tripp calls "the art of resistance".

Icons of both popular and high culture are abundantly found on the streets of Cairo and their presence, the transformation they suffer and the contexts they create or appropriate could contribute to the further interpretation of the processes of cultural resistance in contemporary Cairo, in the revolutionary and post-revolutionary contexts. This interpretation may prove itself to be important if we consider Stephen Duncombe's assertion that "revolution is the complete overthrow of the ruling system and a time when the culture of resistance becomes just culture" (Duncombe 2002:8). Whether or not Cairo's urban inscriptions will come to be sanctioned as elements of popular culture is perhaps too soon to be discerned but the amplitude of the practice, with at least six books dedicated entirely to it, the massive media coverage and the impressive popularity it has gained on social networking websites, makes an important stance in favor of its analysis.

Politics of graffiti in urban Cairo

The corpus of graffiti images this article is based on, gathered in September 2012 in Cairo, showed a predominance of political graffiti and stencils with a high concentration in Tahrir Square, the nerve center of the revolution, and the surrounding streets. This type of graffiti exists more often than not under authoritarian systems and emerges during revolutionary events challenging the state's attempt to reduce and control public space. The relevance of political graffiti thus lies not only in the message they display, but in its reclaiming the public space. As Charles Trip mentions "it demonstrates that public space is no longer monopolised by the politically powerful and the military occupiers" (Trip 2012:398). The walls of downtown Cairo stopped being mere architectural elements as they were transformed by the members of the society who took charge of them and used them in ways that suited the needs and wishes of a people involved in a revolution raising political consciousness.

The Egyptian 2011 Revolution transformed the urban geography through the impressive quantity of street art its participants produced on the walls of the city that marked, through its omnipresence, a re-appropriation of public space. But maybe we can say that it did more than that, influencing not just the political but also the cultural sphere. As Lyman Chafee notes, the role of street art in general is to form social consciousness (Chafee 1993:4) and in order to achieve it, its practices, graffiti included, may involve cultural icons, pertaining to both high culture and popular culture. An additional function of contemporary Egyptian graffiti is underlined by sociologist Mona Abaza, that of creating a "memorial space" (Abaza 2013:122) underlining their "crucial significance for the visual and artistic narration of the revolution" (Abaza 2013:131). Through this memorialization functionality graffiti become a source of popular history and we posit that it greatly contributed to the creation of revolutionary popular culture icons, transforming participants and martyrs into paragons.

The high density of political graffiti in Tahrir Square is motivated also by the fact that by and large this type of graffiti addresses the general public, thus having a wider intended audience than regular graffiti. Tahrir Square, the focal point of the revolution, is the main public square in downtown Cairo, in the middle of which a busy traffic circle is situated. As the entire world has seen it on news channels, during the sit-ins the entire open space was occupied by the revolutionaries. What the media only later revealed was that the walls of the buildings in the area, including the dreadful Mogamma'a government building and the original campus of the American University in Cairo, were transformed into graffiti canvas.

Because of the maximized exposure due to its position and the fact that governments view such graffiti as “disruptive” and “subversive” (Chaffee 1987:39), the Egyptian Central Security Forces adopted a similar agenda to that of officials in Peru, Argentina and in the Spanish Basque country.

In those regions of the globe where political graffiti is prevalent as a prodigious manifestation of political dissent, officials often take up an agenda of cleansing the city walls of urban inscriptions containing social and political commentary. Perhaps the most significant attempt at cleansing from the part of the authorities is the repetitive painting over of the murals on the walls of the American University in Cairo’s old campus on Muḥammad Maḥmūd Street, that Soraya Morayef described as “whitewashing Cairo's Memory”¹. During one of these campaigns, in September 2012, only the AUC’s campus wall was covered in white paint, leaving the surrounding graffiti untouched.



Street sign on Muḥammad Maḥmūd Street. *Minṭaqat grāfītī* – graffiti zone. September 2012 (author’s photo)

¹ <http://www.acus.org/egyptsource/mohamed-mahmoud-mural-whitewashing-cairos-memory-past>

This particular area is symbolic for the graffiti scene of Cairo not only because it witnessed a great deal of revolutionary and post-revolutionary activities and violence but mainly due to its subsequent transformation into a place of remembrance for the victims through the successive murals painted there. The dynamics of the area accompanies the dynamics of the society in the post-revolutionary period and as sociologist Mona Abaza notes, this part of the city center and the wall of the old American University in Cairo campus in particular witnessed “fantastic mutations and transformations on a weekly basis epitomized by a constant war over the painting of walls” (Abaza 2013:129). This war involved graffiti practitioners on one side and the Central Security Forces on the other, but in spite of the repressive actions and the whitewashing campaigns, the urban inscription rapidly filled in the empty space that turns out to be even more inviting.

Representations of popular culture

If there is no doubt that the themes of Cairene graffiti currently revolve for the most part around politics and tangential social matters, one cannot ignore that the content reveals more than just plain politics. The pragmatics of urban inscription is a complex mechanism and its main goal is to maximize the efficacy of the messages it tries to communicate to the larger public. One of what we can call *captatio benevolentiae* strategies is the common use of popular culture icons and in general of an iconographic style, meant to add further transparency to a form of communication perceived as being self-revealing even if its transparency is disputed. This image centered style is rather a recent development in street-art, which characterizes the so called post-graffiti aesthetic practice that distinguishes itself by a shift towards iconographic forms of inscription. The reason may be that identified by Tristan Manco, who notices that in the contemporary city “images speak louder than words” (Manco 2004:16) and thus using an image instead of writing broadens the urban audience as it is a more universal language, a language that predates words.

These instantly decipherable iconographic inscriptions are further more considered by Luke Dickens as an “attempt to directly engage with urban audiences through (...) using critical, intriguing and often humorous graphics in order to challenge their visual understandings and appreciations of the city” (Dickens 2008:474). But perhaps this way of interacting with the city can reveal some of the characteristics of the popular culture of a city whose center has become symbolically iconic. In this section some of the popular culture

icons used in Cairo's graffiti are presented in an attempt to put together some of the pieces of a large puzzle that would probably need some time to be arranged.

The walls in downtown Cairo bear witness of a complex and surprising intertextuality that connects different types of techniques and sources in an effort to enlarge the sphere of the audience targeted by graffiti practitioners. Whether or not it reaches its goal or whether this is an intended tactic, the mix of icons, symbols, connotations and references creates a concentrated panorama of what resides in the concept of popular culture. Defining this concept within the framework of Arab cultural studies proves itself problematic because of the political and intellectual project that alienates other types of interpretations of culture described by the Moroccan anthropologist Tarik Sabry as the "historicisation of the category Arab culture" (Sabry 2010:45). An Arnoldian-type vision of culture is familiar to the Arabic-Islamic cultural heritage and it excludes the anthropological studying of everyday life and cultural products of society in the spirit of the Birmingham School. As an attempt at defining Arab popular culture surpasses the scope of this article, we will limit ourselves to a survey of the popular culture scene as it is represented in the graffiti encountered in downtown Cairo, in the autumn of 2012, for the purpose of outlining some of the roles played within what we can describe as contemporary cultural production in Egypt.

From the large array of popular culture elements employed some categories seem prevalent: local Egyptian icons, whether from the domain of music, cinema, literature or media to which international symbols are added. From the point of view of their production, the type of graffiti most encountered for this kind of representations is also relevant as the stenciling technique is almost exclusive. The stencil is a term used to define the type of graffiti produced with the help of a pre-made template that is painted through with spray cans or using regular brushes. Its advantage resides in the possibility of a somewhat mass production of graffiti with a lower degree of risk, as the time needed to accomplish it diminishes considerably. Additionally, an element of street credibility is added as stencils are common ways of production for promotional campaigns and utilitarian urban inscription. Its use is related to the shift towards more iconographic forms of inscription observed in the recent developments within the graffiti subculture.

Celebrated icons of Egyptian cinema and music stars alongside citations from a large sphere of literary genres, from the Koran to Sufism and modern Arabic literature, politically engaged poetry or political essays can be counted among the re-appropriations of popular culture symbols by graffiti practitioners. Actors like Mohamed Reda, Nagah el-Mogy, Tawfik

el-Deen, Ismail Yasin and last by not least, Adel Imam and Dalida, to whom we must add the beloved Lady of Arabic Music, 'Umm Kulthūm, are featured in stencils serving a role similar to that of the “characters” included in American-style graffiti, that is to “communicate with mainstream audiences beyond the subculture itself” (Dickens 2009:79). Unlike the “characters” that are appropriated from secondary sources like the works of recognized cartoonists, the above mentioned icons have gained their notoriety in the popular Egyptian cinema or as music superstars. Often blamed by critics for its triviality, popular Egyptian cinema captivates to a large extent the local audiences due to what Viola Shafik identifies as its “recurrent dramatic patterns, ritualized performances and some almost archetypical, yet partly contradictory stereotypes” (Shafik, 2007:2). The appeal the masses might have for the images reproducing these actors’ most famous poses is further augmented up by the choice in the appended text, whether it consists of lines from the scripts of well known movies or literary texts.

Among citations from Naguib Mahfouz’s Palace of Desire, the second volume of the Cairo Trilogy or the mystical writings attributed to the ninth century Sufi Junayd of Baghdad or to al-Nifarri who died in Egypt a century later, graffiti are abundant in modern and contemporary colloquial Egyptian poetry that bears a strong political stance. As modern manifestations of *zağal*, the lyrical works of poets like Abdel Rahman el-Abnudi (fragments from: *lissa-n-niḍām masqaṭš*, “The regime didn’t fall yet”), Amal Dunqul (fragments from: *la toṣāleḥ*, “Do not reconcile”), Salah Jahin (leading poet of the 1952 Revolution) or the emblematic Ahmad Fuad Negm are associated with popular literature, *al-’adab al-’āmmiyy*, not just because of their use of spoken Egyptian Arabic but also for their notorious popularity and the people’s identification with the messages their poetry conveys. The above mentioned poets pertain to a wave of politically engaged poetry that was influenced by and in the same time accompanied the political events of the past century and subsequently left its trademark on the contemporary lyrical production viewed as a form of genuine popular expression, a perception that contributed to its growing popularity. It is therefore no surprise that graffiti with their claim to authenticity embrace these authors’ work as they are both types of writings used mainly by the disempowered as a common form of expressing dissent.

Whether the high degree of public attractiveness determined the choice in literary texts employed in graffiti, their use comes as an attempt to emphasize connections with the cultural heritage of Egypt, pertaining to elements of the so called high culture that the practitioners do not intend to neglect. Sanctioned culture is not just exempt from the undermining it usually

suffers from in other parts of the world but a dialogue between well known literary texts and a somewhat newer kind of writing is established, perhaps also as a method to contribute to graffiti's perception as an art associated with established cultural texts. It was in fact within a campaign entitled, *al-fann miš ḥarām*, "Art is not a sin" that images of Egyptian actors and singers started to be used.

The partnership between street art and popular culture goes even further as these texts engage in a dialogue with the public as their choice has a high contextual appropriateness. For example, a stencil depicting 'Umm Kulṭūm and bearing the caption *li-š-ṣabr ḥudūd*, "patience has limits" seems to convey further strength to the message as it is a verse from a popular song. The same tactics of promoting messages using already known lines can be identified in a stencil representing Dalida, the Cairo born Italian actress and a scene from the movie *Al-yawm as-sādis* (The Sixth Day) by Yousef Chahine in which her character, Ṣadīqa, has the following line: *'inta fākir 'inn dī dīḥka? Da garḥ fī wiššī* (Do you think this is a smile? This is a wound on my face).

Beside local elements of popular culture, Egyptian graffiti is not a stranger to the global graffiti scene. References to internationally graffiti icons like Banksy and Shepard Fairey, just to name two of the most publicized figures, are made through some of their most emblematic work. Even if perhaps referring to global practitioners may remain opaque for the general public, Cairo's urban inscriptions created by self-conscious graphic artists or painters are inscribed into the global cultural dynamics. Graffiti thus can be said to denote a kind of shared experience that brings together young people through the internet, whether it be the simple community of consumers or that of practitioners. The global references in the Egyptian scene can be interpreted as a way to indicate street art literacy and to integrate the local practice within the global dynamics of graffiti.

A popular stencil of the England-based graffiti artist known as Banksy, assumed by graffiti practitioners almost all over the world, also encountered in Cairo, is that of a protester throwing a bouquet of flowers, a stencil made in the West Bank as a form of protest against the Israeli West Bank barrier. A version of one of the most famous works signed by Banksy, featuring two police men kissing, was initially painted on the American University in Cairo wall as a means to subvert the authority of the local police as it was accompanied by an English language message intended as an insult: "Cops are Gays". The message was rapidly covered in white paint and another slogan, also in English, appeared: "Homophobia is not revolutionary" while two rainbows replaced the moustaches of the initial police men.

Internationally notorious stencils and posters, authored by famous street artist are present in Cairo in both the original form and as re-appropriations as well, playing on accidental or provoked similarities. For example, the Obey poster, featuring the image of Andre the Giant, a former French professional wrestler, turned into a viral street art campaign by Shepard Fairey, an American contemporary graphic designer and illustrator, who emerged from the skateboarding scene, can be regarded as associating the image of the giant with that of Hosni Mubarak, on the basis of a fortuitous physical resemblance.

Another strategy popular with stencil graffiti is culture jamming, a form of media “sabotage” that works creatively to alter logos, advertisements, corporate images and so on, sometimes in order to reveal darker corporate realities (...) and sometimes simply to parody or debunk (Gelder 2007:150). It is used by a Cairo based artist, known under his street-art alias of Keizer, who hijacks logos of popular international corporations from the food industry like Coca-Cola and Pepsi in order to criticize consumerism while the choice for the stencil technique, in which a strong repetitive potential resides, can be interpreted as an effort to subvert the invasive advertising campaigns these companies usually conduct.

Additionally a type of stencil graffiti encountered as well in our corpus is the one in which popular culture elements, both local and global, are mixed together, resulting in a collage-like image that both attracts the attention and transforms the practice into a “syncretic and transcultural medium” in accordance with Nestor Garcia Canclini’s definition of graffiti as a “cultural practice that ignores the concept of patrimonial collection” (Canclini 1995:249). Symbolic productions are relocated and used to convey and sustain messages that pertain to the complex events of revolutionary Cairo, like the stencils representing the Argentine Marxist revolutionary Ernesto “Che” Guevara depicted by Keizer wearing a pharaonic beard or wearing an Islamist beard and skull cap by another street art practitioner known as Sad Panda. Deterritorializing the popular image of the South-American revolutionary determines a break with its geographical origin which is replaced with local elements that contribute to its adaptation. The symbols depicted alongside symbol acquisition and adaptation follows the way graffiti practitioners relate to the local space and the cultural backgrounds of other cultures that influence them.

Conclusions

Without aiming at being exhaustive, this approach of the Cairo urban graffiti has targeted representations of popular culture involved in the local graffiti scene as an attempt at sketching it as an element of the production of culture. In the aftermath of the revolution, Cairo has become one of the central spaces for the production of political urban inscriptions with practitioners fueled by the revolutionary transformations rising in these particular circumstances. Even if perhaps time is still necessary for the dust to settle on the changes that took place in Egypt recently, the emergence of a powerful and very productive graffiti scene cannot be neglected.

As the analysis of our corpus indicates, graffiti in downtown Cairo, although mainly influenced by political and social developments, articulate numerous elements of local and global popular culture. Considered an art of protest, the urban inscriptions found in downtown Cairo proved to form their own cultural alphabet if perceived as a set of communication techniques born in a specific context. The analysis of popular culture elements that graffiti articulate, both local and global, offers new perspectives on political and social items that can shed light on the production of culture in a society traversing important changes in many of its aspects.

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LE PETIT PRINCE IN MOROCCAN ARABIC

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Abstract. The novella *Le petit prince* represents a unique case in the arab cultural arena, with its three translations into the main varieties of Arabic of Maghreb. This paper offers a deep analysis of the moroccan version, focusing on the lexical choices of the translator and the idioms he uses to rewrite and localize the novella in a local arabo-islamic context. We argue that, at a lexical level, the style of the version oscillates between a sort of modern variety of Moroccan and Modern Standard Arabic.

Keywords: translation, idiom, address term, periphrasis, domestication.

I. Introduction

In the Arab cultural panorama, the novella *Le petit prince*, by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, represents a unique case: as far as I know, it's the first literary work that counts, apart from several versions into Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)¹, a translation into each of the three main varieties in Maghreb area². The first to be published, in 1997, is the Tunisian version, entitled *al-Amīr al-sġayyar* (الأمير الصغير), signed by the well-known writer Hedi Balegh (al-Hādī Bāliġ)³, and object of many studies⁴.

In 2008, the algerian version by Talbi and Brousse, aroused some critics and comments⁵. One year later, it was the turn of the Moroccan translation⁶ by Abderrahim

¹ To get an idea of all the MSA versions available in the arab world, visit www.petit-prince.at. We also remind that it's also available an audio version in Arabic, by Jamal Rifai, published by al-Mirgab Media productions, Kuwait, 2011.

² Two translations in tamazight were realized, one published in Morocco, by Lahbib Fouad, and the other in Algeria.

³ Balegh is a well known academic professor of French literature. His life-time support to Tunisian Arabic is evident in his collection of Tunisian proverbs.

⁴ Among them, we mention Mosbah 2000, Mejri 2000 and Mion 2007.

⁵ See Bouredji 2008.

⁶ On the title of the text, we can refer to the keen observations by Mion 2007, on the use of *fatha*.

Youssi ('Abd al-Raḥīm Yūsī)⁷, one of the historical supporters of the acknowledgement of Moroccan Arabic as a complete and rich linguistic system.

The title of both Tunisian and Moroccan versions, with the diminutive form of the Arabic adjective صغیر (little), shows one of the main features of many Arabic variants, whereas, in the Algerian one, there is no sign of šadda.

In the cover page and in the title of the introduction to the book, Youssi declares that his is a translation into العربية المغربية, and that seems a revolutionary denomination, but some lines later, he introduces the term دارجة to classify the linguistic register he uses in the text. But, taking into account the complex linguistic map of Morocco, the issue at stake here is: which kind of Moroccan Arabic does he adopt?

To understand better that point, it's necessary to focus on the views that Youssi on the linguistic situation in his country: he is aware that more than 50% of Moroccan citizens are illiterate, and even the literate ones are not able to perform the ordinary communicative functions of written language. He describes a triglossal situation where, between the two poles of *fushā* and *dāriġa*, he detects a *luġa 'arabiyya wuṣṭā* ("Middle Arabic"), also defined as *dāriġat al-mutanawwirīn* ("the colloquial of the enlightened people"). His translation of *Le petit prince* tries to reinforce the potential energies of this language (Yūsī 2011:7-8). In the same introduction he insists on the phonetic level, stressing the necessity to write words in the closest form to *fushā*, and to make the reader easily understand its phonemes. However, he doesn't mention how and why he adopted many of his translation choices. Here I skip the morphological and syntactic analysis, and reduce the orthographic one to some short remarks in the last paragraph, just to concentrate on the lexical level.

My aim is to underline which strategies the translator used to re-write and renegotiate the source text (ST) in a totally different cultural context, how he decided to adapt, domesticate or even manipulate the text to make it more familiar for the target culture readership⁸. For this reason, it will be useful a relative comparative analysis between the

⁷ The first edition dates back to 2008, but here we consider that of 2011. About his translation, Youssi, professor of linguistics and English literature at the University of Mohammed V, in Rabat, we can listen to a speech he delivered in a conference at Universidad Castilla-La Mancha, see Youssi 2010.

⁸ Klinberg (1986) divides the concept of adaptation into subcategories like: deletion, addition, explanation, simplification or localization.

Moroccan version and two MSA versions we chose, one translated by the Lebanese Yūsuf Ġaṣūb⁹ and the other one by the Moroccan Muḥammad al-Tihāmī al-‘Ammārī¹⁰.

We argue that Youssi’s lexical register is a sort of modern variety of Moroccan Arabic¹¹, as he stated before, but characterized by a (purposely?) non-organized insertion of MSA elements¹². Our thesis is based on a collection of data that are presented here qualitatively rather than numerically (ex. number of occurrences). Those data, even if they represent samples that cannot be exhaustive, are nonetheless an objective tool of analysis.

II. Alternance of MSA and Moroccan Arabic

The main feature of Youssi translation is the frequency of lexical items (adjectives, adverbs, verbs, nouns) translated, alternatively, in two registers: MSA and modern Moroccan Arabic¹³. This continuous swinging, just to translate the same lexical item of the ST (or rarely a synonym), seems quite arbitrary, in the sense that it doesn’t follow a clear plan, and is not linked to the social and cultural status of the characters¹⁴. I agree with Neubert (1999:120) that words gain other meanings while used in large units and that many of them are polysemic, but that rarely occurs in our ST. Here is a selection of those polarized couples, compared to the ST item. Even if I don’t provide figures, I can affirm that, statistically, the Moroccan Arabic register terms occur much more frequently than the MSA ones.

ST lexical item	MSA equivalent ¹⁵	Moroccan equivalent
à coté de	بجانب	حدا
Ami	صديق	صاحب
Attendre	انتظر	تسنا

⁹ De Saint-Exupéry 1963. An analysis of this translation is provided by Soheib 2011.

¹⁰ De Saint-Exupéry 2011.

¹¹ See Olivier Durand 2004:30.

¹² Youssi 1992.

¹³ Modern Moroccan can be defined as the register more widespread in oral and sometimes written mass media (cinema, advertising, radio, tv, newspapers and magazines) and big urban areas.

¹⁴ Mion (2000:129) argues that the style used by the pilot is a kind of Middle Arabic, more reflexive than that of the Little Prince.

¹⁵ Among many scholars, Baker (1992:20) argues that the target language has no direct equivalent for a word which occurs in the ST.

Avion	طائرة	طيارة
beaucoup, tellement	للغاية/ جدا / لأقصى درجة	بالزاف
bien sûr	فعالاً/طبعاً	بطبيعت الحال
Chercher	بحث على	فتش على/ قلب على
chez moi	محلي	بلادي
Enfant	طفل / صبي	دري
etre sûr	على يقين بأن	تيقين
Faire	جعل	خلى
Fatigue	تعب	عيا
Gens	رجال/ ناس	بنادم
Gentil	لطيف	ضريف
homme, on	إنسان	راجل/سيد/ الواحد
il y a	موجود	كاين
Manteau	معطف	قفطان
mots, discours	كلمات	كلام/ هدره
Oisif	كسول	فنيان/ معكاز
Ouvrir	فتح	حلّ
parce que	لأن	على حقاش
Parler	تحدث/ تكلم	هدر
peut-etre	ربما	يمكن
poser une question	وضع سؤال	سؤل
pouvoir, reussir	تمكن/ توفق	قدر/ قدّ
que	أن / بأن / إن	بيلاً / بلي بلاّ / باللي
Sans	بدون	بلا
Sauf	باستثناء	ما عدا
se souvenir	تذكر/ تفكر	عقل على
Toujours	دائماً	ديماً
vieux	عجوز	شايب/شيباني / شارف
vite, rapidement	بسرعة	بالزربة/ ضغيا

II. 1. Classicisms without Moroccan correspondents

In the following list, I noted down MSA lexical items, for which Youssi didn't provide any other Moroccan Arabic equivalent, throughout the text. In general, that choice is justified

when that equivalent may lack in that register (case of so called “lexical gap”). But in this book, the translator decided to avoid some very popular and widespread terms for unknown purposes (ex. French borrowings). In the column on the right, we reported a hypothetical equivalent item, that we should expect from an allegedly Moroccan Arabic text.

MSA lexical item	suggested Moroccan equivalent
أصبح	ولي
حظ	زهر
خروف	حولي
عدد ديال/كثير	بالزاف ديال
قام بنظافة	نصف
قطار	تران
محرك	موطور
منتهى العجب	عجيب بالزاف
هدية	كادو
وقع عطب	طاح انبان

In particular, the construct قام بنظافة belongs to a very formal register, and translate the french “faire (soigneusement) la toilette”. It seems that the verb, ¹⁶ بحث على standing for “to look for”, undergoes the interference of the Moroccan Arabic verb, قلب على that occurs only once all throughout the novella.

No doubt that the expression وضع سؤال turns up to be a *calque* from the French expression “poser une question”, and it’s not recorded in the dictionaries of Moroccan Arabic I referred to¹⁷. Also the plural أسئلة is very classical, in comparison with the moroccan سوالات.

About the construction of the verb تمكن¹⁸ it’s worth to remark that it’s similar to that one of the verb قدر. The verb توفق, belonging to the same semantic field, is constructed according the same pattern of the verb تمكن in the Tunisian translation, that’s to say, followed by the particle باش.

¹⁶ A lot of Moroccan Arabic verbs are constructed with على whereas the identical MSA equivalents use عن. Ex: يتخلى، مسؤول

¹⁷ Here we refer to the dictionaries of Harrell 1966, and Moscoso, 2005 .

¹⁸ See Mion 2004:130 and Mosbah 2000:459.

II. 2 Intra-moroccan variants

اش كا تدير هنا؟

اش كا تعمل هنا؟

These two sentences, translating in two almost same way “Que fais-tu là?”, represent one of frequent cases of interchangeable translation, where Youssi oscillates in front of two close options of the same register. In the column on the left, we record terms that belong to a deep Moroccan language layer, and therefore occurs more frequently than the terms of the column on the right. Some of them seem closer to a middle Moroccan, or a *koiné* mutually understandable in the Maghreb area.

ST lexical item	Moroccan first option equivalent	Moroccan second option equivalent
De	د ال	ديال/ ديالت ال
droit (adverb)	نيشان	طول
Faire	دار	عمل
il parait	يبان ل	يظهرل/جاب ل الله
Pareil	بحال بحال	كيف كيف
Parler	هدر	تكلم
Passer	داز	فات
Peur	خلعة	خوف
place, endroit	موضع	بلاصة
Regarder	شاف في	طلع قي
Sûr	متيقن	مناكد
Trouver	لقي	جبر

II. 3. Loans

In the opposite direction to the choice described in paragraph 1, Youssi integrates in his target text foreign terms, specially from French, even if they are not missing in any register of Arabic. Moroccan Arabic is able to absorb and naturalize many loans from European languages (also Spanish) without any guilt complex. Sometimes the MSA equivalents would sound somehow heavy.

ST lexical item	Moroccan equivalent
Chapeau	شَابُو
à carreaux rouges	ضامَا
Diamante	دياماند
Cheminée	شوميني
Fainéant	فنيان
Fourrure	فورير
Rhumatisme	روماتتيزم
Boulon	بولون
Stylographe	ستيلو
Cravats	كرافاتات

II. 4. Moroccan typical expressions and particles

The translator seems eager to make the Moroccan taste of the text emerge through the usage of strong connotation, local expressions and idioms, especially in dialogues. For example, all throughout the novella, apart from the common interrogative pronoun *واش*, also found in Algerian Arabic, we find *ياك*, which is a kind of emphatic interrogative particle, similar to the English “Isn’t it?”, or the French “Hein” or “N’est-ce pas?”.

Caubet, researcher specialist of Moroccan Arabic, defines it a “veritable tag” which marks a request of confirmation, among many other nuances of meaning¹⁹. Also *إوا*, an interjection used usually before a verb in imperative mode, that can be translated as “well!”, is also found as a frequent substitute of the classical *إدأ*, “so”, still present in the translation. Other typical expressions include, among others:

1. *و صافي*, used in an adverbial way translatable as “ça y est”

2. *و خا* as “although”, “even if”, etc..

3. *عزيز على*, literally “it’s dear to..”, is a typical Moroccan Arabic construct, to convey the idea of “to love, like, fancy”. The adjective doesn’t change in number or gender, even if the subject is feminine or plural (ex. : *عزيز عليهم الأرقام*, “Elles adorent les chiffres”)

¹⁹ Caubet 1993, p. 81.

4. نعم أسّ (“Sir!”), is used by a person who wants to call a person with respect²⁰

5. قفطان is the typical moroccan cloak, together with the برنس, and translate the “manteau” of the king in chapter 10, but, some lines later, it’s also substituted by the neutral and classical term معطف (“coat”).

6. Moroccan Arabic presents some special forms of maṣdar. Here we find a form used with four-consonant root verbs, TFa3LīN, such as تاسكايريت (the act of drinking or drunkenness), or the تخرديل (talking nonsense), or TF3āL, in تفواه (yawning).

7. the typical construct جا (“to come”) with the direct pronouns object and an abstract noun as subject, serves to express feelings and mental states. Ex.:

“I’m thirsty”: يجيني العطش: (lit. “The thirst comes to me”)

“I’m sad”: الحزن يجيني (lit. “The sadness comes to me”)

III. Techniques of denomination and address terms

III. 1 Explanation

The world of the novella is inhabited by people who exercise professions that have no clear-cut equivalents in any variety of Arabic. The case of the French term “allumeur de réverbères” is very emblematic of the big variety of solutions provided by Youssi. His technique implies a preliminary explanation of the term by a long periphrasis, then, little by little, that one is progressively reduced to a term or two, just like a zoom of a camera.

“Réverbère” here is first presented as

مصباح ديال الزنقة ، خدام بالغاز الطبيعي (“lamp of the street, working by natural gas”).

Its “allumeur” is “who works with the charge of switching it on and off”.

²⁰ Ruhell (1966:107) reports that it’s used especially by students to call a teacher. Nowadays it seems a little obsolete.

1. مستخدم مكلف بالشعيل دياله و الطفي

So, in the following lines of the chapter, the term undergoes some evolutions and shorter forms, so that we find:

2. مستخدم د الشعيل و الطفي دياله

3. مول الشعيل

4. مستخدم الشعيل

5. مستخدم ديال الشعيل

6. المستخدم

The most suitable translation, among them all, seems مول الشعيل²¹ but everyone would expect the usage of a *nisba*, a name of profession derived from the broken plural of an object who represents it, in this case the lamp. This solution is implemented by the Tunisian translator Balegh, who prefers to adopt, once and for all, the term قنادلي (pp. 66-67), derived from the broken plural of قنديل.

Moreover, to translate the term “moralistes” Youssi uses the circumlocution صحاب الوعظ (those who give sermons and directives), and add that they show people “which ones are the good and bad things” (ها المزيانة و ها الخايبة)

When he has to introduce for the first time the concept of “explorateur” he translates:

واحد من الناس اللي كا يكتاشفوا البلدان. (“A person who discovers countries”).

Then, one page later, it becomes only مكتشف.

To explain the concept of “naïf”, Youssi, after translating the item, resorts to an explanation to clarify the meaning of the source text, adding: “who believes to what he listens to”.

²¹ The term مول, which can be literally translated as “master, owner” is used mainly in Morocco, among the Maghreb varieties of Arabic. See Caubet 1993, p. 304.

II. 2 Address terms for the *Little Prince*

While in the ST the Little Prince is called by the pilot “petit bonhomme” or “mon petit bonhomme”, mostly in direct speech form, in the Moroccan translation we see eight different address terms, that reflect the local cultural background.

1. سيدنا الولد
2. أسيدي مولاي
3. سيد الولاد
4. يا سيدي الولاد
5. أسيد الوليدات
6. آ سيد الوليدات
7. أ الوليد العزيز
8. أ مولاي الرويجل

The vocative particle can be found in three different forms, from the Moroccan أ or آ to the classical يا, as we can see in examples 2, 4, 5 and 6, or can be missing, such as in examples 1 and 2. Here the term ولد and its diminutive form وليد serve to give the concept of “petit”, and the term سيّد is in a relation of annexation with the two different plural forms of the two above mentioned terms. To create the atmosphere of intimacy we often find a possessive suffix or the adjective عزيز.

The term مولاي, literally “my Lord”, in Morocco is often used in a context of familiarity²². And actually the noun رويجل, diminutive form of راجل, that we can easily translate as “little man”, has the function to reinforce the same idea conveyed by the term مولاي.

²² See Durand 2004: 82. As far as we know in no other Arabic variety this term is used with this special meaning, not linked to the religious one²², so that مولانا is directed to God. We have to remind that in Morocco, it's also a common title of nobility attributed to the descendents of the idrisite and alawi dynasties, and of course to the Prophet. The same term is used by the little prince to address the King, and translate the ST term “Sire”.

In comparison with the richness of denominations, created by Youssi translation, the two MSA translations that we analyse here just suggest :

a) أيها الولد الصغير (al-‘Ammārī, pp. 88- 89)

b) يا عزيزي (Ġaṣūb, p. 22)

III. Arabo-islamic cultural idioms

In Youssi’s text it’s easy to find expressions and cliché constructs that evoke the name of “Allah”, but many of them has completely lost their religious charge. They reflect the will of the translator to adapt the French terms and localize the text in a Arabo-islamic cultural background. :

1. يا الله:

The term, apart from its position before an imperative, with the meaning of “let’s...”, is often found even before verbs and adjectives, and could stand for “just”:

Ex.: كوكب يا الله اكبر من: (a planet just bigger than..)

2. السلام عليكم

Very often this form of greeting is used to adapt, more than translating, the original French “Bonjour”. It’s introduced by the verb سلّم that evokes an Islamic environment”. Youssi sometimes shifts to the more neutral صباح الخير, that is also accompanied by other neutral expressions, such as the very classical حيّا, or دار التحيات, composed by the Moroccan verb “to do” and the classical term تحيات, so that the mixture seems really odd²³. It is worth noticing that our two MSA translations never use the Islamic greeting and the verb سلّم but only حيّا.

3. جاب لي الله

²³ The same effect on the reader is provoked by the translation راجل الأعمال for “businessman”, whereas the MSA translation uses رجل for the first term.

“Je me crois”. Starting from the literal translation “God brought me (knowledge or feeling)” we end up to: “It seems to me”, “I guess”.

4. الكمال لله (“Only God is perfect”)

In the original text it was “ Rien n’est parfait”.

The MSA translations provide longer and more neutral or denotative solutions, each of them is similar to the other:

ليس من شيء كامل في الكون (Gaṣūb, p. 15) (“ Nothing is perfect in the universe ”)

لا شيء كامل في هذا العالم (al-‘Ammari, p. 70) (“ Nothing is perfect in this world ”)

يا الله السلامة. 5.

Here it translates the adjective “terribles”, referred to seeds of baobab trees.

الله يهنيك. 6.

It’s the translation of “Adieu” and it occurs only once. In other cases the same term is translated with the classical expression الوداع.

أرض الله واسعة. 7.

“La terre est grande”.

غير على الله هكذا. 8.

“Par hazard”

كانت حتى كان في قديم العصر و الزمان. 9.

“Il etait une fois”. The similar translation in MSA is: كان يا ما كان في قديم الزمان

النهار مختلف على خوه و الساعة ماشي بحال ختها. 10.

“(…)un jour est different des autres jours, une heure, des autres”. Here the term “autre” is translated, in an intense connotative way, as “its brother”, in the masculine case, and “its sister” in the feminine one.

11. كما يصبح اللي عطى الله عطاءه .11

This idiomatic expression tries to adapt the original “ça suffit”. The verb يصبح is a classical one but is constructed with the Moroccan prefix *kā*.

12. The original phrase “haut comme une église”, (where “haut” is referred to the baobab tree) is domesticated or localized as:

هما شجار طوال قد الصمعة

“Eglise” is thus transformed into a صمعة which is the most common Moroccan term for “minaret”. The reasons of this substitution are clear: first, it is easier to understand for the common reader, second, it also gives a touch of local Islamic atmosphere to the novella. On the contrary, the two MSA translations left unchanged the ST term “église”:

1. يعادل حجم الواحدة منها حجم الكنيسة (Gaṣūb, p. 10)

2. شجر ضخيم بطول الكنائس (al-‘Ammari, p. 24)

Even Balegh, in his Tunisian version, translates:

اكبيرة كأنها كنيسة (“big as a church”)

Anyway; later on, the Moroccan translator forgets to translate the term “messe” in the phrase “la musique de la messe de minuit”, compensating it with “in the church”. Then he transforms “l’arbre de Noel”, into “شجرة بابا نويل²⁴” (“Santa Claus’s tree”), so, some lines later, no wonder if Christmas is bound to become just “Santa Claus’s feast” (“حفلة بابا نويل”).

IV. Short remarks on orthography

One of the big challenges that Moroccan Arabic has to face is the normalization of its orthography. In the introduction to his translation, Youssi declares that he tries to keep many words in the MSA form. But this effort seems not systematic. He maintains that the

²⁴ Instead of “Christmas tree”, he translated “tree of Santa Claus”, where the Arabic “Babba Noel” reminds of Italian “Babbo Natale” or Spanish “Papa’ Noel”.

consonants ذ/ظ / ث/ث that are not present in Moroccan Arabic, are reported, just to make the reader recognize the original root of the word. So, even though they are not substituted by respectively ت/د/ض , sometimes the Moroccan orthography prevails on the classical one (دراع / (عدر) / تلعتم / متشبت).

The length of vowels in the same words is often variable, specially in plural forms and demonstratives pronouns. So the orthography of some words oscillates like:

هدر / هضر

ثاق ب تاق ب /

حض / حظ

ثما / تما

مضطر / مضتر

أخر / أخور

كتب / كتوب

This confusion creates the phenomenon of hypercorrection in many cases such as:

تقاحة ، ثعب ، يا ثرى ، مكبوث ، ثماما

The classical ة in annexation case often becomes ت (ex. بطبيعة الحال: ت).

Conclusion

This translation of the best-seller novella by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry is an important step towards the break-down of the traditional gap between written MSA and oral Moroccan Arabic. Youssi demonstrated that this despised language can become a flexible instrument, able to translate literary works. We are aware that, in order to express deep concepts not linked to everyday activities and discourses, it needs the support of MSA. The translator sometimes inserts classical register terms amidst a stylistically Moroccan Arabic sentence, some other times he uses a moroccan construct, so creating a sort of binary tension in the text.

The choice to translate a word in a MSA register or in Moroccan seems not supported by stylistic justifications. So we wonder whether this kind of “unfaithfulness” to a Moroccan term, to translate the same term of source language, has any practical function: maybe it can help the illiterate or semi-illiterate readers absorb a good vocabulary of MSA. In comparison with the heaviness of some long sentences, where periphrases are abundant, the translator’s skill emerges mostly in the freshness and of dialogues. Sparkling idioms also give a three-dimensional touch and situate the novella in an arab macrocosm. Perhaps, in an unconscious way, this is a nostalgic return to the real and original scenery of the novella: if, in the desert of Morocco, the snake and the fox of *Le petit prince* must speak a language, no doubt that it would be Moroccan Arabic, or some berber languages, but certainly not MSA.

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EVOLUTIONS TOWARDS A THEORY OF NON-TROPICAL METAPHOR IN ARAB PHILOLOGICAL THOUGHT

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Abstract. The present paper deals with the emergence of views on Literary Arabic favoring a diachronically oriented approach. The material dealt with is provided by two authors, the Lebanese writer Ġirġī Zaydān and the Palestinian professor Mahdī 'As'ad 'Arār, whose aim is to raise awareness about the developments witnessed by the vocabulary of Literary Arabic (lexical expansion and semantic evolution) and also to present some theoretical perspectives meant to accommodate these facts. The aspects we are concentrating on concern the place ascribed to concepts pertaining to traditional Arabic philology and the part they play in modeling the accounts given by the authors on the phenomena they wish to highlight.

Keywords: literal speech, figurative speech, non-tropical metaphor, semantic evolution, lexical change, Arabic rhetoric, diachronic, synchronic.

Approaching reflections on language matters of Arab authors sharing a traditional philological background oftentimes entails an implicit effort to go beyond concepts, categories and oppositions familiar to those looking at the same matters from a point of view shaped by developments that have taken place during the last two centuries in this field of knowledge in the Western world. One of the well established principles of Western contemporary linguistic thought that might be challenged by such an approach is the diachronic – synchronic distinction, whose theorization by de Saussure, after a 19th century dominated to a great extent by the preoccupation for the evolution of languages, the kinship relations connecting them and the identification of their ancestors, gave the impetus for studying languages as systems characterized by internal coherence and self-sufficiency in any given moment of their existence. The mindset of pre-modern Arab authors writing about language is one that seems to elude such a distinction, as their preoccupations are naturally far from being identical to those governing the endeavors of modern Western linguists in both pre- and post-saussurian times.

One of the personalities whose discourse can be particularly revealing in this respect is the Arab historian Ibn Ḥaldūn (14th – 15th centuries), as he reunites a most rare combination of

qualities that place him in a position suited for highlighting valuable points concerning the topic of language sciences in traditional, pre-modern Arab milieux: he has an encyclopedic interest in various fields of knowledge and activity developed within the boundaries of the Arab-Muslim world, including the language sciences and, at the same time, he belongs to an era late enough for him to be able to present in his *Muqaddima* an overall view of what he deems to be the most important developments of these fields; the main asset in this context is, however, the fact that the well known capability to critically scrutinize traditional narratives, the systematic quest for causality relations and the innovative methodological approach that have secured him a prominent status in the intellectual history of the world can, in this particular context, provide us with a sort of litmus test for the endurance of preconceived notions and well established perspectives concerning the Arab language and language in general in the Arab cultural environment of his age. This is not to say that we expect Ibn Ḥaldūn's theoretical views to be a driving force leading towards bringing pre-modern Arab discourse on language closer to a modern perspective, whereby the diachronic – synchronic distinction would become relevant. We do, however, consider that although cyclicity is not synonymous with perpetual change and continuous evolution, the trademark of Ibn Ḥaldūn's historiography – ascribing a cyclical nature to historical processes – entails a dynamization of the view one has on any process involving aspects of human collective life, thus increasing the possibility that the chronological factor might be given a part to play in a narrative concerning the fate of a language or linguistic area. Ibn Ḥaldūn does not seem to disappoint such expectations, as there are, in the chapters of his *Muqaddima* containing the account he gives on language and language sciences, passages where he appears to be prone to present us with a picture of the linguistic situation of the Arab world far from being static or uniform. The first aspect that bears witness to this dynamic view is the acknowledgement of linguistic diversity within the boundaries of the Arab speaking community geographically, socially and historically. There is even an attempt to put forward the outline of a history of the Arabic language known today as Classical Arabic, the language of the Qur'an and the *ḥadīths*, labeled as the Muḍarite language (in a reference to it being understood as the language of Northern Arabian tribes), which is said to have emerged as a result of changes sustained by the Ḥimyarite language (in a reference to the South Semitic language ascribed by Arabic sources to the Ḥimyarite kingdom). The following passage expresses and summarizes Ibn Ḥaldūn's view on this matter:

tağayyara ʿinda muḍara kaḥrun min mawḍiʿāti l-lisāni l-ḥimyarīyyi wa-taṣānīfi kalimātihi taṣhadu bi-ḍālika l-ʿanqālu l-mawḡūdatu ladaynā ḥilāfan li-man yaḥmiluhu l-

qusūru °alā °annahā luġatun wāḥīdatun wa-yaltamisu °iġrā °a l-luġati l-ḥimyarīyyati °alā maqāyīsi l-luġati l-muḍarīyyati wa-qawānīnihā... wa-laysa dālika bi-ṣaḥīhin wa-luġatu ḥimyara luġatun °uḥrā muġāyiratun li-luġati muḍara fī l-kaḥiri min °awḍā°ihā wa-taṣānīfihā wa-ḥarakāti °fī rābihā kamā hiya luġatu l-°arabi li-°ahdinā mā°a luġati muḍara (“many of the lexical units of the language of Ḥimyar and the inflections of its words were changed amongst the Muḍarites, the proof of this fact being the handed down materials at our disposal, as opposed to those whose own incompetence leads them to assume that it is only one language and who seek to apply to the language of Ḥimyar the standards and laws of the language of Muḍar ... this is not right, the language of Ḥimyar is different from the language of Muḍar with respect to many of its words (elements of linguistic expression meant to correspond to established meanings), (internal) inflections and desinential vowels, just as the language of the (Bedouin) Arabs of our age is in comparison with the language of Muḍar”) (Ibn Ḥaldūn: 557).

This paragraph alone helps us conclude that Muḍarite / Classical Arabic is, for Ibn Ḥaldūn, one of three stages of a continuous evolutionary stream, whose progression is determined by changes suffered by each one of these stages, that lead to the emergence of a new language out of the preexisting one. In the case of the transition from Muḍarite / Classical Arabic to the contemporaneous language recognized as Arabic by the author, the change that is deemed to trigger this process is the loss of desinential inflection – one of the contexts where such an assertion is to be found is the justification of the preeminence of syntax over lexicography:

wa-kāna min ḥaqqi °ilmi l-luġati t-taqaddumu lawlā °anna °aktara l-°awḍā°i bāqiyatun fī mawḍū°atihā lam tataġayyar bi-ḥilā fī l-°fī rābi d-dālli °alā l-°isnādi wa-l-musnadi wa-l-musnadi °ilayhi fā-°innahu taġayyara bi-l-ġumlati wa-lam yabqa lahu °atarun wa-li-dālika kāna °ilmu n-naḥwi °ahamma mina l-luġati °id fī ġahlihi l-°iḥlālu bi-t-tafāhumi ġumlatan (“lexicography would have had the right to precedence had it not been that most of the lexical units have remained connected to the meanings (initially) ascribed to them without having changed, unlike desinential inflection, that marks predication and identifies the predicate and the subject, for it has changed completely and left no trace; therefore syntax is more important than lexicography, as not knowing it compromises mutual understanding altogether”) (Ibn Ḥaldūn: 545).

Geographical variation is also noticed alongside the historical one, and this time the dividing line is drawn between the Bedouin Arabs on the one hand and the sedentary populations and the inhabitants of urban centers on the other:

fī lam 'anna 'urfā t-taḥāṭubi fī l-'amṣāri wa-bayna l-ḥaḍari laysa bi-luḡati muḍara l-qaḍimati wa-lā bi-luḡati 'ahli l-ḡīli bal hiya luḡatun 'uḥrā qā 'imatun bi-nafsihā ba'īdatun 'an luḡati muḍara wa-'an luḡati hādā l-ḡīli l-'arabiyyi llaḍi li-'ahdinā (“you should know that the practice of communication in urban centers and among the sedentary populations does not involve using the old language of Muḍar or the language of the people of the community (of present day Bedouin Arab speakers), instead it is another, independent language, distant from the language of Muḍar and from the language of the present day Bedouin Arab speakers”) (Ibn Ḥaldūn: 558).

Ibn Ḥaldūn goes further than just pointing to a state of affairs – he also departs from the traditional puristic attitude in approaching the relationship between Classical Arabic and other Arabic varieties, stating that characteristics of these varieties that grammarians label as “grammatical mistakes” (*lahn*) are, in fact, the very marks of their identity as distinct languages. This context also provides Ibn Ḥaldūn with the opportunity to express his conviction concerning the requirements a speech variety has to meet in order to be deemed a full-fledged language: *kullun minhum mutawaṣṣilun bi-luḡatihi 'ikā ta'diyati maqṣūdihi wa-l-'ibānati 'ammā fī nafsihī wa-hādā mā'nā l-lisāni wa-l-luḡati* (“everyone of them (i.e. of the speakers belonging to the different communities) is capable, by means of his own idiom, of fulfilling his purpose and expressing what lies in his soul, and this is what a language and an idiom mean”) (Ibn Ḥaldūn: 558). We have been able so far to take notice of Ibn Ḥaldūn’s hardly surprising capacity of challenging well established views and narratives by subjecting them to his own independent reasoning, the result being, in this topic as well as in others approached in his *Muqaddima*, a considerably distinctive picture bearing unmistakable innovative features. It is almost paradoxical that the limitations of his liberal and progressive views on language are highlighted by contexts where he appears to be most at home with treating historical events and processes, i.e. when he looks for reasons lying behind them. In more than one occasion there are references to the circumstances that have led to the evolutions witnessed by the Arab speech community in Ibn Ḥaldūn’s view – when talking about the factors that triggered the erosion of Arabic as a fully inflected language, for example, he states the following:

lammā ḡā'a l-'islāmu wa-lāraqū l-ḥiḡāza li-ṭalabi l-mulki llaḍi fī 'aydi l-'umami wa-d-duwali wa-ḥālaṭū l-'aḡama taḡayyarāt tilka l-malakatu bi-mā 'alqā 'ilayhā s-sam' u mina l-muḥālaḗti llaḗ li-l-mustāribīna ... fa-fasadat bi-mā 'ulqiya 'ilayhā mimmā yuḡāyiruhā (“when islam emerged and they left Hijaz, seeking to make their own the power that lay in the hands of nations and states, and they came into contact with non-

Arabs, that faculty (of speaking proper Arabic) was altered by the divergent speech patterns belonging to those assimilating themselves to the Arabs that reached it through hearing ... and it was corrupted by speech patterns different from it that were directed at it”) (Ibn Ḥaldūn: 546).

The same reason is mentioned in almost identical terms when dealing with the “(speech) faculty” (*malaka*) that lies at the basis of linguistic communication and is deemed to be a skill which, being acquired through learning and repetition, is also exposed to influences coming as a result of contacts between the speakers of a given language with members of other speech communities (Ibn Ḥaldūn : 555); finally, after having stated that the differences between the Muḍarite / Classical Arabic language and the language of urban centers and sedentary populations are greater than those separating it from the language of the contemporaneous Bedouin Arabs, he finds that this is due to the different degrees of intensity of the contact between Arabs and non-Arabs in these environments:

’ammā ’annahā ’ab^oadu^e ani l-lisāni l-’awwali min luġati hādā l-ġīli fa-li-’anna l-bu^oda^e ani l-lisāni ’innamā huwa bi-muḥālaṭati l-’uġmati fa-man ḥālaṭa l-’aġama ’aktara kānat luġatuhu^e an dālika l-lisāni l-’ašliyyi ’ab^oada (“as for the fact that it (i.e. the language of urban centers and sedentary populations) is more distant from the primary language than the language of the present day community (of Bedouin Arabs), it is due to the distance from the language being a result of coming into contact with non-Arabic speech patterns, so that the language of those who come more into contact with non-Arabs is more distant from that original language”) (Ibn Ḥaldūn : 558).

Contact with non-Arabs is thus constantly put forward as the reason for both historical and geographical variation in the Arab world, according to what seems to be a coherent and consistent view whereby linguistic change and variation are closely dependent on contact with members of a different speech community. It is as a logical outcome of this general assumption that the degrees of divergence between different contemporaneous Arabic varieties and Classical Arabic are correlated with the intensity of the contact between the speakers of these varieties and non-Arabs. The most conspicuous absence from this general picture is that of internal mechanisms that might lead to a similar outcome – no mention is made of internal factors that might act in the same direction and change a language from within, all the changes being attributed to exclusively external factors, whence it can be inferred that, for Ibn Ḥaldūn, there is, in all likelihood, no reason to expect a language to evolve on its own. Language, in and by itself, does not seem to change by the mere passage of

time – every time this happens, it has to be the result of ultimately non-linguistic factors: changes in the geographic and, hence, linguistic environment, contact and admixture with different populations. It is in this precise point that the utmost extent of Ibn Ḥaldūn’s capability of challenging traditional narratives on language seems to be reached, that the traditional mindset shared by the historian with his cultural milieu emerges and reinserts him in the mainstream of linguistic thought.

After having seen the resilience of traditional perspectives on language in a pre-modern Arab cultural environment even when challenged by an intellectual figure reputed to have been ahead of its time in many respects, it becomes all the more significant and worthy of notice to find that the modern age has witnessed the emergence of perspectives that, while still rooted to various degrees, either implicitly or explicitly, in the Arab philological culture, not only become acceptant of the idea of linguistic change, but actively embrace it and promote it. One such case is that of the Lebanese Arab writer Ğirġī Zaydān (1861-1914), whose work titled *Al-luġa al-‘arabiyya – kā’in ḥayy* (“The Arabic language – a living being”) deals, among other things, with changes incurred by Literary Arabic, while expressing his convictions on the matter in passages that contain elements of a theory of language evolution. The central tenet of the work is reflected by its very title, as the main objective aimed at by Zaydān is to challenge what he deems to be a traditionally static vision on Literary Arabic, by pursuing two paths: asserting and documenting evolutions witnessed by this language and, at the same time, legitimizing them by taking them as signs of vitality. The area where the author thinks that the vitality of Literary Arabic is most visible is the vocabulary, where he notices evolutions owed to external influences (lexical borrowings dating back to different periods of the history of Literary Arabic), as well as internal evolutions (processes of derivation or semantic change according to the necessities coming with new fields of knowledge and activity).

One aspect particularly worthy of attention in Zaydān’s approach is the fact that his keenness on reforming and dynamizing current views on Literary Arabic appears on more than one occasion to coexist with him being conceptually anchored in the Arab philological tradition, even though he oftentimes does not explicitly use its established terminology. An illustrative passage in this regard is the following one, where he summarizes the types of transformation sustained by Literary Arabic in the Islamic era:

*kullu mā dakarnāhu min ‘amtilati numuwwi l-luġati l-‘arabiyyati fī l-‘aṣri l-‘islāmiyyi
‘innamā huwa qāṣirun ‘alā tafarru‘i ‘alfāzihā wa-taġaddudihā bi-mā qtaḍāhu š-šar‘u wa-*

l-ʿilmu wa-l-falsafatu wa-l-ʿidāratu wa-s-siyāsatu. hunāka taḡyīrātun ʿuḡrā nataḡat ʿammā ʃaraʿa ʿalā l-ʿādābi l-iḡtimāʿiyyati mina t-taḡyīri, faḡlan ʿani t-tiḡārati wa-ṣ-ṣināʿati, wa-mā qtaḡāhu kullun minhā min tanawwuʿi l-ʿalfāzi l-ʿarabiyyati ʿawi qtibāsi l-ʿalfāzi l-ʿaḡnabiyyati (...) ʿadā mā qtabasahu l-muslimūna mina l-ʿādāti l-ʿaḡnabiyyati wa-mā yatbaʿu dālika min ʿasmā ʿi l-malābisi wa-l-ʿaʿimati wa-l-iḡtīlālāti mim mā tuḡnī ṣuhratuhu ʿan ʿirādihi („all the examples of development of the Arabic language we have recorded are nothing but cases of diversification and renewal of its words according to the necessities of legislation, science, philosophy, administration and politics; there are also other changes coming as a result of changes in the social customs, aside from trade and industry and what each of them required in terms of diversification of the Arab words or borrowing of foreign ones (...) and besides the foreign habits picked up by Muslims and the (borrowing of) names of clothes, foods and celebrations, too well known to require mentioning, which this entails”) (Zaydān: 88).

The relevant aspect of this first part of a summary exposition is the order in which the author chooses to mention the types of lexical change and their stimuli. The first type, for instance, is correlated with the emergence of new fields of activity whose complexity and sophistication require the creation of specialized terminologies. Although such an evolution can be registered and accounted for with other theoretical tools than those provided by the Arab philological tradition, one cannot help but thinking that beginning an exposition on the subject by mentioning this particular type of lexical expansion is reminiscent of the general terms in which Arab philologists present the overall situation of the vocabulary and the mutations it can undergo, as a standard account on these matters in their terms would begin with the expansion of the field of literal speech (*ḡaḡīqa*) through operations labeled as *wadʿ* (the “establishment” of the correspondence between meaning and linguistic expression) coming after the initial *wadʿ* operation that generated the lexical units used in their literal meanings and shared by all the speakers of the linguistic community (covered by the notion of “glottic literal speech” – *ḡaḡīqa luḡawiyya*), and meant to generate specialized terminologies made up of words belonging to the common, non-specialized vocabulary, that acquire new meanings they are supposed to convey in contexts linked to the fields of activity to which the respective specialized terminologies are associated. The same traditional scenario identifies two sub-categories of words functioning in this manner, namely the “legal literal speech” (*ḡaḡīqa ṣarʿiyya*) – the vocabulary containing the terms meant to designate the notions relevant to Islamic law) – and the “customary literal speech” (*ḡaḡīqa ʿurfiyya*) – the specialized vocabularies pertaining to other fields of activity (see as-Sakkākī, 1983: 359). If we look back at Zaydān’s text, we can see that, maybe not by coincidence, the first type of

specialized vocabulary he mentions is precisely the legal one, followed by those linked to other activities (science, philosophy, administration, politics). These are not the only coincidences between Zaydān's discourse and the traditional narrative of Arab philologists, as one can notice by reading the following passage:

*wa-hunāka tağyīrātun 'uḥrū 'aṣābat 'alfāza l-luğati bi-ğayri dā'in mina d-dawā'i llaḥi qaddamnāhā, bal hiya ġarat fi dālika 'alā nāmūsi l-irtiqā 'i l-āmmi l-qāḍi 'alā l-'ahyā 'i bi-t-tağaddudi wa-t-tanawwufi wa-t-tafarrufi, li-'asbābin ba'ḍuhā mā'lūmun, wa-ba'ḍuhā ġayru mā'lūmin. wa-l-ğālibu fi hādā t-tanawwufi 'an yakūna bi-l-intiqāli min mānan kulliyin 'ilā mānan ġuz'iyyin, 'aw min mānan 'ilā mā yuṣbihuhu, 'aw yata'allaqu bihi, mimmā yu'abbinūna 'anhu bi-t-tawfidi... fa-l-'alfāzu l-muwalladatu hiya llaḥi 'ahdatahā l-muwalladūna ba'da 'an duwwinati l-luğatu wa-ḍubūtat 'alfāzuhā fi 'awā'ili l-'islāmi. wa-l-'alfāzu l-muwalladatu 'aktaru bi-kaḥrin mimmā yazunnu l-luğawiyūna, bal hiya tatawalladu 'alā d-dawāmi dūna nqitā'in. wa-kullu mā taqaddama dikruhu mina l-'alfāzi l-'islāmiyyati wa-l-'idāriyyati wa-l-'ilmiyyati wa-t-tiğāriyyati 'innamā huwa min qābili l-muwalladi, wa-lā kinnahum qallamā yusammūnahā muwalladatan... wa-'indahum 'anna l-qāmūsa huwa l-ḥakamu l-faṣlu fi l-'arabiyyi wa-l-muwalladi wal-āmmiyyi, fa-mā lā yadkuruhu l-qāmūsu bayna l-'alfāzi l-'arabiyyati 'addūhu 'āmmiyyan 'aw muwalladan wa-ḥazānū stf mālahu ("there are other changes incurred by the words of the language without any of the previously mentioned reasons, as they have followed in this regard the general law of progress, that requires living beings to renew themselves, diversify and multiply, for reasons some of which are known and some of which are not; most of the times this diversification takes place by means of the transfer from a general meaning to a particular one, or from a meaning to another one bearing a resemblance with it or being related to it, in a process labeled with the term *tawfīd* (lit. "generation", "production") ... 'generated' (*muwallada*) words are those that the post-classics (*muwalladūna*) have produced, after the language had been registered and its words had been recorded at the beginning of the Islamic era; generated words are much more numerous than linguists think, moreover they are being generated continuously, without interruption; all the previously mentioned Islamic, administrative, scientific and commercial terms belong to the category of generated words, and yet they rarely name them as such ... as they think the dictionary is the ultimate arbiter in establishing what is (Literary) Arabic, what is generated and what is colloquial, and they deemed whatever is not mentioned by the dictionary among the (Literary) Arab words to be colloquial or generated and banned its use") (Zaydān: 88).*

The relevance of this second paragraph in the context of our discussion is manifold. The first important aspect to be underlined is the contrast with Ibn Ḥaldūn's vision on the factors

leading to linguistic change, that are extra-linguistic or at most sociolinguistic, as Zaydān identifies two distinctive sets of phenomena representing different types of lexical change, the first one being ascribed to factors rather close to those pointed to by Ibn Ḥaldūn himself in that they have an external nature (evolving needs of the society, emergence of new fields of activity, contacts with other populations whose languages become borrowing sources for Literary Arabic). The second set of phenomena marks the complete and clear break with the traditional mindset still reflected by Ibn Ḥaldūn’s discourse: they are grounded not in extra-linguistic factors, but are brought about by the very nature of language as a “living being”, whose condition entails continuous evolution. The salience of this motivation is reinforced by the admission that some of the reasons behind the changes he mentions are unknown, thus directing the reader even more decisively towards the idea that the reason why they occur at all is simply that evolution is an intrinsic part of the nature and condition of a language, and that language can and does change in the absence of external or even identifiable agents.

While pointing to the occurrence of lexical change in the absence of extra-linguistic reasons is significant for signaling the modernity of Zaydān’s views on language, this passage also exhibits formulas that can be taken as clues for detecting an underlying concept whose presence might contribute to reinforcing the consistency of the grounding of Zaydān’s discourse in traditional Arabic philological concepts and narratives notwithstanding his efforts to rethink them or go beyond them. The formulas in question are to be found in this sentence: *wa-l-ġālibu fī ḥādā t-tanawwūfi ‘an yakūna bi-l-intiqāli ... min mā‘nan ‘ilā mā yuṣbihuhu, ‘aw yata‘allaqu bihi* (“most of the times this diversification takes place by means of the transfer ... from a meaning to another one bearing a resemblance with it or being related to it”). The transfer of a word from a meaning “to a similar (meaning)” (*‘ilā mā yuṣbihuhu*) or to a meaning “related to it” (*yata‘allaqu bihi*) is placed within the category of phenomena for whose designation he uses the term *tawlīd* (traditionally used to designate changes or innovations ascribed to authors coming after the *‘uṣūr al-iḥtiġāġ* – the ages that have witnessed the creation of the literary works that can be taken as a basis for establishing the norm of Literary Arabic – and usually being themselves of mixed origins (*muwalladūna*), whose works are, on these grounds, neutralized as a basis for challenging the pre-established norm (see Lane, 1968)). In the case of this term we are dealing with an explicit attempt at redefining it so as to make it designate the continuous renewal of the vocabulary, which has, as an immediate consequence, the possibility that the norm of Literary Arabic be upgraded and modified according to evolutions registered in the effective use of the language, at least as far as its vocabulary is concerned. This is, in effect, what Zaydān explicitly states in the

following passage, where he questions at the same time the permanent validity and the exhaustiveness of a norm settled once and for all in a remote era, using the generic term *qāmūs* (“dictionary”) to designate the pre-established norm of Literary Arabic vocabulary:

wa-lākinna l-qāmūsa waḥdahu lā yakfī li-l-ḥukmi fi dālika, li-’annahū lam yataḍamman kulla mā tanāqalathu ’alsinatu l-bulaḡā ’i ’aw tadāwalathu ’aqlāmu l-kuttābi, wa-lā kulla mā naṭaqat bihi l-’arabu (...) fa-’adamu wuṇūdi l-lafzi fi l-qāmūsi lā yadullu dā ’iman ’alā ’annahū dā’ifun... nāhika bi-’alfāzin kafīratin, iktasabat bi-l-ḥaḍārati mā’āniya ḡaḍīdatan lam yudawwinhā l-qāmūsu, li-’anna l-’a’immata ’taba’ihā min qabli l-’alfāzi l-’āmmiyyati... wa-lākinna l-kuttāba sta’maḥūhā wa-fihimu l-mašāhīru l-mašhūdu lahum bi-l-balāḡati wa-salāmati d-dawqi (“but the dictionary alone is not enough to judge this matter, because it does contain neither all that has been spread around by the tongues of the eloquent or circulated by the pens of the writers, nor all that the Arabs have uttered (...) for the absence of a word from the dictionary does not always mean that it is deficient ... let alone many words that have acquired through (the advent / advance of) civilization new meanings, not recorded by the dictionary because the masters deemed them colloquial words ... but the writers, including those recognized for their eloquence and good taste, used them nevertheless”) (Zaydān: 88, 89).

Out of the two arguments put forward in these remarks to support the call for upgrading the lexical norm of Literary Arabic, the former has a rather limited bearing on the traditional views, being just the expression of concern about the thoroughness of the compiling effort reflected by authoritative lexicographical works, whereas the latter is a renewed reference to one of the two main phenomena leading to lexical change, alongside the expansion of the vocabulary – semantic evolution. If the creation of new terminologies is presented, as we have already noticed, in terms that seem to echo the traditional philological discourse about literal speech, semantic evolution appears to be presented, at least in part, in accordance with elements of the traditional theory concerning the other major speech type identified and treated as such by Arab philologists – the figurative one (*maḡāz*), as the formulas of the previous passage we pointed to earlier can be taken as possible abridged definitions of two of the main complementary subcategories of figurative speech, or rather of the mechanisms supposed to generate them: metaphor, which is traditionally understood as being the result of the transfer (*naql*) of a lexical unit from its literal meaning to another one based on the similarity between them (see, e.g. ar-Rāzī, 1985: 183), and metonymy, seen as arising from a similar operation performed on the basis of a relationship between the two meanings other than similarity (in his *Miftāḥ al-’ulūm*, as-Sakkākī refers to this relationship using the terms

mulāḥaza (“conformity”) and *nawʿu taʿalluqin* (“a kind of connection / relationship”) – see as-Sakkākī, 1983: 365-368 - the last formula containing the very same term used by Zaydān himself).

This overlapping between Zaydān’s discourse and vision and those of the Arab traditional philologists can obviously be only a partial one: the facts being treated are different, as are the driving forces supposed to generate them - figurative speech, as an essential mark of creativity in dealing with language, is deemed to be the result of interventions on the correspondence between linguistic expression and meaning performed by individuals authoring different types of discourse, whereas semantic evolution is a phenomenon concerning a whole community of speakers and, in Zaydān’s terms, it is supposed to come under the impulse of the “general law of progress” (the choice of words is also revealing in this context, as Zaydān’s using the verbal name *intiḳāl*, bearing a reflexive meaning, instead of *naql*, corresponding to the transitive verb *naqala*, can be viewed in correlation with the absence of particular agents producing semantic change, which consequently appears as though it were coming into existence by itself).

We can, therefore, conclude that Zaydān’s innovative efforts are far from implying a thorough break with concepts and categories specific to traditional Arab philology. What he aims at is to redefine some of its terms, so as to make them suitable for the analysis of the same object of study – Literary Arabic – according to different theoretical premises. The term he explicitly redefines is *tawfīd*, which is called to designate all changes taking place in the lexical realm, whether it means the emergence of new terms or the alteration of the meaning of already existing ones, irrespective of the era when these changes occur. There is also, we think, an underlying concept that undergoes an implicit reassessment, namely the concept of “figurative speech” (*mağāz*), as semantic evolution appears to be looked at through the lenses provided by tools of analysis associated with this concept, which creates a significant breakthrough towards ascribing to what can be labeled as non-creative, non-tropic metaphor an integral role in lexical change as a whole.

If *mağāz* is to be found in Zaydān’s discourse as part of a theoretical background detectable through some effort of interpretation, this concept is explicitly approached by another author dealing with the vocabulary of Literary Arabic: in a reaction to the apparent neglect with which the semantic evolution of some Arabic lexical items is treated, the Palestinian professor Maḥdī ’Asʿad ʿArār publishes, in *The Journal of Jordan Academy of*

Arabic (N^o. 71, 2006: 11-57), the article bearing the title “Al-^carabiyya: at-tābit wa-l-mutaḥawwil bayna s-sābiq wa-l-lāḥiq; dalālat al-kalima al-^carabiyya ’unmūdaḡan” (“The Arabic language: the stable and the changing between the previous and present (speakers); the meaning of the Arabic word as a model”). In it he registers a series of Arabic words that, despite having sustained semantic changes in the course of time, are currently treated as if their meanings were stable, which seriously impairs, in the author’s view, the understanding of many a passage in pre-modern texts written in Literary Arabic. The article naturally focuses on highlighting the evolutionary nature of this language in the lexical field, by pointing to differences between the meanings of the same word in different eras as they are attested mainly by lexicographical works. The part of the article bearing the highest degree of relevance for the present paper is to be found in the final theoretical observations, presented in the form of a series of conclusions. Of particular interest for the present paper is the fourth conclusion, formulated as follows:

rūbf uhā ’annanī ’ihālu ’anna bāba l-qawli °alā hādā l-mabḡati yattaṣilu bi-nasabin ḡamīmin ’ilā maṭlabin balāḡiyyin °unwānuhu l-maḡāzu, wa-laysa yadhabu bi-l-qāri’i z-zannu ’ilā ’anna l-bāḡiṭa yūmi’u ’ilā darsi l-balāḡati; dālika ’anna taṭawwura d-dalālati qad kāna maḡāzan ḡayyan laḡzata wuqū’ihi, wa-lākinna saynūratahu wa-taṭāwula l-°umri bihi, wa-ḡalabatahu, ’in °alā ṣā’idi š-šifāhi, ’aw °alā ṣā’idi l-’aqlāmi, kulla dālika ’afḡā bihi ’ilā ’an yalḡaqa bi-rakbi l-ḡaḡiqati, wa-lanā ’an nastarfida fi hādā l-maḡāmi qawlatan tunsabu ’ilā bni ḡinniyyin ma’ṭūran, wa-hiya dāḡibatun ’ilā ’anna l-maḡāza ’idā kaṭura laḡiqa bi-l-ḡaḡiqati (...) wa-la-°alla l-qawla l-faṣla yakūnu fi stirfādi bā’ḡi l-’anḡāri l-lisāniyyati l-ḡaḡiqati d-dāḡibati ’ilā talāṭati maḡāhiba fi taqṣīmi l-maḡāzi, fa-qad muyyiza bayna talāṭati ’anwā’in ’awwaluhā l-maḡāzu l-ḡayyu, wa-tānīhā l-maḡāzu l-mayyitu, wa-tālītuhā n-nā’imu llaḡi yataraddadu bayna bayna, wa-kullu dālikumu l-maḡḡi fihi fi hādīhi l-waraqati mimṡa yantasibu ’ilā l-maḡāzi l-mayyiti (“the fourth (conclusion) is that I consider the discussion on this research topic to be intimately related to a rhetorical issue known as figurative speech; however, the reader should not assume that the researcher points to the study of rhetoric, for the evolution of the meaning was (an instance of) living figurative speech at the moment of its occurrence, but its trajectory, its long existence and its prevalence, either orally or in writing, have all made it join literal speech, and we can look for support, in this context, in a well known saying attributed to Ibn ḡinnī¹ which has it that figurative speech, when used frequently, joins

¹ About Ibn ḡinnī’s theory on figurative speech and its similarities with modern theories of metaphor, see Nadia Anghelescu, “Le rôle de la métaphore dans les explications d’Ibn ḡinnī” (2004, pp. 7-24).

literal speech (...) perhaps the final say is to be had by resorting to some modern visions on language that identify three kinds of figurative speech, as a distinction has been made between three types, the first of which is the living figurative speech, the second – the dead figurative speech and the third – the dormant one, that wavers between the two states; all that is approached in this paper concerns the dead figurative speech”) (‘Arār, 2006: 50).

These remarks, whereby the author calls for the detachment of *mağāz* from its traditional disciplinary framework, take this concept on a path rather similar to that which Zaydān’s theoretical reflections are highlighting: once it is placed outside the boundaries of rhetoric, it stops designating the modification of a lexical item’s meaning in a given context coming as the result of individual creativity, being used instead to signify semantic changes concerning whole communities of speakers. The main difference between the two approaches is that *mağāz* is explicitly referred to by ‘Arār, which faces him with a terminological problem that consists of the term’s well established meaning in traditional Arabic rhetoric, towards which he does not adopt a necessarily critical position (on the contrary, he mentions the opinion of one of its foremost representatives to support his views). The solution he finds for this problem is to identify different types of *mağāz*, one of which – the “living figurative speech” (*mağāz ḥayy*) - corresponds to the concept in its traditional understanding, which means that, instead of being completely evicted from the new scenario, it is restricted to the first stage of an evolutionary process that ends with it “dying”, i.e. being converted into its counterpart – literal speech. A process of semantic evolution whereby a word acquires in an era a meaning different from the one it used to have in a previous era is thus conceived of as taking place in three stages: in the first stage, the word in question, still currently used by the community of speakers with its primary meaning, acquires a second one, coexisting with it and not superseding it (or, in the terms of the traditional definition of figurative speech, without the transfer of linguistic expression from one meaning to another becoming permanent). In this stage, we are to understand that the instance of figurative speech, still a “living” one, is a legitimate object of study for traditional rhetoric, which means that the starting point in this process is seen as a case where, within a certain discourse belonging to a certain individual, there occurs a change in the correspondence between linguistic expression and meaning. In the next stage, this change, labeled as “dormant figurative speech” (*mağāz nā’im*), begins to spread and increase in frequency, still without eliminating the association between linguistic expression and its original meaning. It can be assumed that this intermediary stage can still be taken as a possible object of study for traditional rhetoric, as

there are, in the writings of early Arab philologists, references to the frequent use of a word or expression with a meaning different than its literal one (see, e.g., ar-Rāzī's pointing to the possibility that a metaphor be "common", "usual" (*ʿāmmiyya*) – ar-Rāzī, 1985: 225). As for the third and last stage, when the instance of figurative speech finally "dies" thus joining literal speech, it is the only one that can be unequivocally assumed to mark the exit of this evolutionary process from the realm of traditional rhetoric, on the basis of the given premises. The partition of this process into three stages, ascribed by ʿArār to unquoted sources, reflects a vision that, while marking a visible interest in embracing a diachronic perspective, still revolves, to a considerable extent, around concepts embedded in the discourse of traditional Arabic rhetoric on figurative and literal speech. This may not be a totally random association, as this discipline does exhibit theoretical assumptions that can function as a building material for the elaboration of a diachronically oriented view on language. As the different, often divergent and theologically motivated positions on the genesis of language in pre-modern and traditional Arab culture generally agree on the existence of an initial operation of "establishment" (*waḍʿ*) of the correspondence between linguistic expression and meaning (the controversy focalizing on identifying the party responsible for such an endeavor), one logical outcome of this general assumption is, especially if the creation of language is attributed to humans, the anchoring of language in time or, more precisely, the conceiving, on a theoretical level, of a zero-moment when language comes into being and begins being used as a means of communication. This potential for the development of a diachronic perspective is even more conspicuous when it comes to rhetoric and its distinction between literal and figurative speech, as the latter comes as a deflection, performed by a certain individual, from the convention put in place by the *waḍʿ* operation, that is bound to come after that operation. This, in and by itself, creates a temporal axis, finite at one of its two ends (namely, at the end represented by the moment of the initial *waḍʿ* operation) and marked by different moments in time when instances of figurative speech occur in different types of discourse. The fate of these changes once they occur is somewhat marginal for traditional Arabic rhetoric (although there are, as we have already mentioned, speculations about the degree of their frequency and prevalence and its impact on their closeness or even possible identification with literal speech). As for the approach illustrated by ʿArār's article, it can be taken as an actualization of these latent possibilities (which does not mean that the emergence of a diachronic perspective is an organic development, that was bound to happen, of the Arab philological thought, as it can be attributed to multiple external influences, coming both from within and outside the area of language sciences, that are not an object of investigation for the present paper). His approach exhibits, this time in an explicit manner and resorting to a precise terminology, a

new type of temporal axis, finite at both its ends, that begins with the moment witnessing the modification of the correspondence between linguistic expression and meaning and ends with this modification becoming permanent and supplanting the previous correspondence. This axis, instead of following the evolution of the language as a whole, traces the trajectory of each change in the meaning of an element of linguistic expression, from its first occurrence to its stabilization.

Each of the two works we have discussed so far presents elements of a theory of lexical change and semantic evolution in terms either belonging to traditional Arabic philology or at least partially understood on its basis. The renewal effort is visible, but so is the vitality and persistence of Arabic rhetorical tradition. The two authors are animated by a desire to change perspectives on Literary Arabic they deem outdated and obsolete, and yet they do it by using concepts and terms belonging to the very philological tradition they want more or less to transcend, so that Zaydān's discourse on lexical expansion and semantic evolution echoes the traditional narrative on literal and figurative speech, while °Arār talks about semantic evolution taking the concept of figurative speech in its traditional understanding as a starting point. All this has a possibly collateral and unintended outcome, at least as far as Zaydān is concerned – proving the endurance of their traditional background and, at the same time, its flexibility and capability to provide an accommodating conceptual support for the new theoretical perspectives they wish to emphasize.

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LES VALEURS DE *KĀNA* EN ARABE CONTEMPORAIN

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Abstract. This article deals with the different values of the verb *kāna* in contemporary Arabic. Out of a non dialectal contemporary Arabic corpus of 1.5 million words, I have studied and categorized more than 15, 000 occurrences of the verb *kāna*. My goal is to make a list of its main values (be they modal, temporal, aspectual or pragmatic) and highlight the syntactic functioning of this verb. For each case I will analyse a representative example. The modal value of possibility, as ruled by the verb *kāna*, will be the object of specific attention. I will compare this inventory to the descriptions of the verb *kāna* in modern Arabic language grammar books, so as to assess how adequate their descriptions are. An explanatory model will also be offered, which allows to integrate all the values of *kāna* into one single model for its syntactic functioning.

Keywords: *kāna*, tense, aspect, modality, mood, verb operator, corpus linguistics, contemporary Arabic.

à la mémoire de Djamel Kouloughli

« *Kāna tarfa ‘u l-ism wa-tanṣubu l-ḥabar* »¹: voici bien souvent ce que l’on retient de la définition proposée pour ce verbe dans les grammaires arabes ; tandis que dans les grammaires arabisantes, on réduit régulièrement son rôle à celui d’exposant temporel. Pourtant, le verbe *kāna* est un verbe central dans la langue arabe, qui représente environ 1% des mots utilisés dans les textes et les discours² et dont les valeurs sont multiples.

L’objet de cet article est d’établir une liste des valeurs portées par le verbe *kāna* en arabe contemporain, en cernant les formes verbales et les structures à même de porter ces valeurs tout en déterminant les mots ou les expressions servant à actualiser ou à virtualiser ces valeurs.

¹ Formule que l’on pourrait traduire comme suit : « *kāna* met le thème au cas sujet et le propos au cas direct ».

² Selon Buckwalter (2011), c’est le 10^{ème} mot le plus fréquemment utilisé, les 9 premiers étant l’article défini *al-* et les particules *wa-*, *fī*, *min*, *li-*, *bi-*, *‘alā*, *anna* et *‘ilā*. Le verbe *kāna* est présent dans 100 % des textes du corpus de 30 millions de mots et fournit 281097 occurrences, soit 0, 94 % des mots du corpus.

Le verbe *kāna* peut être un verbe au sens plein, monovalent³, avec le sens d'« exister » ou de « survenir, se produire, avoir lieu ». Les emplois de ce type sont relativement marginaux et souvent attachés à des expressions ou à des collocations bien définies⁴. Nous les écartons de notre étude, pour nous consacrer aux emplois du verbe *kāna* bivalent⁵. Nous concevons ce dernier comme un opérateur, un verbe-outil s'appliquant à une phrase à tête nominale⁶. Il s'agit donc d'un outil syntaxique qui permet à la fois d'enchâsser une phrase nominale tout en prenant en charge différentes valeurs temporelles, aspectuelles, modales ou pragmatiques. Nous partons de l'hypothèse que le verbe *kāna* va permettre d'assumer ces valeurs, qui sont très souvent portées par les verbes, dans une phrase nominale dont le propos est nominal. D'autre part, considérant qu'une forme verbale peut assumer tantôt un temps, tantôt un aspect et/ou un mode, *kāna* va aussi servir à actualiser ou à virtualiser l'une ou l'autre de ces valeurs, pour une forme verbale donnée présente dans le propos de la phrase nominale qu'il enchâsse.

Cette étude est fondée sur l'exploitation d'un corpus d'arabe contemporain écrit non-dialectal d'1, 5 million de mots. Il réunit des textes produits entre 2002 et 2011, provenant de 7 pays du monde arabe (Arabie Saoudite, Égypte, Liban, Maroc, Syrie, Tunisie et Yémen), ressortissant à trois genres (littérature, presse, blogs). Les quelques 15 000 occurrences du verbe *kāna* figurant dans ce corpus ont été analysées et ont servi à l'établissement de cette liste de valeurs que nous nous proposons de présenter maintenant.

1. Les valeurs temporelles

1. 1. Valeur temporelle de passé

Conjugué à l'accompli, le verbe *kāna* sert en général à mettre la relation de prédication portée par la phrase nominale dans un champ temporel passé. Cette valeur représente environ

³ Monovalent désigne le verbe *tāmm* selon la terminologie arabe, bivalent celui de *nāqiṣ*. Cf. l'occurrence soulignée du verbe dans l'exemple 15.

⁴ Moins d'1 % des occurrences verbales tirées de notre corpus ; en collocation avec une guerre (*ḥarb*) ou un accident (*ḥādīṭ*) pour « survenir, se produire », dans l'expression du *fiat lux* coranique ou biblique (« et la lumière fut », « qu'il en soit ainsi », « je suis celui qui est »), *kāna an* suivi d'un verbe à l'accompli ou *kāna mā kāna* (« il advint que, il advint ce qu'il advint »), cf. Pinon (2012 : 415-419).

⁵ Nous écartons aussi les occurrences du verbe *kāna* bivalent entrant dans le champ d'une particule du conditionnel.

⁶ Le premier à développer cette hypothèse dans un article est P. Larcher (1990).

¾ des occurrences verbales de ce verbe dans notre corpus. Ceci explique que, dans bon nombre de grammaires, on réduise le rôle de *kāna* à celui d'exposant temporel du passé⁷, rôle que l'on peut observer dans l'exemple suivant :

(1) *'ammā 'aynā-hā l-wāsi 'atāni, fa-kānatā sawdawayni.*

Quant à ses grands yeux, ils **étaient** noirs.

1. 2. Valeur temporelle de futur

Conjugué à l'inaccompli, le verbe *kāna* peut servir à mettre la phrase nominale qu'il enchâsse dans le champ temporel futur. Le futur est en effet une des valeurs de l'inaccompli d'un verbe. Dans l'exemple que nous proposons, *takūn* est précédé de l'indication temporelle « demain » qui actualise sa valeur temporelle de futur⁸ :

(2) *lā budda min 'itmāmi l-ḥarṭi wa-l-baḍri l-yawma. wa-ḡadan takūnu l-aḡimmatu 'alā maw'idin ma'a l-zahri.*

Il faut terminer de labourer et de semer aujourd'hui. Ainsi, demain, les jardins **seront** fleuris.

Lorsqu'il est précédé du préverbe du futur *sa-* ou de *sawfa*, *yakūn* indique toujours le futur⁹ :

(3) *sa-nahyā bi-karāmatin lan yuwaḡḡiha-nā 'aḥadun sa-nakūnu mudāfi'ina bi-quwwatin 'an ḥudūdi-nā lan nakūna mu'tadīna.*

Nous vivrons dans la dignité ; personne ne nous guidera et **nous défendrons** nos frontières avec véhémence, **nous ne serons** pas des agresseurs.

Il est parfois plus difficile de déterminer la valeur de *yakūn*, lorsqu'il n'est précédé ni du préverbe *sa-*, ni d'une indication temporelle explicite. Nous verrons qu'il porte alors des

⁷ Nous tenons à référencer les exemples en note. Chaque numéro d'exemple sera suivi de trois indications : Genre – Pays – Nom de l'auteur / Nom du blog / Nom du journal. (1) Littérature – Arabie Saoudite – Hasan Cheikh.

⁸ (2) Littérature – Tunisie – Basma Chawwālī.

⁹ (3) Blogs – Égypte – Talmehaty.

valeurs modales. En effet, il semble que la valeur temporelle de futur, si elle n'est pas explicitement assumée par le préverbe *sa-*, l'est toujours par un élément lexical ou sémantique clair. En l'absence de tout élément explicite, *yakūn* sera préférentiellement interprété comme modal (cf. plus bas § 4.).

1. 3. Commutateur temps / aspect¹⁰

En arabe, on admet que c'est le premier verbe d'une proposition qui prend en charge le temps, les verbes qui suivent marquant l'aspect. En introduisant le verbe *kāna* devant une phrase nominale dont le propos est verbal, on permet à ce verbe d'abandonner sa dimension temporelle, prise en charge par *kāna*, au profit de sa dimension aspectuelle. L'accompli *kāna* sert de commutateur temps/aspect, en prenant en charge la valeur temporelle de passé tout en restreignant le verbe qui entre dans son champ à un indicateur aspectuel (accompli, ponctuel ou inaccompli, duratif selon la forme du verbe). Le verbe entrant dans son champ peut alors exprimer un duratif, comme dans les exemples n°4 et n°5 (résultant de l'aspect inaccompli du verbe combiné avec le temps passé exprimé par *kāna*), un ponctuel, accompli antérieur, comme dans les exemples n°5 et n°6 (résultant de l'aspect accompli combiné avec un temps passé, l'aspect accompli pouvant être renforcé par la particule d'antériorité *qad*)¹¹ :

(4) *'ammā al-'abnā'u, fa-qad kāna waḍ'u-hum muḥtalifan. Kāna l-'ābā'u ya'ḥudūna-hum ma'a-hum fa-yata'arrafūna 'alā l-muwazzafīna fī l-maḥallāti wa-l-šarikāti.*

Quant aux enfants, leur situation était différente. Les pères les **emmenaient** avec eux et les présentaient aux employés des boutiques et des entreprises.

(5) *wa-kānat niqābatu l-šuhufiyyīna l-yamaniyyīna, 'a'rabat 'an 'idānati-hā wa-stinkāri-hā li-l-tahdīdāti l-ḥaṭīrati l-latī ta'arrada la-hā l-zamīlu l-'aḡbarī.*

Le Syndicat des journalistes yéménites **avait condamné** et dénoncé [lit. exprimé sa condamnation et sa dénonciation] les dangereuses menaces dont le collègue al-Aḡbarī **faisait** l'objet.

Ici, les deux formes verbales, accompli et inaccompli, entrent dans le champ du passé pris en charge par *kāna*.

¹⁰ Une expression de Larcher (1990).

¹¹ (4) Presse – Arabie Saoudite – Al-Madīna. (5) Presse – Yémen – Al-Thawra. (6) Littérature – Liban – Nāji Tāhir.

(6) *wa-qad kāna l-herr fuḡal qad intaqala min 'iḥdā muduni 'almāniyā l-šarqiyyati, 'ilā hāḍihi l-madīnati fī ḡarbi 'almāniyā.*

Herr Vogel **était parti** d'une ville d'Allemagne de l'Est pour cette ville d'Allemagne de l'Ouest.

Ce rôle de commutateur temps/aspect est d'autant plus visible quand le propos de la phrase nominale enchâssée est négatif, car on peut utiliser alors deux types de négation. C'est *lā yaf'al* que l'on emploie dans l'immense majorité des cas, ce qui montre bien que la valeur de passé est prise en charge complètement par *kāna*¹² :

(7) *kāna qātilu-hu lā yaqrā'u wa-lā yaktubu.*

Son assassin **ne lisait pas et n'écrivait pas** [ne savait ni lire ni écrire].

Lam yaf'al semble alors plutôt nier l'antériorité (*qad fa'ala*) et non pas un passé au sens strictement temporel¹³ :

(8) *kānati l-'āṣifatu lam tašil 'ilay-nā ba'du.*

La tempête **n'était pas encore parvenue** jusqu'à nous.

Dans les exemples suivants, l'inaccompli *yakūn*, lui-même dans le champ de la particule *an*, a dans son champ un accompli. Ses valeurs sont d'une part modales, prenant en charge le subjonctif impliqué par la particule *an*, mais *kāna* permet d'autre part au verbe qui entre dans son champ de jouer son rôle aspectuel d'accompli¹⁴ :

(9) *ḥašiya 'an yakūna qad 'aḥṭa'a l-yawma 'awi l-tārīḥa 'awi l-'unwāna.*

Il a craint **s'être trompé** de jour, de date ou d'adresse.

¹² (7) Blog – Yémen – Allielak.

¹³ (8) Littérature – Liban – Nāji Tāhir.

¹⁴ (9) Blog – Syrie – Marcellita.

2. Les valeurs aspectuelles

2. 1. Valeur de continuité

Kāna est parfois porteur d'une valeur atemporelle décrite dans les grammaires¹⁵. Nous la trouvons dans notre corpus au sein de citations coraniques, illustrant le maintien de valeurs anciennes du verbe dans la langue contemporaine¹⁶ :

(10a) *'inna llāha kāna 'aliyyan kabīran.*

Allah **est** auguste et grand.

(10b) *'inna llāha kāna 'alīman ḥakīman.*

Allah **est** omniscient et sage.

Actuellement, le verbe *kāna* à l'accompli porte la valeur atemporelle du *kāna l-istimrāriyya* classique (*kāna* de continuité) dans certaines expressions ou tournures idiomatiques, dont les plus courantes sont *mahmā kāna* (87 occurrences dans notre corpus), *ayy... kāna* ou *ayyan kāna* (72 occurrences), *sawā' (a) kāna ... am/aw...* (41 occurrences)¹⁷ :

(11) *šammama 'alā muwāğahati l-ḥaqīqati mahmā kānat.*

Il est déterminé à affronter la vérité, **quelle qu'elle soit**.

(12) *wa-ḥtaqir man yakdibu bi-mašā'iri-hi sawā'an kāna rağulan 'ami mra'atan !*

Méprise celui qui ment sur ses sentiments, **que ce soit** un homme ou une femme !

Cette valeur de continuité, jusque là attribuée à l'accompli, semble être prise en charge par l'inaccompli apocopé, de manière exceptionnelle toutefois. En effet, nous avons 5 occurrences de *ayyan yakun* (« quel qu'il soit ») et de *mahmā yakun* (« quoi qu'il en soit »)

¹⁵ Silvestre de Sacy (1810 : 195), Wright (1981: 266), Fleisch (1979, II : 196), Périer (1911 : 208), Benhamouda (1983 : 418-120), Blachère et Gaudefroy-Demombynes (1952 : 247).

¹⁶ Les traductions sont de Blachère. La première citation provient du verset 4 / 34 et la seconde est répétée de nombreuses fois dans le Coran, notamment en 4 / 11. (10 a et 10b) Blog – Liban – Zilal warefa.

¹⁷ (11) Blog – Égypte – Window. (12) Blog – Arabie Saoudite – Green.

dans notre corpus. Ici, *yakun* marque la continuité, la permanence du fait. Il s'agit d'un « *yakun al-istimrāriyya* », un emploi de l'apocopé marquant la continuité, valeur classiquement portée par l'accompli *kāna*, mais tendant visiblement à être prise en charge par l'inaccompli¹⁸, ce qui peut expliquer les exemples n°13 et n°14¹⁹ :

(13) *fa-'inna hādā l-'amra sa-yu'attiru salban fī 'ā'ilati-hā, 'ayyan takun qudratu hādīhi l-mar'ati 'alā l-taḥammuli wa-l-'aḡā'i.*

Cette affaire aura des répercussions négatives dans sa famille, **quelle que soit** la capacité de cette femme à endurer et à donner.

(14) *fa-hādā ya'nī bi-basāṭatin 'anna ra'īsa l-ḡumhūriyyati l-qādima 'in 'aqsama 'amāma hādā l-barlamāni fa-huwa ra'īsun ḡayru šar'iyyin mahmā yakun man huwa.*

Ceci signifie tout simplement que le prochain Président de la République, s'il prête serment devant ce Parlement, n'est pas un président légitime, **qui que ce soit** !

2. 2. Contrefactualité (commutateur factuel / contrefactuel)

Lorsque *kāna* a dans son champ un inaccompli précédé de *sa-*, il produit un effet de contrefactualité. Il conserve sa valeur temporelle de passé mais la prise en charge, dans son champ, d'un inaccompli précédé de *sa-* (d'un futur, donc), exprime l'interruption de l'événement en question²⁰.

(15) *qabla šahrin, kānat wafātu l-masīri raḥima-hu llāhu, al-laḡī kuntu sa-'aktubu tadwīnatan 'an wafāti-hi... lākinnī lā 'ataḡakkaru mā l-laḡī ḡāla-nī dūna ḡālika.*

¹⁸ Savoir si c'est l'omniprésence du verbe *kāna* à l'accompli dans le sens d'exposant temporel du passé qui a « attiré » l'inaccompli, sémantiquement alors peut-être moins gênant pour marquer un fait atemporel, dans ces emplois auparavant réservés à l'accompli, est une autre question. Une recherche dans les sources classiques disponibles sur le site al-Warrāq nous permet de constater que l'inaccompli apocopé n'y figure jamais après les particules *ayyan* et *mahmā*.

¹⁹ (13) Blog – Liban – Majīda Raya. (14) Blog – Égypte – Masry horr.

²⁰ (15) Blog – Maroc – Vamprita.

Il y a un mois survint la mort de [‘Abd al-Wahāb] al-Masīrī, que Dieu ait pitié de lui, sur la mort duquel **j’allais écrire** un billet... mais je ne me souviens pas ce qui m’en a empêché.

Dans notre corpus, sur les 39 occurrences de ce type (*kāna sa-yaf’alu*), aucune n’admet l’interprétation factuelle d’un futur historique. Pour Larcher (2007: 87), d’ailleurs, ce type de structure ne peut recevoir qu’une interprétation de type contrefactuel. Elle servirait à exprimer un événement qui allait se produire mais dont la réalisation a été interrompue. Or, selon les descriptions que l’on trouve dans les grammaires, la structure *kāna sa-yaf’alu* n’est pas nécessairement contrefactuelle²¹. Il serait intéressant d’en étudier un plus grand nombre d’occurrences pour voir si cette structure sert aussi à exprimer le futur historique mentionné dans certaines grammaires.

3. Valeurs modales (mode)

3. 1. Mode subjonctif

Conjugué à l’inaccompli *manṣūb*, le rôle d’opérateur du verbe *kāna* apparaît clairement. Tout en permettant d’enchâsser une phrase nominale en complétive ou après certaines particules requérant un verbe au *manṣūb*, le verbe *kāna* prend aussi en charge la valeur modale de subjonctif. Dans notre corpus, nous avons 1096 occurrences de ce verbe après la particule *an* et 226 dans des structures exprimant le but au moyen des particules *li-*, *ḥattā* ou *(li-)kay*. Majoritairement, *an yakūna* survient dans le champ d’un verbe, d’un participe ou d’une expression appelant une subordonnée. Dans ce cas, *yakūna* a double usage: il permet d’introduire comme subordonnée une phrase nominale, tout en prenant en charge le mode subjonctif²² :

(16) *wa-’aḥāfu ’an takūna hādīhi l-mar’atu l-latī ’ahummu bi-ḥubbi-hā muḡarrada raqmin iftirādiyyin.*

²¹ Imbert (2008 : 241-244), Cantarino (1974: 75), Buckley (2007 : 561) en proposent des exemples, qui sont référencés pour ces deux derniers; Fischer (2002 : 96) et (Kouloughli (1994 : 238) notent la double interprétation possible de cette structure, factuelle ou contrefactuelle. Dans le champ d’une conditionnelle, l’interprétation semble uniquement contrefactuelle, comme le suggèrent Badawi, Carter et Gully (2004 : 645), Buckley (2007 : 562) et Ryding (2007 : 449)

²² Cf. plus haut aussi l’exemple 9. (16) Littérature – Tunisie – Abdallah Benyunus

J'ai peur que cette femme, dont je suis sur le point de tomber amoureux, ne **soit** qu'un simple numéro virtuel.

3. 2. Mode jussif

Après la particule de négation du passé *lam*, le verbe *kāna* conjugué à l'apocopé prend en charge ce mode et permet d'introduire une phrase nominale dans le champ de cette négation au passé. Nous en avons 865 occurrences dans notre corpus²³ :

(17) *kuntu wāṭiqan min 'anna-nī law madadtu yadī la-lamastu-hu. lākinna-nī lam 'akun tūmāsa l-mutašakkika, lam akun fī ḥāğatin 'ilā 'an 'amudda yadī li-'almisa-hu.*

J'étais certain que, si j'avais tendu la main, je l'aurais touché. Mais **je n'étais pas** Saint Thomas le sceptique, **je n'avais pas** besoin de tendre ma main pour le toucher.

Conjugué à l'inaccompli apocopé, le verbe *kāna* prend en charge la valeur modale de l'injonctif après les particules *li-*, *fa-l-* ou *wa-l-*, tout en permettant d'introduire sous ce mode des phrases nominales²⁴ :

(18) *al-muhimmu lā tay'as, tammata furāṣun 'uhrā, fa-l-takun 'aktara tafā'ulan wa 'in šā' allāhu.*

Bref, ne t'inquiète pas, il y aura d'autres occasions. **Sois** plus optimiste et à Dieu, vat !

Conjugué à l'impératif, le verbe *kāna* permet d'imprimer l'ordre à une phrase nominale, d'ordonner une relation de prédication²⁵ :

(19) *kun hunāka yawma l-'arbi 'ā'i.*

Sois là-bas mercredi.

²³ (17) Blog – Yémen – Maskharah.

²⁴ Nous en avons 50 occurrences dans notre corpus. (18) Littérature – Tunisie – Sayf al-Aulwi.

²⁵ (19) Littérature – Yémen – Bassām Chamseddin.

4. Valeurs modales (modalités)

4. 1. Le potentiel

L'inaccompli d'un verbe recouvrant le champ du futur, il porte naturellement en lui une valeur de potentiel. *Yakūn* permet de placer une relation de prédication dans un cadre potentiel²⁶.

(20) « *nāhika °an faḍīlati l-ṣabri °alā l-ḡaw°i... al-ḡaw°u °inda-hum mišbāhu l-qalbi wa-ṭa°āmu l-zāhidi...* » *sakata. ṭab°an hiya staw°abat bi-dawri-hā hādīhi l-mu°ādalata l-ḡadaliyyata: « al-ḡaw°u yakūnu ṭa°āman »...* *wa-qālat: « al-ḡaw°u yakūnu ṭa°āman »...* *wa-qālat: « al-ḡaw°u yakūnu ṭa°āman »...* *wa-qālat: « al-ḡaw°u yakūnu ṭa°āman »...* »

« Sans parler de la vertu de la patience sur la faim... Pour eux, la faim éclaire le cœur et nourrit l'ascète... ». Il se tut. Bien sûr, elle intégra à son tour cette équation dialectique : « la faim **peut être** une nourriture... »... et dit: « invoquer le nom de Dieu est la nourriture du connaisseur ».

Cette valeur de potentiel est bien souvent actualisée par des particules, des éléments lexicaux ou tout simplement le contexte. A ce titre, *qad yakūn* est courant²⁷ :

(21) *burḡu l-°aqrabi: qad yakūnu l-yawma huwa l-waqtu li-°i°ādati l-ittiṣāli bi-ṣaḍīqin qadīmin.*

Scorpions: aujourd'hui, **c'est peut-être** le moment de recontacter un vieil ami.

Rubbamā yakūnu est aussi régulièrement utilisé (60 occurrences)²⁸ :

(22) *'aḍāfa « al-muzāharātu lā taṣluhu wa-l-iḍṭirābātu lā tuṣahhihu, wa-°iṣlāhu °umūri l-suḡanā°i bi-hāḡatin °ilā ḥtiṣāṣiyyīna yakṣifūna l-dā°a li-yaḡidū l-dawā°a, wa l-masḡūnu rubbamā yakūnu mazlūman wa rubbamā yakūnu ḡāliman wa fāsīdan... »*

²⁶ Larcher (2003 : 148) en donne un exemple tiré des grammaires classiques : « *kāna takūnu nāqiṣa (...) wa-takūnu tāmma* '[le verbe] *kāna* peut être incomplet (...) et peut être complet'. On voit bien que la phrase nominale équivalente marquerait la certitude : *kāna nāqiṣa* 'kāna est incomplet' ». (20) Littérature – Syrie – Wahīb Sarayeddin.

²⁷ 197 occurrences dans notre corpus. (21) Blog – Syrie – Marcellita.

²⁸ (22) Presse – Liban – Al-Safir.

Il a ajouté : « Ni les manifestations ni les troubles ne changent rien, et la réforme des affaires propres aux prisonniers a besoin de spécialistes pour découvrir le mal afin de trouver le remède ; le détenu **est peut-être** opprimé, **ou peut-être** injuste et corrompu... »

Encore une fois, l'étude des négations est révélatrice des valeurs portées par le verbe. En effet, si *laysa* est la négation d'un état présent, factuel, *lā yakūn* apparaît dans notre corpus comme la négation de valeurs modales que *yakūn* prend parfois en charge à l'affirmatif²⁹.

(23) *naḥtāḡu 'ilā binā'i dawlatin waṭaniyyatin dimuqrāṭiyyatin ḥaqīqiyyatin: dawlatin lā takūnu ḡā'ibatan 'ani l-wa'yi wa-lā muḡayyabatan 'ani l-ḥuḍūri, dawlatin lā takūnu ḡā'i'atan mā bayna tarikatin taqīlatin wa taṣfiyati ḥisābātin wa mā bayna tasyībin wa-taraddudin wa-fasādin kāriṭiyyin.*

Nous avons besoin de construire un véritable état patriotique démocratique: un état **qui ne soit / serait pas** inconscient ni absent, un état **qui ne soit / serait pas** perdu entre un héritage lourd et des règlements de compte et entre négligence, hésitation et corruption catastrophique.

Il s'agit d'un article portant sur la commémoration de la date anniversaire du début de la guerre civile au Liban (13 avril 1975), où le journaliste procède à une longue énumération de ce dont a besoin le pays, par comparaison avec ce qu'il a et ce qu'il est. Ici, on voit bien qu'on ne peut pas remplacer *lā yakūn* par *laysa*, car on comprendrait alors qu'il s'agit d'une constatation. Or, si l'auteur constate bien un certain état de fait, en négatif, c'est en faisant d'autres propositions: *yakūn* revêt donc ici une valeur modale marquant la possibilité d'un fait, valeur à laquelle on peut éventuellement rajouter une valeur temporelle de futur (lié à la possibilité de l'état dans le futur, puisque cet état de fait n'est pas réalisé dans le présent)³⁰.

(24) *wa lā yumkinu 'an yakūna ḥtiyāru l-muḡawwimāti 'afwiyyan yarḡi 'u 'ilā maḥḡi l-ṣudfati bal yaḡibu 'alā l-bāḥiṭi 'an yataṣawwara l-ḥāriṭata qabla rasmi-hā wa yaṇṭaliqa min ḥādā l-taṣawwuri. wa laysat hunāka ṭariḡatun ḥāṣṣatun mu'ayyanatun li-l-qiyāmi bi-'amaliyyati l-iḥtiyāri li-'anna ḡālika lā yakūnu 'illā ba'da l-iṭṭilā 'i 'alā māhiyati l-'iqlīmi [...] qad yakūnu l-iḥtiyāru ḡabriyyan...*

²⁹ (23) Blog – Liban – Saouelmawla.

³⁰ (24) Littérature – Egypte – Yasser Chaaban.

Le choix des critères ne peut pas être laissé au hasard, fruit d'une pure coïncidence, au contraire, il faut que le chercheur conçoive la carte avant de la dessiner et qu'elle découle de cette conception. **Il n'y a pas** de méthode particulière pour choisir, en pratique, parce que ceci **ne peut** se faire qu'après avoir examiné la nature de la région [...] Le choix **peut être** contraint...

Dans ce passage, la première négation (*laysat*) apparaît comme factuelle, la seconde (*lā yakūn illā*) comme modale, marquant le possible.

La négation *lan yakūna* peut aussi être modale (la valeur potentielle portée par *yakūn* entrant dans le champ du futur avec la particule *lan* exprime un conditionnel)³¹ :

(25) *wa li-hādā mina l-muhimmi 'allā yuhāwila 'ahādun 'idā'ata l-ḥuqūqi l-waṭaniyyati l-tābitati li-l-ša'bi l-filasṭīniyyi bi-barīqi dawlatin lan takūna mustaqillatan, wa-lan takūna munfaṣilatan 'ani l-'amni l-'isrā'īliyyi.*

C'est pourquoi il est important que personne ne tente de faire perdre les droits nationaux inaliénables du peuple palestinien en faisant miroiter un état qui **ne serait pas** indépendant et qui **ne serait pas** autonome vis-à-vis de la Sûreté israélienne.

(26) « 'inna l-mar'a l-ladī ya 'īšu fī ḥawfin **lan yakūna** 'insānan ḥurran » *Hūrās.*

« L'homme qui vit dans la peur **ne peut pas être** un homme libre ». Horace.

Ici aussi, il nous semble qu'il s'agit d'une négation modale exprimant le possible. L'interprétation purement temporelle (« l'homme qui vit dans la peur ne sera pas libre ») ne rend pas l'idée d'impossibilité contenue dans la proposition, régulièrement rendue en français par « celui qui vit dans la crainte, ne sera jamais libre ». C'est l'emploi du jamais qui, en français, permet d'interpréter la négation non pas proprement comme étant au futur mais comme marquant une impossibilité.

³¹ (25) Blogs – Tunisie – Tarekaoui. (26) Blogs – Égypte – Window. Pour Kouloughli (2007 : 172), « *lan* est une négation fortement modale exprimant une prise de position forte de celui qui l'emploie ».

4. 2. Les modalités aléthiques

Nous employons le terme de modalité aléthique pour désigner le fait que le phénomène énoncé doit se produire, soit de manière absolue (c'est le cas pour les lois de la physique mais aussi des sagesse et autres sagesses populaires), soit de manière relative (s'agissant alors d'un événement habituel)³².

(27) *wa-l-ma 'lūmu 'anna l-hawā'a l-bārida yakūnu 'atqala wa yahubbu 'aqraba 'ilā l-'arḍi mimmā yağ'alu-hu qādiran 'alā ḥamli l-ğubāri wa-l-turābi.*

Il est bien connu que l'air froid **est** plus lourd et souffle plus proche de la terre, ce qui le rend capable de transporter de la poussière et de la terre.

(28) *fī l-ṣabāḥi yakūnu l-ḥallāqu 'aktara rağbatan fī l-ṣamti wa-huwa yastami'u 'ilā ṣawti miqaṣṣi-hi 'aw 'ālāti l-ḥilāqati taḥriṭu l-ru 'ūsa wa-tabḍuru l-ṣala'a.*

Le matin, le coiffeur **préfère** le silence, il écoute le bruit de ses ciseaux ou du rasoir qui laboure les têtes et sème la calvitie.

C'est peut-être ce type d'emploi qui porte à confusion, amenant à prendre *kāna* pour une copule³³. Or, dans ce cas, il porte bien une valeur modale dont est dénuée la phrase nominale simple.

5. Valeurs pragmatiques

5. 1. Mise en exergue du sujet (focalisation)

Du fait que *kāna* enchâsse une phrase nominale, il peut servir à mettre le sujet en exergue, lorsqu'il explicite le thème de la phrase nominale là où ce thème aurait tout à fait pu être simplement exprimé par la marque de conjugaison du verbe³⁴ :

(29) *wa hādā l-ğīlu l-laḍī numārisu fawqiyata-nā mina l-tašakkī min-hu dawman...*

³² (27) Blog – Syrie – Mgbuq. (28) Littérature – Arabie Saoudite – Ali Majnûnî.

³³ Ce terme de copule est couramment employé à propos de *kāna*, majoritairement chez les auteurs de langue allemande ou anglaise. Pour une liste exhaustive, cf. Pinon (2012 : 58). Cf. aussi Bahloul (1993).

³⁴ (29) Blog – Syrie – Marcellita.

huwa ġīlu-nā... huwa bi-basāṭatin naḥmu. 'iwaḍan 'ani l-tašakkī dawman mina l-ġīli wa-l-muġtama'i wa-l-šabābi l-sūriyyi, wa 'iwaḍan 'an 'iġādi nawāqiši muḥīṭi-nā l-latī malil-nā min takrāri-hā wa ratābati l-ḥulūli l-maṭrūḥati, fakkir 'anna-ka takūnu « 'anta l-taġyīru ».

Cette génération dont nous ne cessons pas de nous plaindre, c'est notre génération, c'est tout simplement nous. Au lieu de te plaindre sans arrêt de la génération, de la société ou de la jeunesse syrienne, au lieu de trouver les défauts de notre milieu dont la répétition nous ennuie, tout comme la routine des solutions proposées, pense que **c'est toi**, le changement.

Kāna porte souvent des valeurs temporelles ou modales tout en permettant de mettre le sujet en exergue.

5. 2. Présentatif, expression de l'idée de « se trouver être »

Dans certains cas, on a l'impression que l'emploi de *yakūn* dans la phrase fait office de ce que l'on pourrait nommer un « présentatif ». Par ce terme, nous voulons désigner un élément grammatical qui sert à constater que l'état décrit se trouve être comme tel. On y décèle aussi une nuance de résultatif dont la cause n'est pas toujours explicite. Dans l'exemple suivant, le locuteur se moque d'un feuilleton télévisé sans cesse coupé par un quart d'heure de publicité³⁵ :

(30) *maṭalun 'āḥaru: musalsalu raġulun wa-sittu sittātini l-šahīru, 'indamā ḥāwaltu 'an 'ušāhida-hu waġadtu l-'aġaba l-'uġāba, fa-l-qanātu yā sādātu lā ta'riḍu min hādā l-musalsali 'illā ḥamsa daqā'iqa tumma ya'tī 'ilay-ka l-fāḍilu l-baġīḍu l-laḍī yastamirru li-muddati rub'i sātatin kāmilatin !!! tumma ya'tī l-musalsalu marratan 'uḥrā bi-ḥamsi daqā'iqa 'uḥrā – takūnu anta bi-l-ṭab'i nasīta 'awwala ḥamsi daqā'iqa.*

Un autre exemple: la célèbre série « un homme et six femmes », quand j'ai essayé de la regarder, j'ai été estomaqué. La chaîne, Messieurs, ne diffuse que 5 minutes du feuilleton, puis voilà l'odieuse coupure qui arrive et qui dure un quart d'heure entier !!! Puis le feuilleton revient une nouvelle fois pour 5 autres minutes – alors que **tu te trouves**, toi, avoir bien évidemment oublié les 5 premières minutes...

³⁵ (30) Blog – Égypte – Insana.

Cet emploi du verbe *kāna* mériterait qu'une étude lui soit consacrée.

*

* *

Une plongée dans notre corpus d'arabe contemporain nous a permis d'établir une liste des différentes valeurs prises en charge par le verbe *kāna*, valeurs que nous pouvons résumer dans le tableau ci-dessous :

Valeur Forme	Temporelle	Aspectuelle	Modale (mode)	Modale (modalité)	Pragmatique
Accompli	- passé - commutateur temps / aspect	- continuité	-	-	- focalisation
Inaccompli	- futur	- continuité (rare) - commutateur factuel / contrefactuel	- subjonctif - jussif	- potentiel - aléthique absolu / relatif	- focalisation - présentatif
Impératif	-	-	- impératif	-	- focalisation

Valeurs portées par le verbe kāna en arabe contemporain selon sa forme de conjugaison

Le rôle d'exposant temporel du passé est mentionné par toutes les grammaires consultées³⁶. Elles sont aussi nombreuses à faire état de son rôle d'exposant temporel de futur. Quant à la valeur aspectuelle de continuité (*kāna l-istimrāriyya*), elle a fait l'objet d'un article de Reuschel (1968) et se trouve décrite dans certaines grammaires arabes et arabisantes

³⁶ Pour cette étude, 15 grammaires arabes, 6 dictionnaires arabes et 55 grammaires arabisantes ont été consultés. Seules figurent dans la bibliographie les œuvres citées dans le présent article. Pour la liste complète, cf. Pinon (2012 : 469-474).

d'arabe classique, de manière assez rapide. Il semble que seuls des exemples coraniques soient cités pour illustrer cette valeur. Il est en revanche intéressant que dans aucune des grammaires consultées n'apparaît de passage spécifiquement consacré aux valeurs modales de *kāna* qui se trouvent disséminées dans différents chapitres, lorsqu'elles y figurent. Celle du nécessaire se trouve généralement au chapitre du *kāna l-istimrāriyya* que nous avons déjà évoqué. Quant aux valeurs modales aléthiques ou du possible, bien que courantes comme a pu le montrer l'étude de notre corpus, elles intègrent assez rarement les grammaires arabes comme arabisantes³⁷, peut-être parce que l'on peut y voir un emploi dialectal ayant naturellement intégré cet arabe « standard ». C'est sans aucun doute ces dernières qu'il conviendrait d'étudier plus en détail. En effet, que *kāna* soit presque exclusivement décrit comme un exposant temporel (plus rarement modal au sens de modalité de l'énoncé et plus rarement encore aspectuel), ramène les valeurs portées par ce verbe à une seule. Certes, il s'agit de la principale, mais les valeurs modales sont aussi courantes. Plus grave, on omet d'expliquer le fonctionnement du verbe, qui permet avant tout d'enclaver une phrase nominale, donc d'énoncer un état, dans n'importe quel contexte syntaxique. De fait, exception faite de l'impératif, l'emploi de *kāna* comme exposant modal (au sens de mode de l'énonciation) fait défaut dans les grammaires. Seul Larcher (2003: 153-156) y consacre un chapitre. C'est aussi le seul à expliciter les valeurs pragmatiques de *kāna*, qui découlent directement de son propre fonctionnement. On imagine sans peine que si des études plus nombreuses observaient les valeurs modales et pragmatiques du verbe *kāna*, ces dernières pourraient intégrer les prochaines grammaires de l'arabe, qui s'attacheraient à expliquer comment le sens surgit d'un énoncé, sans se limiter à présenter un catalogue des principales valeurs de chaque particule ou verbe-opérateur, en laissant de côté des emplois somme toute assez courants en langue.

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³⁷ Citons à titre d'exemple Ibn Fāris (2003 : 246-247), Nacereddine (1992 : 75), Benmamoun (2000 : 47) cité par Chatar-Moumni (2011 : 171), Buckley (2007 : 557), Blachère et Gaudefroy-Demombynes (1952 : 251-252), Tresso (2001 : 238), Badawi, Carter et Gully (2004 : 404).

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السرد، الشخصيات، واللغة في الفن الروائي الجديد في سوريا: روايتا "صلصال" لسمر يزبك
و"لولو" لعبير إسبر نموذجا

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Abstract. This paper is devoted to an analysis of two novels written by two Syrian writers. The first work, *Silsal* (Clay), is written by Samar Yazbik. It was considered by many critics to be one of the most important novels of the Syrian narrative in the new century. The second work, *Lulu*, is authored by 'Abir Isbir, who represents the new generation of the aspiring writers to revolutionize the Syrian narrative through the innovation in form, language and style. This study shows that the modern Syrian novel began to change dynamically in the twenty-first century. It focuses upon the evolution of narrative technique, literary characters and the language used in the texts. These two novels, written by Samar Yazbik and 'Abir Isbir, illustrate the significant development of new narrative forms occurred in the Syrian fiction in the early years of the twenty-first century.

Keywords: Syrian, Arabic, novel, literature, narrative, fiction.

عُدَّت رواية شكيب الجابري "نهم"، الصادرة عام 1937 م، أول رواية فنية سورية، حملت بين طياتها سمات الرواية المعاصرة وخصائصها، غير أنها بدت مغتربة عن واقعها الاجتماعي، ومحيطها العربي السوري. وسرعان ما أخذ الفن الروائي السوري بالتطور شكلا ومحتوى، وبدأ مسار التحول عميقا، فجاءت الروايات من بعده تتوسل ملامسة قضايا المجتمع الرئيسية، محاولة مقاربتها برؤى واقعية نقدية، وواقعية اشتراكية؛ وتوطدت دعائمها بانفتاحها الكبير على مختلف الاتجاهات الفكرية، والمدارس الأدبية، وتبنيها أساليب فنية حديثة. وقد أتت روايات حنا مينة، وحسيب كيالي، وفارس زرزور، وقمر كيلاني فاتحة لمرحلة جديدة في الفن الروائي الملتصق بقضايا الواقع. وشهدت مرحلة الستينيات والسبعينيات تجارب متميزة، نزعت إلى التجديد في السرد الروائي، والجرأة في الطرح، ولمعت أسماء كثيرة أهمها وليد إخلاصي، وهاني الراهب، وغادة السمان، وكوليت الخوري... وأفرزت سنوات الثمانينيات والتسعينيات أسماء أخرى مهمة، قدمت إسهامات كبيرة في الرواية السورية، "بيد أنها ظلت مقيدة بحدود التابو السياسي والاجتماعي، وبخطوط الإيديولوجية النمطية السائدة" [Sh'hadeh 2007: 107].

مع نهاية القرن العشرين، وبداية قرننا الحالي، بدأ يتشكل تيار شبابي مجدد جريء، من شأنه أن يعطي الفن الروائي اندفاعا جديدة إلى الأمام، اندفاعا تخرجه من حالة الدوران حول تابوهات المجتمع، والعقائد الفكرية السائدة. وقد اخترت عنوانين مهمين من روايات الجيل الجديد، يمكن عدّهما نموذجا لحالة سردية متقدمة في الفن الروائي السوري الحديث، هما: "صلصال" (2005) لسمر يزبك، و"لولو" لعبير إسبر، وهو العمل الفائز بالجائزة الأولى في مسابقة حنا مينة للرواية عام 2003.

تشكل رواية "صلصال" علامة متميزة في فن السرد القصصي، من حيث التشكيل البنيوي، والتعقيد الحكائي، وما يحملان في طياتهما من مضامين وهواجس فكرية؛ وهذا ما يمكننا من الاعتقاد أنها تمثل نقلة نوعية في عالم الرواية السورية الجديدة. وهذا الاعتقاد مبني على أساس أن الحساسية العالية المشحونة بطاقات إبداعية ماثورة في فضاء السرد وملحقة الحكائي، وما يحملان من رؤى مكثفة وأفكار غير مؤطرة، ولكنها فاعلة مؤثرة، تصلح أن تكون ذلك الأساس الجامع بين الشكل والمضمون، أو ذلك الجزء المتمم لتماسكهما.

يأتي السرد في "صلصال" متعرجا، متداخل الخطوط، تتعالق بمساراته مسارب الأحداث وتوتر الشخصيات وانفلاتها في تطورها المتصاعد، وفي خطابها متعدد الأصوات، ما يجعل النص معقدا، حافلا بالإشارات التاريخية والدلالات الزمكانية. يواكب القارئ المجرى الرئيس الذي تتسج خيوط الأحداث، وتحيكه تعقيدات الحكمة بهدوء، فتبدأ الرواية بكلمات يرويها البطل حيدر علي بصيغة ضمير المتكلم "أنا". وهذا البطل المثير للدهشة والعجب، يتوالد من رحم التاريخ، هاربا بروحه من حيوات سابقة عاشهن في أجساد متحولة، فتك بها سفاح مستبد، لا نعرف - أول الأمر - من هو! حتى حيدر نفسه يجهل من يكون سافك دمه، فيخاطبه:

"من أنت؟ اخرج من جلدي إلى النهاية" [يزبك 2005: 9].

حيدر هذا الذي يذكر في أولى كلماته "رائحة الشواء... الشواء، والتنور، وساحة السوق، والرقاب الممتدية، والأجساد المعلقة على الخوازيق... الكوفة والشام والبحر وجبله ودمشق..." [يزبك 2005: 9]، لا نفهمه، ولا ندرك ما يقول، فكأنه يهيمهم بهلوسات لا منطق فيها، ولا رابط عقليا يجمع شتيت أفكارها. وحينما نطوي الصفحة الأولى، من الرواية، مسرعين لمعرفة ما يحدث في ذلك العالم الغريب، يتغير صوت السارد، فيأتينا الراوي - العالم بكل شيء - يحدثنا، بصيغة الغائب، عن شخصية اسمها سحر المنصور، التي لولا أنها "لم تخرج من بيتها قبل منتصف الليل بقليل، وتقوم سيارتها بسرعة جنونية من دمشق إلى جبله، وتدخل الغرفة الزرقاء في القصر القديم، وتوقظ حيدر (...) لما كانت هناك حكاية تحكى" [يزبك 2005: 10].

هكذا يبدو المشهد، منذ الصفحة الأولى من الرواية، مشحونا بالحركة والغموض، مشوقا ومحيرا، وحائرا ما بين واقع مضطرب وتاريخ شاحب القسما. نقبل على تقليب الصفحات، صفحة صفحة، وعندما نصل إلى خاتمة الرواية، تصدمنا النهاية المفتوحة التي تعيدنا، مرة أخرى، إلى بداية العمل. بيد أننا نستطلع تضاريس مهمة من شخصية حيدر المعقدة، ونكتشف أن الشخص الذي كان يدعو للخروج من جسده إلى الأبد - في أول مشهد من الرواية - ما هو إلا الحجاج بن يوسف الثقفي - السفاح الذي ما زال يطارده من جيل إلى جيل. وندرك أن هذا البطل لم يكن سوى امتداد روحي لتلال الضحايا التي فتك بها والي العراقين - رمز كل طاغية مستبد. وحيدر وجه بانس لشخصيات مضطهدة منذ أول التاريخ، فهو صورة أخرى لسعيد بن جببر - التابعي المعروف - الذي كان آخر ضحايا الحجاج، وهو أيضا ظل روحي لعبد الله بن الزبير، وهو كذلك صوت كل هؤلاء الذين قتلهم ذلك الظالم على مدى التاريخ. هي مفاجأة صعقتنا الكاتبة بوقعها الحاد، حين جعلت حيدر يصرح بكل عذاباته، بطريقة تنغمس في ظلال الأسطورة المتوالدة من رحم الصراعات، والفظائع والمظالم، التي كان هو أحد ضحاياها، وكان الحجاج بن يوسف بطلها السلبى. هذا الحديث الصريح يأتي في أوراق سطرها حيدر علي كاشفا عن خفايا روحه، قبل موته الغامض، مفصحا لها عن هواجسه وعذاباته، فأدهشنا بغرائبية تحولاته، وسحرية تجلياته المتناسلة عبر فصول التاريخ المديدة. إن الحجاج ما زال يطارده، وها هو يراه مجسدا في ملامح ونظرات ونبرات صديقه وعدوه - القائد الأمني علي حسن - رمز التسلط والاستبداد الحديثين.

لعل أهم ما يشد انتباهنا في استنشعار جمالية السرد في "صلصال" انفتاح النص ورحابة انطلاقاته إلى نصوص أدبية عريقة (رواية سيرفانتس دون كيخوته)، وأخرى تاريخية تتكى على الوقائع العربية الإسلامية، في تعالق نصي يفيد في تعرية شخصية البطل وإضاءة زواياها، كوحدة أولية رئيسة من عملية التشكيل النفسي لهوية المجتمع العربي، ووصله بمؤثرات التاريخ، في محاولة لفهم شخصيتنا الجمعية بشكل عام.

تتناص سمر يزيك مع القصص التاريخي تناصا موفقا، فتوظفه توظيفا روائيا يغني الفضاء السردى، ويكثف مخزونات. هذه الآلية التناصية الخارجة عن زمنية الحاضر، والمتقاطعة مع الزمن الروائي الواقعي، توحى للقارئ، بوضوح تام، أن مكونات شخصية البطل الحقيقي الحالي (حيدر) وعالمه الجواني مرتبطة أشد ارتباط بأعمق التاريخ، وإسقاطاته على صيرورة واقعا المعاصر. وهي التي تؤسس، بدلالاتها التاريخية، التشكيلة النفسية لشخصيات الرواية المتواطئة مع تلك الحالات المؤثرة في حيوات أبناء مجتمعاتنا الشرقية. إن هذا التناص مع الشخصيات التاريخية المعروفة يغني شببهاتها المتخيلة، ويهبها بعدا زمنيا يأخذ مصداقيته من قوة الحقائق التاريخية. ها هي صورة حيدر العلي تتكشف وتتجلى ضرورة تاريخية تحاكم الظلم المتأصل، وتدعي عدم الاستسلام له حتى بعد الموت؛ فالضحية تتوالد على مدى الأزمان ساعية في تحولاتها لإعادة الاعتبار للحق وحرية الإنسان. هكذا يأتي صوت بطلنا حاملا، في ثناياه، صرخات سعيد بن جبير، وصيحات عبد الله بن الزبير، ونبرات ألف قتيل مظلوم:

أنا أعرفك كنت في ذلك الزمان أعيش معك وكنت آخر قتلاك. أنا آخر من قتلك، وأنت أول من قتلني (...). عندما خرجت من الظلام إلى النور، عرفت أنك لم تزل تلاحقني، لأن صورتك المتعددة الأبعاد والأشكال، شخصت أمامي. لم أكن حيدر، ولم أكن عبد الله، ولم أكن سعيدا. كنت كل هؤلاء.. [يزيك 2005: 131].

وتقدم الروائية صورة الجلاد ضعيفة مهتزة، رغم محاولته إظهار نفسه بأنه القوي الصلب الثابت، فهلوسات الحجاج، وفزعته ومخاوفه من سعيد بن جبير، تجعله يندم على قتله إياه. وكذلك علي حسن، المستبد المعاصر، نراه في نهاية الرواية ضعيفا، خائفا، مثيرا للشفقة، يصارع مرأة قبوه السميقة متخيلا صورة حيدر فيها، وكأننا أمام مشهد دون كيخوت يصارع طواحين الهواء، دون كيخوت الذي تتناص الكاتبة معه لتوطد عالما سرديا أتقنت رسمه. وكما تراءت للحجاج خيالات سعيد بن جبير، فقد أخذت تتراءى لعلي حسن صورة حيدر في مرايا قبوه، وباتت تلاحقه في كل مكان.

بيد أن الديكتاتور في خضم توهمه، ونشوته الشوهاء، يظن أنه خالد إلى الأبد. فما هو حيدر (سعيد بن جبير) يخاطب والي العراقين، أو لعله يحدث علي حسن وسيدة الأبدى، مذكرا بكذب أديتهم وحقيقة الوهم المرة: "هل تذكر ما قلته قبل أن تموت؟ (...). كنت تهذي في احتضارك، هل اعتقدت أنك الخالد الأبدى، بعد أن صنعت جبالا من جماجم؟" [يزيك 2005: 131].

الحجاج إذن لم يغادر شرقنا العربي؛ إنه حاضر في حياتنا بجسد جديد، في لباس قائد الأجهزة الأمنية. إن حرص المؤلفة على توكيد مسميات المكان يعزز الفكرة التي التقطناها منذ بداية السرد. فالمكان باق، رغم دوران الزمان، مسرحا للقتل، والظلم، والحكم المطلق. المكان هو هو، والزمان متعلق به كأنه لم يغادره، وإن اختلفت مسمياته يظل مجالا حيويا للطغاة، والسفاحين، تحوم فيه روح الحجاج المتناسلة.

من الشخصيات المؤثرة في رواية "صلصال" دلا المرسومة ببراعة، والتي تنمو وتتطور مع الحدث، ممثلة حالة تاريخية لفلاحة فقيرة من سكان الجبال الساحلية، ترمز إلى واقع طائفة ذاقت العذاب والمطاردات، تحت سياط وسيوف العثمانيين، فكانت "الجبال الأمان الوحيد الذي يبعدهم عن أيدي رجال السلطة العثمانية. وهي دلا ابنة الخوف، كانت تحفظ الأغاني القديمة عن ارتحالات ودماء أجدادها، وترث في روحها لوثة الأسي" [يزبك 2005: 16]. من خلال هذه الشخصية الغريبة تتكشف صورة حيدر بشكل تدريجي، وينجلي عنها بعض الضباب. دلا فتاة فقيرة، كانت عائلتها تخدم ابراهيم بيك (والد حيدر)، أحببت حيدر وأحبها منذ نعومة أظفاره وحتى موته واختفائها معه. تكتسي ملامح هذه البطلة طابعا أسطوريا سريليا، مؤيدا بسمات واقعية سحرية؛ وكان الكاتبة من خلال هذه الملامح أن تهئى القارئ لولوج العالم الغرائبي المتقل بتجليات حيدر وروحه المتناسلة في جسد عصور بعيدة. وغرابة دلا مدهشة، تشابه طقوس ولادتها العجبية قرب التنور، حيث كانت والدتها تخبز، "وقطعت أمها حبل سرتها بسكين حديدي، أسود صدئ ملقى إلى جانب التنور. لفتها، وقامت لتغسلها بالماء والملح، ثم تركتها وأكملت الخبز..". [يزبك 2005: 34]. وهي لا تشبه البشر في تطورهما الفسيولوجي، إذ يتوقف جسدها عن النمو الطبيعي بعد انفصالها عن حيدر، نتيجة لزواجها الإجباري في الرابعة عشرة من عمرها؛ هذا الزواج الذي "أجبر تحولاتها على التوقف عند غياب أميرها. لم تكبر ولم تكره أو تفرح..". [يزبك 2005: 41].

وبطلتنا هذه ذكية قوية الشخصية، ورغم عفويتها تستطيع إحراج من حولها، مهما بلغت سلطنتهم ومراتبهم الاجتماعية. وهذا مشهد يظهر سخريتها من مجتمع الرجال بعد رفضها أن يكشف الطبيب عن أعضائها الحساسة، ليتأكد من صلاحيتها للحمل والإنجاب؛ فتصرخ بزواجها بأسلوب كاريكاتوري ساخر: "— الله لا يوفقك.. بك افتح رجلي لرجل غريب.. يلعن أبو الأولاد على أبو أبوهم!" [يزبك 2005: 21].

حين تخرج إلى المدينة، أول مرة، تشعر ببديب الحياة الجميل، فتصرخ "بصوت قاس وغريب"، نخاله صوت كل امرأة تشعر بالاختناق الأبدى في سجن المجتمع الرجولي، الذي يلزمها البيت ويمنعها من الخروج إلى نور الدنيا البهي. والكاتبة هنا تصرخ في وجه هذا الكيان الذكوري، باسم كل النساء المقهورات اللواتي تمثلن دلا: "— أنا لا أعرف أن الدنيا حلوة! لا أعرف، الدنيا حلوة؟ حلوة! الله لا يوفقكم لكن... الله لا يوفقكم، أين أعيش أنا؟ إذا كانت الدنيا كلها في الخارج؟" [يزبك 2005: 24].

مثل معظم النساء اللاتي يرسفن بقيود العادات والتقاليد الظالمة، تدرك البطلة أسباب ضعفها ودواعي ألمها، وتقرر العيش في عزلة قرب حيدر، "لأن الأحلام شيء مؤلم ومزعج، ولأنها كائن لا تحتل فكرة أن يختبئ العالم وراء سنيها التي عاشتها" [يزبك 2005: 24]. بيد أن الجانب الجدير بالاهتمام في بناء شخصية دلا، هو حسن توظيفها في عملية الوقوف في وجه الشر؛ فهي الكارهة لعلي حسن — رمز الظلم، المحبة أبدا لحيدر، المخلصة له حتى في فترات جنونه، المتممة لروحه، وكأنها ظل على الأرض في طول تحولاته، من جسد إلى آخر، في عصور المطاردة المتوالية.

تستغل الكاتبة شخصية دلا جيدا وتبرز مكونات همومها لإظهار استغلال المجتمع الظالم للمرأة بشكل عام، وسعيه إلى تغيبها عن دورها الطبيعي في اختيار طريقة حياتها. إن البطلة مادة خصبة، يمكن الاتكاء عليها، لإبراز قضايا المرأة وحقوقها المستباحة. فهي تزوج، ولم تنزل طفلة، من رجل لا تريده. ولكنها تنتقم، بأسلوبها الخاص، من ظلم الأعراف، وتسلط العادات البالية. إنها شخصية فاعلة بذاتها، تقف متحدية المجتمع الظالم، وإن بدت في ظاهر الأمر منفعة، ومستكينة لقوانينه وأعرافه. ورغم استكانتها الظاهرة نجدتها مؤثرة في زوجها، مسيطرة على تفكيره. فلا عجب أن يرى فيها، على علاتها وكل نواقصها الجمالية، قديسة إلهية. ورغم أنها القصيرة، المكورة الجسد التي يسميها أهل قريتها، مدللين على

بشاعة هيبتها، "قردة"، ظل زوجها محيمود يحلف بحياتها وحياء الخضر متحديا رجال الدين، الذين نهوه عن الحلفان باسمها:

"- أنا دلا عندي مثل الله!

- هذه امرأة، وحرام عليك يا رجل أن تقسم بها. إنها ضلع قاصر، ولا عقل لها، ولا تحمل الدين في صدرها!" [يزبك 2005: 34].

لكن دلا، ورغم ملامحها البشعة، تتمتع بجماليات مشرقة، يستشعرها القارئ في حضورها القوي اللطيف في حياة من حولها. ويبدو أن الكاتبة أرادت لهذه البطلة أن تكون في روايتها الوجه الآخر للجمال، فهي ترمز إلى الزمن الجميل، الذي ينتهي مع حيدر. وإذا كان الجمال لا يُدرك، ولا تتم مقاربة شروطه، إلا بوجود نقيضه، فإننا نصل إلى استنتاج يفضي إلى إدراك المشهد الجمالي، الذي يربى في الجمال والقبح ثنائية (dualism) تقوم على أساس من التعايش الجدلي بين الأضداد. وهذه النظرة الجمالية تحمل نفسا فلسفيا، يتأتى من علم الجمال الأفلاطوني القائل أن الجمال هو "إشراق الحقيقة". أو ليست دلا إشراقا للحقيقة في وقوفها في خندق الحق؟ أليست تستمد جمالياتها من مثلها الأعلى، "سليل الأطياف والأرواح"، وحبیب روحها الجمیل - حيدر؟ ألم يكن أفلاطون ذاته يرى، على حد تعبير هنري لوفافر، "أن الأشياء أو الكائنات تكون جميلة، لأن فيها انعكاسا للصورة العليا، للمثل الأعلى، للجمال المثالي" [لوفافير (بلا تاريخ): 11]. أجل، إن دلا هي انعكاس لصورة كائن حالم بفروسية سامية، هو حيدر - حلمها وواقعها.

تركز سمر يزبك في فضاء "صلصال" السردية على مفاصل تاريخية محددة، تنكئ عليها في متن نصها الروائي. إن موت حيدر علي يحدث يوم سقوط بغداد 2003، فهل جاء هذا التاريخ حشوا غير ذي معنى؟ أم أن لهذا السقوط دلالات رغبت الكاتبة، من ورائها، في توكيد واقعية الأحداث التي ستبدو لاحقا، من خلال اختفاء جثة حيدر ودلا، ومن خلال عالم أوراق حيدر الغريب، ستبدو أنها حكايات أساطير؟ إن مجتمع القرية لا يهتم بموت حيدر، رغم كونه شخصية مهمة منحدره من عائلة فاعلة مؤثرة، بل ما يهمه خبر سقوط بغداد؛ ذلك السقوط الصاعق الذي جعلته وسائل الإعلام الحديثة واقعا محسوسا في كل بيت، ولم يعد مجرد حادث يروى.

أما علي حسن، ابن الفلاح الفقير، الذي عمل "مرابعا" (خادما) عند إبراهيم بيك - والد حيدر - فهو النقيض السيئ لشخصية حيدر علي. فإن كان هذا الأخير يمثل، في بعض جوانب تحولاته، تجليات المجتمع السوري الباحث عن ذاته، بعد جلاء الفرنسيين، الطارق أبواب التطور الطبيعي المتدرج، فإن علي حسن يرمز إلى تيار "الثوريين"، الذين نقلوا حياة الشعب إلى واقع مضاد جديد، أصبح فيه ممثلو النخبة الخاسرة التي وصفت بالبرجوازية، تارة، وبالرجعية والإقطاعية، تارة أخرى، أصبحوا هم الأسفلين. هذا التغيير الدراماتيكي في بنية المجتمع السوري الحديث، قام به رهط من الضباط؛ وما علي حسن إلا أحد هؤلاء العسكريين، الذين شقوا طريقهم في الجيش مؤيدين بعضوية قيادية في الحزب، وأضحى أهم القادة الأمنيين. تبدو ملامحه أمامنا في تناقض واضح المعالم مع صورة حيدر، وكأننا أمام مبارزة عدوين في ميدان فروسية خائبة. وفي ظل تناص موح مع دون كيخوته، تسمح الكاتبة ببدء سلسلة من المساجلات عن الفروسية والشرف بين البطلين، نعرف من فحواها، أن علي حسن لا يهمه شرف، أو عهد. ما يشغل باله السلطة، والوقت وقته، هو الآن الأعلى، أما حيدر، الخاسر مجده ومجد عائلته، في ظل التغييرات "الثورية"، فهو الأسفل. يذكر حيدر صديقه القديم عليا بقسم الفرسان، والعهد القديمة، في حوار بينهما تقيد منه المؤلفة في تقريب صورة البطلين وتبيين طرق تفكيرهما:

- ما كان لعباً، وأنت أقسمت، وأنا أقسمت. حلفنا...

- حلفنا؟

- بالشرف!

- أي شرف؟ شرف الفرسان الماضي، أم شرف زماننا؟

- الشرف هو الشرف، لا يتغير في كل زمان ومكان.

- غير صحيح. الشرف يتغير ويتبدل من زمان إلى زمان، ومن مكان إلى مكان. الشرف يخترعه البشر، ويجعلونه تابعاً، وليس العكس. حضرتك اطلع من كتبك وانظر إلى الدنيا [يزبك 2005: 73].

سمر يزبك تحاكم مرحلة مهمة من مراحل التاريخ السوري الحديث، عن طريق محاكمة بعض الضباط، الذين قفروا إلى سدة الحكم وغيروا في نسيج البلاد الاجتماعي. البطل حيدر يدرك خيانة رفقائه الضباط الحزبيين، وإيغالهم في التحول المفسد، وينتحي في عزلة غريبة بضيعة تاركا الجيش وعاصمة التحولات الخطيرة - دمشق. وبالمقابل ترسم الكاتبة، بعناية وحذر، شخصية علي حسن، ممثل التيار المنتصر، الذي كسب السلطة: "هل يستطيع [حيدر] نسيان دموعه وتشنجاته، وهو يبصق على كل ما فعلوه من أجل أن يكونوا قادة عسكريين؟ ليست قيادة هذه التي صعد بها علي حسن مع رفاقه في الحزب، ففرضوا قانون الأحكام العرفية والطوارئ، ثم انقلبوا على بعضهم البعض وحكموا البلاد.. " [يزبك 2005: 74].

علي حسن لا يحترم الأخلاق، فهو من خان صديقه الأعرز - حيدر، متخذاً من زوجه - سحر المنصور - عشيقه له. إنه لا يتحكم بأفعاله، وسلوكه أقرب ما يكون إلى نوع من تصرفات غريزية، أو ربما شيطانية. ورغم أنه لا يأبه بشرف الآخرين وكرامتهم، نراه يفزع مرعوباً ويصرخ مضطرباً، حين يراوده الشك أن شرفه سيلوث. ومن هنا نفهم عذابه وغضبه من علاقة ابنه الوحيد برهام (ابنة سحر المنصور التي لا يعرف تماماً أهي من صلبه، أم من صلب حيدر)، وإرغامه على هجرها، وإجباره على السفر خارج البلاد، مستخدماً سلطته الأبوية والأمنية. ويدرك الولد أن التخلي عن حبيبته يصب في مصلحته ومصلحة العائلة، فهو لا يمكنه التنازل عن عظمة مكاسبه، من أجل حالة حب، أو ضعف أمام امرأة، وهو من سيرث طموحات الأب السلطوية، وسلطته ذاتها.

تخلق سمر يزبك في روايتها شخصيتين ثانويتين، لكنهما فاعلاتان، هما: محسن، أستاذ التاريخ الذي يلقي حقه على أيدي حراس علي حسن؛ والطالب الجامعي عبد الله الذي يختفي في سجون الأجهزة الأمنية. إنهما يمثلان ضمير الشعب ونبضه الحي، ومن خلال حديثهما يتناهى إلى أسماعنا صوت المثقفين، الذين لم يدعوا للظلم، ولم يسكتوا عن الفساد. ففي حين يقف الأستاذ محسن مخلصاً للتاريخ الذي تعلمه وعلمه لأجيال، يأتي عبد الله، الشاب، ناشداً محو التاريخ المزعوم. فالتاريخ برأيه، ما دونّ القوي المنتصر، وما اختلق المنافقون المنتفعون. وتجدنا هنا أمام تقابل جدلي ذي حددين: الأول، الجيل القديم المؤمن بتاريخ الأجداد المرسوم بما يناسب طموحاته ورغباته؛ والثاني، الجيل الشاب الذي يرى في التاريخ صورة مغايرة للمعروف، والمعهود، مما تقدمه الكتب المعاصرة.

الرواية تنتهي بمشهد علي حسن قارنا أوراق حيدر علي، التي تلقفها من بين يدي رهام المخدرة، بعد أن قبض عليها رجاله. بهذه الخاتمة تقرينا الكاتبة إلى صورة الواقع الراهن، حيث نجد القائد المتسلط جالساً في قبوه، مطالعاً أوراقاً مهمة، وكأنه منهمك في مراجعة تقاريره اليومية عن أمن البلاد، وحرارك العباد. ونرى رجاله على مقربة منه، متوجسين، لكنهم ما زالوا بالطمأنينة شاعرين:

"بهدهوء ثقيل ألقى على رهام نظرة برود، وبدأ يقرأ الأوراق المهترئة، على ضوء شمعدانه الفيكتوري.

كان الصمت مفرطاً.

رهام تغط في سباتها. والرجال يبتعدون عن بوابة القبو، واثقين أن اليوم انتهى بسلام. " [يزبك 2005: 208].

رغم اعتقادنا أن هذه النهاية المفتوحة تنجح في إدخالنا بوابة الواقع من جديد، بعد التحليق الطويل في عالم حيدر الخرافي الساحر، نشعر بعدم الرضا قليلاً. وهذا الشعور يتأتى من الطريقة التي بها قطعت المؤلفة الحدث المسرود بضمير الغائب، المتصاعد في تعقب تفاصيل هروب رهام، ومطاردة رجال علي حسن لها، ليتوقف عند اللحظات التي تقرأ رهام فيها أوراق أبيها. وفجأة يبدأ السرد بصوت جديد ناطق بصيغة ضمير المتكلم، كأنه صوت حيدر علي يتلو ما في جعبته من كلام. بعد الانتهاء من أوراق حيدر، تعود الكاتبة مرة أخرى، إلى سرد الأحداث بضمير الغائب، متممة ما قطعت من قبل، وماضية إلى خاتمة الرواية على هذه الشاكلة، عبر ثماني صفحات. كان من الأنسب، الاستمرار في سرد الأحداث التي أعقبت مطاردة رهام؛ وهذا يعني تقديم تلك الصفحات الثماني الأخيرة على الصفحات التي كشفت فيها أوراق حيدر، لتكون هذه الأوراق خاتمة العمل، بعد أن يقرأها علي حسن. لعل ما دفع الكاتبة إلى اعتماد هذه التقنية السردية، رغبتها في تشويق القارئ، عبر تعليق الحدث الساخن، المفضي إلى حل العقدة، وجعله مشدوداً إلى تفاصيل الفضاء السردية، حتى النهاية. ولكن...! أما كان من الأجمل، والأنجح فنياً، لو أن الرواية انتهت بما ابتدأت به، أي بصوت حيدر، وأناه الشعاعية الحميمة، المحلقة في سماوات التحولات وتجليات الروح السامية؟ أما كان النص الروائي سيكون أكثر تماسكاً، وأعمق إيحاء، لو اختتم بذلك الصوت الشجي، ليكون البداية والنهاية، في دائرة زمانية ومكانية واحدة، تدور في نفس متحولة واحدة، متوالدة إلى ما شاء الله؟ لننظر كم هي جميلة آخر كلمات حيدر المبتوثة في آخر قصاصات أوراقه! كم هي موحية، دالة، ومنفتحة على مختلف التأويلات، ومذكرة بعالم الصلصال، وبعنوان الرواية – العالم الذي ولجنا مجاهله وخفاياه، بشوق وإقدام:

أنا حيدر، حفنة من الغبار.

أنا التراب الطائر في النور. أنا المنسوخ من أبي، وأبي المنسوخ مني. أنا المخلوق من ضلع أنثى، والمولود من رمشة أنثى... [...]

أنا من هربت نساؤه منه.

أنا آخر صلصال يموت من عناصره وتكوينه [يزبك 2005: 199].

سمر يربك دخلت عالم السرد الروائي من باب، يفتح واسعاً أمام نكهة متخيلها المبتكر، واستطاعت في ظل انفتاح الرواية السورية وتطورها المتسارع، أن تضيف إلى فن السرد، وأساليبه المتجددة في بناء الأحداث، ورسم الشخصيات، واستشراق اللغة، تجربة جديرة بالاهتمام والتقدير.

ولعل النموذج الآخر الذي تمثله الكاتبة الشابة عبير إسبر، صاحبة رواية "لولو"، سيظهر للقارئ مدى التطور الذي وصل إليه الفن الروائي السوري، في أساليبه السردية الجديدة، في القرن الحادي والعشرين.

أول ما يلفت النظر في رواية "لولو"، قدرة مؤلفتها الفائقة على نثر بذور الأحداث في متن السرد، ومن ثم لملمتها والمضي في تتبع خيوط مساراتها، لتقبض في نهاية الأمر على المجرى الرئيس، وتضعه تحت أناملها ببراعة. ولا شك أن هذه الرواية تستحق الدراسة والبحث بعناية لما تحمله في طياتها من رؤى جديدة، وأساليب فنية جريئة، في دأبها الشغوف عن نوع كتابي آخر، يحفل بمفاهيم غير مكررة، ومنطلقات غير تقليدية. ولعل أكثر ما يسترعي الانتباه في هذا العمل انفتاح النص على اللغة، وإيحاءاتها، ودلالاتها التي تستوعب في مداها تأويلات تتجاوز المعنى الأولي، منطلقة إلى فضاءات الخداع اللفظي، ومتماهية مع انكسارات الوقائع الواهمة.

ندرك منذ السطور الأولى من السرد، أن الكاتبة تختصر الصفحات والزمن الروائي، وتختزل خطوط البناء الفني في مقدمة علينا قراءتها بأناة، فهي حجر الزاوية والأساس، اللذان سيبنى عليهما كل ما سيأتي لاحقاً. وهذا ما يوحى للقارئ أن هذه الرواية ليست العمل الأدبي الأول لعبير إسبر، ويعطي انطباعاً أنها قد دخلت عالم التقنية الروائية الحديثة، وفنونها، منذ زمن طويل!

ينتمي هذا العمل إلى الجنس الروائي القصير، الذي يختصر الوقت ويدخل في عوالم الشخصيات، قليلة العدد، عبر أحداث آنية سريعة مكثفة، وأحداث أخرى غائبة تبرز من الماضي، من خلال أسلوب التدايعات وتقنية الارتجاع. ولعل البطل خالد (لولو) هو الجامع لخيوط اللعبة الروائية بشخصيته المدركة لما يدور من حوله، غير الواعية لما سيؤول إليه مصيره الممزق، المقطعة أجزاءه: كل جزء في مزقة صورة ضبابية شاحبة. إنه مصير الشاب القروي الحالم بالحب، وباكتشاف سر الحياة السعيدة، وكنه العالم الآخر – ومنه عالم المدينة المغربي، الواعد باقتحام فضاءات بهية حاملة.

لكنّ تغييراً – تشير إليه الكاتبة في السطور الأولى – سببه حدث جلال جرى في الضيعة، يجعل القارئ يفكر ملياً قبل أن يطلق حكمه على ما سيحدث لاحقاً في مسار العمل، الذي يتحد ملتحماً بعد تشظ و"انفلاش". وما الكلمات اللامحة الواردة في الجملة التالية: "فأخوهم الصغير كان قد فقد حضوره في حياتهم منذ أن وطئ من سموهم جماعة المجانين أرض الحصن قرينهم" [إسبر 2004: 5]، إلا إشارة لها معانيها ودلالاتها، وهي توطئة لما سيعتمل في قرارة نفس البطل، وفي أعماقه من اهتزازات وبراكين، لم يكن هياجها في وارد الحساب، في حياته الهادئة. كذلك يتوقف القارئ عند إشارة أخرى تذكرها الكاتبة، لغرض في نفس يعقوب، وهي ذكر "فوز" – المرأة التي بصّرت لخالد (لولو) في ذكرى عيد ميلاده الثامن عشر. وتتتابع الإيحاءات فيستعين الراوي بشخصية محورية مهمة، في هذا العمل الروائي، لها رمزية تكاد لا تخفى على القارئ، هي أم خالد التي تصبح راوية يتكئ عليها السارد (الكاتبة) العالم بكل شيء، كي تعرّف القارئ بجزء من شخصية ابنها خالد. فهي تلقي حزمة ضوء على قصة "الصبي" مع جماعة المجانين، وقائدهم المصري، الذي سيكون له شأن كبير في فهم نفسية خالد، وسبر أعماق داخله. هذه المراوغة الماكرة المستحبة، التي قامت بها الروائية، كانت خطوة ذكية أقحمت الأم في شرح قصة صبيها؛ فمن يستطيع فهم الولد أكثر من أمه؟

ويكون السارد (الكاتبة) عالما بكل شيء يعتمل في نفس البطل، وفي مكونات دواخله؛ وهو يعيش في قلب خالد، ويعرف كل أمانيه، وأحلامه، ومشاعره المحبطة والخائبة:

عندما سألت ريم خالدا ما إن كان متعلما أم لا، تمنى أن يكون حاصلًا على ثلاث شهادات (...). تمنى أن يكون أستاذا محاضرا (...). تمنى أن تنشق الأرض وتبتلعه (...). شعر خالد بطعم الموت ورائحة العار وأراد البكاء نادما على كل ثانية أضعها مهرولا وراء حماره في الكرم.. [إسبر 2004: 24-26].

ونتعرف إلى أجزاء مهمة من تجربة لولو، وطفولته، وتكوينه النفسي، في المتن السردي الذي يساعدنا على سبر أغوار هذه الشخصية المتناقضة:

في صباه كان الفساد الوحيد هو ملامحه ذاتها، إذ يكفي أن تلقي أمه نظرة واحدة حتى تقرأ تاريخ نهاره بأكمله (...). لكن مع هجرانه للطفولة، استطاع خالد السيطرة على ملامحه ربما لأن ذنوبه بدأت تكبر أو أن أحلامه أصبحت أقل، أو ربما لأنه لم يعد يريد الكثير من أهله والحياة؛ فحرماته من حضن أمه في المساء كان احتياجا تعوضه وردة [إسبر 2004: 27].

خالد (لولو) هو المثل الرمزي للجيل الجديد – جيل الفلق، وإرهاصات التحولات، والطموح إلى التغيير المنشود الذي أخذ يورق مساءات المجتمع السوري المتقل بالهموم. إن لولو ذو شخصية طيبة منفعة، لا فاعلة؛ إنه ينتظر قدوم ريم – الحب – في الحلم، وهي تعرف أنه ضعيف الشخصية غير مكتمل الإرادة، و"سينهار إن لم يلفت نظرها [إسبر 2004: 28]". لذلك تمنحه شيئا من عطفها ورعايتها، وتعلمه دروسا ليفيد منها في أول زحفه، في طرق الحياة الوعرة، دروسا تتلخص في كلمتين مأخوذتين من مقولة فلسفية لسقراط: "اعرف نفسك!". إذن هي المعرفة ما يشغل فكر ريم، وما يجعل خالد قلقا، وناقما، وشاعرا بعقدة الذنب أمام الذات، ومحسا بعقدة النقص أمام ريم، وما تمثل من معرفة، وثقافة، وحضارة: "لكن خالدًا نغم على المعرفة، فقد أدلته عندما وعى أنه لا يعرف، أنها هي التي تعرف نفسها وتعرفه أكثر منه" [إسبر 2004: 31].

أما شخصية كمال، فتمثل الجيل القديم الذي خبر الحياة، وهو يقابل الجيل الجديد الممثل بخالد؛ وبهذا الشكل تضع الكاتبة الجيلين في تقابل ضدي واضح: "كمال المقرب من الكهولة، وخالد المطل من مراهقته على الحياة" [إسبر 2004: 39]. نرى كمالا في مواقف المعتدلة، ونظرته المتأنية إلى قضايا العيش، يمتلك خيارات، يدرسها بعمق، للخروج من أية مشكلة تواجهه، بعكس الجيل الشاب الذي لا يرى إلا جانبا واحدا من احتمالات المواقف، التي تستدعي اتخاذ قراراته الملحة. لكن شخصية كمال ليست مثالية، بل انتهازية مهادنة، تحمل كثيرا من صفات النفاق والرياء التي يزرع بها مجتمع المدينة. ورغم مودتها لكمال (Boss)، فإن ريمًا تدرك فيه تلك الصفات السيئة.

ولما كان خالد تلميذا في صفوف الحياة – وبالمناسبة فهو راسب في امتحانات الشهادة الثانوية – فقد جاءت بعض أجزاء السرد والحوار حيلى بالنبرة التعليمية، التي تذكرنا بالروايات التربوية الواعظة، إلا أنها هنا تأخذ شرعية وجودها في النص، من خلال توجيهها إلى البطل – التلميذ الطامح إلى التعلم. ومن ذلك، تلك الأقوال التعليمية الكثيرة، الموجهة ليس إلى خالد فقط، بل إلى كل إنسان باحث عن فعل شيء جدير بالتميز: "أن نتميز يعني أن نعطي رأيا خاصا بنا، أي أن نمتلك خطة ونطور نظرية" [إسبر 2004: 46].

إن وردة التي يحنّ إليها خالد، في ساعات ضعفه وانكساره، هي الملجأ النفسي له، وراحة روحه الريفية البسيطة. وهو "يحب أن يحبه الناس.. أن يحبه الناس، أي كما أحبته وردة.. دون أن يعرف أو يناقش، أو يقرأ الدراسات الفلسفية" [إسبر 2004: 43]. يريد العودة إلى وردة، لكنه يعجز عن اجترار أي فعل في هذا الاتجاه، فالتغير الذي طرأ عليه يمنعه من الاقتراب إلى الماضي الممثل بوردة، التي لا تأتيه إلا في خيالات الذكرى. ورغم انبهاره بشخصية ريم، وثقافتها، وعالمها السامي، فإن خالد يبدأ يدرك قلقها، واضطراب نفسياتها، وحتى تناقض أفكارها أحيانا. يستغرب خالد ويدهش من تصرفات وردة، ويصل إلى فكرة مؤداها أن المعرفة تزيد من شقاء الإنسان، وهمّه، وتنتأى به عن السعادة، والراحة، والسكينة. هذا ما ينتهي إلى قرارة نفسه، ويجعلها مغترية اغترابا جوانيا موحشا: "خالد الباحث عن معرفة الذات ونغمات المواويل والثقافة الحرة، أتاه الصقيع مكتسحا كل مساحات روحه، والمعرفة..! أه منها لم تزوده سوى بأطنان من الغربية بدأت تنتثر بذارها بينه وبين جميع من أحب وأولهم ريم" [إسبر 2004: 49].

لكن الكاتبة تنسى، أحيانا، أن خالدًا مازال فتى يافعا لم يبلغ الثامنة عشرة من عمره، فتحتمله ما لا يحتمل في هذه السن المبكرة، وتمنحه نضوجا فكريا مبالغًا فيه! من الوارد جدا أن يقع فتى، في سن المراهقة، بحب امرأة في الخامسة والثلاثين – كما هو حال ريم التي تكاد تكون في عمر أمه – ولكن ما يصعب فهمه، وتقبله، هو شعور هذا الشاب اليافع أن محبوبته تلك، هي طفلة صغيرة يتبناها. وهذا قد يولد انطبعا في عقل القارئ، يوحي أن الكاتبة بالغت في رسم شخصية بطلها الرئيس، وأيدته بصفات تكبر سنّي عمره، وتجاوز حدود أفق تفكيره، كما في المثال التالي: "ريم: طفلة وجدها خالد قرب قلبه فتبناها. أتعبته الآن لأن روحها متعبة، أبكاه حزنها وأحس بعمرها المسروق" [إسبر 2004: 50].

تطرق الكاتبة بابا فلسفيا لتفسير الخيانة، مقتحمة مساحات العقل وعلاقته باللغة، ومستكشفة روابط هذا الجانب العقل- لغوي المنطقي، عبر التلميح إلى خيانة اللغة؛ هذه اللغة التي اعتدنا التحايل عليها عبر عصور ودهور، فخدعتنا بمفارقاتها اللفظية الصاعقة، في نهاية المطاف. وهذا ما أكده قائد جماعة المجانين لخالد، بعد أعوام، حين أخبره "أن الخيانة الوحيدة هي خيانة اللغة" [إسبر 2004: 9]؛ فأنى لخالد أن يفهم "خيانة اللغة"، وهو ابن الضيعة الغرّ؟ لكننا سنجدته يتلمس طريق الحقيقة شيئا فشيئا، ونراه إنسانا يفهم الواقع بصورة أفضل في نهاية الرواية، ويدرك أن اكتسابه ناصية اللغة سيقربه من أمه المنشود.

تتحول الواقع التي تلتقطها عبير إسبر من سطح الواقع إلى مادة طيبة قابلة للثني، والتحوير، والتغيير، فتخلق حالة روائية تخترق حدود محيطنا الحياتي الثابتة. وبذلك تذكرنا بكلمات غابرييل غارسيا ماركيز، التي قالها لميلان كونديرا كاشفا اسم من أوحى له بإمكانية الكتابة بطريقة أخرى، "طريقة أخرى تعني عبور حاجز ما هو معقول، ليس من أجل الهروب من العالم الحقيقي (كما فعل الرومنتيكيون)، بل من أجل فهمه بشكل أفضل" [كونديرا 2000: 42]. ومثل هذه "الطريقة الأخرى" نلمح في سطور "الولو" الحبلى بالوقائع، التي صيرتها الكاتبة دقائق عالم وتفاصيل تتخطى اليومي المعروف الفاقع بواقعية فجة، وتتجاوز قراءة التاريخ، كسيرة سردية، تنأى عن فهم التحليل العميق الواعي لحركة التاريخ، وتطور المجتمعات ووعيها لذاتها، كجزء من عملية معقدة لفهم الذات الإنسانية، والأنا الفاعلة في تراكم المعرفة التي تتناسلها الأجيال المتعاقبة. من هذا الإدراك الواعي تنطلق عبير إسبر، فتقتنص شوارد صور من واقع المجتمع، جاعلة منها مجموعة أحداث تتشابك في النسيج الروائي؛ وفي هذا السياق تأتي واقعة موت الرمز الخالد، ومعضلة "الأبدية"، اللتان استنشت فيهما المؤلفة – كما يبدو – عنصرا معششا في تفكير أبناء مجتمعنا، نابعا من صلب ذاتنا الجمعية المتوارثة، التي هي بعض من نتاج الفكر الشرقي المفطوم على طقوس التعظيم، وطبائع التقديس، لا بل التآليه.

تواصل الروائية عملية الخداع اللفظي، مجبرة اللغة لصالحها، وجاعلة منها أداة لاستقراء النصّ بأكثر من مستوى، فتجوز بذلك قراءته قراءة رمزية تفتح أمامنا باب التأويلات والإسقاطات التاريخية. والتأويل – حسب جاك لاكان – لا يمكن أن يكون شاملا لكل شيء، فهو أيضا متأثر بالدلالات، ولكن "هذا لا يعني أن التأويل بحد ذاته هو محض هراء. فمن الخطأ أن يقال: إن التأويل مفتوح على المعاني كلها، بحجة أن القضية قضية ربط الدالّ بدالّ وحسب، وعليه فهي مسألة ربط لا يمكن السيطرة عليها. فالتأويل إذن ليس مفتوحا على كل معنى" [Lacan 1977: 240]. لكن السرد يغدو رحبا، منفتحاً، لا تقيد لغته أو منطق لفظي، وهذا يحسب للروائية في قدرتها على جعل اللغة مسرحا حافلا بتنوع الأفكار، والدلالات، رغم بساطة العبارات والجمل، واهتزاز بنائها وضعف تراكيبيها أحيانا، وسقوطها في شبك اللهجة المحكية المغربية، التي تطغى على الحوار، وتلج فضاء السرد في مواضع عدة. وتصبح اللغة نظاما من الإشارات التي تتعالق بأفكار مميزة، معبرة بذلك عن حالة فكرية إنسانية طبيعية، ما يقودنا إلى تأكيد ما جاء به فيرديناد دي سوسير عن علاقة اللغة بالأفكار، حين كتب: "إن الشيء الطبيعي عند الإنسان ليس اللسان، بل مملكة إنشاء اللغة، أي نظام من الإشارات المتميزة يرتبط بأفكار متميزة" [دي سوسور 1988: 28].

في رواية "لولو" نرى الإسقاطات اللغوية، والانزياحات الدلالية، التي تسمح بالانتقال من مستوى إيحائي إلى آخر، عبر الدلالات اللفظية لكلمات تحاول الكاتبة الإشارة إلى أهميتها، من خلال جمل مفصلة محددة. فتحت العنوان الفرعي "فلسطين يعرفها بالتأكيد ولكن ما الكيبوتز...؟" [إسبر 2004: 11] تكتب المؤلفة: "غدا خالد الوسيط الشرعي والوحيد بين أبناء القرية وبين المصاروة" [إسبر 2004: 12]. فهل أرادت القول أن خالدا غدا الوسيط الشرعي والوحيد بين أبناء القرية والمصاروة وحسب؟ أم أنها أرادت أن ترمز إلى شيء متعلق بفلسطين – إلى منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية – الممثل الشرعي والوحيد للشعب الفلسطيني؟ ويبدو الأمر واضحا حينما نتذكر أن عنوان المقطع يحمل اسم فلسطين، وعندما نقرأ السرد الذي يتبع تلك الجملة، متحدثا عن "عين الزيتون"، تلك القرية من قرى الجليل التي احتلت عام 1948. وهي تشبه ضيعة خالد التي ستلعب دور "عين الزيتون"، في فيلم ستنتجها "جماعة المجانين". ويتشعب الحديث بعد ذلك إلى الشهداء، وحروب فلسطين، ووقائع أخرى تختزلها الروائية بأرقام تشير إلى تاريخ حدوثها: "هذه هي فلسطين قبل 1948 وقبل 1967 وقبل 1982 وقبل 1990 وقبل 2003 فسكت وفهم..". [إسبر 2004: 12-13]. ويزداد الإيحاء اللفظي مخادعة، حينما نعلم أن خالدا لن يبقى الوسيط وحسب، بل سيصبح الممثل السينمائي الذي يؤدي دورا في الفيلم، فلو أسقطنا كلمة "الوسيط"، واستبدلنا بها لفظة "الممثل" – عمل خالد الجديد – لرجعنا إلى دائرة الخداع اللغوي، التي يصبح خالد فيها الممثل الشرعي والوحيد لأبناء قريته.

إن علاقة الكاتب باللغة علاقة معقدة ومتشابكة، فصوته سابق على حروف الكتابة، التي تخرج من سيطرة الذات المبدعة، وتصبح عالما مستقلا بحد ذاته. يقول رولان بارت محاولا تبين علاقة اللغة بالمبدع:

إن قدرة الكاتب تقتصر على خلط الكتابات، وهو يقابل كتابة بأخرى، بطريقة لن تسفر، في نهاية المطاف، عن الثبات على واحدة منها. وإن رغب الكاتب في التعبير عن نفسه، فعليه أن يدرك، على الأقل، أن الشيء الداخلي الذي يفكر في نقل فحواه ما هو إلا معجم جاهز مسبقا، وأن مفرداته تقبل التفسير فقط من خلال مفردات أخرى [Barthes 1977: 164].

وإذا كان بارت يقول باستحالة إدراك الذات في العملية الكتابية، فإن ميشيل فوكو يتساءل: "هل أستطيع بحق أن أقول أنني هذه اللغة التي أتكلمها، والتي أودعها فكري ذاتها، إلى حد أنك تجد في اللغة نسق احتمالاتها الخاصة كلها، ورغم

ذلك فهي لا توجد إلا في ثقل تراكمات اللغة" [Foucault 1989: 324]؛ ويرى جاك ديريدا أن "الذات مطبوعة في اللغة، وهي ليست إلا وظيفة من وظائفها" [Derrida 1973: 145]. وعبير إسبر تحاول سبر مكونات النفس الأدمية، وفهم عقلية المجموعات البشرية، من خلال رصد أساليب لغة أفرادها المكتوبة، إذ أن الكتابة تؤثر في طبائع الناس حتى تصبح مصنفاً لأفكارهم، وصفاتهم، ووجهاتهم الفكرية. وهذا ما تقوله المؤلفة على لسان بوب – أحد شخصها المؤثرين في الرواية:

علمني أستاذي الدرس ده: البشر زي علامات التنقيط بعضهم قوسي الطبع، وهؤلاء فنويو التوجيه، يحبون حشر الناس في أقواس أحزاب، منظمات، مؤسسات يحبون إلغاء السمات الخاصة وضم الناس أجمعين إلى جماعة أو جهة معينة. آخرون هم النقطيون وهم في غالبيتهم من النساء إذ يحبون تثبيت اللحظات والحقائق وينهونها كما نهي الجملة بالنقطة. أما المثقفون الوجوديو التوجه فهم المجموعة التي تنهي حقائقها ومناقشاتها بإشارة استفهام أو بالله أعلم... [إسبر 2004: 90].

تتجح الروائية في توظيف لغتها السردية، توظيفاً دقيقاً، في عملية الكتابة المخادعة، المعتمدة على الحروف، ولكنها تبقى خارج أقواس الوهم اللفظي الذي ينشأ، عادة، في رحم الكتابة المضللة. وهكذا يمكننا تأويل ما خطته على احتمالات حافلة بالمعاني والدلالات. في أحد مقاطع الرواية، الموسوم بـ"الوهم وصناعه"، تعيدنا مؤلفة "لولو" إلى موضوع قديم، قد يخيل إلينا أنها تعتبره من مخلفات الماضي الوهم الموغل في بدائيته، وتريد منا النظر إليه على هذا النحو. إن البيتين الشعريين اللذين تغنى (ويتغنى) بهما وجدان كل عربي (تقريباً)، وهما:

نقل فؤادك حيث شئت من الهوى
ما الحب إلا للحبيب الأول
كم منزل في الأرض يألفه الفتى
وحنيه أبداً لأول منزل،

يصبحان ساحة لسبر أغوار الوهم، ومحاولة لفهم كنهه. وتعود الكاتبة إلى التلاعب بمستويات اللغة، وهذا ما تجيده بجدارة، لتظهر الوهم الكائن في معنى هذين البيتين، ثم تحمله إلى وهم عالم السينما والتمثيل، فنجد الممثلة السينمائية لا تستطيع أن تدمع عيناها، إلا بمساعدة "قطرة الغليسرين"، على الرغم من مأساوية الأحداث، وواقعية منطلقها ومنطوقها، وهي أحداث النكبة الفلسطينية التي تعيش في وعي كل عربي ووجدانه. وتزداد المفارقة المفجعة، حينما تسأل الممثلة عمها الشيخ "عن أجمل بيت شعر يحفظه"، فتغدو اللغة فاضحة في إحياءاتها، وإسقاطاتها اللفظية: "وبينما هي تنظر باتجاه قريتها المحروقة، والدموع في عينيها يردد الشيخ الضرير وترافقه البطلة "نقل فؤادك حيث شئت من الهوى.. " [إسبر 2004: 18]. يتصاعد الموقف دراماتيكية، عندما يرى خالد المشهد التمثيلي المليء بالوهم، والغليسرين، وبانفعالات الشعر المغترّب، ويحس "بقشعريرة تكتسح جسده بأكمله" [إسبر 2004: 19]. وعند ذلك يتذكر وردة ("حبه الأول")، وقد تغيرت إلى درجة فظيعة، في غضون شهر واحد من الغياب، فيدرك الوهم الذي كان يسكن كيانه، وهم وردة – جميلة جميلات عين العيون – ويفهم وهم الذات، ووشم الأبدية الأخذ في التهاوي على قدم المتغيرات المتصاعدة في محيطه البسيط. لكن البطل غير قادر على ضبط صورة ذاته، وصورة حبيبته، إذ أن قوة استلاب الوهم تصل إلى درجة موغلة في الاغتراب النفسي، محاولة إلغاء بنية التوهم، عن طريق نفي الواقع المادي، المتمثل بوردة كوجود وجسد:

هل هذه وردة؟! لم يصدق خالد ما رأى (...). لم تحول خصرها الدقيق إلى كرش وقوامها إلى كرة؟ ضرب على جبينه نادماً، أدرك أن وردة لم تعد تحبه، وإلا فمن أين لها كل تلك الشهية وكل تلك الدهون؟ واستدرك أنه هو ذاته لم يعد يحب وردة وإلا لرأها على حالها، جميلة جميلة عينا العيون [إسبر 2004: 19-20].

تقترب عبير إسبر من عالم السياسة بحذر وجفاء، ملقبة بالإيديولوجيا بعيدا عن سردها المحتفي بتفاصيل حياتية صغيرة، غير مؤطرة سلفاً بأطر سياسية، تاركة للقارئ فهم ما يريد من هذه التفاصيل. إن الأحداث السياسية، المتسارع إيقاعها في المنطقة، تجد طريقاً واضحاً لها في مجرى السرد الروائي، وتكون بمثابة الجسر الواصل ما بين الواقع المحيط وعالم الأبطال الداخلي. فدخول الأمريكيين ببغداد خطب جلل يقلق الأجواء، "كل الأجواء"، وتأثيره على تفكير الكاتبة، ومجتمعها، وأبطالها، عظيم لا يخفى على القارئ. والملفت للنظر أن مؤلفة "لولو" لا تلتفت إلى هذا الحدث الكبير، بنظرة انفعالية هستيرية تجعل منه نهاية الكون ومأساة العصر؛ لكنها تقزمه ساخرة من جلالته، ومن نشرات الأخبار التي تجد نفسها فاعلة، ومؤثرة، ومدركة أنها مركز الضوء والاهتمام السالب عقول الناس. إذن فالخطب الجلل يؤثر تأثيراً مثيراً للدهشة في تفكير البطل، فنرى المؤلفة تربط بين دخول الأمريكيين ببغداد ودخول ريم عالم خالد، بطريقة تقترب من إشارات التلميح، وتلج أسلوب السخرية الهادئة: "دخل الأمريكيون ببغداد، واستلمت التلفزيونات إدارة دفة المعركة. بدأ القلق يطغى على الأجواء، كل الأجواء، لم يبق الكثير من الوقت أمام خالد كي يدخل أيضاً عالم "ريم"، شعر أن الفرصة تضع من بين يديه وأن عليه التحرك بسرعة أكبر" [إسبر 2004: 15-16].

في أحد مقاطع الرواية، الموسوم بـ "افتح يا سمس" ، نسجع خالدًا يتساءل عن سر احتفال الناس بقصة علي بابا، وهو "لم يكن إلا قاطع طريق" [إسبر 2004: 21] ، فلماذا يحتفل به بطلاً، وما هو كذلك؟ ولو قرأنا جواب كمال على هذا التساؤل، لكان بالإمكان أن نجد علائق لغوية، وإيحائية، بين كلمات كمال الواعية، والقضية المهمة (فلسطين) التي ما فتئت الرواية تحوم في فضاءاتها المتداخلة، ولكنها تبقى مبتعدة عن الغوص المباشر في مستنقعاتها. يقول كمال: "جميع البشر، على اختلاف طبعتهم، يحتفلون بضربات الحظ، يشعر البشر أن ضربة الحظ منحة تقدمها الحياة مجاناً لمرة واحدة، يشعر الفرد أن الحياة اصطفته وأنه المختار" [إسبر 2004: 21]. فالأنا نستطيع إسقاط هذا الكلام على فلسطين التي نهبت بضربة حظ تاريخية، أو بتخطيط قام به أفراد أو جماعات تؤمن بأنها شعب مختار؟؟ هنا تفلح الكاتبة في لفت نظر الباحث إلى احتمالات ومحمولات المفردة اللغوية، المتمثلة بلفظة "المختار"، فيلتقط طرف الخيط، الذي يمضي به إلى رحابة المعاني المتشابكة في نسج النص الروائي، عبر الإيحاء اللغوي القوي.

إن اللغة هي واقع اجتماعي مشحون، والكلمة الروائية – إن لم يضمّنْها القائل مقاصده – تصبح تعبيراً عن مقاصد الآخرين وكما قال ميخائيل باختين:

فاللغة بوصفها واقعا اجتماعيا حيا مشحوا، بوصفها رأيا متضاربا، تقع بالنسبة إلى وعي الفرد عند تخومه وتخوم الآخرين (...) والكلمة لا تكون في لغة محايدة وعديمة الشخصية (فالمتكلم لا يأخذ الكلمة من القاموس!) بل على شفاه الآخرين، في سياقات الآخرين وفي خدمة مقاصد الآخرين [بختین 1988: 52-53].

وعندما يقول سوسير: "إن أي جزء من اللغة لا يمكن في أساسه أن يعتمد على أية فكرة سوى عدم التطابق بينه وبين غيره. فالاعتباطية والاختلاف هما صفتان متلازمتان" [دي سوسير 1988: 137]، فإنه يعتبر اللغة الشفوية أصلية، والكتابة ثانوية ومضللة، ويصفها بالخداع مركزاً على أهمية الصوت وأوليته. ويرى كارل يونغ أن الصوت البشري، الذي

ينشأ في العمل الفني، ينمو ويعيش في الوعي واللاوعي الشخصي، ويشير إلى أن "الأسباب الشخصية في العمل الأدبي لها دور محسوس، كبيراً كان أم صغيراً، يشبه دور التربة مع النبتة التي تزرع منها" [Jung 1971: 812]. ولكن يبقى الدور الفعال لنوع النبتة وخصائصها الذاتية، فالتربة وحدها لا تفسر لنا تلك الخصائص.

تحدث ريم - ملاك المعرفة الحارس - في نفس خالد، شعوراً بضياح الوقت في دروب الجهل، وعدم السعي في اكتساب المعرفة. ورغم هذا الشعور الأسف على مضي الوقت عبثاً، نجد خالدًا سعيداً بتلك المرحلة التي عاشها متناسياً عقله؛ إنه شعور متناقض معقد، ولكنه حالة قائمة يشعر بها الإنسان حينما يدرك أن المعرفة، أيضاً، هي هم، وقلق، وشقاء، إذ تجعل صاحبها مهموماً بشواردها، وبالبحث عن حقائقها التي غالباً ما تقضي به إلى القلق والأرق، وتوصله إلى مصائر مجهولة. ونعتقد أن الكاتبة وعت هذا الشعور، وعاشته، وحملت بطلها الغر، الذي بدأ يحبو، متلمساً باب المعرفة الموارب.

إن ريم التي "أنت لتَهزّ عرش خالد كما هزّ الجنون عرش لير من قبل" [إسبر 2004: 26]، لا يمكن أن تنظر باهتمام إلى شغفه بها، والمفارقة التي تكمن في حبه لها، تتجسد في تخيل وجود الجهل والمعرفة، معاً، في خضم علاقة ودّ وعشق، وهما الضدان المتناقضان أبداً. فنصل إلى نتيجة منطقية، هي أن هذا العشق الذي حطم قلب خالد، لن يكون إلا وهماً، وسيولد ميتاً. إن الوصول إلى قلب ريم مشروط بولوج عقلها، والتخليق في فضاء تفكيرها، فهي ملاك المعرفة السامية. والمعرفة تتسامى على الجهل، ولا تقبل بحدوده البدائية. لذلك نرى خالدًا يفشل في كسب حبه، وتكون نهاية الرواية مؤكدة على إدراك البطل استحالة اللقاء بينه وبينها. فبيّنت عنها محاولاً إقناع نفسه أن ريم، وكل أحداث القصة التي عاشها مع جماعة المجانين، وهم كاذب، وسراب خادع. تلك الأحداث، حتى وإن كانت حقيقية، تظل غارقة في دائرة الوهم، وتبقى متخيّلة في إطار الفنتازيا السينمائية.

تنتهي الرواية بدندنة لولو، بأغنية مشهورة، تؤكد إلغاء الواقع والحقيقة، عبر اللجوء إلى الوهم: "هيدي كانت قصة ضيعة، لا القصة صحيحة ولا الضيعة موجودة" [إسبر 2004: 103]. هذه الكلمات الختامية تعزز الانطباع الأولي المتولد من قراءة النص، والقائل باستلاب الوقائع وخداع اللغة، وبه تبقى أبواب الرواية مفتوحة أمام احتمالات التأويلات المختلفة، وإسقاطاتها على الواقع المتوهم. وإن كانت عبير إسبر قد قدّمت نصّاً روائياً يعبر حدود اللغة، وأفق فضائها الخادع، ليعبر عن اغترابنا عن أنفسنا في مرآة الواقع المشوّه، فقد نجحت - في أول رواية لها - أن تلامس بعضاً من أوام الأنا الغائصة في وحل الذات الجمعية التي شكلتها معطيات التاريخ المتناقضة وتراكماته الثقيلة الفضة.

إن روايتي "صلصال" و"لولو" تبينان بوضوح، أن الفن السردي الجديد في سوريا قد وصل إلى مرحلة متقدمة من التطور، جديرة بالاهتمام حقاً. وينبغي القول أن ثمة عشرات الأعمال الروائية عبّرت عن أصوات سورية شابة ملهمة، سيكون لها شأن عظيم في "تنوير" الرواية العربية، ورفع مستواها الفني، ولا شك في أنها ستعني هذا الجنس الأدبي بأساليب جديدة وتقنيات مبتكرة.

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MUSLIM VOYAGEURS' REPRESENTATIONS OF THE WORLD. AN ARCHEOLOGY OF REPRESENTATIONS IN IBN FAḌLĀN'S AND IBN BAṬṬŪṬA'S *RIḤLAS*

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Abstract. Two texts belonging to the “travel accounts” series analyzed from the methodological perspective given by identity studies area offer the researcher two distinct views over the Islamic world during different moments in its evolution, the X and XIV centuries. The former, coming from the *adab al-mamālik wa l-masālik* genre, and the latter from the *adab ar-riḥla* category of geographical literature, the two texts in question testify to different identity approaches developed and expended within Arab Islamic culture. There is on the one hand a high standing cultural and identity approach that the culture of *markaz* (high culture) is upkeeping towards the multiple and extremely various identity levels of which the Abbasid Caliphate is made (Ibn Faḍlān's travel accounts), and on the other hand the attempt to be assimilated with the most prestigious version of the Islamic culture which at the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Riḥla*, our second author, is represented by the Eastern parts of the Islamic state, *al-Mašriq*.

Keywords: *adab al-masālik wa l-mamālik*, *adab ar-riḥla*, Muslim voyageurs, identity, high culture, peripheral culture, self perception, otherness

For years now, the history of mentality along with the study of different societies' *imaginaire* represents the key to the true understanding of the human race's way of thinking, argues the historian Lucian Boia (Boia, 2000:7). Undoubtedly, journey is a form of identification at the encounter with another civilization's space, while the traveler represents a cultural product of the world he belongs to. The current analysis places itself in this general framework, of axioms of studies on the *imaginaire*. “Le voyage peut être considéré, avant la guerre ou le commerce, comme l'une des formes les plus élémentaires du *croisement des cultures*” (Roussillon, 2005: 25).

The Arabs, more than other people, because their basic nomadic character, have been great voyageurs, argues Paule Charles-Dominique in “Voyageurs arabes” (Charles-Dominique, 1995: XI). Researchers place the beginnings of the Arab concern about the way the world looks like in close relation to the emergence of Islam, and, in particular, with the formation and expansion of the Islamic state. Thus, the early concern for geography has

derived from the need to know the increasingly vast territories of the caliphate, being an approach as pragmatic and politically coordinated as possible (Chebel, 2002: 178). “La volonté des Arabes a été de vouloir s’annexer imaginativement le monde et le formaliser – poser des notions sur les distances, sur les lieux, y inscrire des dates” (Chebel, 2002: 178). It is, therefore, an interest triggered by the need to control both the administrative and imaginary level of a world turned to Islam or a world of Islam. In this respect, most of those who study the phenomenon believe that the interest in areas beyond the *dār al-Islām* appears only late in modernity¹, when the center – *markaz* - physically and geographically transfers to other identity areas. In the spirit of Edward Said, we should emphasize the fact that interest in other cultural areas has always been encouraged, beyond the intrinsic curiosity of the West, by the way some historians² talk and manifest their availability to confer unconditionally. We believe that the *savoir pour agir*³ type of justification for discovering the other has proven itself historically more powerful and more stimulating than *savoir pour savoir*. However, solving this dilemma does not represent the purpose of this paper.

The two travelers this survey refers to, Ibn Faḍlān and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa represent a type of identity attitude developed during the classical period of the Islamic civilization, when Islam used to assume an evaluative cultural role, a pattern these two authors refer to when reaching verdicts or issuing labels. This is certainly the dominant feature of the travel stories of this historical period which, in terms of identity reference, are totally different from the writings of the Nineteenth century, when the travelers from the Islamic space, even though tacitly, accept the idea of decline in Islamic society, and subsequently, the possible transfer of the center –*markaz*- to Europe, to West. Until the Nineteenth century travel stories are placed in the classical dichotomy of Islamic perception of the world; thus, we can easily distinguish the relation between the inside and the outside, i. e. between *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*. For the classical period, Alain Roussillon notes a keen interest that Islam manifests in its border areas, in the sense of Francois Hartog’s *récit sur la frontière* (Roussillon, 2005: 27), an interest

¹ “Prior to Nineteenth century, Arab interest in the West was almost non-existent. As far as can be determined, between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries only one work appeared in Arabic which depicted the continent of Europe and that book was rather general and vague” (Abu-Lughod, 2011: 79). See also B. Lewis, 1984: 282-283: “(...) toute cette recherche (européenne) formait un contraste frappant avec le manque quasi-total de curiosité des peuples du Moyen Orient pour les langues, cultures et religion de l’Europe. Seul l’Etat ottoman, responsable des problèmes de défense et de diplomatie et, par conséquent des relations avec les Etats d’Europe, jugea de temps en temps nécessaire de ressembler des informations les concernant”.

²Bernard Lewis is just the most relevant example.

³ The two expressions belong to Malek Chebel (Chebel, 2002: 180).

culturally and politically motivated, so as to ensure cultural domination; moreover the possibility of extending borders has always been alluring for expansive nations.

The distinction experts in the analysis of travel literature in Arab space identify between the Mašriq specific *adab al-masālik wa l-mamālik* genre, which implies a cognitive approach towards *dār al-islām*, and the Maghreb specific *adab ar-riḥla* genre, often perceived in terms of religious geography, given that its main objective is the fulfillment of pilgrimage and not a fundamental aspect for the approach we intend to address the travel accounts of the two authors Ibn Faḍlān and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Although we might call them separate genres for distinct motivations⁴, both of them are part of the broad range of human geography, which is a representative product of the Arab literary culture⁵. In fact, travel stories are filled with geographic information⁶, all other historical and cultural details seem to be put forward only to complement the frame of the place described. Thus, people, traditions, histories and stories come to only add to a geographical description which requires particularization.

Undoubtedly, there are common features of the two types of writing, such as, for instance, the taste for fantastic *adab al-ʿaḡāʾib*, the element that alters the veracity, or the constant tendency in both types of writings to valorize Islam⁷, to the detriment of the „reviewed” cultures. Moreover, for both types of „travel accounts”, there is a lot to debate about the authenticity of the facts reported. Also, due to the fact that in Islamic tradition works and authors accept each other’s account without quotation⁸, they blend pure information and a certain personal way of interpreting reality. In both texts analyzed in the

⁴“Although the books had in common a preoccupation with geographical description of the places visited by the authors, there the resemblance ends. The difference between the books (travel accounts) must be explained in terms of both the date when they were written and the interests and predilections of the individual authors” (Abu-Lughod, 2011: 88).

⁵ Alain Roussillon refers to the travel accounts genre in the following terms: *genre consubstantiel à la tradition arabo-musulmane* (Roussillon, 2005: 23)

⁶ Un récit de voyage est un type de récit où l’histoire bascule dans la géographie, où la ligne successive qui est la trame formelle du récit ne relit point, les uns aux autres, des événements, des accidents, des acteurs narratifs, mais des lieux dont le parcours et la traversée constituent la narration elle-même” (cf. Louis Marin apud. Ouasti, 2006: 111).

⁷ “Les excursions hors du *dār al-islām* exposaient le voyageur à des expériences inédites, hors normes précisément, mais celles-ci étaient vécues et narrées à travers une grille de déchiffrement qui postulait la supériorité du propre système des valeurs et de son être-au-monde” (Roussillon, 2005: 19).

⁸ Yet some authors refer to the quoted sources by using the Arabic letter *sīn* at the beginning of each paragraph (Ferré, 1986: 186).

current paper we will be able to notice a series of clichés, common to travel literature that Paule Charles-Dominique identified: explicit preference for urban areas rather than desert and Bedouin areas⁹; attention to unprecedented, spontaneous parts of description and not to everyday, ordinary things; in the same sense, declared concern and curiosity for the upper class¹⁰, *al-ḥāṣṣa*, composed of scholars, emirs, literati rather than common people, *al-ʿamma*, generally ignored; applying the hierarchy of classical cultural Islamic and Arabic values as foreground, along with the affirmation of the cult of difference by exacerbating cultural and religious superiority of the traveler-writer (Charles-Dominique, 1995: XXVII-XXX).

Studying the “travel accounts” literature highlights the existence of a commonly accepted and expected framework of writing. The distinction between *kitāb/risāla* literary genre, on the one hand, and *riḥla*, on the other, seems obvious in both literary frame and content, as well as in the identity approach manner. Thus, *kitāb* or *risāla* represents a *markaziyya* type of writing, a product of identity considered dominant and upper class, such as *Kitāb Ibn Faḍlān*, while *riḥla*, which invariably implies a pilgrimage leitmotif towards a *markaz*, a religious one this time, representing the product of the *dār al-islām* peripherals¹¹ who clearly take up Islamic identity, I would say even “flaunt” it. This distinction is crucial in understanding the different approaches the discussed authors pursue. Ibn Faḍlān (tenth century) and Ibn Baṭṭūta (fourteenth century) represent two identity approaches that, despite their common cultural and religious background, reference it differently.

Not only the content of the volumes but also the principles which guided the selection of items for inclusion are indicative of the level of cultural perception. The latter is often a sensitive indirect index to the travelers’ values and capacities to comprehend (...). It may also indicate a prior sensitivity to certain phenomena with intrinsic interest, even in the absence of utilitarian purpose (Abu-Lughod, 2011: 97).

⁹ The cliché is found in Ibn Ḥaldūn’s interpretations, who states that Bedouins are progress hostile, especially after the North-African venture of the Banū Hilāl tribe (Charles-Dominique, 1995: XXIX).

¹⁰ Both Ibn Faḍlān and Ibn Baṭṭūta generously describe receptions offered at various courts, and other festivities they were honored with, wasting uselessly numerous details on clothing, food, gestures, gifts and honors they have received.

¹¹ Cf. Chebel, 2002 : 185

Ibn Faḍlān's voyage and the *adab al masālik wa l-mamālik*'s genre

Descriptive “masālik” and “mamālik” literature is chronologically prior to the *rihla* genre. Detailed knowledge of Islamic or newly Islamized territories becomes a priority and a necessity for an increasingly broad empire, leading to the emergence of geographical science in the Arab world. *Savoir, pouvoir, voir – connaître pour connaître et connaître pour agir* are the attitudes in approaching the world that Malek Chebel identifies in the early centuries of Islamic state (Chebel, 2002: 180). Ibn Faḍlān's accounts, in their capacity of relevant product of central Arab culture – *markaz* – seems to belong to the category previously described by Chebel as *connaître pour agir*. Journeys that begin from the center, in this case from the Abbasid capital Baghdad and target the borders of the Islamic world represent the *adab al masālik wa l-mamālik* genre. Beyond the physical movement that the journey itself implies, the category of *adab al masālik wa l-mamālik* literature also contains a cultural dynamic which flows from the center to the edge, followed by all the consequential implications of this trajectory.

In Ibn Faḍlān's accounts, more than a pure statement of facts, or a description of events, places and people encountered, we detect the conscious affirmation of the *markaz* culture opposite to its peripheral configuration – undoubtedly a condescending and tolerant approach. In Ibn Faḍlān's case, I wouldn't go as far as to speak of *cultural chauvinism* (Montgomery, 2000: 3), particularly because his attitude cannot be separated from the social level he belongs to. We can talk about the historically confirmed proof of a stratified Islamic society, where both socio-economic and religious differences are realities of Islamic space. Unlike Ibn Baṭṭūta's obvious attempts to correct social and religious deviations, *our peripheral traveler*, Ibn Faḍlān, who was entrusted an official mission by Caliph al-Muqtadir (908-929) to an area of recent or ongoing Islamization process, observes¹² things from the perspective given by the

¹² However, Paul Charles-Dominique's careful observation doesn't miss the nuance of contempt and pity for a part of population called *ar-rūs*: (Charles-Dominique, 1995: 1077). *Every day the slave-girl arrives in the morning with a large basin containing water, which she hands to her owner. He washes his hands and his face and his hair in the water, then he dips his comb in the water and brushes his hair, blows his nose and spits in the basin. There is no filthy impurity which he will not do in this water. When he no longer requires it, the slave-girl takes the basin to the man beside him and he goes through the same routine as his friend. She continues to carry it from one man to the next until she has gone round everyone in the house, with each of them blowing his nose and spitting, washing his face and hair in the basin. (...) They are the filthiest of all Allah's creatures: they do not clean themselves after excreting or urinating or wash themselves when in a state of ritual impurity after coitus*

official position held at the Abbasid court. In 921 Ibn Faḍlān is given by Caliph al-Muqtadir a mission with specific objectives, which he accepts and assumes from the very beginning. The islamized Bulgarians on Volga complain to have been frequently attacked by their Khazar neighbors, as well as by other nations which easily went down the Volga River, and ask the Caliph to help them build a fortified citadel to protect them from enemy attacks.

However, the taste for preserving and underlining differences is obvious to Ibn Faḍlān, and the criteria he uses to set limits between the socio-cultural categories seem to be, in order of importance, language, religion and social *impersonation*, along with climatic and geographical features of described area. Ibn Faḍlān's accounts put us in front of a screen through which *Arabic high culture* sees and understands the world. This is a fundamental remark because it customizes Ibn Faḍlān's accounts, and, generally, the *abad al-mamālik wa l-masālik* genre. Thus, the direction of Ibn Faḍlān's journey represents, at the same time, the decreasing circles defining the complex game between identity and otherness (from the Abbasid capital Baghdad to the °aḡam's *atrāk's ṣaqāliba's*, and *rūsiyya's* territories). Barely arrived in Khawarizm region, where he is warmly welcomed as the envoy of the caliph, Ibn Faḍlān notices and emphasizes the linguistic differences which particularize al-°aḡam¹³:

(...) *wa hum awḥaṣu n-nāsi kalām^m wa kalāmu-hum ašbahu šay^m bi ṣiyāḥi z-zarūzīri wa bi-hā qariyat^m yuqālu la-hā Ardakū ahlu-hā yuqālu la-hum al-kardaliyyati kalāmu-hum ašbahu šay^m bi naqīqi d-daḥḍi.* (They have the most savage way of speaking; their language is more as the chirp of the starlings than the human voice. There is also a village they are calling *Ardakū* inhabited by *al-kardaliyya* people whose way to talk is very similar to the croak of the frogs); (Ibn Faḍlān: 5).

and do not even wash their hands after food. Indeed they are like asses that roam in the fields (the translation from Arabic belongs to James E. Montgomery; cf. Montgomery, 2000: 7-11).

13 °aḡam used to be understood in the Arabic common classical knowledge as non Arabic speaker: “while we know that °arabī signifies a relationship with the Arabic language, we do not know for certain the language or languages signified by °ajamī, although Persian may be the primary language in this category. If so, °arabī must be treated as a term of positive and specific inclusion, while, in contrast, °ajamī must be viewed as a term of exclusion, residual inclusion or inclusion by default. Looked at from a different angle, °arabī is a term of in-groupness, while °ajamī is a term of out-groupness. The fact that language is treated as the classificatory principle which makes possible the above distinctions shows powerfully the importance attached to language in the Arabic intellectual tradition as a symbol of ethno-cultural identity and as a boundary-setting device (Suleiman, 2003: 57)”.

From the very beginning, Ibn Faḍlān states that the Abbasid mission relies on an interpreter whom we see often doing his job in territories inhabited by *atrāk*, *ṣaqāliba* and *rūsiyya*¹⁴: *at-tarğumānu yutarğimu la-nā harf^m harf^m*, notes Ibn Faḍlān received at the court of Bulgarian king (Ibn Faḍlān: 11). Besides the linguistic considerations that he formulates in Khawarizm, which should be understood in the key of interpretation proposed by Yasir Suleiman¹⁵, Ibn Faḍlān no longer explicitly refers to such features of the nations he encounters, which may symbolize a lack of interest in communities the author places on a lower scale of civilization. In this context, it is important to note the lack of interest that the *markaziyya* type of Islamic culture manifested in relation to ethnic and linguistic details¹⁶ of the nations placed at the borders of the empire.

The linguistic impediment – lack of knowledge of Arabic – is doubled by the existence of bizarre social customs and increasingly harsh climatic conditions. These only increase the feeling of alienation and foreignness, so that, as the mission heads to the north, cold and frost become more present. North of al-Ğurğāniyya the landscape changes both at human and geographic levels, with languages, customs and climate growing more foreign. Arriving in the land of Turks, Ibn Faḍlān notices with obvious disdain the precarious social organization, and, especially, the deplorable hygienic condition of the populations he encounters: *'afdayūā 'ilā qabīlat^m mina l-'atrāki yu'rafūna bi l-ğuziyya (...) wa hum ka-l ḥamīri d-dāllati kā yadīnūna li-lkāhi bi dīn^m wa kā yarğfūna 'ilā 'aqfⁿ wa kā ya^cbudūna šay^m*. (We arrived to a tribe of Turks known as al-Ğuziyya (...) and we found them as the lost donkeys, they do not worship God or anything else, and they do not believe in reason either); (Ibn Faḍlān: 6).

¹⁴ I chose to keep the original forms used by Ibn Faḍlān for the nations he visited, given the disputes on the translation and, especially the ethnic identification of groups of population included in *Kitāb Ibn Faḍlān* (see Montgomery, 2000)

¹⁵ Suleiman, 2003: 55-63

¹⁶ “In the perception of the Arabs, ‘the Turks’ existed as a more or less constant and homogeneous ethnic group through the centuries, in whatever different roles and under whatever different names they appeared in their own lands. The terms ‘Turk’ and ‘Turkish’ seem to have evoked similar associations among the Arabs – at least those of the Mashriq – through the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Quite naturally, they tended to neglect or belittle the geographical and linguistic differentiations within the Turkic peoples whom they encountered as strangers in their own Arab environment; the farther away from Turkish lands they were, the more they were ignored. Conversely, non-Turkish ethnic entities that were assimilated to a Turkish life-style and came from regions inhabited predominantly by Turks (e. g. , the Circassians and Abkhaz in the Mamluk period) were all lumped together under the term *Turk* / *'Atrāk*. We know of a similar extension of the notion ‘Turk’ to denote Muslims in general from Hindu India and the Christian Balkans” (Haarmann, 1988: 177).

The lack of hygiene is the most striking aspect for Ibn Faḍlān, as it almost obsessively returns in the remarks he makes about Turkish and Slavic populations: *laysa bayna-hum wa bayna l-mā'i °amal^{an} ḥāṣṣat^{an} fī š-šitā'i* (There is no connection between them and water, especially during the winter season); (Ibn Faḍlān: 6). The comparison with the donkey is also relevant to the symbolism of Arab-Islamic culture, to which Ibn Faḍlān adds, in the case of *saqāliba*, the fact that they worship the dog, the barking of this animal was believed to be auspicious: *ra'aytu-hum yatabarrakūna bi °uwā'i l-kilābi wa yafraḥūna bi-hi wa yaqūlūna: sanatu ḥiṣbⁱⁿ wa barakatⁱⁿ wa salāmatⁱⁿ*. (I saw them asking the blessing from the barking of the dogs, and being extremely happy for this, and saying that the year to come will be full of fertility, benediction and welfare); (Ibn Faḍlān: 13).

Women's nudity and their libertine behavior is also observed and equally sanctioned, be it in the case of Turkish people, *saqāliba* or *rūsiyya*: *lā yastatiru nisā'u-hum min riḡāli-him wa lā min ḡayri-him kaḍālika lā tasturu l-mar'atu šay^{an} min badani-hā °an 'aḥadⁿ mina n-nāsi* (Their women do not cover themselves in front of their men and the strangers, they do not cover any part of their body from anyone; (Ibn Faḍlān: 6). Also:

yaḡtami°u fī l-bayti wa ma°a-hum al-ḡawārī r-rūqati li t-tiḡḡāri wa yankaḥu al-wāḥidu ḡāriyata-hu wa raḡīqu-hu yanzuru °ilay-hi wa rubammā ḡtamā°ati l-ḡamā°atu min-hum °alā ḥādihi l-ḥāli ba°du-hum bi ḥidā'i ba°dⁿ wa rubbamā yadḥuhu t-tāḡiru °alay-him li-yaštariya min ba°di-him ḡāriyat^{an} fa yusādīfu-hu yankaḥu-hā wa lā yazūlu °an-hā ḥattā yufaḍḍī 'araba-hu. (They are accompanied by beautiful slave girls for trading. One man will have intercourse with his slave-girl while his companion looks on. Sometimes a group of them comes together to do this, each one in front of the other. Sometimes indeed the merchant will come in to buy a slave-girl from one of them and he will chance upon him having intercourse with her, but the *Rūsiyya* will not leave her alone until he has satisfied his urge¹⁷).

As Ibn Baṭṭūta did few centuries later, Ibn Faḍlān notices the scarce practice of Islamic religion of the Northern populations. In the eyes of the Abbasid traveler, primitive strange tribal practices mix with the Islamic ritual in a symbiosis that creates repulsion rather than appreciation. Ibn Faḍlān finds that Turkish nations are not sincere in adopting Islamic religion and declare themselves Muslims depending on the circumstances. Ibn Faḍlān states that even

¹⁷ The translation from Arabic to English of this fragment belongs to James E. Montgomery, cf. Montgomery, 2000:

Bulgarians converted to Islam for some time fail to fulfill the prayer ritual at the expected time, due to climatic peculiarities. In fact, this is the only time when we find Ibn Faḍlān trying to correct the way *aṣ-ṣaqāliba* assumed Islamic practices, whether we refer to the rules of determining the inheritance, to social separation on gender criteria or to prayer ritual. The explanation resides in Ibn Faḍlān's very concern for success of the mission entrusted by al-Muqtadir. At the same time, it is the only moment which proves Ibn Faḍlān's deep involvement and his subjective presence in the story: *mā ziltu 'aḡtahidu 'an yastatira n-nisā'u mina r-riḡāli fī s-sibāḥati fa mā stawā lī dālika* (Ibn Faḍlān: 14). (I was doing everything in my power to convince the women to stay separated from the men when washing themselves, but I had no success).

Islamic geography or geo-theology: *riḥla*'s genre

Initially perceived as the need to search for new fertile territories and new trades, after the emergence of Islam, journey has gained an obvious religious significance, as well as a legal and cultural incentive. In search of knowledge, Muslims travel, according to prophet Muhammad's urge, "up to China"¹⁸ (*Uṭlubū l-ilmā hattā fī ṣ-ṣīn*) which offers the voyagers a meaning and an additional justification for their acts. At the same time, *Riḥla* represents a Qur'anic reality, which enhances its legitimacy base. Thus, first soldiers of Islam involved in the mission of spreading the new religion are called *ahlu r-riḥāl* or *ibnu/'abnā'u s-sabīli* (Chebel, 2002: 193).

The central axis of the journey Ibn Baṭṭūta conducted for more than two decades¹⁹ is the pilgrimage to the holy places of Islam, first of all Makka and Ka'ba, and then the cultural "stops" of secondary importance. It is both interesting and relevant to note that every part of Ibn Baṭṭūta's journey leaves from and returns to the Islamic holy places, fact which proves a remarkable sense of cyclicity and extols the unconditional adherence of the traveler to the Islamic identity. The other cultural "stations" acquire meaning only in the light of the return to Makka, six times in nearly twenty-five years of travel, constantly reminding the reader the

¹⁸ "La Chine est apparue comme un lieu familier, la nation ou la science est vénérée et développée, une terre amie: on connaît l'exhortation prophétique qui incite allégoriquement les musulmans à s'appropriier les connaissances de ce monde même s'il fallait les quérir en Chine" (Chebel, 2002: 207).

¹⁹ Between 1325 and 1353

basic identity reference and, thereby, placing itself in the sequence of a prestigious identity heritage, in fact, the only prestigious one.

Malek Chebel suggests that *rihla*, which he often refers to in terms of “sacred geography”²⁰ is the product of an identity complex the inhabitants from Maghreb deeply acknowledge in relation to the Islamic East, perceived as the cradle of spirituality of this world, a place towards which they head and tend to assimilate with its identity marks.

Les érudits maghrébins et andalous ont tôt fait de rejoindre en sagacité et en créativité leurs prédécesseurs du Machreq. Ils développèrent une sorte d'antidote qui leur permettait de relier cette excroissance occidentale au corps de l'Empire, les territoires marginaux de l'Ouest au foyer de l'Œkoumène, à savoir les Lieux Saints. Prétextant le pèlerinage à La Mecque, les Maghrébins allaient ainsi donner naissance au courant de la Rihla (Chebel, 2002: 185).

Ibn Baṭṭūta is a traveler who assumes an obvious moralizing task of straightening the worlds he visits by using rules and principles which govern his own existence. He is an egocentric traveler, always ready to give lessons of good behavior in the sense Islam draws (Charles-Dominique, 1995: 1136-1139). Ibn Baṭṭūta is a “Muslim traveler” par excellence, who wants to depict the world he comes from the way this world should look like, he tries to make the reader believe he is witnessing a unitary civilization, gathered together by a set of common religious and social practices (Yérasimos, 1982: 5-6). Ibn Baṭṭūta is a defender of unaltered Islam, which is, beyond doubt, his own form of Islam; he has derogatory approaches on other “Islams” he encounters during his journey, and he proves himself harsher²¹ towards deviations inside Islam than towards infidels (*al-kuffār*). Ibn Baṭṭūta's approach on Shia Islam is characterized by hostility and rage, the *Hikāyatu ar-rāfiḍati* chapter from *Rihla* depicts the Shiites in the darkest colors: *ittafaqū °alā l-fasādi wa qaṭ' i t-turuqi wa salbi l-'amwāli (...) fa*

²⁰ “(...) dans ces cercles concentriques (identitaires) qui se superposent, le voyage du curieux, qu'il soit mené au nome de la sainte science, ou pour des préoccupations sociales de prestige ou même de dilettantisme, s'inscrit dans un cadre plus large, celui de la géographie sacrée. C'est d'elle que procède le voyage du profane, car est profane celui qui physiquement ou mentalement se trouve à l'extérieur du périmètre des Lieux saints” (Chebel, 2002 : 245).

²¹ In this respect, the episode where Ibn Baṭṭūta recalls the incident of the year 930 when Karma sect, following an attack on Mecca, resulted in the massacre of Mecca pilgrims who steal the Black Stone from the Ka'ba is noteworthy. The pious traveler remembers the episode with indignation and anger (Yérasimos, 1982: 13).

*kānū yakmanīna bi n-nahāri wa yaḥruḡūna bi l-layli fa yaḍrubūna ʿalā l-qurā*²² (they have agreed to ruin, to go on the road and steal they were hiding during the day and came out at night to attack settlements). The term chosen to define them *ar-rāfiḍa* (those who refuse the lawful Islam, schismatics, heretics by extension) leaves no room for interpretation about Ibn Baṭṭūta's attitude or of the Maleki Muslim rite towards Shi'ite Islam. *Fa katura ʿadadu-hum wa tamahū ʿilā stīṭāni ʿahli s-sunnati*²³, Ibn Baṭṭūta is frankly worried for *they became increasingly numerous and aspire to conquer the Sunni nation*.

As far as African Islam is concerned, these opinions fall into a pattern that Orthodox Islam applies to its borders and marginals. Africa is frequently defined as *bilād as-sudān* (the country of Black people), which doesn't conceal at all the attitude of the Muslim majority (of Arab origins and Sunni Islam, it goes without saying) towards the rest of Islamic area. Moreover, it is a land of wilderness, of misery, and, therefore, of incomplete Islam. From this point, it is only a step to the stories about cannibal habits, one of the leitmotifs, as Malek Chebel notes, in Arab Muslims writing about Africa (Chebel, 2002:210-211). We find, along with historian Lucian Boia, that anthropophagy "has long ago become one of the most striking signs of otherness which supplies a very attractive old myth (...) anthropophagy often goes hand in hand with incest and nudity and embodies total mess, the ultimate step to moral alteration" (Boia, 2003: 19).

Along with other habits that cause the revolt of Ibn Baṭṭūta, nude African women and the social *mélange* seem to be unacceptable:

šaʿnu hāʿulāʿi l-qawmi ʿaḡīb^m wa ʿamru-hum ḡaṭīb^m (...) fa ʿammā riḡālu-hum fa lā ḡayrata laday-him, wa lā yantasibu ʿaḡadu-hum ʿilā ʿabī-hi, bal yantasibu li-ḡāli-hi, wa lā yariṭu r-raḡula ʿillā ʿabnāʿu ʿuḡti-hi dūna banī-ni. wa dālika ṣay^m mā raʿaytu-hu fi d-dunya ʿillā ʿinda kuffāri bilādi l-malībāri mina l-humūdi. ʿammā hāʿulāʿi fa hum muslimūna muḡāfiṣūna ʿalā ṣ-ṣalawāti wa tāʿallumi l-fiḡhi wa ḡifzi l-qurʿāni. ʿammā nisāʿu-hum fa lā yaḡtaṣimna mina r-riḡāli wa lā yaḡtaḡibna min muwāṣabati-hinna ʿalā ṣ-ṣalawāti. an-nisāʿu hunālika yakūnu la-hunna l-ʿaṣdiqāʿu wa l-ʿaṣḡābu mina ri-riḡāli l-

²² Cf. Ibn Baṭṭūta, 1992: p. 207-210

²³ Ibidem

*'aḡānibi, wa kaḏālika li r-riḡāli sawāhibu mina n-nisā'i l-'aḡnabiyyāti. wa yadhulu 'aḡadu-hum dāra-hu fa yaḡidu mra'ata-hu wa mā'a-hā sāhibu-hā fa lā yankaru ḏālika*²⁴.

Thus, Ibn Baṭṭūta cannot be accused of radical views, it wouldn't be historically appropriate, he is only echoing the views of his time. Some historians, looking to establish historical truths, attribute a series of mistakes to Ibn Baṭṭūta, which are, in fact, precious fragments from an imaginary of his time, common errors of the age he lived in, and their causes, be it out of ignorance or neglect, it is of secondary importance.

Likewise, the appreciation Ibn Baṭṭūta's accounts show for Indian and Chinese cultures must be interpreted in the key of a common perception of the time which speaks of a positive approach to spiritual values represented by the two systems of civilization, even though they at least partially surpass the scheme of classical Islamic thought. It is just the fact that the fourteenth century is an era of profound spiritual expression in the politically fallen Islamic space, and Ibn Baṭṭūta is being the witness and confessor of this trend. Malek Chebel perfectly summarizes the cultural feelings of the era: “[...] *en restituant le sens de la grandeur islamique, la Rihla permet d'ouvrir plusieurs portes simultanément. Si certaines laissent entrevoir la grandeur de l'Empire, d'autres – plus exiguës, à peine entrebâillées – permettent de relativiser et d'atténuer l'apport magnifique des Arabes*” (Chebel, 2002: 246).

²⁴ Ibn Baṭṭūta, 1992: 254-271. The translation of this fragment is due to C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinetti (1858) republished by Stéphanes Yérasimos within Francois Maspero collection at La Découverte in Paris, 1982, the 3rd volume, p. 340: *La condition de ce peuple est étonnante, et ses moeurs sont bizarres. Quant aux hommes, ils ne sont nullement jaloux de leurs épouses ; aucun d'eux ne se nomme d'après son père ; mais chacun rattache sa généalogie à son oncle maternel. L'héritage est recueilli par les fils de la soeur du décédé, à l'exclusion de ses propres enfants. Je n'ai vu pratiquer cette dernière chose dans aucun autre pays du monde, si ce n'est chez les Indiens infidèles de la contrée du Malabar. Cependant, ces Messoûfites sont musulmans ; ils font avec exactitude les prières prescrites par la loi religieuse, étudient la jurisprudence, la théologie, et apprennent le Coran par cœur. Les femmes des Messoûfites n'éprouvent nul sentiment de pudeur en présence des hommes et ne se voilent pas le visage ; malgré cela, elles ne manquent point d'accomplir ponctuellement les prières. Dans ce pays, les femmes ont des amis et des camarades pris parmi les hommes étrangers ou non parents. Les hommes, de leur côté, ont des compagnes qu'ils prennent parmi les femmes étrangères à leur famille. Il arrive souvent qu'un individu entre chez lui et qu'il trouve sa femme avec son compagnon ; il ne désapprouve pas cette conduite, et ne s'en formalise pas.*

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**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PRAYER IN IBN SĪNĀ'S (D. 1037) EPISTLES ON
PILGRIMAGE AND PRAYER: "RISĀLA FĪ MA'NĀ L-ZIYĀRA WA KAYFIYYATI
TA'TĪRIHĀ" AND "RISĀLA FĪ MĀHIYYATI L-ŞALWA"**

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Abstract. Ibn Sīnā might be seen as a forerunner of modern psychology of religion in his approach of the noetic, metaphysical and eschatological values of prayer. By combining elements of psychology, Greek philosophy and Islamic theology, he is viewing prayer as a step-guide to the scala of divine emanation (*fayḍ*) or to the deep insight of revelation. Man is seen in a process of spiritual making, prayer (collective or solitary, exterior or interior) being able to stimulate the soul's energizing powers. The two epistles (short treatises) on prayer are heightening the ways to be in communion with God, the First Principle (*al-mabda'u l-'awwal*) and the divine Intelligibles (*al-ma'qūlāt*), either by using the efficacy of ritual (thus fostering the group cohesion and increasing the purity of soul) or by individual prayer, which is, according to the philosopher, inner /invisible/ meditational (*al-bāṭin*) and outer, visible/ ritual (*al-zāhir*). The exterior, ritual prayer is an exercise (*riyāḍa*) aiming to achieve, by various imposed attitudes and positions, the harmony between body, soul and the macrocosmos, which has to be done by *Imitatio Muhammadi*. The interior, "real" prayer is the "contemplation of Truth with a pure heart" (*mušāhadatu l-ḥaqqi bi-l-qalbi l-ṣāfi*), raising the soul above mundane experiences. By melting together his own scientific experiences and some theological thoughts concerning the necessity of prayer and the hidden sense of religion, Ibn Sīnā is reasserting, in his own dualist and emanatist way, an optimistic outlook concerning the positive psychological powers of religion.

Keywords: Ibn Sīnā, short treatises of Avicenna, psychology of religion, pilgrimage, inner and outer prayer, *fayḍ*, First Principle, divine Intelligibles, ritual, imitatio Muhammadi, contemplation of Truth, soul, mind, Islamic theology.

Intercultural philosophy is focusing more on psychology of religion and its powerful force to influence historical events. Religious rituals, as verbal and non-verbal ways of communicating, regarded as a "primary phenomenon of religion [...], religion in action" (Wallace 1966: 102), provide a main topic in studying the connections between individuals and the divine, as means of encouraging and controlling emotions, indicating the ideal and thus "the way things ought to be" (Hood / Hill / Spilka 2009: 72).

Prayer and other religious rituals have been studied for their healing capacities, as reducing anxiety and uncertainty by having a documented neurobiological influence on

lowering tension (producing alpha brain waves), thus being beneficial both physiologically and psychologically. It is also their relation with wishing and magic thinking, endowing the praying person with a sense of controlling difficult situations, that requires further research. As contemporary researchers are putting it, religiosity correlates positively with optimism, life satisfaction and purpose in life (Hood / Hill / Spilka 2009: 184).

My aim is to undertake a brief analysis of Ibn Sīnā's approach of prayer, which is combining elements of psychology with references to Greek philosophy and Islamic theology. Ibn Sīnā is viewing the prayer as one of the greatest manifestations of soul, streaming out to the higher reality of which it knows itself a part, a solution to be in communion with God, a step-guide to the scala of divine emanation (*fayḍ*¹) or to the deep insight of revelation. Man is seen in a process of spiritual making, prayer (collective or solitary, exterior or interior) being able to stimulate the soul's positive powers.

Ibn Sīnā had mentioned already in his *Autobiography* his belief in the efficiency of prayer, admitting that, when he couldn't solve a problem, it was by going to the mosque and praying that he succeeded to do it (Gohlmann 1974: 28). In spite of the framework of rational philosophy and his emanatist system, the author of *al-Šifā'* was often referring to Muslim theology in his works, carefully balancing scientific and religious argumentation.

I have used for this commentary the Arab text of two Avicennian epistles, the *Risāla fī māhiyyati l-ṣalwa* (quoted in short *Ṣalwa*) and *Kitābu l-ṣayḥi 'Abī Sa'īd bin 'Abī l-Ḥayri qaddasa llāhu sirrahu 'ilā l-ṣayḥi l-ra'īsi Ibn Sīnā fī ma'nā l-ziyārati wa kayfiyyati ta'tīrihā wa ḡawābu l-ṣayḥi l-ra'īsi* (quoted in short *Ziyāra*), edited by M. A. F. Mehren in *Traitées mystiques d'Abou Alī Al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Sīnā ou Avicenne*, Fasc. III. Leiden: Brill 1894, reprinted Frankfurt am Main, Institute for the History of Arab. Islamic Science, Fascs. I-IV, 1999 (Islamic Philosophy. 35).

As the philosopher is pointing out to one of his disciples² by answering a question concerning the meaning of pilgrimage and visit of sacred places³, such as the tombs of the Holy men, and the influence of praying in such places on the praying persons (influence of the petitionary prayer on the souls and bodies – *al-du'ā'u wa ta'tīrihā fī l-mufūsi wa l-'abdāni*),

¹ The emanation of Plotinus *Enneads*.

² Abū Sa'īd bin Abī l-Ḥayr (967-1049, Persian *ṣūfi* master and poet.

³ Ibn Sīnā, *Ziyāra* : 45-47.

everything must be understood by remembering how the universe has been created. Using Ibn Sīnā's words: it was created by God, the First Principle (*al-mabda'u l-'awwalu*) and First Cause (*al-'illatu al-'ūlā*), "called by the wise men the Being who's existence is Absolutely Necessary" (*wāğibu l-wuğūdi*), existing only by His own being and not by another cause (*yakūnu waḥdahū min dātihī lā min ġayrihī*), while all other existences are His creation, thus influenced by His light and will (*'irāda*).

The disciple is advised to remember "the eight essences" (*al-ğawāhiru l-ṭamāniya*) "which are called by the philosophers Active Intelligences (*al-'uqūlu l-fa'āla*)" – which are the Angels (*al-makā'ika*) – and finally the hierarchy of the material world, from minerals, plants and animals to man, which is the „noblest created being" (*'ašrafu l-mawğūdāt*). God is directly influencing these Intelligences which are, in their turn, emanating a torrent of light (*fayḍu l-nūr*) on the human souls, thus showing them the way to the higher world.

If there were no similarity between the celestial and human souls (*al-mufūsu l-samāwiyya wa l-'arḍiyya*), between the macro- and microcosmos (*al-'ālamu l-kabīr wa l-'ālamu l-ṣağīr*), the knowledge of Truth (God) would be impossible – and Ibn Sīnā is putting an accent on this meaning by quoting the Prophet: "Who knows his own soul is knowing his God" (*man 'araḡa naḡsahu fa-qad 'araḡa rabbahu*). The whole creation is submitted to a series of emanations from the One-Who-is-Not-Influenced by anyone.

But human souls are not similar to each other, some of them being richer in knowledge and keener in striving perfection. Those may easier approach the heavenly Intelligences. After death, they can be united with similar intellects and Intelligences in rejoicing eternal happiness and their influence will help – together with the heavenly *fayḍ* – to change the terrestrial life for the better. (We have here *in nuce* Ibn Sīnā's philosophy based on creation and excellence, asserting the immortality of the soul and his faith in reward and responsibility).

It is therefore, Ibn Sīnā argues, that people go to pray together at the tombs of the Holy: their souls, still imprisoned in earthly bodies, are easier connected there to those pure spirits which have liberated themselves from the human existence. Praying there may achieve group cohesion, like that of pilgrims visiting the House of Allāh (Ka'ba), "minds which have more purity, *'aktaru ṣaḡā'an*, thoughts which are stronger in their reunion, *'ašaddu ġam'an*, and

souls which have a better preparation, 'aḥṣamu sti 'dādan'⁴ for receiving help to communicate with God (seen as the *summum bonum* of human life). Prayers in such holy places are keeping away mundane memories, fostering the concentration on what is achieved while contemplating the holy light. Pilgrims have – in this group cohesion – a better communication with the divine Majesty, which is supporting their temporary and eternal salvation, chasing away all problems and dark thoughts (*al-ḡamm*).

Belief, ritual and spiritual experience: this Avicennian epistle on pilgrimage and prayer is heightening the awareness of men's capability to master existential well-being through group cohesion, while seeing in an optimistic light the means to avoid negative affects. This epistle is tackling not only philosophical themes which have later influenced European philosophers, but also a most important topic for the psychology of religion: the efficacy of ritual.

Yet, while not underestimating the value of petitionary prayer (*du 'ā'*), Ibn Sīnā is seeing it on the lowest scale in the noetic, metaphysical and eschatological context.

The other *Epistle*, on the *Nature of Prayer*, the *Risāla fī māhiyyati l-ṣalwa*, is concentrating on the complex structure of prayer. In this respect, Ibn Sīnā could be called a forerunner of modern psychologists of religion, by viewing prayer as a multidimensional construct, with various types differentially relating to experienced quality of life. (As, for instance, contemporary researchers are concluding that meditative prayer is most closely related to religious satisfaction and existential well-being – Hood / Ladd / Spilka 2006: 306). Frequency of prayer (the five daily moments of prayer in Islam) is important, yet it is not simply frequency, but the nature and type of prayer which is determining its consequences.

In answering a letter sent by a disciple (a *cliché* opening most Arab philosophic epistles), Ibn Sīnā is analyzing two types of prayer, the inner /invisible/ meditational (*al-bāṭin*) and the outer, visible/ ritual one (*al-ẓāhir*); and which type is suiting different persons according to its effectiveness.

After an introductory humble apology of God (as the One who has elected the human beings by the noble quality of speech, *bi-ṣarāfi-l-ḥiṭāb*), written in *sağ'* (thus paying homage to literary excellency and the „permitted magic” of traditional Arab rhetoric), the

⁴ Ibn Sīnā, *Ziyāra* 47.

philosopher is commenting on the nature of prayer by reasserting his Aristotelic⁵ and Fārābian views on the hierarchy in Creation (already mentioned in the precedent epistle). Again does he emphasise the qualities of the intellect, *al-‘aql*. God has placed in man’s brains the faculty of speaking, or intellectual soul (*al-naḥsu l-‘insāniyyatu l-nāṭiqā*), which makes him similar to Angels, while his animal and vegetal / natural powers, *ḥayawāniyya* and *ṭabī‘iyya*, are lacking any value, because they disappear after death – as already concluded by Neoplatonic philosophers. Those non-spiritual faculties are keeping man bound to the perceptibles (*al-maḥsūsāt*), while the intellectual power (called *al-quwwatu l-‘aqliyya*, or sometimes *al-nāṭiqā*) is giving understanding of the divine intelligibles (*al-ma‘qūlāt*⁶). Thus may the rational soul understand the language of Angels.

In Ibn Sīnā’s view, prayer provides a connection with the divine Truth already during lifetime, but it is only after death that resurrection will bring to the essentialised soul the happiness of salvation. Concentration on prayer is the best way to communicate with the Necessary Being (*wāğibu l-wuğūd*)⁷, an ideal which cannot be achieved without faith. Ibn Sīnā is calling prayer the most important pillar of religion (*‘imādu l-dīn*).

The exterior, visible / ritual prayer (*al-zāhir*) is an exercise (*riyāda*)⁸ aiming to achieve, by various imposed attitudes and positions (reciting, kneeling and prostrating) the harmony between body and soul. The body is imitating some interior movements of the soul, thus being raised on the heights of real faith, in spite of his inferior composition. This has to done by *Imitatio Muhammadi*⁹, by following the Prophet’s example: “Pray as you have seen me praying” (*ṣallū kamā ra’aytumūnī ‘uṣallī*).

The interior, “real”, prayer is the “contemplation of Truth with a pure heart” (*muṣāhadatu l-ḥaqqi bi-l-qalbi l-ṣāfi*)¹⁰ and is raising the soul above mundane experiences.

⁵ Frequently quoting Aristotle’s *The Anima* and harmonizing the quotations with Qur’ānic verses or sayings from the *ḥadīth*.

⁶ Ibn Sīnā, *Ṣalwa*: 33.

⁷ Idem: 35.

⁸ Idem: 36. We should remember that the verb *rāda* means not only to train, but also to control, restrain.

⁹ As in the Christian Paulinic exhortation to the Apostle’s followers (“Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ.”, Q. 11: 1), the Qur’ān is underlining the example of Muḥammad: “Verily in the Apostle of God you have a good example for everyone who looks forward [with hope and awe] to God and the Last Day, and remembers God unceasingly.” (Q. 33: 21).

¹⁰ Ibn Sīnā, *Ṣalwa*: 37.

This is the way the Prophet was praying (Ibn Sīnā is quoting his saying from a *ḥadīth*: “The praying person is leaning on (= is in communion with) God” (*al-muṣallī yunāḡī rabbahu*). Not everybody can achieve this communion, it is only the spiritually accomplished, the perfect (*al-’insānu l-kāmil*), who can do it.

The outer prayer is useful for “being guarded against evil in this terrestrial world”, while the inner prayer is guiding in accomplishing the divine contemplation, is a medium for the *fayḍ* descending “from the heights of the upper sky to the depths of the rational soul”. After a scientific explanation on the heaviness of dirt¹¹ (which is keeping the soul bound to the earth), Ibn Sīnā is quoting the Qur’ānic verse: “Indeed, prayer prohibits immorality and wrongdoing, and the remembrance of Allāh is greater. And Allāh knows that which you do” (*’inna l-ṣalwa tanhā ’ani l-faḥṣā’i wa l-munkari wa la-dīkru-llāhi ’akbaru wa llāhu ya’lamu mā taṣna’ūna*). Q. 29: 45.

One may say that the author of *al-Rasā’ilu l-mašriqiyya* is using *ṣūfī* terminology, but in fact he is following al-Fārābī: the soul is not melted, identified in God, but speaking with and leaning on Him. Like for the Stoic philosophers and early Christian Fathers, the intellect (*’aql, logos*) is the “horse-keeper” of affects, countering feelings like anger or hate (Zandee 1991: 384).

Ibn Sīnā is concentrating in these two kinds of prayer all other types mentioned by psychologists: petitionary, ritualistic, meditational, confessional, thanksgiving, intercessory, self-improvement, habitual prayer (Ladd / Spilka 2002). It is a considerable overlap – obviously following the Avicennian habit of briefing eclectic views and syncretic methods.

When discussing, in the third and last part of the *Epistle on the Nature on Prayer*, which persons are better suited to one or another type, the philosopher repeats in an Aristotelic *exposé* that man has two natures (inferior / superior), and that people are different according to the stronger or lesser influence of the animal or the spiritual body (this second category being the *muḥaqqiqūn*, those who have achieved knowledge of real Truth).

¹¹ Ibn Sīnā is taking the literal meaning of the the radical *f ḥ ṣ* (immoral, dirty, disgusting, nonsense) by using the word *faḥṣā’*, “dirt”, as a physical metaphor. Dirt is heavy like mudd.

Thus is he speaking about the *ğāhīlu l-ḥaqq* (in the religious sense – the ignorant of God’s Truth) in contrast with the *‘āqil*.¹² The *‘āqil* has a strong necessity for the interior prayer, because he is able to receive through it, in his pure soul, the divine *ḥayd*. An example for this deep type of prayer is, according to Ibn Sīnā, Muḥammad’s asking God, during the *mi‘rāğ*, of how he could continuously have this joy of being in divine communion: God revealed him, then, details of how to pray. According to the *ḥadīṭ*, it is then that the famous words “*al-muṣallī yunāğī rabbahu*” were spoken.

By exposing the virtues of the Wise, Virtuous and Perfect, *al-‘āqilu l-fāḍilu l-kāmil*¹³, a brief view on Ibn Sīnā’s theory on Profecy is given: the Profet is achieving direct contact with God by intellect, imagination and by miracle, he is using images and symbols of a higher reality and so gains strength to move people to act in a specified manner (Qadir 1988: 82-83).

It is in the end that Ibn Sīnā gives a glimpse of his view on the literal or symbolic meanings in his text; according to the Platonic and Aristotelic tradition, truth has to be said to non-philosophers by using symbols and allegories – or in a hidden, obscure style. Wisdom is not for everybody, neither the knowledge of prayer, and the Master is forbidding his disciple to share “my secret” (*sirrī*) to those who have the heart “heavy with passions”. This last phrase of the *Epistle on the Nature of Prayer* is a statement in favour of the esoteric meanings concealed by the Avicennian comments – and could be taken as a *ṣūfī* ending.

The Avicennian view on prayer is a comment, suitable to the philosopher’s own scientific experiences (medical and psychological), on some basic theological thoughts concerning the necessity of prayer. Ibn Sīnā is reasserting, in his own specific dualist and emanatist framework, the idea that the human soul is essentially a subsistent intellect, stimulating the curiosity about how one could connect with God by praying, while integrating his body in the spiritual movements of the cosmic harmony, energizing the inner personality and keeping his mind concentrated on a transcendent reality.

¹² Idem: 37.

¹³ Idem: 42

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BOOK REVIEWS

Hilary Kilpatrick, *Making the Great Book of Songs: Compilation and the author's craft in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's Kitāb al-Aghānī*. London and New York: Routledge, Routledge Studies in Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures, 2003, pp. 435. (ISBN 978-0-415-59584-1)

Reviewed by Irina Vainovski-Mihai

“When I embarked on this research” – states Hilary Kilpatrick in the Preface to her book – “it was not only with a sense of duty and of responding to a challenge, but also with the knowledge that the *Aghānī* is a fantastic read.” (p. IX) A fantastic read, which the Professor and scholar of Arabic literature shares both with the academe and a broader sphere of specialists in offering them the first systematic literary study of one of the masterpieces of classical Arabic literature, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (The Book of Songs), compiled in the tenth century by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī. “I do not know how this study will be judged, but I have certainly had a lot of fun doing the research for it.” – Confesses Kilpatrick before concluding her opening words – “And I hope at least to have suggested to the readers some ways of approaching mediaeval Arabic compilations and to have conveyed a little of the riches and the fascination of this treasure of Arabic and world literature”. (p. IX)

In light of the arguments that there are few previous studies on *al-Aghānī* as a literary work and that serious research into older Arabic literature, if striving to better understand the mediaeval *adab*, cannot avoid such an important work as al-Iṣbahānī's, Kilpatrick is minutely and multifariously revisiting not only the much-celebrated and quoted text, but also its entire literal, cultural and historical environment.

The first chapter offers an overview of the modern research on *al-Aghānī*, which is to be traced back almost two hundred years ago, with Silvestre de Sacy's first fragment translated into French in 1816. In a brief “balance-sheet” of these studies, Kilpatrick aptly remarks that, although since the Second World War knowledge of al-Iṣbahānī's text has advanced greatly, an even further progress met with certain difficulties. Kilpatrick identifies three of the main

obstacles. Firstly, there is a gap which seems to separate research carried out in the Arab world and that carried out elsewhere (p. 12), with scarce acquaintance of each other. Secondly, the work done by Arab scholars, although extremely useful, rather often than not, betray striking misconceptions of the social and cultural history of the period in which *al-Aghānī* was compiled (p. 13). The third obstacle concerns the approach of foreign scholars, who, apart from the musicologists, have generally insisted on regarding the *Aghānī* as a historical work and, since it was “such an unsatisfactory history”, they ended up by imposing their own vision, that of an outside culture.

In tune with the conception that encyclopedic compilations are on the one hand products of a particular time and sometimes place, and on the other may reveal the individual interests of their compilers, the next chapter of the book presents Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī’s life, works, social and cultural environment and brings forward observations regarding the textual problems which a translator and researcher of *al-Aghānī* has to face and always bear in mind.

Further, Kilpatrick proceeds with the second major aim of her study: to put under scrutiny the ways in which Abū l-Faraj organizes his material into sections, or “articles”, as Kilpatrick terms them (Chapters 3-9). Given the difficulties which the modern reader has in perceiving the *Aghānī* “as an entity” (p. 34), Chapters 3-5 casts light on the compiler’s own considerations and reasons for bringing together certain information, his ways of dealing with it and commenting on it. Since *Kitāb al-Aghānī* was initially a book of songs, the first facet of Kilpatrick’s investigation is that related to the musical information and the compilers commentaries on it (and are tackled issues such as: the integration of the song settings into the text, tacit intervention; Abū l-Faraj’s comments on the transmission and sources of songs; the compiler’s comments on contemporary singers and musical life; profiles of singers). Then, out of the three contexts in which poetry is to be met with in *al-Aghānī* (the lyrics of the songs round which the book is constructed; the poetry embedded in narratives; the verses quoted independently) the author of the study goes over to the key points in this perspective as: the raw poetic material used by composers; the evaluation of poetry; profiles of poets; and last but not least, philological commentary, “a particularly delicate matter to treat, since many mediaeval commentaries on pre- and early Islamic poetry have not survived. It is therefore by no means easy to decide whether the commentary is the compiler’s own contribution, or whether he is quoting an authority whom he does not name.” (p. 70). Narrative prose (as historical reports) serves in *al-Aghānī* only to sketch the background in which the poems were composed and performed. Still, for its relevance to an all-encompassing investigation, the

author records the main features on this side: *ma'ānī* in the prose; indications of the sources of *akhbār*; their manipulation by anthologizing and arrangement).

Hilary Kilpatrick's book is complemented by Appendices (the concordances of the early two editions of *Kitāb al-Aghānī*; the list of contents of *Kitāb al-Aghānī*; the list of *Kitāb al-Aghānī* personalities referred to in the study) and indexes (of people and places; of subjects and terms).

“When I first read passages from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* in St. Andrews in 1973, I was fascinated by it.” says Hilary Kilpatrick and adds: “It took me many years, however, to develop an approach to studying it, and more years to get to know it well enough to write about it.” (p. X) And at the end of her decades of research and passionate scholarly involvement, the field of Arabic and Middle Eastern studies is rewarded with a clear-cut, comprehensive, and captivating pursuit of the intricate universe of a mediaeval work much quoted, referred to, but habitually illuminated partially or from a single perspective.

Maciej Klimiuk, *Phonetics and Phonology of Damascus Arabic*. Warsaw: Katedra Arabistki i Islamistyki Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2013, pp. 137. (ISBN 2299-9132 / 978-83-903188-5-1).

Reviewed by Iulia Anamaria Alexandru

Dr. Klimiuk is a teacher of Arabic grammar and Arabic dialectology at the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw. His main preoccupation consists in studying the dialects of Syria, particularly focusing on the varieties spoken in Damascus and Latakia. The main purpose of the current book, as stated by its title, is to provide an extensive analysis of the phonetic and phonological system of the Arabic Spoken in Damascus. The book consists of eight chapters, of which the first represents an introduction to the study of dialects, whilst the last presents a variety of texts collected from a native informer, residing in Damascus. The study ends with the author offering us a generous bibliography, for those interested in the study of the Levantine dialects.

The research starts with the transcription of consonants, vowels, semivowels and diphthongs. The author links his choice for the transcriptions of the sounds encountered in the Damascene Arabic to the work of Wolfdietrich Fischer and Otto Jastrow *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, pointing out, however, two changes he made, in order to adapt the transcription to the current research.

The first chapter of the book represents an introduction to the study of dialects and is divided in three parts. In the first one, the author chooses to motivate his interest in the dialects of Syria and the importance and relevance of these varieties of Arabic with regard to the rest of the Arab world. And, thus, he points out that Damascus is the oldest inhabited city in the world and that “Syria has for several years been taking the lead among Arab states in the production of television series, the vast majority of which are shot in Damascene.” (p. 15). The second part of this chapter offers a brief description of the main branches of the Syro-Palestinian dialects. The researcher emphasizes that the use of particle ‘*am*’ represents the main feature that determines if a given dialect is part of the Syro-Palestinian dialects or not. The last part of the introductory chapter is an overview of the current state of the research on Syro-Palestinian dialects. The author stresses that they are regarded as one of the best researched and documented dialects amongst all Arabic dialects, since the first studies appeared in the last part of the 19th century and thus the examination of the past and present

works can lead to a historical perspective of the evolution of Syro-Palestinian dialects. The subchapter highlights the main studies devoted to this dialectal group, both descriptions and learning textbooks, and is a valuable source for those who have an interest in the dialects spoken in this area.

The second chapter of the book focuses on the consonant system of the Damascus dialect, which comprises a total of twenty-seven phonemes, five of them displaying phonetic variants that might appear in a particular position in a given word. The author goes on by dedicating a subchapter to each of the encountered phonemes, stressing the phonological oppositions and the different variants that can occur. For example, phoneme *b* can be replaced by the plosive, bilabial, non-nasal, voiceless *p*, especially in words borrowed from English and French, such as *basbōr* / *paspōr* “passport”, by the fricative, labiodental, non-nasal, voiced *v* in borrowings from French, like in *baranda* / *veranda* “veranda” and by the plosive, bilabial, non-nasal, voiced and velarized *b̤* as a result as a partial assimilation, under the influence of the other emphatic phonemes, *zāḥeṭ* “officer” or in borrowed words, such as *ḥanṭalōn* “trousers”.

The following chapter deals with the vowels of the Damascene dialect. The author points out to the existence of six short vowels *a*, *ə*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* and five long vowels *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*. After a brief presentation of the two systems, the chapter contains a number of eleven subchapters aimed at exposing the different traits of each phoneme, within the vowel system, that might occur in the colloquial Arabic of Damascus, while offering numerous examples of phonological oppositions.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the analysis of diphthongs, the study of which, as the author points out, has been reduced in the researches of Damascene Arabic. The chapter goes on by emphasizing that most of the studies limit themselves to the transformation of the diphthongs found in literary Arabic, *aw* and *ay*, into long vowels, *ē* and *ō*. The author observes the cases in which the two diphthongs are preserved. In addition, he offers reflections upon the types of diphthongs encountered in the Damascus dialect, dividing them in falling or descending diphthongs, formed of a vowel and a semivowel, and rising or ascending diphthongs, with the structure, a semivowel and a vowel.

The fifth chapter examines the issue of the syllable and its structure that, as the author refers from the first few lines, has been addressed thus far in only two studies, those conducted by Heinz Grotzfeld and Jérôme Lentin. The researcher points out that the two

scholars have disagreed on the number of syllables encountered in the Damascene Arabic, as the first one distinguishes eight syllables, whilst the second lists a total of fourteen syllables. The author then focuses on presenting the results of his own investigation, providing a list of twenty-four syllabic structures, synthesized at the end of the chapter in a table that compares the author's personal insights with those of the other two scholars.

The sixth chapter covers the issue of the consonant groups, the epenthesis and the prosthesis, all of them being closely interconnected. The author notices that there are only two consonant groups in the Damascene dialect, consisting of two *CC* or three consonants *CCC*. Furthermore, he discusses that longer consonant clusters only occur in connections across word boundaries. In addition, the author points out that in the Damascus dialect, the vowel *schwa*, ə, is the epenthetic and prosthetic vowel. He then goes on by describing the different cases, in which *schwa* might appear.

The seventh chapter presents the rules of word stress and pausal forms in the Damascus dialect. The author describes this issue as being a very difficult to deal one, as the dialect is characterized by a free word stress and a dynamic accent, in addition to a second accent in words consisting of more than one syllable.

The last chapter consists of the transcriptions of ten recordings made by the author between the 12th of June and the 1st of August 2008 during his stay in Damascus. His informer is a Maronite Christian female. The analysis of these recordings offers the author the possibility of applying all the rules stated in the previous chapters, whilst discovering even more phonetic and phonological phenomena.

In conclusion, the book represents a valuable reference for those interested in the study of the Syro-Palestinian dialects, as it contains a complex analysis of the phonetic and phonological system that characterizes the Arabic spoken in Damascus, as well as many relevant remarks on the general traits of this particular dialect, all of them supported by extensive examples, collected both from the specialized literature and from recordings made by the author himself.

Marwan M. Kraidy, *Reality television and Arab politics. Contention in public life*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 253. (ISBN 978-00521-76919-8)

Reviewed by Laura Sitaru

Marwan Kraidy raises a fundamental question in the context of an increasing influence of the media over Arabic society: who has the right to represent the reality? (p. 15). In a world in which representations and images are by far more relevant than reality itself, we assist to a strong competition for defining new cultural and social identities. After an explosive growth of Arab television channels between 1990 and 2009 when more than one hundred and seventy new channels appeared in the Arab world, the competition for defining and promoting new identity models increased as well. A significant number of these TV channels commercially oriented developed pan-Arab media strategies, and consequently a transnational approach. Beyond the role of *al-Jazeera* television which succeeded to cover a virtual Arab space ideologically ready for the renaissance of pan-Arabism, the Arab world eyewitnesses the born of Reality TV shows (*television al-waqi* or *television al-tasweer al-waqi*, there is also an important terminological dispute; p. 42-43), the fact that reopened the harsh debate on modernity in the Arab context (p. 15-17). “In 2004, Star Academy, for instance, captured the largest audience in pan-Arab television history, reaching up to 80 percent of viewers in some countries” remarks Marwan Kraidy, moreover “unlike the predominantly adult male audience of news and current affairs, Arab entertainment television attracts large and diverse audience that includes women and youth” (p. 2-3).

Marwan Kraidy rightly remarks that the Reality television programs are the expression of a new hybrid cultural product (by the meaning of what Mikhail Bakhtin calls “an intentional hybrid”; p. 112), trying to standardize social models of life and behavior, and rising at the same temps a series of questions so disputed within the Arab Islamic society related to common sense and morality. Reality television programs produced generally by the Lebanese channels triggered real storms among religious and political factors in Arab Gulf countries: “the Reality TV polemics took various forms in different Arab countries, and also echoed larger geo-political clashes, while Lebanon emerges as a crossroads of political, military, and media confrontations reshaping the Middle East” (p. 20-21). The author insist in two consecutive chapter, the third and the forth, on the very disputed media partnership

between Lebanon and Saudi Arabia, thus in the opening the third chapter of his book, Marwan Kraidy quotes the well known journalist of *al-Jazeera* television, Ahmad Mansour's sayings: "all these programs depend on two things: money from the big Saudi investors and businessmen, and Lebanese expertise (p. 66). Though Lebanon and Saudi Arabia occupy the extremes of the Arab socio-cultural spectrum, together the two countries ate instrumental in shaping pan-Arab media, concludes the author (the third chapter). Beside all this, the book is pointing out the role of the media, as essential tool for building a national community and a modern Saudi Arabia, along with the relevance of Saudi's family in the up raising of Saudi media.

A significant part of the book is taking into discussion the *under attack* Golf societies riposte to the invasive new cultural models. In Saudi Arabia, for instance, Star Academy Reality TV show was considerate as harming the national reputation and corrupting the true moral Islamic values. As well, MBC TV station decides to shut down the program *Ar-Ra'is* distributed in Bahrain after religious constant pressure coming from both Bahraini and Saudi theological environments.

To its critics this type of programs is "culturally invasive precisely because it asks contestants ritualistically to perform a social world not only alien but also profoundly threatening to Wahhabiyya's Islamic values" (p. 113). Marwan Kraidy reads this conflict within the more complex *hadātha – asāla* relation, due that the Saudi national identity is deeply imbued with Wahhabiyya's focus *on purifying Saudi Islam from foreign influence* (p. 94-96). Indeed, we assist to a battle in which the two sides are displaying classic well know instruments; thus concepts such *ḡāhiliyya – pre-Islamic era characterized by fragile tribal order and fluid gender boundaries* (p. 112) whose values oppose the Islamic ones – are reactivated by traditional environments' rhetoric (for instance, Turki al-Hamad, notorious Saudi critic and novelist was declared *kāfir* by radical preaches because of his challenge to Wahhabi norms of *asāla*, and afterwards arrested in 2012 for some tweets deemed critical to Islam).

Besides, it is noteworthy the nostalgia: some people – among them television producers - confess for an era in which Arab society was deeply attached to ethic values as those described in Naguib Mahfouz's novels, and generally configured by them (p. 42-44). Marwan Kraidy's book consciously analyzes a new hypostasis of a deeply inveterate phenomenon in the Arab Islamic society impersonated by the complex *hadātha – asāla* relation whose beginning goes back to the Nineteenth century.

Giuliano Mion, *L'arabo parlato ad Amman – Varieta tradizionali e standardizzate*. Rome: Edizioni Q, 2012, pp. 215. (ISBN 978-88-97831-06-8)

Reviewed by Gabriel Bițună

Giuliano Mion, an Italian arabist and dialectologist, having a strong academic background of linguistic formation, is delivering us his newest monograph, entitled “The spoken Arabic of Amman – Traditional and standardized varieties”. With an impressive resume, he wrote a wide range of papers and books on different Arabic dialects, which makes him one of the most authorized voices in the Arabic dialectology domain. He gave lectures and seminars in various European universities and participated in a great number of international congresses and symposia. On top of that, he hosted one of the most influential and important Arabic dialectology gathering in the world, the AIDA 9 – *Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe* – conferences, held in Pescara, Italy, 28th to 31st of March, 2011.

Upon turning the first page of the book, we are welcomed by a dedication of the author to his mother, accompanied by a breathtaking verse by Mahmud Darwish, making the reader prepared to go through the following pages with an open heart and mind.

Following the well-prepared index, containing a list of very meticulously organized titles, we enter the foreword, where we are explained why the author has selected the title of the book. Having seen that Amman is a capital city, it is bound to host a mixture of Arabic varieties which, having cohabited for the last decades, began to generate a near self-contained variety. The reader is then advised that the volume revolves first of all around the area of expertise of arabists who are interested in knowing the linguistic reality of Jordan, making them acquainted to the Arabic variety spoken in this area of the world.

The first chapter, *L'arabo della Giordania*, is a descriptive chapter, introducing the reader to the historic and geographic realities of Jordan, approaching in the same time a very interesting social element: the percentages of Transjordanians and Palestinians in the area. What is highly mentionable here remains the ethnonym ‘*ammāni*, which, translates *Amman dweller*, but in reality its meaning is much more subtle, referring to that part of the society that lives the urban culture. The reader is also acquainted with the linguistic situation of Amman. The author is pointing (with the example of a skillfully explained television show –

see p. 22) to the presence of an entire series of dialects that one must have knowledge of, in order to get along with the other inhabitants.

In the same chapter, there is a brief presentation of four dialectal groups that reside in Jordan, based on the dialectal flexion of the classical Arabic *yaqūlu* (he says): group *yigūl* (beduin), group *bigūl* (sedentary, statistically the largest), group *bikūl* (old rural Palestinian), group *bi'ūl* (urban). These groups aren't distinguishable only phonetically, but also morphologically (see verb syllabic structure and resyllabification – p. 26).

Afterwards, there is a well documented hypothesis over the tricky possibility of 'ammāni being a standardized dialect, with all the upsides and downsides of this contingent circumstance.

Next, the reader is familiarized with the building of the corpus of recordings and the transcription system. To be more accurate, Giuliano Mion utilized a transcription consisting of a combined system based on an Arabic script (which I personally consider highly relevant, given the large number of dialectal texts present on the internet in this script and waiting on the arabists' plates to be collected and analyzed), a Latin script of the recordings and the Italian translation.

The second chapter, *Fonologia* (pp. 35-52), presents the consonant and vowel systems of the Arabic of Amman, right after an introduction to the phonetic characteristics of the sedentary and Bedouin varieties. Highly distinguishable is the sporadic presence of interdental, conditioned by the communicational and social situations. Moreover, there is the coexistence of the occlusive /ʔ/ and the velar /g/, which are both obtained from the shift of /q/. The usage of these consonants plays an important role, being a trademark of origin, age and sex: “la realizzazione in g è prerogative della parlata maschile e quella in ʔ [ʔ] della parlata femminile” (p. 40). Other important phonetic aspects like assimilation processes, anaptyxis and the problematic of the accent are dealt in the same chapter.

Chapter 3, *Sistema pronominale* (pp. 53-80), discusses the pronouns in the spoken Arabic of Amman, in an organized fashion and with a multitude of examples for each category: the independent pronouns (where the form s for the 2nd and the 3rd person plural feminine is still employed, having seen that in a great number of other Arabic dialects the masculine-feminine opposition at the third and second person of the plural is either extinct or dwindling), their functions in the sentence, the suffixed possessive pronouns, with their

various functions, like possessive attribute, direct or prepositional object, the demonstratives with their pronominal and adjectival use, the relative with its related syntax, the interrogatives and the indefinite pronouns.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the *Sistema nominale* (pp. 81-109), where the reader is not only familiarized with a series of noun patterns pertaining to triconsonantal or quadriconsonantal root systems, but also with the noun gender and number (where the external plural is employed using various morphemes: *-e*, *-a*, *-iyye*, *-āt*, *īn* and the internal plural inherits an impressive number of patterns from the old Arabic – see pp. 87-89), definitiveness, the construct state (including here the *pseudopreposizioni*: *taba'* and *btā'* and the less utilized plural *tab'īn*). Also, this chapter covers the adjectives (simple, relational (*nisba*), the ones employed for colors and physical characteristics, the degrees of comparison and the diminutive: employed on patterns like *CCēC* – *glēb* (small hearty); *CCayyiC* – *glayyil* (a handful); *CaCCūC* – *ṣaṭṭūra* (clever girl) (pp. 102-103)). Also, the numeral (cardinal, ordinal and fractional) and nominal phrase are approached in the same chapter.

A very rich chapter is the fifth one, containing the *Sistema verbale* (111-160), approaching the verbal patterns and conjugations (perfective, imperfective, imperative), forming of the participle and types of verbs (geminated: C2=C3, weak consonant: C1= /ʔ/, C1 = /w/, C2 = /w//y/, C3= /y/, quadriconsonantal verbs, etc.) and the aspect and time values of verbs (past, present – habitual and punctual, future, subjunctive with modal values in secondary phrases and with pseudoverbs and with eventuality values, etc.). Also, a good part of the chapter is dedicated to auxiliary verbs like *kān*, *ṣār*, *baṭṭal*, *riḡi'* and *pseudoverbi* (p. 149) like *'ind-*, *ma'-*, *'il-*, *bidd*, *lāzim*, *'ala*, *ḡar*. The last part of the chapter analyses the main features of the verbal phrase.

Chapter 6, *Avverbi* (pp. 161-171), takes the reader through the morpho-syntax of locative, temporal, manner, quantity, restrictive, evaluative, affirmative, negative and exclamatory adverbs.

The seventh chapter, *Particelle* (pp. 173-190) is a concise reviewing of existentials, presentatives, prepositions, coordinators, subordinators (declarative, causative, temporal, punctual, anteriority, posteriority, privative, consecutive, alternative, hypothetical, unachievable and conditional subordinators). Nonetheless, it did not deliver the richness of information that the reader got accustomed with and it is desirable that the author publishes an

extensive additional material regarding this topic, in the near future, given the importance of these particles and the expertise of the dialectologist in this field.

The last two chapters, *Antologia di testi* and *Appendice – fraseologia minima*, come to prove us once more that the research employed by the Italian author is well calculated and organized, having as foundations a great number of genuine and living recordings in the spoken Arabic of Amman.

It goes without saying that the book deserves great merit and commendation, not only for its formal presentation (organized, concise, well directed and divided into clear categories), but also for its much more important *core* (a fountain of living examples, attesting the authentic usage of the spoken Arabic of Amman in the daily life) which is indispensable on carrying out a dialectological research.

Christophe Pereira, *Le parler arabe de Tripoli (Libye)*, Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, Centro mixto entre las Cortes de Aragón, el Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas y la Universidad de Zaragoza, Saragosse, 2010, pp. 551. (ISBN 978-84-95736-15-4)

Reviewed by Olivier Durand

Le livre faisant l'objet de ce compte-rendu s'adresse aux étudiants francophones désireux de se mettre au dialecte arabe de Tripoli de Libye. L'auteur précise en effet dans la note 14 de la p. 61 qu'il a pris soin de traduire systématiquement en français toutes les citations en italien, allemand, anglais et arabe littéral – langues (auxquelles on ajoutera l'espagnol) dont la connaissance est bien évidemment indispensable à tous ceux qui se destinent à la dialectologie ou/et la linguistique arabes. Les étudiants de langue française ne pourront que se réjouir de cet excellent outil.

On dira tout de suite, comme jugement global résultant d'une lecture approfondie et attentive, que l'ouvrage est exhaustif, rigoureux, soigné et scientifiquement construit sur la base d'une formation linguistique impeccable. Bien qu'ayant travaillé sur un corpus fort étendu, on devine que l'auteur est parfaitement maître de la langue qu'il décrit. On soulignera que s'occuper d'arabe libyen n'est pas s'occuper d'arabe égyptien ou tunisien, pour des raisons sociopolitiques qu'il est superflu de rappeler ici: l'auteur fait part des difficultés en tous genres qu'il a rencontrées, et nous ne pouvons que l'en remercier et l'applaudir d'avantage pour ne pas avoir renoncé à son projet.

Qui dit « stimulant » dit « appelant la discussion », et c'est bien dans cet esprit que naissent les réflexions qui vont suivre, qui je l'espère seront prises pour ce qu'elles sont: non pas seulement la preuve de l'intérêt que j'ai pris à la lecture de l'ouvrage, mais un dialogue entre spécialistes passionnés par leur domaine d'étude.

Le livre s'articule en deux grandes sections: une description générale (p. 23-412), et l'étude des « modalités » (p. 413-498), dans le sillage de la théorie linguistique générale d'Antoine Culioli. Cette dernière sera négligée – pour des raisons de pure incompétence de ma part – dans ce compte-rendu.

Au cours d'une « Introduction » (p. 17-22) l'auteur explique que: « Les données sociolinguistiques ont été très fortement bouleversées ces dernières années en Libye ». Bien qu'il renvoie à un sien article de 2007 (auquel j'ajouterais celui d'*EALL* 2008), je suis un peu déçu de n'en apprendre pas plus. Exode rural, mouvements de populations, arrivée d'arabophones exogènes, oui certes, mais un aspect qui appelle ma curiosité lorsque j'enquête dans un pays arabe est celui de l'action conjointe de quatre facteurs sociolinguistiques précis :

1. l'attitude métalinguistique des locuteurs (que pensent-ils de leur dialecte? Y sont-ils affectionnés d'une façon ou d'une autre? Affirment-ils qu'il descend du phénicien, du berbère ou du grec ancien? S'intéresse-t-on à la dialectologie aux niveaux aussi bien académique que profane?) ;

2. l'action des médias (l'arabe dialectal est-il présent, et si oui dans quelles proportions à la télé, à la radio, dans les journaux, dans les discours publics? La parabole existe-t-elle?) ;

3. la compétence en *fushā* de la part des locuteurs (dispose-t-on de données sur l'alphabétisation de la population? Sur son système scolaire?) ;

4. l'action des langues étrangères (sont-elles présentes dans la vie quotidienne, à l'école ou dans les médias? En quelle langue les autochtones interagissent-ils avec un Occidental?). Et dans le cas de la Libye, bien sûr, j'aimerais bien savoir *che fine ha fatto* l'italien !

La littérature précédente sur le tripoliteain est, comme on le sait, vieillotte, vaguement folklo, passablement fascisante, et surtout pré-phonologique. L'auteur se réfère avec régularité et respect au texte d'Antonio Cesaro (c'est l'orthographe officielle du nom, l'accent grave n'a comme but que celui d'éviter une lecture [ˈʃɛsaro] au lieu de [ʃɛ'saro]), *L'arabo parlato a Tripoli*, publié à Milan en 1939. L'ouvrage, conçu comme un manuel pratique réalisé sous les auspices de feu le Ministère de l'Afrique Italienne, est fort complet et relativement fiable sous tous les aspects. Des références fréquentes sont établies avec l'ouvrage récent de Sumikazu Yoda, *The Arabic dialect of the Jews of Tripoli (Libya)*, Wiesbaden, 2005.

Au chapitre sur la phonologie, l'auteur ramène les nombreux allophones des voyelles brèves à un système /ə: u/, ce qui ferait du tripoliteain un parler pré-hilalien, chose tout de même curieuse, vu l'abondance de traits typiquement bédouins, à commencer par *gāf*. L'analyse ponctuelle des neuf allophones de /ə/, à savoir [ɐ a ə ʊ o ɯ ɪ i], amène cependant à

une conclusion pour le moins surprenante: la valeur phonétique de /ə/ non marquée, « lorsqu'il n'est pas au contact d'une consonne pharyngale, vélaire, uvulaire ou emphatique » (p. 27) est [ɐ] ! Ajoutons que la valeur non marquée du /a/ long est également [ɐ:], et que l'allophone [ə] n'apparaît que plutôt rarement (« Dans certains contextes [...], notamment au contact de consonnes labiales et dans un environnement emphatique », p. 28). Or, quand une analyse phonologique démontre que deux ou plusieurs sons sont des variantes conditionnées d'un seul phonème, on finit par identifier la valeur phonétique du phonème avec sa réalisation non-marquée. A mes yeux donc, et sur la base de l'analyse très précise conduite par l'auteur, la conclusion qui s'impose est que le système vocalique bref de Tripoli est bien /ɐ: u/, et non pas /ə: u/. On pose traditionnellement que les parlers pré-hilaliens ont /ə: u/ (où /ə/ neutralise *a: i* de l'arabe ancien), et que les parlers hilaliens ont /a: ə/ (où /ə/ neutralise *i: u*), plus Alger juif et Jijel qui ont /ə/ < **a: i: u*. Tripoli musulman – que l'auteur décrit d'ailleurs à plusieurs reprises comme mixte sédentaire-bédouin – se singularise spectaculairement par une opposition /a: u/ !

« Les voyelles /i/, /u/, /a/, /e/ et /o/ qui se trouvent en syllabe ouverte finale sont neutres et ne sont pas marquées du point de vue de la longueur (p. 29, n. 7). On dit d'habitude qu'elles sont « phonématiquement longues », pour des raisons étymologiques (*šāfu* < **šāfū*), qu'elles perdent leur quantité en raison de leur position post-tonique, mais la *réacquièrent* quand l'accent se déplace sur elles: *'šāfu: šā'fū-k*.

Toujours à propos de quantité vocalique, les dialectes arabes se partagent quant à la rétention ou réduction des voyelles (étymologiquement) longues en position pré-tonique: la première solution est plutôt bédouine (*tlā'tīn*), la seconde plutôt citadine (*tla'tīn*). L'auteur transcrit bien *tlātīn* [tlə:'ti:n]. Par contre /māɾʃābēdi/ [ma:ɾʃa:'be:di] « trottoir » (< it. *marciapiedi*) me laisse un tantinet sceptique.

Au sujet des voyelles longues, /a: e: i: o: u:/, l'auteur ne dit pas que /e:/ possède à Tripoli deux allophones apparents [e:] et [ɛ:]. Cesaro note systématiquement et soigneusement \bar{e} pour le second. L'auteur s'étant révélé très sensible acoustiquement, on s'étonne de ce que cette nuance ait pu lui échapper. Il pourrait bien sûr s'agir d'un phénomène révolu ou obsolète. J'ai donc personnellement vérifié avec une amie tripolitaine d'une quarantaine d'années, qui prononce bien un [ɛ:] nettement distinct de [e:] dans toute la liste d'exemples que j'ai pu glaner dans Cesaro: *bēt, wēn, lēl, yēr, bēn, xēr, šēn* « quoi ». Des monosyllabes donc, où \bar{e} apparaît en syllabe ouverte (cf. cependant *lēla* et *bēnāt-na*): aucun conditionnement apparent ne se laisse appréhender (cf. *zēt, xēl, zēn*, duel *-ēn*). Mystère... Or [ɛ̄] dans Cesaro apparaît

aussi dans l'*imāla* finale de **-ā*: verbes défectueux *krē*, *mšē* (mais *krēt*, *mšēt* !), *aʒtē*, *elgē* « je trouve », les pronoms *anē*, *hnē*, l'adverbe *hnē*, le nom propre *žhē*, et dans les thèmes en **-ā*? *mē* « eau », *štē* « hiver », *ʒašē* « dîner ». L'hypothèse d'une simple palatalisation de *-ā* final ne convaincra personne. C'est des thèmes défectueux qu'il faut partir. Si *CCā*, *yCCī* supposent – ou engendrent, dans une optique non traditionnelle – une « racine » $\sqrt{C-C-y}$, il est concevable que la solution libyenne *CCē* résulte d'une forme **CCāy* (et non pas **CCay*), qui aurait été étendue aux thèmes **štāy*, **māy*, *ʒašāy*, puis par analogie à **anāy*, **hnāy*, **hnāy* et à une poignée de termes quotidiens comme *bēt*, *wēn*, *lēl*, *yēr*, *bēn*, *xēr*, *šēn*. Force est de conclure que ce passage **āy* > *ē* a eu lieu *indépendamment* du traitement – précédent ou successif – de la diphtongue **ay*.

A propos des séquences *-īy-* et *-ūw-*, est-il bien certain que l'on a affaire à [-i:j-], [-u:w-], et non pas à [-i:j:], [-u:w:], comme dans les parlers proche-orientaux mais aussi à Tunis et à Malte? J'ai souligné ailleurs (article à paraître) que la recherche dialectologique maghrébine a souvent subi le poids d'une « grille » traditionnelle basée sur les dialectes algériens et marocains, connus depuis plus longtemps: au Maghreb occidental, **-iyya* et **-uwwa* donnent indiscutablement [-i:ja], [-u:wa], si ce n'est carrément [-i:a], [-u:a]. Mais cette solution n'est pas applicable à Tunis et à Malte.

Au fil des transcriptions phonétiques en API, qui complètent parfois les transcriptions phonologiques, on remarque çà et là des voyelles épenthétiques notées *ǃ*: *kǃdb* ['kǃdǃb], *lǃqb* ['lǃqǃb] (p. 27), *wǃǃf* [wǃ'ǃǃf], *nǃwǃlǃd* [ǃnǃwǃlǃd], *vǃlvǃla* ['vǃlvǃla] « valve » (p. 45), dont cependant il n'est plus question nulle part ailleurs. C'est dommage, car même si elles n'agissent qu'au niveau phonétique de la langue, elles n'en jouent pas moins un rôle rythmique fondamental. Là aussi, je soupçonne la « grille pan-maghrébine »: les parlers algériens et marocains ont mis en charpie **katabtu la-ka* en *ktǃbt-lǃk*, pourquoi la Tunisie et la Libye auraient-elles dû en faire autrement? On rappellera que pour les dialectes orientaux, ces voyelles « d'appui » sont généralement notées en exposant, pour en signaler la valeur non-phonologique (et normalement non accentuable), soit *kǃd^ǃb*, *lǃq^ǃb*, *w^ǃǃf*, *ǃnǃw^ǃlǃd*, *vǃlv^ǃla*... On remarquera en passant que la résolution des segments *-CCC-* et *CC-* obéit à des règles plus machréquines que maghrébines: *kǃd^ǃb* s'aligne sur le *sāmī-zirāqī* *kiǃd^ǃb*, et *vǃlv^ǃla* se démarque du tunisien /falsfa/ ['fal^ǃsfa] « philosophie ».

A propos du dogme « [+interdentales] = bédouin ≠ [-interdentales] = sédentaire », la discipline aurait désormais le loisir de s'interroger sur son universalité. En arabe péninsulaire on trouve des dialectes très sédentaires à interdentales au Yemen et en Oman. En arabe extra-

péninsulaire ont fait que les interdentes sont très à leur aise dans des dialectes sédentaires depuis la nuit des temps, comme Tunis et Mardīn, et qu'elles sont absentes chez des bédouins invétérés, voyez la Haute Egypte et le Sahara. Si le dogme ne souffre pas d'exceptions en pays Šām, au Maghreb il semblerait avoir été sujet à des avatars sociolinguistiques différents sur lesquels il ne sera pas inutile de s'interroger à l'avenir.

Quant à *z*, l'auteur cite le passage de *ḍād* à [*z*] (au lieu du [ḍ] attendu) pour les thèmes de racine √*d-b-t*, en rappelant qu'il s'agit d'emprunts (récents? anciens?) à l'égyptien qui les a à son tour « récupérés » du turc, qui en avait fait √*z-b-t*. Or en Egypte et au Šām le même passage **d* > *z* (et *ḍ* > *z*) se vérifie aussi avec les deux racines √*n-ḍ-m* e √*z-ḍ-m* (*nizām*, *munazzama*, *zazīm*...). A Tripoli?

Proposer le statut de phonème – même marginal – pour /t̪/ (= [ts]) me paraît forcé. Les paires minimales citées à la p. 56 sont chiches. Il est vrai que la séquence -*v̄ts*- est inhabituelle en néo-arabe, des racines √*C^l-t-s* n'étant pas attestées (III^{ème} f. **yC^lātsū*?). Et à propos de *bīṭa* « pizza », l'affriquée italienne du mot *pizza* est bien sourde, [ˈpitːsa], et non pas « sonore » (p. 55): c'est en français que l'on dit [piˈdza]...

Les mêmes réflexions valent pour *č*: « *kānčālu* “portail”: *kān šālu* “s'ils avaient fait sur eux” » (p. 61): n'apprend-on pas à la p. 63 que la séquence -*nž*- devient -*nǧ*-? La règle n'est donc pas valable pour -*nš*-?

L'exemple de la p. 61, *bāškūti* « biscuits », de l'italien *biscotti*, m'incite à une digression sur les « italianismes » en néo-arabe. L'étymologie de *bāškūti* posée par l'auteur est indiscutable, de même que pour le tunisien *frāšk* « frais », < it. *fresco*. Mais d'une façon générale on remarque chez les maghrébinisants français une tendance insouciant à taxer d'« italien » ce qui dans certains cas pourrait plus précisément être étiqueté comme napolitain, sicilien, calabrais, voire génois ou vénitien (ou alors... espagnol, cf. *famīl(y)a*). Dans le cas des deux exemples libyen et tunisien cités, en l'occurrence, l'origine napolitaine est garantie par le traitement du /s/ italien en palatale /ʃ/: à Naples, toute séquence /-sp-/ ou /-sk-/ est systématiquement palatalisée, [biʃˈkɔtː(ə)], [ˈfriʃkə] (standard [bisˈkɔtːi], [ˈfresko]). L'occupation italienne de la Libye (1911-1950) est certes responsable de nombreux italianismes, mais on sait que les contacts entre la Péninsule et les ports du Maghreb ont une histoire très ancienne et même pré-arabe. On sait que les missionnaires italiens sont partout, là où le saint devoir les appelle, qu'ils fraternisent très facilement avec les populations locales, et nul ne s'étonne de ce que la pharmacie s'appelle *farmašiyye* (it. *farmacia*) en Palestine. Ainsi

je suis très frappé d'apprendre que les Français en Libye sont *frānsīs*: ce terme, qui continue sous les formes *frānsīs*, *frānšīs* jusqu'au Maroc, provient à première vue du castillan (médiéval ou andalou) *francés* /fran'ses/ (standard d'aujourd'hui /fran'θes/), même si, à bien y réfléchir, l'italien ancien et le calabro-sicilien moderne connaissent aussi une variante *franzese* [-dz-]... L'italien *francese* aurait donné *frānšīzi*, *frānčīzi*, l'italien méridional [fran'dʒezə] *frānšīz*, *frānčīz*.

Ṛōbānǧi « caroteur, escroc » < *rubando* « en volant » me laisse coi: pourquoi *Ṛō-* et pas *Ṛū-*? Je chercherais plutôt du côté de *roba* « choses, affaires, effets personnels » et du suffixe turc *-ǧi*. A Tunis on entend encore le fripier ambulant s'annoncer comme *Ṛūbaḥīka* ! < *roba vecchia* « vieilles choses » (qui, sous son adaptation tunisienne, évoque plutôt un tombeur de femmes décidément irrésistible !).

La métathèse $\sqrt{j-w-z}$ pour $\sqrt{z-w-j}$ « paire ; couple ; mariage » est décidément panarabe, par delà le traitement des séquences $*j_s$ sibilante/palatale. On en dira autant de $\sqrt{s-j-r}$ « arbres » et $\sqrt{s-j-ʒ}$ « courage » (pour $\sqrt{s-j-r}$, $\sqrt{s-j-ʒ}$), que l'on observe (ou observait) de l'Iraq à l'*Andalus*.

Yuqāl (p. 77) « on dit », non pas « il a été dit » (*qīla*).

L'auteur ne dit mot de la chute de $*/h/$ (p. 80), généralement attribuée aux parlers judéo-maghrébins mais qui a dû concerner tout autant les parlers musulmans à une période ancienne: *kāf* « grotte », *šārīž* « citerne », *nāḍ* « se lever » (**kahf*, **šihrij*, **nahāḍa*), mais au hasard du livre j'ai pêché *fgī* « maître d'école » (**faqīh*, cf. maroc. *fqī*, pl. *fəqya*, *fuqya*, *fuqyān*).

En ce qui concerne le sort de $*/ʔ/$ (*hamza*, p. 81), la discussion est articulée. La scolarisation et les fuṣṣhismes ont certes contribué à réactiver le phonème, comme cela se remarque dans l'ensemble du monde arabe. *Sʔal* « demander » – qui comme à Tunis tend à évincer *nšad* –, s'est réintroduit partout dans le monde arabe. En Tunisie il supplante un ancien *shəl*, qui n'a pas totalement disparu, L'auteur ne cite pas cette variante pour Tripoli ; Cesaro d'ailleurs non plus, mais ce dernier donnait *meshūl* « responsable » (**masʔūl*). Quant aux racines $\sqrt{m-r}$ « commander, ordonner », $\sqrt{m-n}$ « croire, avoir la foi », O. Jastrow en 1978 expliquait que de tous temps elles avaient dû conserver un $/ʔ/$ vital, celles-ci étant constamment présentes dans les fables pour enfants (« Le roi ordonna... ») et dans la

phraséologie religieuse de tous les jours. Je pense que partout où le *kuttāb/msīd* a existé, *saʿal*, *suʿāl* etc. ont dû résister à côté de variantes dialectales.

On appréciera la discussion sur les schèmes nominaux *CCəC* et sur la tendance de certaines consonnes à attirer sur soi le *ə* (p. 86-88). Pour les noms d'action cependant, par delà l'« opposition » au thème d'accompli (nombre de dialectes marocains du Sud se contentent de l'homophonie, notamment *Skūra* décrit par Jordi Aguadé), ne négligeons pas que ces thèmes sont assez souvent employés comme premiers termes d'état d'annexion (*muḏāf*): *kəšf_əl*-... « la découverte du ... », ce qui m'incite à penser que les noms d'action aient pu subir une déviation, ou un « ressaut », **CCəC* > *CəCC_(v)*.

Pourquoi tant insister sur $\sqrt{^2}b-y$ comme étymologie du verbe *bā*, *yābbi* « vouloir », quand l'auteur est le premier à rappeler que l'ancien *ʿabā* signifie « refuser »? Toujours comme le précise l'auteur, un thème *bā*, *yabī*, étroitement lié à la genèse du préverbe *b-* qui va de la Péninsule au Sud marocain en passant par le Šām, l'Égypte et la Libye, a été depuis longtemps reconnu comme une contraction de *bayā*, *yabyī* « vouloir » (pour la Libye, Hans Stumme, Alfredo Trombetti et Ettore Griffini s'étaient déjà prononcés en ce sens). Bruce Ingham en 1994 a synthétisé l'évolution pour le Najd: *yabī yrūh* > *bi-yrūh*, simple futur immédiat à auxiliaire volitif comme il s'en trouve partout dans le monde (*he will go*). Ester Panetta en 1943, pour Benghazi, déclarait quant à elle qu'elle « non escluder[ebbe] » (p. 239) une dérivation à partir de *ʿahabba* « aimer », et nous confie que Giorgio Levi della Vida – rappelons à tout hasard que ce fut un des plus grands sémitisants de son époque –, lors d'un entretien privé, « optava piuttosto per quest'ultima ipotesi ». L'idée n'est point saugrenue, si l'on s'y arrête un peu, et surtout si l'on pense que $\sqrt{h-b-b}$ au Maghreb a partout ajouté la valeur de « vouloir » à celle d'« aimer » (interférence, dans un sens ou dans l'autre, de l'ibéro-roman *querer*, « vouloir » (< *quaerere*) et « aimer »?). Cette hypothèse expliquerait la tension du /b/ au thème inaccompli libyen. La discussion reste ouverte, et chacun optera en son âme et conscience pour la solution qui plus le chatouille. Pour ma part, je persiste à penser que l'accompli *mā-bā-š*, *mā-bēt-š* représente une érosion de *mā-byā-š*, *mā-byēt-š* (cf. marocain *mā-byā-š*, *mā-byīt-š*), et que l'inaccompli *yābbi*, tout en ayant la même origine, **yābyī*, a dû subir un « croisement » avec *yhābb*.

A la p. 92 on ajoutera Tunis aux dialectes qui ont renoncé à l'opposition de genre à la 2^{ème} personne.

A propos des verbes assimilés (p. 99), la situation de l'inaccompli de certains verbes d'emploi fréquent est perturbée le long d'une isoglosse qui va du Najd à Tunis au moins. Au Najd, $\sqrt{w-q-f}$ « s'arrêter » et « être debout » donne *waǧf*, *yāǧaf*. On retrouve le même phénomène en Cyrénaïque avec $\sqrt{w-q-f}$ et $\sqrt{w-q-ʒ}$ « tomber ; advenir » : *yāǧaf*, *yāǧaʒ*. Tunis distingue encore aujourd'hui *wqaf*, *yūqaf* « s'arrêter » de *wqaf*, *yāqaf* « se lever » pour le premier, *wqəʒ*, *yāqəʒ* pour le second. Je ne sais pas pour Tripoli, mais j'irais bien contrôler, par simple souci de précision.

Məbyūn comme participe passif de *bān* « apparaître » me heurte. Les participes des verbes concaves sont rares dans l'ensemble du néo-arabe, même avec les verbes transitifs. On cite d'habitude des formes isolées comme *mabyūʒ* « vendu », *madyūn* « endetté ».

Pour les verbes défectueux à l'accompli (p. 103-4), on s'attendrait à une opposition *CCēt* pour les verbes historiquement **CaCā* (*mšēt*) : *CCīt* pour les verbes historiquement **CiCī* (*nsīt*), si le dialecte était bédouin. Ça n'est pas le cas à Tripoli, ce qui contribue non pas tant à renforcer l'idée du « parler mixte » mais plutôt à s'interroger sur la valeur probante des critères de classification (sédentaire: bédouin: rural...) des dialectes arabes.

Si /*nwləd*/ doit être lu [ənwö'ləd], on déduira facilement que [t:əfəq] « se mettre d'accord » (p. 126) doit être interprété comme /*ttfəq*/, sans qu'il soit nécessaire de s'interroger sur la présence exceptionnelle d'une voyelle brève en syllabe ouverte. Nul ne doutera qu'il s'agit là d'un fuṣhisme, ne serait-ce que par le [q] final.

Quelques maghrébinisants, surtout au Maroc, ont effectivement soutenu que la forme dérivée *fʒāll* représenterait une continuation de l'arabe ancien *ifʒalla* (et non pas افعال *ifʒālla*, XI^{ème} forme): on a en effet remarqué que le Maroc a récupéré des VII^{èmes} et VIII^{èmes} formes, absentes dans les parlers traditionnels, en épaisissant le premier *a*: *nsāʒəm*, *htārəm*. Tripoli – avec Tunis – ne le fait pas: *nftəħ* « s'ouvrir », *ʒtməʒ* « se réunir » ([ənfətaħ], [əʒtməʒ]?). Si donc pour le Maroc il est possible de postuler que la IX^{ème} forme **fʒəll* s'est « renforcée » en *fʒāll*, l'argument ne tient pas pour Tripoli et Tunis, et force sera d'admettre que *fʒāll* continue la XI^{ème} forme *ifʒālla* de l'arabe ancien. On rappellera toutefois que, d'après Cesaro « la IX forma dell'arabo letterario [...] non è adoperata nel tripolino » (p. 187): si cette assertion était correcte, *fʒāll* devrait aujourd'hui être considéré comme un « néomorphisme ».

Pour la X^{ème} forme des verbes assimilés, il est évident que les thèmes en *stāʒəl*, au lieu d'un **stūʒəl* attendu, *stāʒəʒ*, *stāsəʒ*, représentent la solution autochtone. Tunis musulman des

années cinquante ne conservait qu'une poignée de $X^{\text{èmes}}$ formes, parmi lesquelles on glane *stānās* « s'habituer », *stāhāl* « mériter », dont les racines historiques sont cependant hamzées. Quant aux thèmes *stawʒal*, *stawdāʒ* « laisser en dépôt », *stawʒāb* « entraîner une conséquence », on y verra des fuṣhismes récents.

Suit un long chapitre sur les schèmes nominaux. On y relève parfois une attitude un peu trop synchronisante: traiter *bēt* et *hōš* comme des schèmes $C^1\bar{e}C^2$ et $C^1\bar{o}C^2$ respectivement impliquerait que les racines de ces deux mots sont $\sqrt{b-t}$ et $\sqrt{h-š}$; dans les deux cas on a simplement affaire à $C^1aC^2C^3$ avec évolution phonétique.

Je m'étonne de ne pas rencontrer de schèmes verbaux *fōʒal*, *fēʒal* (**fawʒal*, **fayʒal*) – et *tfōʒal*, *tfēʒal* –, largement attestés dans l'ensemble du néo-arabe, du Yemen au Maroc en passant par le Šām bédouin, et qui se sont révélés bien commodes pour naturaliser d'innombrables emprunts, tels que *šūgār* « assurer », *tbūgāš* « faire le beau gosse » de Tunis à Casablanca. Comme exemple d'emprunt acclimaté en quadrilittère, l'auteur cite *ḍanžan* « essayer de séduire », de *ḍūnžwān* « Don Juan » (< *dongiovanni* « séducteur »), auquel on ajoutera *tbargāz* « être libéré du service militaire » (< *borghese* « civil ») rappelé par Cesaro.

J'achève ce long compte-rendu, plein de critiques à l'égard d'un jeune collègue qui, s'il n'était pas notoirement brillant, n'aurait certes pas sollicité mon attention (et plusieurs heures de travail). J'espère que cette recension sera accueillie, sportivement et amicalement, pour ce qu'elle voulait être: un dialogue entre deux personnes qui ont des choses à dire. A l'heure où les temps modernes et la globalisation nous infligent des comptes-rendus de plus en plus chétifs, hâtifs et cauteleux, et toujours plus pauvres d'indices d'une lecture autre que superficielle de la part du recenseur, je continue à préférer les bras de fer musclés du temps jadis, que seuls les esprits chagrins ne savaient accueillir comme des honneurs (« Tear me unto pieces, but *quote* me! », disait Paul Kahle). Merci donc Christophe pour ce très beau livre, pour le plaisir qu'il m'a donné – et qu'il donnera à quiconque le lira.

Tarik Sabry, *Cultural Encounters in the Arab World. On Media, the Modern and the Everyday*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2010, pp. 228. (ISBN 978-1-84885-359-1)

Reviewed by Georgiana Nicoarea

An ethnographic and phenomenological approach of what it means to be modern in the Arab World, Tarik Sabry's book is an attempt to connect conceptualizations of modernity in Arab thought with modernity as experienced in the everyday life of Arab societies. This pioneering work makes a strong plea in favor of considering the *everyday* as the main focus of an emerging academic research field, that of Arab Cultural Studies, to the crystallization of which this book contributes. The book advocates for the studying of daily life, culture and media in the Arab World, outlining the need for an anthropological perspective on culture that the author considers "an amalgamation of different encounters and the dynamics they produce" (p. 10). Furthermore, he places the study of popular culture, in its forms characteristic to the Arab World, "at the intersection of social, political, economic, existential and anthropological dynamics resulting from the encounter between global and local" (p. 14).

In the first chapter, Sabry sketches a history of encounters of the Arab World with the West, encounters that supposed, among others, the confrontation of Arab societies and its intellectuals with modernity and affected the perspectives on culture which he discusses in the following chapter. The author poses the question whether the encounters with the modern can be studied as a cultural phenomenon and argues for the examination of *modernness* as a phenomenological category, in an attempt to deal with the modern from an ontologically point of view. Sabry thus distinguishes between *modernness* and modernity, modernization and modernism and he depicts *modernness* as being "about thinking through and reflecting on the very kind of being, that thing we call "modern" ... it describes a state of mind and being in the world" (p. 16).

The second chapter contains the central theoretical elements sustaining the claim of the book as the author challenges topics around which revolves the discourses about culture in the Arab World. He is mainly concerned with the *'aṣāla* (tradition) / *hadāta* (modernity) duality that dictates also how the category *culture* is articulated. In presenting the central discourses on Arab culture, Sabry reveals the tension between those that advocate in favor of

heritage (*turāt*) and their counterpart that favor modernity (*hadāta*). In the light of this tension, Sabry proposes the use of the deleuzian concepts of deterritorialization and reterritorialization in order to analyze phenomena of culture in the Arab World, phenomena that he deems influenced by cultural contacts with the Western world. He calls for the application of Abdel Kebir Khatibi's principle of *double critique*, a concept influenced by Derrida's deconstructionism that involves a critical analysis of both the local as well as the global elements of contemporary cultural production. Tarik Sabry identifies four directions for the analysis of the relationship between tradition and modernity that are centered on the concept of culture. The first one represented in the works of Abdullah Laroui is the historicist / Marxist direction that aims at a break with the past and with tradition. A second position is that of Mohammed Abed Al-Jabiri, a realistic / structuralist direction that defends a modernization from within and reconciliation with the present. The Salafist / traditionalist direction that claims that the Arab-Islamic heritage is the only coherent civilizational model is the third one identified, and what he calls the anti-essentialist position which uses deterritorialization as *double critique* is the fourth. Tarik Sabry describes this fourth stand as a philosophy of transcendence which promises to overcome the problem of duality between tradition and modernity through the critique of both concepts.

In the third chapter, Arab Popular Culture and Everyday Life are bridged around the notion of present tense as a powerful temporality, making claims for the establishing of the two as object of research and study. Tarik Sabry further criticizes the "elitist" view on culture that hinders anthropological readings of the Everyday Life in the Arab World and sets out to identify the meaning of "popular culture" in the area. One of the characteristics of the "popular" being its position outside ruling mechanism, he points that "many voices that constitute Arab popular culture remain unheard" as what is publicly identified as popular culture is in fact "a pseudo-popular culture that speaks not with its own voice but with the voice of the center" (p. 57) and the cause resides in the control the ruling elites exercise not only over the means of production in general but also over cultural production in particular. He encourages the study of the anthropological spaces of the daily life and privacy, to which Arab subcultures are confined to by the authoritarian structures of the Arab World, in order to examine the region's working class structure and social stratification.

Following the somewhat theoretical framework proposed in the first three chapters, in chapter four the author analyzes ethnographic data from Egypt and Morocco with the purpose of sustaining the claim for the study of *modernness*. Sabry reads the Qassr Nile Bridge in Cairo

and the queues outside the Italian and French embassies in Casablanca as anthropological texts, approaching them as spaces of encountering with the modern. The Qassr Nile Bridge is perceived as a place that allows for “an acting out of the self and of desires that contradict conventional and fixed ideas about gender and love in the Arab society” (p. 93) while the queue outside the Italian and French embassies in Casablanca, in its being a “colonial imposition” (p. 89) is a place of encounter with the local and the “Western other” in which we can read “the story of the Arab working class, their hopes and aspirations” (p. 93).

In his second empirical chapter, chapter five, Tarik Sabry additionally explores the theme of encountering by taking into scrutiny the role television in Morocco plays in generating self-reflexive narratives of *modernness* in young viewers, on the basis of fieldwork conducted in Morocco between 2001 and 2007. The author consequently demonstrates how “difference in socio-economic and cultural strata (...) produce different readings of and reactions to modernity” which he classifies in categories ranging from “incoherent acceptance” to “coherent rejection” (p. 99). The duality and ambivalence resulting from the mechanisms of encountering originate in another duality, that of Arabs’ position towards the modernity that Sabry considers a “handicap” (p. 155) that has to be adjusted. The author finds the answer to this problematic in Khatibi’s *double-critique* that supposes the questioning and subversion of both the modern and the traditional.

Tarik Sabry’s book encourages the reconceptualization of the dominant paradigms about Arabic culture, emphasizing the need for an analysis of contemporary cultural particularities that challenges the stationary frameworks within which the Middle East has been approached. In the light of a new Arab Cultural Studies project the region’s encounters with modernity and its take on people’s everyday experiences encourage sociologic, ethnographic and anthropologic dimensions of research conducted within the scope of clarifying an Arab cultural panorama of the present. Mohammed Abed Al-Jabiri, the supporter of a modernization from within and a reconciliation with the present, affirms, in the same note that Arab thought suffers from a confusion in the cultural temporality leading to its “unconscious time” (Al-Jabir, apud Sabry, 2011:10). Thus time stops as Arab thought deals with cultural products of the past that co-exist in the same temporality as the new, accusing the fact that the present is only a replay of the past through the prism of which it is analyzed. In order to surpass this impasse, Sabry argues for an interdisciplinary approach to the cultures of the contemporary Arab World thus outlining the need for the establishing of Arab Cultural Studies as a field of research and study.

